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The Itinerary
of
Fynes Moryson
In Four Volumes
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MCMVII

One thousand copies of this book have been printed
for sale in Great Britain and Ireland, of which one
hundred copies are on hand-made paper.
An Itinerary

Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland & Ireland

Written by
FYNES MORYSON
GENT.

VOLUME I

Glasgow
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MCMVII
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FYNES MORYSON was born in 1566. He was the third son of Thomas Morison of Cadeby, Lincolnshire, Clerk of the Pipe, and Member of Parliament for Great Grimsby in 1572, 1584, 1586, and 1588-9. His mother Elizabeth was daughter of Thomas Moigne of Willingham, Lincolnshire. Of Morison's early education nothing is known, but 'being a student of Peterhouse in Cambridge,' he tells us, 'and entred the eighteenth yeere of my age, I tooke the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and shortly after was chosen Fellow of the said Colledge by Queene Elizabeths mandat. Three yeers expired from my first degree taken in the Universitie, I commenced Master of Arts, and within a yeere after, by the favour of the Master and Fellowes, I was chosen to a vacant place of Priviledge to studie the Civill Lawes. Then, as well for the ornament of this profession, as out of my innated desire to gaine experience by travelling into forraigne parts, upon the priviledge of our Statutes permitting two of the Society to travell,

1It is suggested by Mr. Charles Hughes, whose life of the traveller prefaced to Shakespeare's Europe (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1903) is the fullest extant, that Fynes (otherwise Fines or Fiennes) was named after Edward Fiennes de Clinton, Lord Clinton and Saye, who was Lord-Lieutenant of Lincolnshire at the time of Morison's birth.
I obtained licence to that purpose of the said Master and Fellowes in the yeere 1589, being then full 23 yeeres old.' Before setting out, however, Moryson went to London to follow some studies 'there better taught'; these studies, visits to his friends, and taking his M.A. degree at Oxford, occupied him for the next two years.

On 1st May, 1591, he took ship at Leigh-on-Thames for Germany, and, after a narrow escape from Dunkirk pirates, safely landed at Stade. For the next four years Moryson wandered through Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland, Italy, Denmark, Poland and Austria, spending the winters at Leipzig, Leyden, Padua and Venice. He returned to London on 13th May, 1595.

'From my tender youth,' writes Moryson, 'I had a great desire to see forraine Countries. And having once begun this course I could not see any man without emulation and a kind of vertuous envy, who had seene more Cities, Kingdomes and Provinces, or more Courts of Princes, Kings and Emperours, then myselfe. Therefore having now wandred through the greatest part of Europe, . . . I sighed to myselfe in silence, that the Kingdome of Spaine was shut up from my sight, by the long warre betwene England and Spaine. . . . And howsoever now being newly returned home, . . . I had an itching desire to see Jerusalem, the fountaine of Religion, and Constantinople, of old the seate of Christian Emperours, and now the seate of the Turkish Ottoman.' In this frame of mind he found that his brother Henry was preparing for this very journey, 'having put out some foure hundred pounds, to be repaied twelve hundred pounds upon his returne from those two cities, and to
lose it if he died in the journey—a form of insurance not uncommon at that time. Accordingly the two brothers joined forces and set out from London on the 29th November, 1595. Crossing to Flushing, they travelled overland to Venice, and there took ship for Joppa. Thence they proceeded to Jerusalem, and after spending ten days there returned to Joppa and sailed to Tripoli. At Tripoli they left the sea and went by land to Aleppo and on to Antioch. Near Antioch Henry Moryson died of dysentery, and Fynes had also a severe attack of illness. Fynes then returned home by way of Crete and Constantinople to Venice. From Venice he rode to Stade, and arrived in London at 'The Cock,' Aldersgate Street, on July 10th, 1597.

In April 1598, Moryson journeyed to Berwick-on-Tweed and thence to Edinburgh; he intended to go on to Stirling and St. Andrews, but 'unexpected businesse' recalled him into England. He next spent a year with his married sisters Jane Alington and Faith Mussenden in Lincolnshire, which he occupied in gathering 'into some order out of composed and torne writings the particular observations of my former Travels, to bee after more deliberately digested at leasure.'

'The hopes of preferment' then drew Moryson to Ireland, where his youngest brother Richard was serving under the Earl of Essex. Immediately on his arrival in Ireland Fynes was appointed secretary to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, the newly appointed Lord Deputy, and for the next three years served him in that capacity during the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion. He continued in Mountjoy's service until 1606. After his death Moryson spent three years in making an
abstract of the history of the twelve countries which he visited, 'but when the worke was done, and I found the bulke thereof to swel, then I chose rather to suppress them, then to make my gate bigger then my Citie.'

From 1609 to 1617 Moryson 'wrote at leasure, giving (like a free and unhired workeman) much time to pleasure, to necessary affaires, and to divers and long distractions.' One of the distractions was a visit in 1613 to Sir Richard Moryson, then Vice-President of Munster.

Nothing is known with certainty as to how Moryson spent the remaining years of his life. He died on the 12th February, 1629, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

The Itinerary now reprinted in full for the first time since its publication was 'printed by John Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate Street,' in 1617. Moryson writes that 'to save expenses I wrote the greatest part with my owne hand, and almost all the rest with the slow pen of my servant.' The book was first written in Latin and then translated into English, and the License for printing, which is reproduced here in facsimile, granted copyright for twenty-one years for both versions: the Latin version, however, was never printed.

In 'The Table' of the Itinerary, after the Contents of the fourth Book of the Third Part there is given a brief summary of twenty-five chapters beginning 'The rest of this Worke, not as yet fully finished, treateth of the following Heads.' The MS. of these chapters, which were not printed by Moryson, is now in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and portions
of it were edited by Mr. Charles Hughes and published in 1903 under the title of 'Shakespeare's Europe.'

In accordance with the scheme of this series, the edition here presented is an exact reprint of the original edition of 1617, except that the letters i, j, u and v have been altered to conform to modern usage, and obvious printers' errors, both of spelling and punctuation, have been corrected. References to the pages of the original edition are given in the margin. The original edition did not contain an index, but a full index has now been added, which it is hoped will make the contents readily accessible for the first time.

The publishers desire to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. C. Litton Falkiner in the choice of illustrations.

GLASGOW, September, 1907.
To the Right Honourable, William, Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine of his Majesties Household, one of his Majesties most Honourable Privie Counsell, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, &c.

Right Honourable,

Since I had the happinesse imputed to Salomons Servants by the Queene of Sheba, to stand sometimes before You, an eye and eare witnes of your Noble conversation with the worthy Earle of Devonshire, (my deceased Lord and Master,) I ever admired your vertues and much honoured your Person. And because it is a thing no lesse commendable, gladly to receive favours from men of eminent worth, then with like choice to tender respect and service to them: I being now led by powerfull custome to seeke a Patron for this my Worke; and knowing that the weakest frames need strongest supporters, have taken the boldnes most humbly to commend it to your Honours protection: which vouchsafed, it shall triumph under the safegard of that massy shield; and my selfe shall not only acknowledge this high favour with humblest thankefulnesse, but with joy imbrace this occasion to avow my selfe now by publike profession, (as I have long been in private affection,)

Your Honours most humble
and faithfull servant,

Fynes Moryson.

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To the Reader.

Or the First Part of this Worke, it contains only a briefe narration of daily journeys, with the rates of Coaches or Horses hired, the expences for horses and mans meat, the soyle of the Country, the situation of Townes, and the descriptions thereof; together with all things there worthy to be seen: which Treatise in some obscure places is barren and unpleasant (espetially in the first beginning of the worke,) but in other places I hope you will judge it more pleasant, and in some delightfull, inducing you favorably to dispence with the barrennes of the former, inserted only for the use of unexperienced Travellers passing those waies. Againe, you may perhaps judge the writing of my daily expences in my journies to be needles & unprofitable, in respect of the continuall change of prices and rates in all Kingdoms: but they can never be more subject to change, then the affaires of Martiall and civill Policie: In both which, the oldest Histories serve us at this day to good use. Thirdly and lastly, touching the First Part of this Worke, when you read my expences in unknowne Coynes, you may justly require the explaining of this obscurity, by expression of the values in the English Coynes. But I pray you to consider, that the adding of these severall values in each daies journy, had been an Herculean labour; for avoiding whereof, I have first set before the First Part, a briefe Table expressing the value of the small Coynes most commonly spent, and also have xix
TO THE READER

expressly & particularly for each Dominion and most part of the Provinces, set downe at large, how these values answer the English Coynes, in a Chapter written of purpose to satsisfe the most curious in this point, namely the fifth Chapter of the third Booke, being the last of this First Part: in which Chapter also I have briefly discourse of the best means to exchange monies into forraigne parts.

Touching the Worke in generall, I wil truly say, that I wrote it swiftly, and yet slowly. This may seeme a strange Riddle, and not to racke your wit with the interpretation, my selfe will expound it: I wrote it swiftly, in that my pen was ready and nothing curious, as may appeare by the matter and stile: and I wrote it slowly, in respect of the long time past since I viewed these Dominions, and since I tooke this worke in hand. So as the Worke may not unfitly bee compared to a nose-gay of flowers, hastily snatched in many gardens, and with much leasure, yet carelesly and negligently bound together. The snatching is excused by the haste, necessary to Travellers, desiring to see much in short time: And the negligent binding, in true judgement needs no excuse, affected curiositie in poore subjects, being like rich embroidery laid upon a frize jerken; so as in this case, onely the trifling away of much time, may bee imputed to my ignorance, dulnes or negligence, if my just excuse be not heard: in the rendering whereof I must crave your patience. During the life of the worthy Earle of Devonshire, my deceased Lord, I had little or no time to bestow in this kind: after his deth, I lost fully three yeers labor (in which I abstracted the Histories of these 12 Dominions thorow which I passed, with purpose to joyne them to the Discourses of the severall Common-wealths, for illustration and ornament: but when the worke was done, and I found the bulke thereof to swel, then I chose rather to supprese them, then to make my gate bigger then my Citie.) And for the rest of the yeers, I wrote at leasure, giving (like a free and unhired

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workman) much time to pleasure, to necessary affaires, and to divers and long distractions. If you consider this, and withall remember, that the worke is first written in Latine, then translated into English, and that in divers Copies, no man being able by the first Copie to put so large a worke in good fashion. And if you will please also to take knowledge from me, that to save expences, I wrote the greatest part with my owne hand, and almost all the rest with the slowe pen of my servant: then I hope the losse of time shall not be imputed unto me. Againe, for the worke in generall, I professe not to write it to any curious wits, who can indure nothing but extractions and quintessences: nor yet to great States-men, of whose reading I confesse it is unworthy: but only unto the unexperienced, who shall desire to view forraign kingdoms. And these may, the rather by this direction, make better use of what they see, heare, and reade, then my selfe did. If active men never reade it, I shall wish them no lesse good successe in their affaires. If contemplative men shall reade it at pleasure, making choice of the subjects fitting their humours, by the Table of the Contents, and casting away the booke when they are weary of reading, perhaps they may finde some delight: only in case of distaste, I pray them remember, to and for whom it was written. To conclude, if you be as well affected to me, as I am to you, howsoever I deserve no thanks, no doubt I shall be free from blame. And so I wish you all happinesse, remaining

Yours in due respect,

Fynes Moryson.
A briefe Table to understand in the First Part the expences in small Coynes most commonly spent.

For England.
Gold Angell of the standard of 23 Caracts 3 grains and an halfe, is three peny weight and 8 grains, and is given for ten silver shillings, 12 pence making a shilling, the silver being of the standard of 11 ounces two peny weight, and the shilling foure penny (or ninety six grains) weight.

For Scotland and Ireland.
The English Coynes are currant and spent.

For Germany.
The Reichs Doller of Germany is worth foure shillings foure pence, and the silver Gulden is accounted three shillings foure pence English. Twenty Misen silver Groshen, 32 Lubecke shillings, 45 Embden stivers, foure Copstucks and a halfe, 55 groates, 36 Maria grosh, 18 spitz-grosh, 18 Batz, make a Reichs Doller. Two seslings make a Lubecke shilling: foure Drier a silver grosh: two dreyhellers a Drier: two schwerd-grosh a schneberger: foure creitzers a batz: foure pfenning a creitzer.

For Bohemia.
Three Pochanels make a Creitzer; 9 creitzers and one Pochanell make foure weissgrosh of Moravia: 30 grosh a Doller: two hallers a pfenning: and 5 pfenning a grosh.
THE TABLE FOR SMALL COINS

For Sweitzerland.
Six Rappen make a Plappart or 3 Creitzers: and 20 Plapparts or 60 Creitzers make a silver gulden: two finferlins make a finfer, and 5 a batz: four angster make a creitzer, twelve a Bemish: 60 creitzers a silver gulden.

For the Low Countries.
Foure Orkees or Doights make a stiver: two blanks a stiver and a halfe: six stivers a shilling: 20 stivers a gulden or three shillings foure pence, being two shillings English: 20 shillings a pound: and one hundred pound Flemish, makes sixty pound English.

For Denmarke.
Two Danish shillings make one Lubecke; and 66 Danish shillings make one Reichs Doller.

For Poland.
Thirty Polish Grosh make a silver Gulden; 40 a Reichs Doller; three Pochanels a Creitzer, seven a Grosh.

For Italy.
The silver Crowne almost five shillings English, is given for 7 Lires of Venice; two Lires make a Justino: 20 Soldi a Lire: one Lire and 4 Soldi a Mutsenigo. 4 Bagatines a Quatrine: two Betsior 3 Quatrines or a Susine and a halfe, make a Soldo: two Quatrines make a Susine: three Susines a Boligneo, and 12 Bolignei a Lire. Ten Giulii, or Poali, or Carlini make a silver Crowne; ten Baocci a Giulio or Paolo: foure Quatrines a Baocco: eight Baelli or Creitzers make a Giulio: twenty Soldi or Bolignei of Genoa make a Lire of Genoa, whereof 15 make 20 shillings English; and 3 of these Lires with 15 Soldi, make a silver Crowne: seven Soldi and an halfe make a Reale: foure Soldi a Cavalotto: six Quatrines a Soldo; and two Deniers of Genoa a Quatrine: 114 Soldi of Milan make a silver Crowne: 20 xxiv
THE TABLE FOR SMALL COINS

Soldi a Lire: and a Lire and a halfe makes one Lire of Genoa.

For Turkey.

The silver Crowne or Piastro worth five shillings English, is given heere for 70, there for 80 or more Aspers: A Meidine of Tripoli, is an Asper and an halfe: a Meidine of Caiero three Aspers; and an Asper some three farthings English.

For France.

Twelve Deniers make a Soulz: fourteene Soulz and a halfe a Testoone: fifteene Soulz a Quart d’escue: twenty Soulz a Franke: sixtie Soulz a French Crowne, or six shillings English.
The First Volume

of

The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson
ITINERARY
WRITTEN BY
FYNES MORISON, Gent.

CONTAINING
His ten yeeres travels thorow
Twelve Dominions

THE FIRST PART

THE FIRST BOOKE

Chap. I.

Being a Student of Peter-house in Cambridge, and entred the eighteenth yeere of my age, I tooke the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and shortly after was chosen Fellow of the said Colledge by Queene Elizabeths Mandat. Three yeers expired from my first degree taken in the Universitie, I commenced Master of Arts, and within a yeere after, by the favour of the Master and Fellowes, I was

M. I
chosen to a vacant place of Privilidge to studie the Civill Lawes. Then, as well for the ornament of this profession, as out of my innated desire to gaine experience by travelling into forraigne parts, (to which course my Parents had given consent some few yeers past, upon my first declaring of my inclination to the said profession,) upon the priviledge of our Statutes permitting two of the Society to travell, I obtained licence to that purpose of the said Master and Fellowes, in the yeere 1589, being then full 23 yeeres old. And presently leaving the University, I went to London, there to follow some studies fit to inable me in this course; and there better taught, and these studies, the visiting of my friends in the Country, my going to Oxford to take the same degree I had in Cambridge, and some oppositions upon new deliberation made by my father and friends against my journey, detained me longer in those parts then I purpos'd.

At last, in the beginning of the yeere 1591, and upon the first day of May, I tooke ship at Liegh, distant from London twenty eight miles by land, and thirtie six by water, where Thames in a large bed is carried into the Sea. Thence wee set saile into the maine, and the eight day of our sailing, the Merchants Fleet of sixtene ships being dispersed by a fogge and tempest, two Dunkerke Pirats followed our ship, till (by Gods mercy) the fog being cleared after some few houres, and two of our ships upon our discharging of a great Peece drawing towards us, the Pirates despairing left to pursue us. That they were Pirats was apparant, since as wee for triall turned our sayles, they likewise fitted themselves to our course, so as wee though flying, yet prepared our selves to fight, till God thus delivered us. The ninth day towards night, wee fell upon an Iland called the Holy-land (vulgarly Heiligland), and not daring to enter the River Elve before the next morning, wee strucke all sayles, and suffered our ship to bee tossed too and fro by the waves all that night, (which Marriners call lying at Hull.) This Iland hath onely one Port capeable of some sixe ships, in the
COMMENTS UPON STADE

A.D.

1591.

forme of the Moone decreasing, and lying open to the East. On the North side is a great Rocke, and the rest of the shore is all of high Cliftes. It is subject to the Duke of Holste, and by that title to the King of Denmarke; but the inhabitants are so poore, as they yeeld no other tribute then stones for the Dukes building. It is in circuit some three miles, and hath about one hundred Families.

The tenth day we entred the River Elve, and landed at Stode. This is an ancient Citie, and one of the Empires free Cities, and one of those Sea-Townes, which from the priviledge of traffick with their Neighbours, are called Free Cities (vulgarly Hansteten), but of late was become so poore, as they had sold the priviledge of coyning money, and some like Rights to Hamburg; till the English Merchants removing their seate of trafficke from Hamburg to Stode, it began lately to grow rich, not without the envy and impoverishment of the Hamburger. In the Dutch Inns I paid for each meale foure Lubeck shillings and an halfe, and in the English Innes eight pence English. In the great winding and troubled Streame of Elve, which ebs and flowes as high as Luneburg, certaine Booyes are laid to shew the channels and sholes of the River, and the maintaining of each of them cost 40 pounds yeerely, and of all a thousand pounds at the least, at the common charge of Stode and Hamburg: but after frosts begin, they are taken up, and reserved to the next Spring. Of old when Stode flourished, this charge belonged onely to it, taking some contributions of the other Cities for the same. This free Citie had then chosen the Bishop of Breme for their Protector, and had but small scattered revenewes, to the value of ninety pounds sterling by the yeere; but the soile is so fertile, as they milke their Cowes thrice each day. Of late the Hamburger had in vaine attempted by Navall forces to forbid the arrivall of the English at Stode, whom as they had grieved having their seate with them, as well with exactions, as with forbidding them
free exercise of Religion, so now sometimes by faire treatie, sometimes by force, they laboured to draw backe unto them. Those of Stode have by priviledge the pre-emption and choice of Rhenish Wines passing by them. This Citie might be made strong, if the workes they have begun were perfected. The fields of the North and East sides may bee drowned, and because the high Hilles towards the West and South (though somewhat distant) seemed to threaten danger, they had on those sides raised an high and broad wall of earth, fastned on the out-side with Willowes, in which place an Armory for all munitions was built; but the gates of the Citie, for ridiculous ostentation of strength, were furnished with Artillery of stone painted over. The territory without the City belongs on the West side to the Bishop of Breame, and on the East side to the Earle of Scheneburg and the Duke of Holst. From Stode to Hamburg are five miles. In a Waggon hired for five Lubecke shillings each person, wee passed two miles, then crossing the Elve (not without danger in respect of the shallow places and present storme) wee hired another Waggon for foure Lubeck shillings each person, and through thicke woods passed the other three miles to Hamburg. The passage by water to Hamburg had bee much easier, especially for a stranger, and a boat daily passeth from Stode thither in some three houres space, if the winde bee not contrary, wherein each man paies three Lubecke shillings for his passage: but all Passengers without difference of condition must help to rowe, or hire one in his stead, except the winde bee good so as they need not use their Oares; besides that the annoyance of base companions will easily offend one that is any thing nice.

Hamburg. Hamburg is a Free Citie of the Empire, and one of them which (as I said) are called Hans-steten, and for the building and populousnesse is much to be praised. The Senate house is very beautifull, and is adorned with carved statues of the nine Worthies. The Exchange where the Merchants meet is a very pleasant place. The Haven
is shut up with an iron chaine. The Citie is compassed with a deepe ditch, and upon the East and North sides with a double ditch and wall. Water is brought to the Citie from an Hill distant some English mile, by pipes of wood, because those of lead would be broken by the yce, and these pipes are to bee scene under the bridge, whence the water is conveyed by them unto each Citizens house. The Territory of the Citie extendeth a mile or two, and on one side three miles out of the walles. It hath nine Churches and six gates called by the Cities to which they lead. It is seated in a large plaine and a sandy soyle, but hath very fatte pasture ground without. On the South side and some part of the West, it is washed with the River Elve, which also putteth a branch into the Towne, but on the North and somewhat on the East side, the River Alster runneth by towards Stode, and falleth into the Elve. The streets are narrow excepting one which is called Broad-street (vulgarly Breitgasse.) The building is all of brick (as in all the other Seabordering Cities, lying from these parts towards Flanders) and all the beautie of the houses is in the first entrance, having broad and faire gates into a large Hal, the lower part whereof on both sides is used for a Ware-house, and in the upper part lying to the view of the doore, the chiefe household-stuffe is placed, and especially their vessell of English Pewter, which being kept bright makes a glittering shew to them that passe by; so as the houses promise more beauty outwardly then they have inwardly. Here I paid each meale foure Lubeck shillings, and one each night for my bed. The Citizens are unmeasurably ill affected to the English, to whom (or to any stranger) it is unsafe to walke out of the gates after noone, for when the common people are once warmed with drinke, they are apt to doe them injury. My selfe one day passing by some that were unloading and telling of Billets, heard them say these words: Wirft den zehenden auff des Englanders kopf, that is, cast the tenth at the Englishmans head. But I and my companions knowing well their
malice to the English for the removing their traffike to Stode, were content silently to passe by as if we understood them not. Hence I went out of the way to see Lubeck, an Imperiall Citie, and one of the above named Hans-townes, being tenne miles distant from Hamburg. Each of us for our Coach paid twentie Lubeck shillings, and going forth early, wee passed through a marish and sandy plaine, and many woods of Oakes (which in these parts are frequent as woods of Firre be in the upper part of Germany) and having gone six miles we came to a Village called Altslow, for the situation in a great marish or boggy ground, where each man paid for his dinner five Lubeck shillings and a halfe, our Dutch companions contributing halfe that money for drinke after dinner. In the afternoone we passed the other foure miles to Lubeck, in the space of foure houres, and untill we came within halfe a mile of the towne, wee passed through some thicke woods of Oake with some faire pastures betweene them, (for the Germans use to preserve their woods to the uttermost, either for beautie, or because they are so huge & frequent as they cannot be consumed.) When we came out of the woods wee saw two faire rising Hills, and the third upon which Lubeck was seated.

[I. i. 4.] On the top of this third Hill stood the faire Church of Saint Mary, whence there was a descent to all the gates of the Citie, whose situation offered to our eyes a faire prospect, and promised great magnificence in the building. The Citie is compassed with a double wall, one of bricke and narrow, the other of earth and broad, fastned with thicke rowes of willowes. But on the North side and on the South-east side there were no walles, those parts being compassed with deepe ditches full of water. On the South-east side the water seemeth narrow, but is so deepe, as ships of a thousand tunne are brought up to the Citie to lie there all winter, being first unladed at Tremuren the Port of the City lying upon the Baltick Sea. To this Port one mile distant from Lubeck we came in three houres, each man paying for his Coach five
Lubeck shillings, and foure for our dinner, and returned backe the same night to Lubeck. The building of this City is very beautifull, all of bricke, and it hath most sweete walkes without the walles. The Citizens are curious to avoid ill smels, to which end the Butchers have a place for killing their beasts without the walles upon a running streame. Water is brought to every Citizens house by pipes, and all the Brewers dwelling in one street have each of them his iron Cock, which being turned, the water falls into their vessels. Though the building of this towne be of the same matter as that of the pleasant city. neighbouring townes, yet it is much preferred before them, for the beautie and uniformitie of the houses; for the pleasant gardens, faire streets, sweete walkes without the walles, and for the Citizens themselves, who are much commended for civility of manners, and the strict execution of Justice. The poore dwell in the remote streets out of the common passages. There is a street called the Funff Haussgasse, that is, the street of five houses, because in the yeere 1278. it was all burnt excepting five houses; since which time they have a law, that no man shall build of timber and clay, except he divide his house from his neighbours with a bricke wall three foot broad; and that no man shall cover his house with anything but tiles, brasse, or lead. The forme of this Citie is like a lozing, thicke in the midst and growing narrower towards the two ends, the length whereof is from the gate called Burke Port towards the South, to Millen Port towards the North. Wee entred the Towne by Holtz Port on the West side, to which gate Hickster Port is opposite on the East side. It is as long againe as broad, and two streets, Breitgasse, that is, Broad-street, and Konnigsgasse, that is, Kings-street, runne the whole length of the Towne, and sixe other streets make the breadth; and if you stand in the midst of any of these streets, you may there see both the ends thereof. Here I paid each meale foure Lubeck shillings, having my bed free; for a quart of Rhenish wine five Lubeck shillings, and as much for Sack, neither
doe I remember that ever I had a more pleasant abiding in Germany, either for the sweetnes of the place, the curtesie of the people, or my diet. The Citizens are very courteous to all strangers, whom the Lawes extra-ordinarily favour above the natives, so they onely abide there for a time and be not inhabitants, neither are they lesse friendly to the English, though they complaine of injuries (so they call them) offered them by us at Sea. This City hath many things worth the seeing. There be tenne faire Churches, whereof one was used for an Armory of all munitions for warre. Saint Maries Cathedrall Church (vulgarly Unserfraw kirke) is fairer then the rest, where there is a faire and artificiall Clocke, in the top whereof is a picture, whereof both the eares of the head are seene, which Painteres esteeme a master worke. In the Porch thereof are three Marble pillars, each of them thirtie foot long of one stone, onely one of them is peeced for one foot. But the Image of the Virgin Mary in this Church, and of Christ crucified in Burk Kirke are thought workes of singular art; for which they say a Spanish Merchant offered a masse of money. I will confess truely, that my selfe beholding the Virgins statua all of stone, did thinke it had beeene covered with a gowne of white buffin, and that being altogether unskilfull in the graving Art, yet I much admired the workmanship. Without Millen Port there is a Conduit of water, which serves all the Towne, the more notable because it was the first of that kinde, which since hath beene dispersed to London and other places. On al sides out of the towne there be sweet walks, especialy towards Hierusalem (so they call the Passion of Christ graven in divers pillars) where also is a pleasant grove, under the shade whereof Rope-makers and like Artificers use to worke. The Canons of the Cathedrall Church have great priviledges, and as it were an absolute power over themselves, and of old they had a gate of the City free to themselves to goe in or out at pleasure; till the Citizens finding how dangerous it was to the main-
taining of their freedome from any subjection, upon a
good opportunitie when the Emperour came thither, did
of set purpose lead him into the City by that gate, where
falling on their knees they besought him that it might
be bricked up, and never more opened, he being the last
man that ever should enter thereat.

From Lubeck we tooke our journey to Luneburg, being
tenne miles distant, and the first night we lodged in a
Village called Millen, where a famous Jester Oulenspiegel
(whom we call Owly-glasse) hath a Monument erected:
hee died in the yeere 1350. and the stone covering him
is compassed with a grate, least it should bee broken and
carried away picee-meale by Passengers, which they say
hath once already been done by the Germanes. The
Towns-men yeerely keepe a feast for his memory, and
yet shew the apparell he was wont to weare. This
Country is barren and sandy ground; full of thicke
Woods of Oakes: by the way in Kasborough Castle, they
said that a Duke of inferior Saxony lay imprisoned by
the Emperours command, his brother governing the
Dukedome, charged with great debts by his prodigality;
but his Villages hereabouts were possessed by the Ham-
burgers and Lubeckers by right of morgage. We passed
the Elve twice, the Coach-man paying for himselfe his
Coach, and each one of us a Lubeck shilling, and beyond
the Elve the ground was somewhat more fertile. At
Millen I paid for my supper foure Lubeck shillings and
a halfe.

The next day we came to Luneburg, which by the
Citizens for defence of their libertie was strongly fortisfied,
for it is one of the free Imperiall Cities; but the Duke
of Luneburg challengeth a superiority over it. The
walles built of earth are high and broad and the ditches
very deepe. The building is very faire, especially that
of the Senate house, and almost all the houses are of
bricke. They have two large market places, and the
streets are broad, but very filthy and full of ill smels.
The City it selfe being almost of a round forme is seated
in a Valley, but hath Mountaines neere it on the West side, and further off on the East; An high Mountaine called Kalkberg hangeth over it on the North side; in the top whereof is a strong Castle, which the Citizens had got into their hands some threescore yeres before my being there. Not far from the City is a Monestary called Luna, whereof some say the Towne was named, others say it had the name of the River running by it now called Elvenau, of eleven Rivers running into it; which Histories testifie to have beene called Luna of old. But others prove both the River and the Towne to have had their names of the Idol Isis, bearing two homes of the Moone, which was kept in the Castle upon Kalkberg, and worshipped by the people. Among the things best deserving to be seen is the Fountaine of Salt, and the house wherein salt is boyled, over the gate whereof these verses are written.

Ecce salinarum dulcissima dona coquuntur.
Gratuita summi de bonitate Dei:
Mons, Pons, Fons, tua dona Deus, da pectore crescat,
In nostro pietas, nec minuatur Amor.

Behold of finest salt this Fount doth store afford,
By the Almightyes grace and free gift from above:
The Mountaine, Bridge and Fountaine are thy gifts O Lord,
For which let us increase in pietie and love.

To all the poore round about, and to all the Citizens for their private use salt water is freely given: and they say this Fountaine once lost his vertue when they denied to give water to the poore. Every one gives the Porter a small reward when he comes in, not when he goes out, as otherwhere is used; for this is proper to the Germanes that they will be paied ere they begin to worke, as if they had done. The profit of this salt Fountaine is divided into divers parts; some to the City, some to the Duke of Luneberg, (who howsoever he be so called, yet hath no power over the City but onely over the Countrey;)

[I. i. 6.]
some belongs to the Monastary, and divers Earles have their parts, (whereof some Boyle not the salt in their owne name, but set it out to others:) There be fifty two roomes, and in each of them eight leaden pannes, in which eight tunnes of salt are daily boyled, and each tunne is worth eight Flemmish shillings. In the said Monastery within the Towne, they shew a table of gold, which Henry Leo Duke of Saxony tooke from Milan and placed here, and it is fastned to the Altar, being more then an ell and halfe long, and about three quarters broad, and little or nothing thicker then a French crowne. They shew also foure Crosses of pure gold, which they said a certaine Queene once tooke from them, but presently fell lunatike, neither could be cured untill she had restored them. In the open streets some Monuments are set on the walles, in honour of certaine Citizens, who died in a nights tumult, when the Duke hoped to surprize the City. I said that the Senate house is stately built, in which they shew to strangers many vessels of gold and silver, of a great value and quantity for a City of that quality. From Luneburg I returned to Hamburg, whither I and my company might have had a Coach for 4. Dollors. But we misliking the price hired a waggon for three Lubeck shillings each person to Wentzon, three miles distant from Luneburg. Here the Duke of Lunebergs territory ends, to whom each man paid a Lubeck shilling for tribute, my selfe onely excepted, who had that priviledge because I went to study in the Universities. Here each man paied two Lubeck shillings for a Waggon to the Elve side, being one mile, and the same day by water wee passed other three miles to Hamburg, not without great noysomnesse from some base people in the boat, for which passage we paied each man three Lubeck shillings. Let me admonish the Reader, that if when we tooke boat we had onely crossed the Elve, we might have hired a Waggon from Tolspecker a Village to Hamburg (being three miles) for two Dollors amongst six persons. Being at Hamburg and purposing to goe up into Misen, because
I had not the language, I compounded with a Merchant to carry mee in his Coach, and beare my charges to Leipzig for tenne gold Guldens.

The first day having broke our faste at Hamburg, we passed seaven miles over the Heath of Luneburg, and lodged in a Village. In our way we passed many Villages of poore base houses, and some pleasant groves; but all the Countrey was barren, yet yeelded corne in some places, though in no plenty. The second day we came to a little City Corneiler, through a Countrey as barren as the former, and towards our journeis end wee passed a thicke wood of a mile long: The third day we went seven miles to Magdenburg, which is counted sixe and twenty miles from Hamburg, and this day we passed a more fertile Countrey, and more woody; and they shewed me by the way an Hill called Bockesberg, famous with many ridiculous fables of Witches yeerely meeting in that place. This City of old called Parthenopolis, of Venus Parthenea, is now called Magdenburg, that is, the City of Virgins, & for an Inland City is very faire, and the Germans speake much of the fortification, because Mauricius Elector of Saxony besieged it a whole yeere with the Emperour Charles the fifth his Army, yet tooke it not. Howbeit I thinke that not so much to bee attributed to the strength of the City, as to the distracted mind of the besieger, who in the meane time solicited the French King to joyne with the Dutch Princes to free Germanic from the Emperours tyranny, and the French Army being once on foot, himselfe raised forces against the Emperour. The forme of this City is like a Moone increasing, the Bishopricke thereof is rich, and the Margrave of Brandeburg his eldest sonne did then possesse it, together with the City and territory, by the title of Administrator, in which sort he also held the Bishopricke of Hall, and he lay then at Wormested, a Castle not farre of. In the market place there is a Statua erected to the Emperour Otho the Great, founder of that City, and Munster writes of another statua erected to Rowland,
which I remember not to have seen. In the Senate-
house, they shewed a singular picture, made by one Lucas
a famous Painter, dead some thirty yeeres before; where
also is the picture of that monstrous German, with all
the dimensions of his body, who not long before was led
about the world to be shewed for a wonder. This man
I had not seen, but in this picture I could scarce reach
the crowne of his head with the point of my rapier, and
many of good credit told me, that they had seen this
man's sister halfe an ell higher then he. In the Church
that lies neere the market place, there is a Font of great
worth, and a Lute painted with great Art: the Cathedrall
Church of Saint Maurice was built by Otho the Great,
very sumptuously, where his wife lies buried in the yeere
948. and the inscription is; that she was daughter to
Edmund King of England. There they shew one of
the three vessels in which our Saviour Christ turned water
into wine at Cana in Galile. There be in all ten Churches,
but the above named are the fairest. Hence we went
fourteen miles to Leipzig, being a day and a halfes
journey through fruitfull corne fields, and a Countrey
full of rich Villages, the Merchant with whom I went,
bearing my charges: from Hamburg I might have hired
a Coach to Leipzig for sixe persons (those of Nurnburg
bearing eight) for 24. dollars, and if a man goe thence
to Luneburg, he may easily light on a Coach of returne
at a lesse rate, so that in respect of the cheapnes of
victuals in these parts, no doubt I gave the Merchant too
much for my charges in this journey.

Leipzig is seated in a plaine of most fruitfull corne
ground, and full of rich Villages, in a Countrey called
Misen, subject to the Elector Duke of Saxony: and the
Countrey lying open to the eye in a most ample prospect,
onely one wood can be seene in this large plaine. The
streets are faire, the market place large and stately, and
such are the chiefe houses, built of free stone foure roofes
high: there is a convenient conduit of water in the
Suburbs, lying towards Prage, the ditch is dry, the wals
of stone threaten ruine; neither may the Citizens fortifie the Towne, nor use red waxe in their publike seales, nor winde a Horne in their night watches, as other Cities doe: these and other priviledges being taken from them in the yeere 1307. when they killed their Duke Ditzmanus in Saint Thomas Church. Out of this City they have (as many Cities in Germany have) a beautifull place to bury their dead, called Gods-aker, (vulgarly Gotts-aker,) where the chiefe Citizens buy places of buriall, proper to their families round about the Cloisters, and the common sort are buried in the midst, not covered with any building. Here I found this Epitaph: the numerall Letters whereof shew the yeere when the party died.

FœLIX qVI In DoMINo nIXVs ad orbe fVgIt.

And like Epitaphs are ordinarily found through Germany. This Citie hath an University, and in the yeere 1480. the Students of Prage removed hither to flie the Hussites warre; but at this day the Universitie is much decayed, by reason that Witteberg lieth neere, having better conveniency for the Schollers living. From hence I tooke my journey in the afternoone to Witteberg, and came that night to Teben a Village foure miles distant, through a Wood so large as wee could not passe it in two houres, beyond which the ground was barren till wee passed the River Elve, which runneth by Witteberg, all the length of it from the East to the West, but is somewhat distant from the Towne.

The next day we passed foure miles to Witteberg, which hath his name of Wittekindus, the first Christian Duke of Saxony, and is seated in a plaine sandy ground, having on the North Hils planted with Vines yeelding a sower grape plentifully; yet they make no wine thereof. One streete lies the whole length of the Towne, being all the beautie thereof, and in the midst of this street is the Cathedrall Church and a faire market place, in which the Senate house is built, and neere the West gate is the Dukes Church; It is proverbially said, that a man shall
meet nothing at Witteberg, but whores, students, and swine, to which purpose they have these two Verses:

_Ni Witeberga sues, ni plurima scorta teneret,_  
_Ni pubem Phœbi, quæso quid esset ibi?_  

_Had Witeberg no swine, if no whores were,_  
_Nor Phœbus traine, I pray you what is there?_  

Whence may be gathered that the Citizens have small trafficke, living only upon the Schollers, and that the streets [I. i. 8.] must needs be filthy. In the study of Doctor Wisine- 

bechius this inscription is in Latine;  

_Here stood the bed in which Luther gently died._

See how much they attribute to Luther, for this is not the place where hee died, neither was there any bed, yet suffer they not the least memory of him to be blotted out. Luther was borne at Iselb in the yere 1483, & certainly died there in the house of Count Mansfield, where after supper the seventeenth of February he fell into his usaul sickenesse, namely the stopping of humors in the Orifice of his belly, and died thereupon at five of the clocke in the morning, the eighteenth of February, in the yeere 1546. the said Count and his Countesse and many other being present, and receiving great comfort from his last exhortations: yet from his sudden death the malitious Jesuits tooke occasion to slander him, as if he died drunken; that by aspersions on his life and death, they might slander the reformation of Religion, which he first began. These men (after their manner) being to conjure an uncleane spirit out of a man in Prage, gave out that he was free from this spirit for the time that Luther died, and that when hee returned, they examined him where hee had beene that time, and the spirit should answere that hee had attended Luther. Phillip Melancthon, borne in the yeere 1497. died 1560. and both these famous men were buried, and have their Monuments in the Dukes Church at Witteberg, which is said to be like that of Hierusalem, and in that both

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of them are round, I will not deny it, but I dare say they differ in this, that Hierusalem Church hath the Chauncell in the middest with Allies to goe round about it, whereas the Chancell of this Church is at the East end of it. The Wittebergers tell many things of Luther which seeme fabulous, & among other things they shew an aspersion of inke, cast by the Divell when he tempted Luther, upon the wall in S. Augustines Colledge. Besides, they shew a house wherein Doctor Faustus a famous conjurer dwelt. They say that this Doctor lived there about the yeere 1500. and had a tree all blasted and burnt in the adjoyning Wood, where hee practised his Magick Art, and that hee died, or rather was fetched by the Divell, in a Village neere the Towne. I did see the tree so burnt; but walking at leasure through all the Villages adjoyning, I could never heare any memory of his end. Not farre from the City there is a mountaine called the Mount of Apollo, which then, as of old, abounded with medicinable herbes. In a Village neere the Towne there be yet many tokens that the Emperour Charles the fifth encamped there. I lived at Witteberg the rest of this summer, where I paied a Gulden weekely for my diet and beere, which they account apart, and for my chamber after the rate of tenne Guldens by the yeare. I heare that since all things are dearer; the Schollers using to pay each weeke a Dollor for their diet, and a Dollor for chamber and washing. Hence I tooke my journey to Friburge that I might see the funerall of Christianus the Elector. Three of us hired a Coach all this journey for a Dollor each day, with condition that we should pay for the meat of the horses and of the coach-man, which cost as much more. And this we paied because we had freedome to leave the coach at our pleasure, though we returned with it to Leipzig, to which if we would have tied our selves, we might have had the coach for halfe a Dollor a day. The first day wee went sixe miles to Torge, through sandy fields yeelding corne, and we dined at Belgar a Village, where each man paied five grosh for
COMMENTS UPON TORGAU

his dinner, and by the way they shewed us a Village called Itzan, where Luther made his first Sermons of reformation.

Torge is a faire City of Misen, of a round forme, falling each way from a mountaine, and seated on the West side of Elve. It hath a stately Castle belonging to the Elector Duke of Saxony, who is Lord of Leipzig, Wittenberg, and all the Cities we shall passe in this Journey. This Castle is washed with the River Elve, and was built by John Fredricke Elector, in the yeere 1535. It hath a winding way or plaine staire, by which a horse may easily goe to the top of the Castle, the passage being so plaine as the ascent can scarcely be discerned. The Hall, Chambers and Galleries of this Castle, are very faire and beautifull, and adorned with artificiall pictures, among which one of a boy presenting flowers, is fairer then the rest. Also there is a picture on the wall, of one Laurence Weydenberg a Sweitzer, made in the twentieth yeere of his age, in the yeere 1531, shewing that he was nine foot high. In the Church there is a Monument of Katherine a Nunne, which died 1552. and was wife unto Luther. The Village Milburg is within a mile of this City in the way to Dresden, where the Elector Fredericke was taken prisoner by Charles the fifth, in the Protestants warre. The lake neere the City is a mile in circuit, for the fishing whereof, the Citizens pay 500. guldens yeerely to the Elector of Saxony, and they fish it once in three yeeres, and sell the fish for some 5000. guldens. The beere of Torge is much esteemed through all Misen, whereof they sell such quantity abroad, as ten water-mils besides wind-mils, scarcely serve the towne for this purpose.

From Torge we went six miles to Misen in our Coach hired as aforesaid, and we dined each man for five grosh in the village Starres, and wee passed through goodly corne hils, and faire woods of firre and birch. The City Misen is round in forme, and almost all the houses are built on the falling sides of Mountaines, which compassing all the City, open towards the East, where Elve runneth by. Duke Fredericke surnamed The wise, and Duke
George, surnamed papistical, are buried in the Cathedrall Church. Here I paid six grosh every meale. The City is subject to the Duke of Saxony, having the same name with the whole Countrey in which it lieth. Hence wee went three miles to Dresden in a Coach hired as aforesaid, and passed through sandy and stony Hills, some fruitfull vallies of corne, and two Woods of firre, whereof there bee many neere Dresden, whither being come, I paiied sixe grosh for my dinner.

This City of Dresden is very faire and strongly fortified, in which the Elector of Saxony keepes his Court, having beene forty yeeres past onely a village. When the first stone of the wals was laid, there were hidden a silver cup guilded, a Booke of the Lawes, another of the coynes, and three glasses filled with wine, the Ceremonies being performed with all kind of Musick and solemnity. The like Ceremony was used when they laid the first stone of the stable. The City is of a round forme, seated in a Plaine, running betweene two Mountaines, but somewhat distant, and the houses are faire, built of free stone, foure or five roofes high, whereof the highest roofe, after the Italian fashion, is little raised in steepnesse, so that the tops of the houses appeare not over the walles, excepting the Electors Castle built betwixt the North and West side, and the Church Tower built betweene the West and East side. In this Tower the watchmen dwell, who in the day time give notice by Flags hung out, what number of foot or horse are comming towards the Towne. To which Tower they ascend by two hundred seventy staires, and in the top two Demiculverins are planted. Wee entred on the East side through old Dresden, being walled about, and so passed the Elve, compassing the walles of new Dresden on the East side by a Bridge of stone having seventeene arches, under which halfe the ground is not covered with water, except it be with a floud. Upon the Bridge we passed three gates, and at the end entred the City by the fourth; where the garrison Souldiers write the names of those that come in, and lead
COMMENTS UPON DRESDEN

A.D. 1591.

The city gates.

The Elector's stable.

them to the Innes, where the Hostes againe take their names. The City hath but two little Suburbs. The Citizens were then as busie as Bees in fortifying the City, which the Elector then made very strong. The ground riseth on all sides towards the Towne, and the new City hath four Gates; Welsh-thore, Siegeld-thore, New-thore, and Salomons-thore: and is compassed with two walles, betwene which round about there is a garden, from which men may ascend or descend to it at each Gate. Over the outward wall there is a covered or close Gallery, private to the Elector, who therein may compasse the Towne unseen. Hee hath used the best wits of Germany and Italy in this fortification, wherein he hath spared no cost. The walles are high and broad of earth, whose foundation is of stone, and they are on all sides furnished with great Artillery, yea in that time of peace the streets were shut with iron chaines, at eating times, and all night.

The Electors stable is by much the fairest that ever I saw, which I will briefly describe. In the first Court there is a Horse-bath, into which they may bring as much or little water as they list, and it hath 22. pillars, in each whereof divers Armes of the Duke are graven, according to the divers families whose Armes he gives. The same Court serves for a Tilting-yard, and all exercises of Horse-manship: and there is also the Horse-leaches shop, so well furnished as if it belonged to a rich Apothecary. The building of the stable is four square, but the side towards the Dukes Palace is all taken up with two gates and a little Court yard, which takes up halfe this side, and round about the same are little cubboords peculiar to the horsemen, in which they dispose all the furniture fit for riding. The other three sides of the quadrangle, contained some 136. chosse and rare Horses, having onely two other gates leading into the Cities market place, opposite to those gates towards the Court. These horses are all of forraine Countries, for there is another stable for Dutch horses, and among these chiefe horses, one named Michael Schatz (that is Michaell the Treasure)
was said to be of wonderfull swiftnesse: before each horses nose was a glasse window, with a curtaine of greene cloth to be drawne at pleasure; each horse was covered with a red mantle, the racke was of iron, the manger of copper: at the buttocke of each horse was a pillar of wood which had a brasen shield, where by the turning of a pipe he was watered; and in this piller was a cubboord to lay up the horses combe and like necessaries, and above the backe of each horse hung his bridle and saddle, so as the horses might as it were in a moment be furnished. Above this stable is a gallery on one side, adorned with the statuaes of horses & their riders, with their complete Armours fifty in number, besides many Armours lying by the wals. On the other side is a gallery having forty like statuaes, & thirty six sledges which they use in Misen, not only to journey in time of snow, but also for festivall pompes. For in those Cities, especially at Shrove-tide, and when much snow falleth, they use to sit upon sledges drawne with a horse furnished with many bels, at the foote of which sledge they many times place their Mistresses, and if in running or sudden turning, the rider or his Mistresse slip, or take a fall, it is held a great disgrace to the rider. Some of these sledges are very sumptuous, as of unpurified silver as it comes from the Mines, others are fairely covered with velvet and like stuffes. Above the forepart of the stable towards the market place, are the chambers wherein the Elector feasts with Ambassadours. In the window of the first chamber or stove, being a bay window towards the street, is a round table of marble, with many inscriptions perswading temperance, such as are these,

Aut nulla Ebrietas, aut tanta sit ut tibi curas
Demat ——
Be not drunken in youth or age,
Or no more then may cares asswadge.

Againe, Plures crapula quam ensis.
Gluttony kils more then the sword.
COMMENTS UPON DRESDEN

Yet I dare say, that notwithstanding all these good precepts, few or none ever rose (or rather were not carried as unable to goe) from that table. Twelve little marble chaires belong to this table, and the pavement of the roome is marble, and close by the table there is a Rocke curiously carved with images of fishes and creeping things. This Rocke putteth forth many sharpe pinacles of stone, upon which the vessels of gold and silver are set forth at the feasts, and when the drinking is at hottest, the statua of a horseman by worke of great Art, comes out of the Rocke, and presents each stranger with a huge boule of wine, which he must drinke off for his welcome, without expecting that any should pledg him. In the next chamber belonging to this stove, is a bedstead of marble, and both have hangings of gold lether. There is another chamber and another stove like these, and above them in the uppermost loft, there be many little roomes, whereof one is furnished with speares, another with saddles (& among them I remember one which in the pummell bore a gilded head, with eyes continually moving, & in the hinder part had a clocke) the rest are furnished with swords, shields, helmets, and fethers. Among the swords, every Prince hath his owne, which the successours use not to weare, and there is one belonging to the Elector-ship, when he exerciseth his office as Marshal of the Empire. There was another Sword, having in the hilt two little Pistols. Here I saw laid up an Iron chaine, in which they said, that Duke Henry the Father of Maurice the first Elector of this Family, should have beene hanged in the Low Countries, who escaping, brought the same with him, and laid it up here for memory. After the Funerall of Christianus, returning from Friburg to this Towne, I found onely fifteene of those choice Horses in the stable, all the rest having beene given to Princes comming to the Funerall.

The Dukes Pallace in Dresden was built by Mauricius, part of the City wals and the gates were built by Augustus, who did also lay the foundation of this Stable. But
Christianus the Elector perfected the wals of the City, with the close gallery over them, and built this famous stable; setting this inscription upon the wals in Latine. Christianus Duke of Saxony, Heire to Augustus the Elector of happy memory, and imitator of his vertues, caused this Stable to be built, and the Yard adjoyning to be fitted for Tilting and military exercises: the present age, &c.

The Armory. The Armory at Dresden is no lesse worth the noting, wherein were Armes and all kind of munition for seventy thousand men, but of late it had been somewhat emptied by an expedition into France, undertaken by the Duke at the solicitation of the Count of Turin, Ambassadour for Henry the fourth King of France.

The Duke was at great charge in keeping Garison Souldiers at Dresden, and Officers, as well for the stable as the Armory. In these parts and no where else in Germany, they use boats of a hollow tree, driven not by Oares, but by battledores, whereof I saw many upon the Elve, as likewise water mils swimming upon boates, and removed from place to place, the like whereof was since made at London by a Dutchman, but became unprofitable by the ebbing and flowing of Thames. At Dresden I paid seven grosh a meale.

Friburg. Hence in our Coach hired, as aforesaid, we passed four miles to Friburg, through fruitful Hils and Mountaines of corne, but few or no Woods: and here we paid each man sixe grosh a meale. This City is of a round forme, compassed of all sides with Mountaines, having many Vauts, or Caves under it; by which the Citizens enter and goe out of the City by night, to worke in the silver Mines. Yet hath the City two walles, and two ditches, but altogether dry. It hath five gates, and four Churches, among which Saint Peters Church is the fairest. The Elector hath his Castle in the City: and in the Church (as I remember of Saint Peter) wherein the Dukes use to be buried; Mauricius hath a very faire monument of blacke Marble, raised in three piles, whereof each
COMMENTS UPON FREIBERG

is decked with divers statuaes of white Marble and Alabaster; whereof two belong to Mauricius, the one in posture of praying, the other armed, and receiving a deadly wound. Two Monuments were begun, but not then perfected, for Augustus and Christianus. The territory of Friburg abounds with silver Mines; whereof some are five hundred fadomes deepe, some seven hundred, and some nine hundred; and after each thirty fadomes, the earth is supported with great beames of timber, lest it should fall; and from each of these buildings, winding staires of wood are made, to descend to the bottome.

The Citizens live of these Mines, and grow rich thereby, whereof the Elector hath his proper part, and useth to buy the parts of the Citizens. The worke-men use burning Lampes under the earth both day and night, and use to worke as well by night as by day: and they report, that comming neere the purest veins of silver, they are often troubled with evill spirits. These worke-men goe out to the Mines by night, through the Caves under the City, and being called backe from worke by the sound of a bell, they come in the same way. The water which the worke-men use, springeth in a mountain an arrow shot from the Town, whence falling to a lower mountaine, it is convaied by hollow trees to fall upon the wheeles of the mils, so as a little quantity thereof driveth them. These Mils draw the water up out of the Mines, for the depth of forty fadome, whence it runneth in pipes towards the City. When they try & purify the silver, first with water they wash away the red earth, then they beat the mettall with a hand hammer, and thus broken, they cast it into the fire, which they make in the open ayre, lest the workmen should be stifled with the fume of the brimstone. Then they melt the mettall six times, by a fire made of whole trees, in a little house adjoyning. Then in another house they sever the mettall from the earth with a sive. Then againe they beat the mettall with an hammer driven by a Mill; and thus beaten, they wash it upon three clothes hanging slopewise, and the
purest silver stickes to the uppermost cloth. This done, they melt it againe six times, and the best of the drosse is lead and silver, the rest copper; and this silver and lead being againe melted, the lead falles from the silver like dust. The fier wherein they try this silver is so hot, as it consumeth the bricke Furnaces in three daies. The workemen besides their hier, use to bee rewarded for expedition of the worke. The meanes by which they find silver, are very strange; being by a rod, which vulgarly they call Chassel-wand, or, the Divine Rod, which they carry in their hands, and when they goe over silver, they say the Rod bends or breakes, if it be straightly held: and there were not above seven men in this Citie, which had skill of this mystery. The waies are planted with trees to direct passengers, lest as they goe to the Citie, they should fall into the Mines: for as they report, it hath often happened that the Citizens themselves have perished in this sort; and the like mischance happened lately to five workemen, though skilfull in the waies. These Mines of Friburg were first found in the yeere 1180, yeelding to this day rich veines of silver. There bee other Mines of silver neere these since that time discovered, namely at Scheneberg, found in the yeere 1470, at Anneberg. found 1510, in Joachimus valley, found 1526. For this Elector of Saxony hath many Mines of silver, which lest any should thinke to belong of right to the Emperour, it must bee observed that the Princes Electors have Regall power under the Emperour, granted by priviledge in the Lawes of the golden Bulla, by which they have right to all Mines found in their owne Territories. After I had scene the Elector Christianus his funerall at Friburg, (the ceremonies wherof shall bee described in the proper place,) I returned to Dresden in a Coach hyred as above said, & so from Dresden to Misen; but from Misen I returned not to Torge, but tooke another way to Leipzig, being tenne miles, which we went in one day, foure miles to Owsen, three to Wortsen, where
wee dined, and thence three miles to Leipzig, all through plaine and fruitfull corne fields. I spent this winter at Leipzig, that I might there learne to speake the Dutch toung (the Grammer wherof I had read at Witteberg,) because the Misen speech was held the purest of all other parts in Germany. Heere each Student useth to pay for his diet a Gulden weekly, besides beere, for which every man paires according to his drinking; some lesse, some more, most beyond measure. For the Citizens have no beere in their houses but one kind, which is very small, and buy the better kindes (as that of Torge, which the richer sort usually drinke) from a publike house, where it is sold by small measures, to the profit of the Senate. Besides, the Schollers pay severally for their bed and chamber. My selfe lodged with a rich Citizen, and for diet, bed, and chamber, pained weekly a Dollar and a halfe.

Chap. II. [I. i. 13.]

Of my journey from Leipzig to Prage (in Bohemia) to Nurnberg, Augspurg, Ulm, Lyndaw, Costnetz (in Germany) Schaphusen, Zurech, Baden, and Bazell (in Sweitzerland). Eing to take my journey to Prage, in the end of the yeere 1591, (after the English account, who begin the yeere upon the twenty five of March,) I returned againe to Dresden; from whence I wrote this Letter concerning my journey, to a friend lying at Leipzig.

Honest M. Know that after I parted from you at Torg, by good hap, and beside my expectation, I light upon a Coach going to Dresden, with which good hap, while I was affected, and hasted to hire a place therein, I had forgot to pay for my Coach for the day before. But when we were ready to go, remembiring my errour, and intreating my consorts to stay a while for mee, I ranne
backe to the Inne, as speedily as the Parasite Curculio in Plautus; and finding not the Coachman there, I gave the money to the servant of the house before witnesses, and so returned to the Coach all sweating with hast. There I found that dunghill rascal the Coachman, having my gowne on his backe. I laid hold of the garment, as if I knew it, and hee held it fast, as a pledge for his money. I being inraged that hee should use me so, when I had dealt honestly with him, drew my sword, and making knowne that I had paid the money, bad him lay downe the gowne upon his perill. I had almost drawne a rabble of Coachmen on my back, but they forbore me in this heat, for you know they are not apt to quarrell in the morning; but if I had thus provoked them in the afternoone, being warmed with drinke, sure they would have run upon me, though they had been naked. Will you know the companions of my journey? I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would have said to have been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Calvenists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into al these changes, while the winde blew from one and the same quarter. Is any thing lighter then a woman? and lest the flocke of geese should want matter, sometimes they charged me to be a Calvenist, sometimes a Jew; & I answered merrily, that if any of them were but a Consuls wife, I would satisfie them for my religion. At eight a clocke in the night, the horses being spent, my selfe wearied, and only their tongues untiried, wee came to a Village called Derwaldhan, where wee should lodge. We entered a kind of Barne, my selfe not without sighs. Lipsius should here have had no cause to compleaine of stinking beere, browne bread, and often shaking hands. No man returned salutation to us: the women my companions, drew out victuals they had brought to eat, I being fasting to that
FROM LEIPZIG TO PRAGUE

A.D. 1591.

houre, with great feare and trembling of heart, expected that at least they would give me some raw bacon, or dried puddings. But they thought nothing lesse. At last I desired an egge or two for my supper. The servant answered that the old woman was in bed, and that he knew not the mystery, whether any eggs were in the house or no. If the Comicall Poet Saturio had been here he would have fallen into a sound. To be brief, the women took compassion on me, and I without blushing was content to eat of free cost, and made them know that I was no Jew, for I made no religion to eat what was before mee.

The next morning before the day-starre arose, I was walking in a meadow, what doe you blesse your selfe with a crosse? Sure I am no lesse sleepy then I was, but he is soone apparelled that hath a dogs bed in straw: yet this straw was cleane, which is no small favour, and when I gave the servant a Misen groshe for his paines, he was astonished, as if he had never seen a whole groshe before, so as he forgot to thanke me, onely shewing it to the standers by, as if I had deserved another burthen of fresh straw. The Women, Virgins, Men and Maids, servants, all of us lay in one roome, and my selfe was lodged furthest from the stove, which they did not for any favour, though contrary to their opinion I was glad of it, delighting more in sweet aire, then the smoke of a dunghill. My companions laughed at me for babling dutch in my sleep: surely reason commanding me waking, had not power over me in sleep, to hinder me from revolwing the pleasant passages of the day past. On Saterday the same day I came to Dresden, from whence five passengers were newly gon for Prage in a Coach, but after three daies expectation I have found new consorts, & to morrow being Wednesday, and the eight of March, I begin my journey to Bohemia. While I dispaired of consorts, I was determined to goe in a boat upon the Elve, and had now bought cleane straw, in which I meant to triumph alone, when by good hap, turning
from the river to the Inne, I light upon this commodity of a Coach, which hath freed me from the annoyance of the water and Marriners. Imbrace in my name our common friend G. B. and of my loving hosts family, let not a whelpe goe unsaluted. Farewell honest M. and returne me love for love: from Dresden the seventh of March, 1591.

My selfe and foure consorts hired a Coach for 14. dollers from Dresden to Prage. The first day we went three miles to Gottleben a Village, where we paid five Bohemian groshe, that is sixe white groshe each man for his dinner. Halfe the way was on the West side of the River Elve, in a fertile plaine, then we passed the Elve, and travelled through mountaines, yet fertile, and a boggie wood. After dinner we went two miles, to a Village, where we lodged, through stony mountaines without any wood, and in the mid way there was a woodden pillar, which divided the territory of the Saxon Elector from the kingdome of Bohemia.

The second day we went two miles through stony Mountains, bearing not one tree, to Ansig a little City, where we paid for our breakefast foure Bohemian groshes. The same day we passed three miles in a straight between rocks, lying upon the Elve, & two short miles through fruitfull corn fields, to Wedin lying upon the river Aegra, which runs a little below into the Elve, but was here at this time so deep, by a floud or melting of snow, as our Coach in comming to the bridge of Wedin by the bank side, tooke water. The third day we passed 2 miles to a village called Welber or Welberg, through fruitfull hills of corn, without any wood, & there each man paid 5 Bohemian grosh for his dinner.

In the afternoone wee went three miles, for the most part through fruitfull hills of corne, the rest through Rockes and Mountaines planted with Vines, and so came to Prage, through which the River Molda runneth, but is not navigable. On the West side of Molda is the Emperours Castle, seated on a most high Mountaine, in
COMMENTS UPON PRAGUE

the fall whereof is the Suburbe called Kleinseit, or little side. From this Suburbe to goe into the City, a long stone bridge is to be passed over Molda, which runnes from the South to the North, and divides the suburbe from the City, to which as you goe, on the left side is a little City of the Jewes, compassed with wals, and before your eies towards the East, is the City called new Prage, both which Cities are compassed about with a third, called old Prage. So as Prage consists of three Cities, all compassed with wals, yet is nothing lesse then strong, and except the stinch of the streetes drive backe the Turkes, or they meet them in open field, there is small hope in the fortifications thereof. The streets are filthy, there be divers large market places, the building of some houses is of free stone, but the most part are of timber and clay, and are built with little beauty or Art, the walles being all of whole trees as they come out of the wood, the which with the barke are laid so rudely, as they may on both sides be seen. Molda in the winter useth to be so frozen, as it beareth carts, and the ice thereof being cut in great peeces, is laid up in cellers for the Emperour and Princes to mingle with their wine in summer, which me thinkes can neither be savory, nor healthfull, since neither the heat of the clime, nor the strength of the Bohemian wines (being small and sharpe) require any such cooling. One thing they boast to be proper to that kindome, that the Elve, Aegra, Molda, and all other Rivers watering Bohemia, have their spring heads in the same.

In publike Innes they demand some six Bohemian grosh for a meale, yet doe they not commonly give meales at an ordinary rate, as they doe through all Germany; but what meate you require, that they dresse, and the servant buying all things out of doores (after the manner of Poland) maketh a reckoning of the expences. My selfe had my diet with a Citizen very conveniently for a doller and a halfe weekly. I did here eat English Oysters
A.D. 1591.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

pickeld, and a young Bohemian comming in by chance, and tasting them, but not knowing the price, desired the Merchant to give him a dish at his charge, which contained some twenty Oysters, and finding them very savoury, he called for five dishes one after another, for which the Merchant demanded and had of him five dollars, the dearenesse no lesse displeasing his minde, then the meate had pleased his taste.

As you passe over Molda from the Suburbe Kleinseit, into the City, there is a hand of stone as it were cut off, upon the gate of the City; signifying to strangers, that whosoever drawes a sword there, or upon the bridge, looseth his hand; and the like hand there is to the same purpose, on the Senate house in the towne. The Emperror hath two inclosures walled about, which they call Gardaines, one of which is called Stella, because the trees are planted in the figure of starres, and a little faire house therein is likewise built, with six corners in forme of a starre. And in this place he kept 12. Cammels, an Indian Oxe, yellow, all over rugged, and hairy upon the throate, like a Lyon; and an Indian Calfe, and two Leopards, which were said to be tame, if such wild beasts may be tamed. They were of a yellow colour spotted with blacke, the head partly like a Lyon, partly like a Cat, the tayle like a Cat, the body like a Greyhound, and when the hunts-man went abroad, at call they leaped up behind him, sitting upon the horse like a dog on the hinder parts; being so swift in running, as they would easily kill a Hart. I remember that a gentleman of Hungary walking in the streetes with me, and observing a picture on a wall of a German protecting a Hungarian from a Turke, with this inscription: Not for thy sake, but my owne: tooke this occasion to complaine much of the Emperror, and relate many things wherein his prodigality and other errours had overthrowne Hungary, and had done nothing lesse then ease their afflicted fortunes. In the Church Emaus, this inscription is graven;
COMMENTS UPON PRAGUE

The tenour of King Alexander the Great, his &c.

Wee Alexander the Great of King Phillip the founder of the Grecian Empire, Conquerour of the Persians, Meades, &c And of the whole World, from the East to West, from North to South, sonne of great Jupiter, by &c. so called. To you the noble flocke of the Sclavonians, and to your language, because you have beeene to me helpers, true in faith, and valiant in warre, I confirme all this tract from the North to the South parts of Italy, from me and my successours, to you and your posterity. If any other Nation be found there, let them be your slaves. Dated in our City of Alexandria, newly founded by us upon the great River of Nilus: the twelfth of the Goddesse Minerva: witnesses are Aethra, and the 11. Princes, whom we appoint successours to us dying without heire.

Also there were these verses, shewing by numeral letters the antiquity of Prage University, from the yeere 767. though the Colledges there about ruined, scarce shew any shadow of this University.

HæC sChola qVo fLVIDas anno est erecta sub auras, Ostendit rVbræ LItera picta notæ.
The numerall great letters shew the yeere, This universall Schoole was founded here.

In the Church of the Emperours Castle, these things are to be seene. A faire Chappell named after the Emperours sister, married to the French King, and crowned Queene of the French. Another Chappell belonging to the Barons, called Popelii (the greatest family of the Kingdome, next to the Baron of Rosenberg) which Chappell is proper to them for buriall, and is dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle. In the Emperours Church is a Monument of Rodolphus the second, then living Emperour, built of white marble, and compassed with grates of iron. In the same place lie buried Charles the fourth in the yeere 1378. Wenceslaus in the yeere
1419. Ladislaus in the yeere 1459. Ferdinand the fourth, in the yeere 1564. Maximillian the second, in the yeere 1577. (all being Arch-dukes of Austria, and Emperours) and George Pogiebrachius a Bohemian, and King of Bohemia. To all these is one Monument erected, and that of small beauty: In the same Church is the Monument of a Bishop, who being the Queenes Confessour, was cast into Molda because he would not reveale her confession to her husband Wenceslaus. They doe so reverence the Monument of this Bishop (since made a Saint by the Pope) as they thinke he shall die with shame, that passeth by it without reverence. In Old Prage towards the South, and upon the East side of Molda, there is an old Pallace, where they shew a trap-doore, by which the Queene was wont to slide downe into a Bath, where shee used to satisfie her unlawfull lust. In the same place is graven the leape of a horse, no lesse wonderfull then Byards fabulous leape. The House of Kelley a famous English Alcumist, was of old a Sanctuary, and built for an order of Friers, upon the gate whereof these verses are written,

Has ædes veterum favor & clementia Regum,  
Omnibus exemptas Legibus esse dedit:  
Audeat ergo jugum nemo his servile minari,  
Quos hic cum Urabsky curat alitque Deus.

This house through old Kings Clemency  
Free from all Lawes no threats respects;  
Dare not fright them with slavery,  
Whom under God Urabsky protects.

In the Senate house the City Armes are painted, being a Castle with three Towers ore; and two Lions argent Langed gules, are the supporters, and these Verses are written upon the Armes;

Qui dedit hæc veteri turrita insignia Pragæ,  
Omina venturae sortis amica dedit.  
Mole sua ut celsæ transcendent moenia Turres,  
Sic famam superas inclita Praga tuam.
Who so these towred Armes to old Prage gave,
Gave lucky signes of future happinesse;
For as the Towers ore top the walles most brave,
So Prage thou doest surpasse thy fame no lesse.

Not farre from Prage they say, that the Crowne of the
Kingdome is laid up, in Karlsteine Castle. At Prage in
Bethlem Church, they shew a Pulpit in which John Hus
used to preach at the first reformation of Religion. I
lived at Prage some two moneths, and being to depart
from thence, I would have gone to Vienna (the famous
Fort against the Turkes) but my desire to see Nurnberg
and Augspurg so prevailed, as I left that journey, which
by chance happened better then I imagined, for being
called backe into the Low Countries (as heereafter I shall
relate), I passed thence through Poland into Italy, because
France was shut up by the civill warres, and I ever
shunned to goe twice one way, and so had the opportunitie
(more fit then the former) to see Vienna. Now for there
sakes who may passe from Prage to Vienna, give mee
leave to remember, that in this way their is a Village
called Chassel, some nine miles from Prage, where the
famous Captaine of the Bohemians, called Ziska, lies
buried, who did lead the Hussites valiantly, and being
ready to die, wished them to make a Drumme of his
skinne, ominating that the sound thereof would bee so
terrible to the enemies, as they would runne away, (such
confidence had he in Armes, as being dead he thought to
terrifie his enemies.)

In the beginning of the yeere, 1592. I tooke my
journey from Prage to Nurnberg, being sixe daies
journey. The first day after dinner, we went four miles,
partly through rocky Mountaines, partly through a
fruitfull corne plaine, and lodged at Berawn, where a loafe
of bread, worth two third parts of a Creitzer, was as big
as a threepenny loafe in England; by reason of the
abundance of corne in that Country. And heere each
man paid for his supper fourteene Creitzers. This Citie

Bread Good
Cheape.
belongs to the family of the Poples. The second day wee went foure miles to Zudermont, all through Mountains and Groves, and two great Woods, yet reasonably fruitfull in Corne, and by the way we saw the City Bodly, and the City Spil, the fairest of that Kingdome next to Prage, both belonging to the Emperour, and two Castles, belonging to the Barons Poples and heere each man dined for sixteene Creitzers. After dinner we went two miles to Pilsen, halfe the way through Woods, where is a little City Ruchtsan, and halfe through Hills and Plaines fruitfull in Corne, (almost the whole Countrey of Bohemia being hilly, and rich ground for Pasture and Corne) and here we supped each man for twenty three Creitzers.

The third day wee went three miles to Kladen, through pleasant Hills of Groves, pasture and corne, where each man dined for eighteene Creitzers. After dinner we went three miles to Frawenberg, through high Mountains and great Woods, having no great store of corne; in all which territory, the Cities and Villages acknowledge the Emperour for their supreme Lord, as he is King of Bohemia. For this Kingdome is not divided (as others be) into Provinces and Countries, but into Noble-mens Territories. Here we paid each man eight Creitzers for our supper, and twelve for wine.

The fourth day wee went a mile and a halfe to a little river, dividing Bohemia, or Boemerland from Germany, through rocky Mountains, and many Woods of tall Fir trees, fit to make Masts for Ships. Then wee entred a Countrey belonging to the Elector Palatine of the Rheine, which Elector is called vulgarly the Phaltz-grave, and we came within halfe a mile to Weithawsen, where each man dined for eighteene Creitzers. After dinner we went two miles in the Phaltzgraves Countrey, through woody Mountains, and one mile in the Landgrave of Leytenberg his Countrey, through fruitfull corne fields, and lodged at Shonhutton, where each man paid six Creitzers for his supper, and thirteene for wine. For in these parts they drinke no beere (as before) but wine, and that at
a lower price, then other where, whether it bee native or forraine: yet no man must wonder that wee spent more in wine then meat, all my consorts being Dutch-men. The fifth day wee went in the Phaltzgraves Countrey, foure miles to Amberg: through fruitfull Hils of corne, and some few Woods, and this City belongs to the Phaltzgrave, being seated in the upper Palatinate. After dinner we went in the Marquesse of Anspach his Country, (who is also called the Burgrave of Nurnberg) two miles to Hous-coate, a Village, where each man paid six Batzen for his supper. The sixt day we went three miles, passing by Erspruck, a Citie subject to the Nurnberger, and many villages belonging to divers Lords, and a fort in the mid way called Schwang, belonging to seventy two Lords, and being then by course in the Phaltzgraves keeping; for all these Lords keepe the same by course for three yeeres. The first and greater part of the way, was through fruitfull Hils of corne, the rest through sandy pastures, and a Wood of a miles length. Wee dined at a poore Village, each man for six Batzen. After dinner we went two miles to Nurnberg, through sandy corne fields, and passed by many houses and gardens of the Citizens, whether they use to come out of the City, sometimes to recreate themselves. The Wood which we passed in the morning, lay on our left hand towards the South; as wee entred the Citie on the east side, and not farre from the City, turneth it selfe and runneth farther towards the South.

The City of Nurnberg, seated in a barren sandy ground, yet is very rich by the Citizens industry. For as commonly few be rich in a fertile Countrey, (either because having enough for food, they are given to idlenesse, or because abundance makes them prodigall,) so the Nurnberger planted in a barren soyle, by their subtile inventions of Manuall workes, and cunning Art, draw the riches of all Countries to them. The River Bengetts runnes by the Citie, but is not Navigable, nor beareth any the least boats. This River runnes from the East
(where wee entred the Towne) towards the gate Lauff-thore, and so compasseth the suburbs towards the South, where dividing into two beds, it entreth the City, and comming out againe at the West, washeth the Citie walles. On the East side, the Margraves of Brandeburg, besieged the City, at the command of Charles the fifth; therefore on this, and the South side, besides a dry ditch, and two stone walles compassing the whole City, divers Bulwarkes are built upon the wall. On all sides as you come up to the City, the earth riseth, and almost at every gate there is a long suburbe. Upon the walles there be many Towers, distant one from the other some 1000 ordinary walking paces, and the whole circuit of the City is lesse then a German mile. Among the said Towers, three are stronger then the rest, and furnished with Artillery. The first is on the East side neere the gate Lauff-thore. The second is on the South side, under the gate Fraw-thore, (and on the same side is the gate Spittle-thore.) The third is on the North side under the gate New-thore, (and on the same side is another gate called Burk-thore.) There is a Castle called Burk, which by Nero the Emperour, was of his name called Noricum Castrum. It is certaine, that this Castle stood in the time of Charles the Great; and the City being of it selfe not ancient, is thought to have had his name of this Castles old Latine name. On the West side is the gate Haller-thore, so called of him that caused it to be built; where is a pleasant walke, thicke shadowed with trees, where the Citizens use to walke for pleasure.

The City is absolute of it selfe, being one of the free Cities of the Empire, and mee thinks the chief, or at least second to Augsburg: surely it may perhaps yield to Augsburg in treasure and riches of the City, but it must be preferred for the building, which is all of free stone sixe or seven roofes high: I speake of the whole City of Augsburg, for one street thereof is most beautifull, and some Pallaces there are fit for Princes, of which kind Nurnberg hath none. The Tower which I said was
of old called Noricum Castrum, hangs over the City, which being seated in a plaine, hath no mounts neere it, and is of a round forme. The said Tower is compassed with a drie ditch very deepe, upon the wall whereof they shew a Spaniards blood there sprinkled, who undertooke to betray the Castle to Charles the fifth: as also the print of a Horses feete in memory of a wonderfull leape from the Castle side to the other side of the bridge. The Senate House lies under the side of this Castle or Tower, as it were under the shield of Ajax, and under the same house and under the earth be the publike prisons. The Armory is built on the South side of the Towne, and is opened to no man without consent of the Senate, (which in all other Cities of Germany is readily shewed to strangers.) And in that Armory by the Citizens report they have 400. great pecces of Artillery, with great store of all Munitions. The City hath also a Granary, which is so large, as divers yeeres provision for corne may be laid up therein. It hath ten Churches, whereof onely foure are used for prayers and preaching; and in one of them lies buried Zebalemus King of Denmarke, who first converted the City to Christian Religion. Neere the Church of Saint Laurence is the golden fountaine, so called of the beauty and magnificence, and it distils water out of twenty leaden pipes. Neere the Church called Frawenkirk, is another faire Fountaine guilded over, and compassed with an iron grate. It is unlawful to walke in the night without a torch, or a candle and lanthorne. In the Innes they give no beere at the table, but divers kinds of wine, and a large diet, if not delicate: for which every man paieth sixe batzen a meale, and besides for his chamber or lodging (which he may have private to him-selfe) three creitzers by the day. In the Almes-houses, out of gifts by the last testament of those that die, they maintaine great numbers of poore people, and in one of them twelve old men apart, and in another twelve old men, and as many old weomen.

Whilst I lived at Prage, and one night had set up very [I. i. 19.]
late drinking at a feast, early in the morning the Sunne
beames glancing on my face, as I lay in bed, I dreamed
that a shadow passing by, told me that my father was
dead; at which awaking all in a sweat, and affected with
this dreame, I rose and wrote the day and houre, and all
circumstances thereof in a paper booke, which Booke with
many other things I put into a barrel, and sent it from
Prage to Stode, thence to be conveyed into England. And
now being at Nurnberg, a Merchant of a noble family,
well acquainted with me and my friends, arrived there,
who told me that my Father died some two moneths past,
I list not write any lies, but that which I write is as true
as strange. When I returned into England some foure
yeeres after, I would not open the barrell I sent from
Prage, nor looke on the paper Booke in which I had
written this dreame, till I had called my sisters and some
friends to be witnesses, where my selfe and they were
astonished to see my written dreame answere the very day
of my Fathers death.

I may lawfully sweare, that which my kinsmen have
heard witnessed by my brother Henry whilst he lived,
that in my youth at Cambridge I had the like dreame of
my Mothers death, where my brother Henry lying with
me, early in the morning I dreamed that my mother
passed by with a sad countenance, and told me that shee
could not come to my commencement; I being within
five moneths to proceed Master of Arts, and shee having
promised at that time to come to Cambridge: And when
I related this dreame to my brother, both of us awaking
together in a sweat, he protested to me that he had
dreamed the very same, and when wee had not the least
knowledge of our Mothers sickenesse, neither in our
youthfull affections were any whit affected with the
strangenesse of this dreame, yet the next Carrier brought
us word of our mothers death.

Being (as I have said) certified of my Fathers death at
Nurnberg, and thinking not fit to goe on my journey
into Italy, and yet being loath to returne into England,
COMMENTS UPON NURNBERG

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before I had finished my purposed voyage, I tooke the middle counsell, to returne into the Low Countries, that in those neere places I might dispose of my small patrimony (for in England gentlemen give their younger sonnes lesse, then in forraine parts they give to their bastards) and so might leave the same in the hands of some trusty friend. Yet lest I should loose the opportu-

nity of seeing Augsburg, meaning to returne some other way into Italy, I resolved to goe from hence to Augsburg, and then to crosse over the West parts of Germany, and so to passe along the River Rhein into the Low Countries.

To Augsburg (being two dayes journey and a halfe) I hired of the City Carrier (in whose company I went) an Horse for two Dollors, as I remember. The Merchants of Nurnberg and Augsburg, give pensions to eight of these Carriers, daily passing betweene those Cities, besides the profit they make of letters, and other things they carry by horse. The first day after breake-fast, we rode one mile in a thicke wood, and another mile through sandy corne fields, somewhat wooddy, both in the territory of the Nurnbergers, and foure miles more in the territory of the Margrave of Anspach, to Blinfield, where each man paid for his supper and horse meat sixe batzen. The second day we rode foure miles to Monheime through a wood of Juniper, full of blacke berries and barberies, at the end whereof was a free City called Wassenberge, and after through fruitfull hils and valleies of corne, all the territory, excepting the free City, belonging to the Marshall of the Emperour (not of the Empire): when we came almost to our journeies end, the Carrier had a guide given him, according to custome, for theeves using to lie by that way. Monheime belongs to the Phaltz-
grave of Newburg, being of the family of the Phaltz-
graves of Rhein, and there we paid each man for his dinner and horse-meat thirty foure creitzers, which make eight batzen and a halfe, and there we tasted Juniper wine, which I never remember to have tasted else where. After
dinner we rode two miles and a halfe through fruitfull hils of corne, and a small wood of Okes (though all the woods of upper Germany be commonly of firre, bearing greene leaves all winter, as those of inferiour Germany towards Denmarke, be all of Okes.) By the way we passed a Monastery granted to the Phaltzgrave of Rhein by the Emperour, and a free City of the Empire, called Donaward, of the two Rivers Danow & Werd, meeting there, and there we passed by bridge the Danow, running by the City. Then wee rode to Weschendorff two miles and a halfe more, through fruitfull fields of corne & pastures, the Country belonging to the Fugares (Citizens of Augsburg) & to divers other Lords. The Castle of this place belongs to the said Fugares, who are rich & famous for their treasure; & though they have prinсely revenues, & the title of barons, yet stil are merchants: here each man paid for his supper & hors-meat 8. batzen & a half.

The third day in the morning we rode three miles to Augsburg, through a fruitfull plaine of corne; without the wals whereof on the East and North, and some part of the South sides, the fields are drowned with waters, and men passe to the Citie by causies, for on these sides the ground lieth low: but on the west side is all the beauty of the City, where the houses are seated upon a hill, and ther is a place for the Merchants to meet, called the Berle, and likewise the Senate house in the street Weingasse, so called of the Wine cellars. There also be many Pallaces stately built, of the Fugares and other Citizens: all the building is of free stone sixe or seven roofes high; but in other parts it is more poorely built of timber and clay. On this West part of the City is the Gate called Kuknerthore, and the ditches are dry, as they be round about the City; the wals are of stone, which being on all other sides narrow, are on this side broad: for upon the wals of this side there be little houses built for five hundred Garrison Souldiers to dwell in, with their wives and families: which place is vulgarly called Die
schwang. Here the Souldiers keep watch each three daies by turne, & each of them have for pay six guldens by the moneth, and there is a market place, whether the Souldiers upon any difference use to challenge each other. On this West side is another gate vulgarly called Der Einlasse, by which passengers are received into the City by night, when the gates are shut; and this their entrance is so curiously admitted, as many strangers desirous to see the fashion, suffer themselves of purpose to be locked out at night, and willingly give a reward to the souldiers letting them in: when they receive in those that are shut out, divers gates are opened; and no man being seen to open them, are presently shut on the back of them that come in: then they being thus shut as it were in a prison, a box is put downe to them in which they cast a reward; which done, the Watch-men out of windowes behold each man that is to enter, and so being safe from all treason, let them passe by the last gate into the City. On the South side there be two gates, Roathore and Smitbogenthore; on the East side the gate Jacoberthore, and a little gate called Holeblatten-thorelin. On the East side the River Werda & the Brooke Lecca running towards the North in three armes, divide the City, and the Suburbs on that side are more strongly fortified than other where. The City joyned with the Suburbs is of a round forme; and in the Suburbs on this side, the Fugares have built many houses to be let for a gulden yeerely to the poore that are Papists. On the North side the wals are higher built, and the ditches are deepe filled with water, and there be foure other gates: this side of the City lying lowest, the fields without are (as I said) all drowned with water. Here each man paid for each meale six or seven Batzen: I paid for two meales and my horse meat twenty three Batzen. This City hath a very faire conduit called the Stately Workmanship, vulgarly Statlich Kunst, and the fountaine of the water is ten miles from the City. There be ten very faire Churches. In the Cathedrall Church it is written in golden
letters, that the bowels of Otho the Emperour are buried there. Also there is a curious picture of Christ praying in the garden, whilst his Disciples slept; and upon a very faire Clocke are three statuaes of the three Kings of Colen, (so they call the Wise Men of the East) and these carried about by a circle of iron, worship Christ when the Clocke strikes. In the Senate House (where the imperiall Parliaments vulgarly called Reichs-tagen have often beeene held) I found nothing to answere the magnificence of this City; onely on the gates this is written: Wise men build upon the Rocke, Fooles upon the Sand: (for I said this part of the City on the West side was built upon a stony hill.) In the Jesuites Church the Altar is of silver gilded over, and another Altar of Christs Nativity is curiously painted like the barks of trees. Augsburg (called of the Vandals, for distinction from Augsburg Rauracorum in Sweitzerland,) is divided from the Vandals by the Brooke Lycus, and being of old a City of Rhetia, now is reckoned the metropolitane City of Suevia, vulgarly Schwaben, & is said to have beeene built by the sonne of Japhet, sixe hundred yeeres before Rome was buit. Of old they had a yeerely feast to Ceres, and now upon the same day they have a Faire: and for the fruitfulnesse of the soyle, the City gives a sheave of corne for their Armes. This City was utterly destroyed by Attila, King of the Hunnes, and when he was dead, was rebuilt againe. It is a free Citie of the Empire, (which are vulgarly called Reichs-statt,) and as other free Cities, it is governed by Senators. There bee many Almes houses for the poore, and one, wherein foure hundreth are nourished, by rents of land and houses, given to that house of old by good men. The Citie is seated upon the Northern mouth of the Alpes, in a fruitfull plaine of corne and pastures, and Hils full of game for hunting, and it may bee gathered how populous it is, by that a German Author writes, that in a yeere when no plague raigned, 1705 were baptized, and 1227 buried. Being constant in my purpose taken at Nurnberg, to
COMMENTS UPON ULM

A.D. 1592.

go from Auspurge, to the West parts of Germany, and so into the Low-countries; yet I wil remember the Reader, that he shall finde the journey from Augsburg to Venice, described in my voyage from Stode to Venice, and thence to Hierusalem. From Augspurg I rode to Ulme, and thence to Lindawe, and all the way hired my horse for sixe or seven Batzen a day, paying for the daies in which my horse returned, and hyring footmen to bring them backe, and bearing their charges. The first day I rode foure miles thorow the territory of the Fugars, and the Bishop of Tilleng, and one mile in the territory of the Arch-Duke of Austria, of the house of Inspruch, in a mountainous Countrey full of Woods, of Juniper, Ashes, Oakes, and Beaches, to Burg; where each man paid for his dinner and horsemeat, eight Batzen.

In the afternoone I rode foure miles to Ulme, through a fruitfull plaine of corne. Entring the City, we passed by a Bridge, the River Danow, which (though running in a plaine) yet hath a most violent course, so as boats carried downe the streame, use to be sold at the place where they land, it being very difficult to bring them backe again; yet some Barkes of burthen are sometimes drawne backe, by the force of horses. My selfe have seene tenne horses drawing one Barke, but they use a greater number, according to occasion, some thirty or more, as they report; and he that rides on the horse neerest the Barke, is called Wage-halse, that is, Necke venturer, because hee and the horse are often drawn under the water, till the other horses draw them out again. This River hath foure great water fals, whereof the greatest is at Struddle, eightenee miles from Vienna, which is hardly to be passed, except it be in a floud. And the multitude of Bridges are very dangerous for boats, by reason of the violent streame, and especially because the Marriners are many times drunken, or negligent. They use for a charme, to sprinkle their drawing horses with water, and use with continuall loud cries to make them draw. This Navigation is very necessary that the
lower Oestreich, being fertill, may supply the upper being barren, with wine and corne. Munster writeth of two fals of this River, one below Lintz, where the waters make a terrible noyse, beating upon the rocky bed, the other at Gryn, where the water makes a dangerous whirle-poole of unsearchable depth. Ulme is seated in Schwaben or Suevia, as Augspurge is, and hath his name of Elm-trees. Charles the Great built a Monastery in this Village, which in time grew to a City, and under the Emperour Fredrick the third, bought their freedome of the Monkes. The building thereof is of wood and clay. The order of Knights called in Latine, Teutonicus, was in old time of great power, and hath yet a house in this Citie. It hath one stately Church, in the Yard whereof the Mount Olivet is curiously ingraven. It hath a faire Senate house, and the Armory hath such store of Ordinance and all Munitions, as it yeeldeth not therein to the proudest City in Germany. The writing Tables, made in this City, are famous for their goodnesse, and are thence carried into forraine parts. The diet of the Innes of this City (seated in a most fertill soyle) is very plentifull, both in meats and banquets, where each man paied for his dinner, seven Batzen. In this Country they drinke nothing but wine, (as they doe in all upper Germany,) but it is sharpe, and the Masse or measure is sold for three Batzen. When wee were at dinner, a Tumbler came in, and being admitted to shew his cunning, hee stood upon his head and dranke a measure of wine, which seemed strange to the beholders.

After dinner, we rode a mile in a pleasant valley upon the Danow, which wee passed, and rode two miles further in the like fertill plaine, which is very large, and by all men much commended for the fruitfull pastures thereof. And so wee came to Baltring, subject to a little free Citie called Bubery, and here each man paied five Batzen for dinner, and three for horse-meat. Next morning, after a miles riding, we came to the City Bubery and rode two miles further to Waldshut, through woody Mountaines,
and corne vallies, which were so boggey, as many times wee had almost stuck fast. The Countrey belongs to the Arch-Duke, of the family of Inspruck; and heere wee paied each man nine Batzen for dinner and horsemeat. After dinner wee rode two miles through a woody Country, to Ravensburg, a free Citie, seated betweene the Mountaines, whereof one hangeth over it, and the River Ach runneth by it, in a narrow bed; so as the waters falling from the Mountaines very swiftly, doe many times overflow, to the great damage of the Countrey; and from the Mountaines many woorden pipes convey water to the City. In these parts bee many Almes houses, for those that are infected with Leprosie, who may not come neere the Passengers, but doe beg of them a farre off, with the sound of a woodden clapper. Heere each man paid for his supper and horse-meat, twelve Batzen and a halfe.

The first day of May, we rode three miles, one through a Wood, the rest through a plaine of corne and inclosed pastures, and Hils planted with Vines, to the City Lindaw. By the way we saw the house of Count Montfort, and passed the River Arba by a Bridge, which doth often overflow the plaine, doing great hurt; and there wee paid halfe a Creitzer tribute to the said Count, for each man. We were now come out of Suevia, and had rode two miles in Algoia, and on the left hand towards the South, we discovered the mouth of the Alpes, which in this place is called Spliego.

Lindaw is a free City of the Empire, which freedome it bought in the yeere 1166, and it is almost an Iland, seated in the lake called Acronius (vulgarly Bodensea) being joyned to the continent by a Bridge of stone on the North-east side, where it hath onely one gate, called Burg-thore, by which wee entred. On this side, the fields are very pleasant, and planted with Vines, and neere the Bridge there is a Rampier, so old, as they say, it was erected by the Heathen, before any Christians were. Hence the City lies in length towards the South West: partly on the West, and altogether on the South side lies the lake
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Bodensea, that is, upper sea, close by the houses of the Citizens, where they descend by staires to take water. Beyond the lake are most high Mountaines, which were then covered with snow, and at the foot of the highest Mountaines, there is a Tower, which they report to be built by Hannibal, neere which is the place, famous by the defeat of Hasdrubal. On this side the City, they shew a stone, whence they say, the Saint called Aurelia, passed the lake (woe to them that beleive) at one step. The River Bregts falleth most violently from the said Mountaines, whence also the Rheine descendeth in a narrow bed, and may bee passed with horse and foot when it overfloweth not. Both these runne into the Lake, and the Rheine, till it come out of the Lake againe, loseth the name. There is but one Church in the City, besides a ruined Monastery. The Citizens draw their water to seethe their meat, and mingle it with wine; not out of the Lake, but from Wels. Three Consuls chosen for life, and twenty Senators governe the City. Beyond the Lake in the Territorie of the Arch Dukes of Austria, is a bath of great vertue, and a Monastery built by Otho the second, with great priviledges, upon a vow hee made, being in great danger, when he passed the Lake, and there murtherers have a sanctuary. There is much salt made in the City, and carried thence to other parts. Heere I paied each meale six Batzen. They drinke altogether wine, whereof the measure of the old is given for eleven Creitzers, the new for nine, of which measures twentie make some twenty two English beere quarts. By ill fortune I was here forced to exhibite a Petition to the Consuls, both in the Dutch and Latine tongues, the event whereof I will set downe after the Petition. The forme whereof in English was this, after the Dutch fashion, ever tedious in their stiles or titles.

Honourable, provident, good, wise, Lords and Consuls; I humbly desire you to respect my cause, as of a stranger far from his friends, and bereaved of his
COMMENTS UPON LINDAU

money by deceit. Thus my case standeth. Being at Nurnberg, and purposing thence to goe to Bazell, there to study, I dealt with a Merchant, that hee would exchange my money thither, retaining onely so much as would plentifully serve mee for my expences thither. There I met with M. B. a Citizen of Lindaw, who told me that the gold Guldens of Rheine were not to be spent in these parts without losse. So as I finding him acknowledged by the Carriers of this City (then being there) and by many Nurnbergers, for the sonne of a Senator in this Towne, was induced to deliver him some gold Guldens, to be paid mee heere in French Crownes, and wee comming in company together to this Towne, when I saw many principall Citizens gratulate his returne, I was induced to deliver him the rest of my gold Guldens, which I had kept for the expence of my journey, upon his promise to exchange them into French Crownes. So as in all hee is to pay mee thirtie two French Crownes wanting six Creitzers, (for twenty seven of which French Crownes, and thirty six Creitzers, I tooke his bill at Nurnberg, but the rest I delivered him here upon his bare word.) Heere I expected his payment eight dayes, and when I was instant with him to put off the payment no longer, he is stoln out of the Towne, and his brothers give me no hope of payment: being not so noble, as to ponder the case rightly, or to have any due feeling of my state. Being in this case, not able without money to goe on my journey, or indure the delayes of a sute in Law against him heere; all my hope is in your just helpe, which failing me, I know not what course to take. Therefore I desire earnestly of your worthinesse, to assist mee, and give expedition to my cause, that I may be delivered by your goodnesse.

My debtor, while he lived in the publike Inne with mee, used mee with all curtesie; but finding himselfe disinherited by his father lately dead, and so despairing of means to pay me, he was now fled to the Monastery
beyond the Lake, being a sanctuary for wicked persons and bankrupts. He that knowes the honesty of the Dutch, will not much marvell that I was thus deceived by a Dutch-man, whom I knew not to be tainted with forraine vices, but it grieved me to be thus scorned by fortune, & it afflicted me beyond measure, that I should bee forced to spend the time (dearer to mee then gold) in following the Law at Lindaw, which I hoped to imploy in my studies at Bazell. Therefore not to bee wanting to my selfe, I hyred a horse, and made this cozenage knowne to the Arch-Dukes officer, desiring him to exclude my debtor from the priviledge of the Monastery. But this Dutch Gentleman, finding mee to speake Latine readily, tooke mee for some Schoole-master; and despised both mee and my cause: so as I returned to the Citie weary and sad, having obtained no favor. But a better starre shined there on mee, for the Consuls that day had determined My Debtors in Court, that my debtors horses should bee sought out, and delivered to mee; and the Lawyers and Clearkes were so courteous to me, as neither they nor any other would take the least reward of mee, though I pressed them to receive it. Then my debtors brother being loth the horses should be carried away, paid me my mony, and I gladly tooke my journey thence towards Bazel. This integrity of the Dutch Magistrates, (which especially in the Cities of the reformed Religion, having found by many testimonies, I cannot sufficiently commend) and curtesie of the Dutch towards strangers, I have thought good in this place thankfully to acknowledge.

Upon the Lake Acronius, vulgarly Boden-sea, that is upper sea, I passed by boate foure miles to Costnetz, and pained for my passage three Batzen. Betweene this upper sea and the lower sea, vulgarly Unden-sea: this Citie Costnetz lyeth on the banke lengthwise, and is subject to Ferdinand of Inspruch, Arch-Duke of Austria, whose base sonne hath also the Bishopricke of that City, which is famous by a Counsell held there, whither John Hus was called, with the Emperours safe conduct, in the yeere
COMMENTS UPON CONSTANCE

A.D. 1592.

Yet was there condemned of Heresie, and burned. On the West side of the Citie, within the walles, in the Monastery called Barfussen Cloyster, is the Tower wherein he was imprisoned; and without the walles on the left hand, as you goe out, is a faire meadow, and therein a stone upon the high-way, to which he was bound, being burnt the same yeere 1414, in the month of July. Where also his fellow Jerom of Prage was burnt in September, the yeere following, both their ashes being cast into the Lake, lest the Bohemians should carry them away. The Senate-house in which this Councell was held, is of no beauty. When the Emperour Charles the fifth, besieged this Citie, it was yeelded to the hands of Ferdinand King of Bohemia, and brother to Charles, who made the Citizens peace for them. Heere each man paid eight Batzen a meale, and for wine betwenee meales, eight creitzers the measure.

Hence I went by boat, two miles to Styga, and paied for my passage two Batzen. We tooke boat at the end of the Lake close by the City; where the Rheine comming againe out of the Lake, and taking his name therein lost, doth runne in an narrow bed; and when wee had gone by water some houre and a halfe, wee entred the lower Lake, called Unden-sea. Neere Costnetz is an Iland called little Meinow, and in this lower lake is another Iland called Reichnow, of the riches, the Monastery thereof having of old so much lands, as the Monkes being sent to Rome, used to lodge every night in their owne possessions. This Iland is said to beare nothing that hath poyson, so as any such beast dieth presently in it: and in the Monastery are some reliques of Saint Marke, for which (as they say) the Venetians have offered much money. Writers report that of old, a Monke thereof climing up a ladder, to looke into a huge vessell of wine, and being overcome with the vapour, fell into the same, with a great bunch of keyes in his hand, and that shortly after this wine was so famous, as Princes and Nobles, and many sickly persons usually sent for the same;
the cause of the goodnes being not knowne to proceed of the putrified flesh, till the vessell being empty, the keyes and the Friers bones were found therein; the Monkes till then thinking that their fellow had secretly gone to some other Monastery of that Order: yet the Dutch in my company reported, that this happened in a Monastery not farre off, called Salmanschwell. By the way was a stately Pallace belonging to the Fugares of Augsburg. On the East side, out of the walles of Styga, lye woody fields, on the West side the Iland Horne; and pleasant Hils full of vines and corne. In this City, the Bishop of Costnetz hath his Pallace, who is Lord of the two Ilands, Meinow, and Reichnow, and hath very large possessions in these parts, mingled with the territories of other Lords. And this City is upon the confines of Germany and Sweitzerland.

Hence I passed by boat two miles to Schaffhausen, and paied for my passage two Batzen. The swiftnes of the Rheine made the miles seeme short, and this river againe loseth his name in the said lower Lake, and when it comes (or rather violently breakes) out of it, then resumes it againe. This City is one of the confederate Cantons of Sweitzerland. Not farre from this City, on the South side in the river Rheine, is a great fall of the waters over a rocke some fifty cubits downeward, passing with huge noyse and ending all in fome. And for this cause the Barkes are forced to unlade here, and to carry their goods by carts to the City, and from the City to imbarke them againe, which yeeldeth great profit to the City, by taxations imposed on the goods, which must necessarily be landed there. On both sides the river, as we came to this City, are pleasant hils planted with vines, & faire pastures with sweet groves. The City is round in forme, and is washed with the Rheine on the South side; and upon the banke of the river within the Towne, is a pleasant greene, where the Citizens meete to exercise the shooting of the Harquebuze and crosse-Bow, where also is a Lynden or Teyle tree, giving so large a shade, as
COMMENTS UPON SCHAFFHAUSEN

upon the top it hath a kind of chamber, boarded on the floor, with windowes on the sides, and a cocke, which being turned, water falls into a vessel through divers pipes, by which it is conveyed thither for washing of glasses and other uses: and heere the Citizens use to drinke and feast together, there being sixe tables for that purpose. On the same South side is a Monastery, with walles and gates like a little City. It hath the name of Schaffe, that is a sheepe, or Schiff, that is a ship, and Hausse, that is a house, as of a fold for sheepe, or roade for shippes. Here I paid for each meale six batzen. For

To the Right Worshipfull Master
Doctor John Ulmer.

I

A Letter to Master
Doctor John Ulmer.

A.D.
1592.

A chamber in
a Linden Tree.

[1. i. 25.]
1592.

A weary traveler.

A.D.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

on the fether bed without sheetes, and so at ease supped on the old fashion with the cloth spread on the bed: you gave me a pleasant companion to guide me the way, who made it seeme shorter with his good discourse, and was very diligent to serve my occasions: next morning early by twilight, we began our journey, having the gates opened for a little reward. You may thinke that I was fresh after my nights rest for a new journey, but I rose early onely to be out of my paine. By nine of the clocke in the morning we came to the faire City Zurech, which seemed fairer to me at the end of my tedious walke: presently I ran into my chamber, and with like importunity as before, obtained my bed to be made: the Mercury you gave to guide me, brought me meat plentifully, and there we dined together; then because he was to returne to Schafhusen that night, I gave him a Gulden for his paines, besides paying his charges, and fiftene Creitzers of free gift. Each of us went to our taske, he (as I thought) to goe, I to sleepe. Since I have begun, I will tell you Historically all circumstances, so you promise me not to reprove him, but rather to salute and thanke him in my name, which if you refuse, I conjure you on all love to read no further. After foure houres behold this honest man, with a garland of roses on his head, a glasse and pot in his hands, and well armed with drinke, entered my chamber; I being halfe asleepe wiped my eies, as if I had seen a vision, till he drinking to me, and importuning me to pledge him, made mee know it was no apparition: we drunke a whole houre together, then in good earnest he went away, and did nothing (to my knowledge) more wisely, then that being drunken, he left his reckoning of forty eight Creitzers to be paid by me, who was sober. Neither Ceres nor Bacchus could for twenty houres draw me from bed, but the next morning I delivered your Letters to Master Doctor S. who used me very curteously, and presented mee with a Booke he had lately printed. So this Comedy is ended, onely I will add the Epilogue. Here at Bazell I can
get for no money the Booke of Semlerus de Repub. Helvetica, which you commended unto me: at last I found it in a friends study, who esteemed it as the apple of his eye, yet I so prevailed with him, as he let me have it, upon my faithfull promise; that because I meant to blot the same with notes, I should procure him a new Booke; wherein if you doe not disingage me by sending the same unto me, I shall forfet the small credit of a stranger. Farewell good Sir, and I pray you let us not suffer this sparke of our love to goe out, but rather with often writing, let us set all the coale on fire. Againe farewell: from Bazell the 24. day of May 1592.

From Schafhusen I tooke my journey on foot (as is above written) and went halfe a mile in the territory of that City, and a mile and a halfe in the territory of the Count of Zultz a Sweitzer, the lands of Zurech lying on the South side from us; and so wee passed through Mountaines yeelding corne, and planted with vines, and through woods, pastures, and a large valley of corne, and in foure houres space (for the miles of Sweitzerland are so long, as they reckon the jorneies of horse or foot by the houres, and not by the miles) came to Eglisaw, and entering the same, passed the River Rheine by a Bridge, where I paide two creitzers for tribute, and there I supped for five Batzen.

The next morning I went two miles on foot in six houres space to Zurech, through a long wood, and hills of corne (which they say are often blasted with haile) and through woody Mountaines, and hills of inclosed pastures, with store of Vines planted neere the City, which is one of the Cantons of Sweitzerland, having on the West side the Lake called Zurechsea, and the Brooke Limachus, having his head eight miles further on the same side, runneth into this lake, and after comming out, divideth the City into two parts, called the greater and the lesse City, having three bridges for passage, the greater whereof the Merchants use for their meetings. The
foresaid Lake is three miles long, and hath on each side pleasant hils planted with Vines. The foresaid Brooke neere the City beareth onely small boates, and is all taken up with water mils, but above towards the is deeper, and below neere Baden runneth into the Rheine. The streetes of Zurech are narrow, and the Houses builded of timber and clay, and the City it selfe is seated upon and betweene hils, which on the East side of the Brooke grow higher from it. On the North-west side is a pleasant Mountaine, and a faire meadow for shooting with gunnes, and other exercises, wherein is a faire Lynden or teyle tree, yeelding large and sweet shadow, where the Citizens meete to recreate themselves, and to feast together. The Armes of the City are a Man and Woman, called Fœlix & Regula: without the City on the South, is the foresaid Lake, and beyond it the Alpes covered with snow. On the West side is a plaine, and the Mountains farre off, but on the North and East sides the Mountains lie neere. The Citizens have a custome that when they goe forth against the enemy, they place the Ministers or Pastors in the front, or where they may partake the danger, and there is a place two miles from the City towards Lucerna, where Zwinglius a famous Preacher and reformer of Religion was killed in the field. Here I paid each meale six batzen.

I rode three miles to Baden in three hours, and so hired my Horse as besides the price of six or seven batzen the day, I paid as much for the daies in which he returned, and also paid the hire and charges of one to bring him backe. Most part of our way was in the territory of Zurech, through hils of corne and vines, and a plaine of inclosed pastures. Entering the City we passed the brooke Limachus by a bridge: the Suburbs are built upon the ascent of a Mountaine, and the City on the top of it, where there is a Castle upon a Rocke, of old very strong, but now ruinated: on the North side descending into a valley by the brooke on the right hand, or upon the East side, within a musket shot lie the Baths,
COMMENTS UPON BADEN
A.D. 1592.

which are famous for medicine, and are in number thirty, seated on each side the Brooke, which divideth them into Bethora the great and the little. In the great, divers Bathes are contained under one rooife of a faire house, and without the gate are two common to the poore. These waters are so strong of brimstone, as the very smoake warmeth them that come neere, and the waters burne those that touch them. Of these one is called the Marques Bath, and is so hot, as it will scald off the haire of a Hogge: many having no disease but that of love, howsoever they faine sickenesse of body, come hither for remedy, and many times find it. Weomen come hither as richly attired as if they came to a marriage: for Men, Weomen, Monkes, and Nunnes, sit all together in the same water, parted with boords, but so as they may mutually speake and touch, and it is a rule here to shun all sadnes, neither is any jealousie admitted for a naked touch. The waters are so cleere as a penny may be seene in the bottome, and because melancholy must be avoided, they recreate themselves with many sports, while they sit in the water; namely at cards, and with casting up and catching little stones, to which purpose they have a little table swimming upon the water, upon which sometimes they doe likewise eate. These Bathes are very good for Weomen that are barren. They are also good for a cold braine, and a stomachke charged with rhume; but are hurtfull for hot and dry complexions, and in that respect they are held better for Weomen then Men. The Innes were wont to pay tribute to the three Cantons, of Baden, Brucke, and Bazell; but now Baden alone makes great profit of them, by the great concourse of sickely persons, and the Parliaments of the Cantons commonly held there. I paid for my diet six Batzen a meale.

From hence I hired a Horse at the same rate as before, and passing through woody Mountaines, came in three houres riding to the City Brucke. By the way I passed the Brooke Russe, which runneth from Lucerna into these
parts, and the boate was drawne by a cable running upon a wheele, by reason of the waters swift course: where I paide for my passage sixe creitzers: and when I came neere Bruck, I passed the Brooke Ara by a bridge, paying one creitzer for tribute; and here I paid five batzen a meale. From hence hiring a horse as before, I rode in two houres space to Hornsea, through steepe Mountaines, and a wood of Oake: by the way lies Kingsfeld, that is Kinglyfield, a Monastery so called, because Widowe Queenes, and Kings, forsaking their Scepters, and inferiour Princes were wont of old to enter into this place for the solitary profession of Religion. In the same Cloyster of old, lived the Friars of Saint Francis order, in the building on the right hand as you come in, and the Nunnes of Saint Clara on the left hand, and both came to the same Chappell, the Friars to the body of the Church, and the Nunnes to close galleries above, looking out and hearing through grates. The Emperour Albertus being killed by his Nephew in the yeere 1380. at Santbacke three miles distant, this Monastery was built for his memory, though his bones were buried at Spire. The revenewes of this monastery grew in time to be yeerly forty thousand Guldens, which are now appropriated to the common treasure of the Sweitzer Cantons. Leopold Duke of Austria lies here buried. Ferdinand of Insprucke, one of the Arch-dukes of Austria, is Lord of Hornesey; all the rest of the territories from Schafhusen to this place, belonging to the Cantons of Sweitzerland: and here I paid sixe batzen a meale. Hence I hired a horse as before, and rode in five houres to Rheinefeld through fruitfull hils of corne, having on all sides woody Mountaines in sight. Here againe I passed the Rheine, and paid two raps for my horse and my selfe; foot-men paying but one. The Rheine passeth by with a violent course, and washeth the Towne on the East side. Here I paid sixe Batzen a meale.

Hence hiring a Horse as before, I rode in two houres space to Bazell, through a faire plaine of corne and pasture,
COMMENTS UPON BASEL

A.D.

lying upon the Rheine, having on all sides woody Mountains in sight, and neere the City were most pleasant fields planted with vines, to the which fields the territory of the said Arch-duke extendeth on the East side of the Rheine. I entered by little Bazell seated in a plaine on the East side of Rheine, and so passed by a bridge of wood into the greater Bazell, seated upon pleasant hills on the West side of Rheine. This City of old was one of the imperiall free Cities, but now is joined to the Cantons of Sweitzerland, and was built in the yeere 382. having the name of a Basiliske, slaine by a Knight covered with cristall, or of the word Pasell, which in Dutch signifies a beaten path, or of the greeke word βασιλις, as a kingly City. The lesse Bazell was of old built by an Arch-duke of Austria, in prejudice of the greater, and after being sold to it for thirty thousand guldens, was incorporated thereunto: The greater hath many caves under the hils, and suffered a great earth-quake in the yeere 1346, at which time the Pallace neere the Cathedrall Church fell into the Rheine, and another Earth-quake in the yeere 1356 wherein 180 persons were killed, all the people flying out of the Towne. Eugenius the Pope held a Councell in this City, the yeere 1431. The Bridge of wood joyning the little and great City, divided by the Rheine, is broad enough for two carts to passe at once; and towards little Bazell six Arches are of stone: but towards great Bazell where the Rheine runneth most swiftly, eight Arches are built of wood, that they may be more easily repaired, and upon any warre from Germany more readily broken downe. This City is of the forme of an half Moone, (I meane the great City, reckoning the lesse for a Suburbe) and being seated upon divers hils on the West side of the Rheine, imbraceth betweene the two horns the lesser City, seated in a plaine on the East side of Rheine. On the West side of the greater, the Emperor Rodulphus of Habspurg besieged the City, and on this side something towards the North, within the walles, is a most pleasant greene for walking,
called Peter platz. In this place is the Armory of the City, and the tribunal of Justice, and some faire houses of private men, and a most pleasant shade of trees, among which is an Oake, whose boughes are in circuit one hundred forty walking paces, and from the root are more then twenty such paces in length forward. And they report that the Emperor Maximilian the second supped under this Oake, and gave 2000. Guldens to keepe and trim it. On the East side of great Bazel, the Rheine runneth by it, from the South to the North, and the yard of the Cathedrall Church lieth over the river, and hath a Lynden tree, which giveth very pleasant shade, having seats under it, and along the river. The course of the Rheine is very swift, but not so violent as that of the Danow; yet the water-men of Bazel (as those that dwel upon the Danow) sell their boats at Strasburg, which they weekly Carrie thither, and cannot bring backe against the streame of the Rheine, and so they returne home on foot, (alwaies remembred that this river is at the broadest betweene Bazel and Strasburg.) Pope Pius the second, founded an Universitie at Bazel, in the yeere 1459, and gave it all the priviledges of Bologna in Italy. In the publike Innes, men pay six Batzen a meale; but the Students have their diet with Doctors and Citizens for some eight Dollers a month. My selfe dieted with the Overseer of the Coledge, and paied two Guldens a weeke; for strangers may hire chambers in the Coledge, and the Overseer willingly admits them to diet with him. In the Cathedrall Church, this is written upon the Sepulcher of Hotoman, a famous Civill Lawyer:

Francisce Hotomani

58
COMMENTS UPON BASEL

Francisce Hotomani
I. C.
Mortales exuvias
Tantisper asservandas
Dum
Christo iubente
Immortales exurgent
Amici.
Sub hoc Saxo
Deposuere.
Loco Honoris ergo
Ab Ædis Curatoribus
Liberal: concessio.
D. 20. Ob: Prid:
Id: Febru. An°.
CICILIOXC.

Of Francis Hotoman
Couns. at Law.
The mortall parts
So long to be kept
Till
Christ bidding
They rise immortall
His friends
Under this stone
have laid
The place for honours sake,
By the governours of the house
Being freely granted.
He lived 63. yeeres five M.
20, daies: he died the day before
The Ides of Febr. in the yeere
CICILIOXC.

Gallia progenuit, servat Basilea sepultum,
Interitus expers nomen, ubique viget.

He borne in France, lies buried here,
His lasting Name lives every where.

In the same place lies Oecolampadius buried, (to whom
Luther opposed himselfe, when in the first reformation
of Religion he violently brake downe the Images,) and
he hath this inscription in Latine:

M. John Oecolampadius by profession a Divine,
most skilfull in three languages: first Author of
the reformed Religion in this City, and the true
Bishop of this Church: excellent in sanctity of
Doctrine and life, is laid under this short stone.
In the yeere of our Lord, M.D.XLII.

In the same place lies buried Erasmus Roterodamus: with this inscription in Latine:

To Desiderius Erasmus, Roterodamus, a most great
man every way, whose incomparable learning in all
kindes of Arts, joyned with like wisedome, ages to come shall admire and celebrate, Boniface Amenbachius, Jerome, Frobenius, Nichol: Bishop, heire and Executors of his last Will and Testament: to their Patron of happy memory, which by his writings he hath got, and so long as the world stands shall retaine: for the reposing of his mortall body, have layed this stone. He died the fourth of the Ides of July, being now seventy yeeres old, in the yeere of our Lord, MDXXXVI.

These two Verses are written upon the Tombe of Lodovicus Pontanus:

Hic jacet arte Plato, Cato, vita, Tullius ore,
Vermes corpus alit, spiritus astra petit.

Here lies Plato, Cato, Tully,
For his Art, life, and eloquence,
Wormes doe feede upon his body,
His soule to heaven is mounted hence.

There be also the Monuments of Henricus Glarianus, and of Bishop Hatto, whom the Emperour Charles the Great, sent Ambassadour to Irene Empresse of the East. In this City a stone is shewed, called the hot stone, vulgarly Heisteine, upon which the Consuls, and divers others were beheaded, who had conspired to betray the Citie, if the clocke striking false had not prevented, and deceived both them and the enemies, lying in ambush without the City, & expecting a signe to be given them at the houre appointed. And for this cause (or as others say, to hasten the Councell held in the Senate house) the clocke to this day strikes one, when it should strike twelve. Neere the staires of the Senate house is an old Statua on foot, armed, but without a sword, bearing a Scepter, clad with a loose gowne, with a birde sitting on the Helmet, and hath this inscription;
COMMENTS UPON BASEL

Hono. & virtuti
L. Munatij. L.F.L.N.L. Pron: Planci
Cos: Imper: & Ter VII viri Eulpomn
Qui triumph: ex Rætis
Edem Saturni F. ex Manub:
Agros divitis in Italia Beneventi.
In Galliam Colonias Ded:
Lugdunum atque Rauracum.

Civitas Basiliensis
Ex bellicosiss: gente Alemannorum
In Raurcorum fines Transducta
Simulachrum hoc ex Senatus Auct:
Dicandum statuendumque
Curavit
Anno salutis Christianæ
CICICLXXX.

Of Lucius Munatius the sonne of Lucius, grand-child of Lucius, great
Grand-child of Lucius, surnamed Plancus;
Being Consul, General, and thrice One of the seven Presidents of the holy Banquets
Who triumphed of the Rhætians.
Built Saturnus Temple with the spoyle,
Divided the Land in Italy at Benevento,
Deduced Colonies into Gaul,
To Lyons, and about Bazel.
The City of Bazel deduced Of the most warlike Nation Of the Alemans;
Into the Territories of the Rauraci (or Basilians,) By authority of the Senate, Procured
This Statua to be consecrated and heere set.
In the yeere of Christ,
CICICLXXX

61
In the house where the Doctors, and other Graduates take their degrees, are the bones of an Anatomy, (for the Magistrates use to grant the bodies of some men executed to serve this use,) and it hath this inscription:

Nostro perempti scele re, aliena vivimus manu,  
Et facti vasa honoris, qui fuimus ignominiæ.  
Kild for our wickednesse, we live by others heere,  
And vessels are of honour, as of shame we were.

Chap. III.

Of my journey from Bazel to Strasburg, to Heidelberg, to Frankfort, to Cassiles, to Brunswicke, to Luneberg, to Hamburg, to Stode, to Breme, to Oldenburg, and to Emden, (the last City upon the confines of the Empire).

Went by boat to Strasburg, fourteene miles, and in sixe hours, upon the swift Rheine we passed six miles to Brisake; a City subject to Ferdinand of Inspruch, Arch-Duke of Austria: but of the villages oft intermixed, some are subject to the Margrave of Baden, and some to divers Bishops. All the Territory on the West side of Rheine, almost to Strasburg gates, is subject to the said Arch-Duke, or the Bishop of Bazel, or the Duke of Wirtenberg. The boates comming downe to Brisake and Neoberg, pay tribute, and send forth two Marriners, taking from thence two other in their stead. At Brisake, each man payes two Rapps for passing the bridge, which is shut up with an iron chaine, and kept by watch-men, lest any boats should passe without touching there. I said before, that the boats and barkes comming downe, are sold at the end of the way, because they cannot be brought up against the streame. Brisake is seated upon a round and high Mountaine, and though it bee improbable that there should be any want of waters so neere.
COMMENTS UPON STRASSBURG

A.D.
1592.

the foot of the Alpes, yet this City hath a fountaine, where water is sold, and a certaine price is given for the watering of every beast.

We passed the other eight miles to Strasburg, the same day in eight houres, being helped with the same swiftnesse of the Rheine, which being oft divided by the way, makes many little Ilands. The bridge of Strasburg over the Rheine, is more then a Musket shot from the City, on the East side thereof. The bridge is of wood, and hath threescore five Arches each distant from the other twenty walking paces, and it is so narrow that an horse-man can hardly passe by a cart, it lying open on both sides, and it is built of small pieces of timber laid a crosse, which lye loose; so as one end being pressed with any weight, the other is lifted up, with danger to fall into the water. It is like they build no stronger bridge, either because they have tryed that the swift course of the Rheine will easily breake it downe, or because in the time of warre it may be good for them to breake it: in which case it were farre greater charge to rebuild it with stone, then with wood. The Rheine lying thus farre off from the City, the boats are brought up to the same by a little channell. The brookes of Bress and Elb, passe through many streets of the City, and fill all the large ditches thereof with water. The City is very well fortisied, having high walles of earth, the bottomes whereof are fastned with stone, and the sides with trees planted on the same. On the West side towards France, are the gates Weissen-thore, and Rheine-thore. On the East side toward the Rheine, is the gate Croneberg-thore, at which, though it be out of the way, for the jealouisie of neighbour-hood, the French must enter, and at no other. On the East side is the Butchers gate, called, Metsiger-thore. On the same side is the Cathedrall Church. The circuit of the City is three houres walking. The buildings and Churches are faire and high, of free stone; most of the streets are narrow, but those divided by water are broader. I paiied six Batzen a meale, and
for wine extraordinary three Batzen the measure. Many things in this City are remarkable. The Steeple of the Cathedrall Church is most beautifull, and numbred among the seven miracles of the world, being begun in the yeere 1277, and scarce finished in twentie eight yeeres. In the building of one gate thereof, they say, three Kings treasure was spent, in whose memory three statuaes are there ingraven. The Church is covered with lead, which is rare in Germany, where the chiefe Churches are covered with brasse, growing in the Countrey. The brazen gates of this church are curiously carved.

The Clocke of Strasburg.

The Clocke thereof is of all other most famous, being invented by Conradus Dasipodius, in the yeere 1571. Before the Clocke stands a globe on the ground; shewing the motion of the heavens, starres and planets; namely, of the heaven carried about by the first mover, in twenty foure houres, of Saturne by his proper motion carried about in thirty yeeres, of Jupiter in twelve, of Mars in two, of the Sunne, Mercury and Venus in one yeere, of the Moone in one month. In the Clocke it selfe there be two tables on the right and left hand, shewing the eclipses of the Sunne and Moone, from the yeere 1573, to the yeere 1605. The third table in the midst, is divided into three parts. In the first part the statuaes of Apollo and Diana, shew the course of the yeere, and the day thereof, being carried about in one yeere. The second part shewes the yeere of our Lord, and of the world, the Equinoctiall dayes, the houres of each day, the minutes of each houre; Easter day, and all other feasts, and the Dominicall Letter. The third part hath the Geographical discription of all Germany, and particularly of Strasburg, and the names of the Inventor, and of all the worke-men. In the middle frame of the Clocke is an Astrolobe, shewing the signe in which each Planet is every day; and there be the statuaes of the seven Planets, upon a round piece of iron lying flat, so as every day the statua of the Planet comes forth that rules the day, the rest being hid within the frame, till they come out by course at their day; as the Sun upon
COMMENTS UPON STRASSBURG

Sunday, and so for all the weeke. And there is a terrestrial globe, and the quarter, and halfe houre, and the minuts are shewed. There is also the skull of a dead man, and two statuaes of two boyes, whereof one turns the houre-glasse when the Clocke hath strucken, the other puts forward the rod in his hand at each stroke of the clocke. Moreover there be statuaes of the spring, summer, Autumnne, and winter, and many observations of the Moone. In the upper part of the clocke are foure old mens statuaes, which strike the quarters of the houre, the statua of death comming out each quarter to strike; but being driven backe by the statua of Christ with a speare in his hand, for three quarters, but in the fourth quarter that of Christ goeth backe, and that of death strikes the houre, with a bone in the hand, and then the chimes sound. On the top of the clocke is an Image of a Cock which twice in the day croweth alowd, and beateth his wings. Besides, this clocke is decked with many rare pictures, and being on the inside of the Church, carrieth another frame to the outside of the wall, wherein the houres of the Sunne, the courses of the Moone, the length of the day, and such like things are set out with great Art.

Besides in the City there is a faire house, in which citizens and strangers at publike meetings or otherwise, use to feast their invited friends. Neere the gate Rheinethore, is the Armory, vulgarly Zeighauss, which aboundeth with Ordinance and all Munitions. They have a Theater for Comedies, and a Tower to lay up their treasure, called penny Tower, vulgarly Phennig-thurne. They say this City is called Argentina in latine, of the word Argentum, because the Romans of old laid up their treasure here, and Strassburg in Dutch, of the word strass (that is way) and Burg (that is City) as being built where many waies lead to many Provinces. I had almost omitted one remarkeable thing, namely the faire House of the Cannons, called Bruderhoff, that is the Court of the Brethren.
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FYNES MORYSON’S ITINERARY

I hired a coach for a Dollor my person, from Strassburg to Heidelberg, being sixteene miles. The first day after dinner I went foure miles to Leichtenou, through a plaine all compassed with Gardens and Orchards, and paid six batzen for my supper. The next morning we went foure miles to Milberk, through a sandy and barren plaine; the Margrave of Turloch, unkle to the Margrave of Baden is Lord of this Village. By the way thither, we passed a Fort of the Margraves of Baden, where tribute is paid for all Merchandises brought out of Sweitzerland and France, and these frequent tributes are gathered by the Dutch Princes, upon pretext that they free the way from theves: to which purpose when the Fayres of Franckfort draw neere, they send out certaine Reyters, that is Horse-men, vulgarly called Geleyte, which conduct the Merchants and their goods out of the Frontiers. The said Fort included the high way with Rampiers, lest any should passe without paying tribute: besides, by the way we might see the City of Baden, towards the South, seated upon a Mountaine. After dinner we went three miles to the Village Graben, through a sandy ground, but somewhat lesse barren. The Margrave of Turloch is Lord of this Village.

The third day in the morning wee went five miles to Heidelberg, through sandy fields, but fruitfull in corne, all lying in a plaine, as the rest of the way from Strassburg hither, and neere Heidelberg we passed a great wood of Oakes, full of great heards of red Deare, which lay still by the way, and would not sterre for our cries, or feare of our Coach wheeles, but seemed to know their priviledge, all hunting being forbidden upon high penalties. Heidelberg is compassed with high Mountaines, on the South, East, and North sides; but towards the West, beyond the City and a long Suburbe, (being the sole Suburb in the Towne,) the Mountaines lie open. This Suburbe is longer then the City, and they both lie in great length from the East to the West, and they both consist almost of one streete, and are built in the plaine, though compassed...
COMMENTS UPON HEIDELBERG

with Mountains. On the South-east side there is a faire and pleasant market place, and not farre thence a very high Mountaine called Konigstull, that is, Kingly seat, upon the middle ascent whereof, is the Castle, in which the Phaltz-grave of the Rheine holds his Court, and upon the top of this Mountaine are the ruins of an old Tower, blowen up with gun-powder. From this Mountaine on the South side runne caves under the Earth, to the Westerne part of the Mountaine of Goates, upon which Mountaine is a Tower called Trotz-keyser, as if it were built in despight of Cæsar, and it is worth the seeing, for the antiquity and building, having no gate, but being entered by the cave under the earth, and being built with lime tempered, not with water, but wine, incredibly durable, at the time when the Emperour making warre against the Phaltz-grave, besieged this City. In the valley under this Mountaine of Goates, towards the City, is a pleasant walk, of the sweetnes called the Phylo-sophical way. In the ditch parting the City and Suburbe, is a place for the exercise of shooting with the Musket and Crosse-bow: On the North side of the City the shallow and unnavigable River Neccar, runneth in a plaine by the City betweene it and the Mountaine from the East to the West, and in the same course having run more then a mile, falls into the Rheine, and though it be shallow, yet sometimes it overflows the Bridge of the City, as it did in the yeere 1565. passing into the Towne. On the North side you passe a bridge built of wood upon arches of stone, to a pleasant walke upon the banke of the River, betweene the Mountaine and the water: and from thence you goe up to the holy Mountaine, vulgarly Heiligberg: and some say this City had his name of that Mountaine; but others say it hath the name of the Dutch word Edelberg, that is Noble Mountaine, others of a Colony of Romans, being Heathen, will have it at first called Heidenberg, that is, the Mountaine of the Heathen. Upon this Mountaine be the ruines of a Church of great antiquity, first dedicated to Mercury, and since made a
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MONASTERY, and neere the same is a ruined Cloyster of Nunnes (as commonly their nests were not farre distant) and there is a passage under the Earth from one Cloyster to another. This is a most high Mountaine, and hath a thicke wood. The City of Heydelberg, by reason it is compassed with Mountaines, hath a very unhealthfull aire, which maketh Funerals very frequent therein; but the water is held very healthfull. In the Innes they aske seven batzen the meale, but the Students have their diet in Citizens or Professors houses for two guldens, or one doller weekly: and the fame of the Professors drew many Students at this time to this University. There is (to my remembrance) but one Church used for prayer and preaching, and there is a monument with this inscription in Latine,

[I. i. 33.] Viglius Suicherius laid this to the memory of Rodulphus Agricola, borne in Friesland: he died in the yeere 1485, the 28 of October; he lived 42 yeeres and two moneths.

Epitaph to Rodulphus Agricola.

There is another Epitaph to this Rodulphus Agricola, made in verse by Hermolaus Barbarus Patriarke of Aquilegia.

Invida clauserunt hoc marmore fata Rodulphum, Agricolam, Frisii spemque decusque soli, Scilicet hoc uno meruit Germania laudes, Quicquid habet Latium, Graecia quicquid habet.

Envious Fates under this stone have closde The Frisons joy Rodulph Agricola, By whom all praise on Germans is imposde. That Italy or Greece had to this day.

While I lived here the rest of this summer, I made a journey of pleasure to see the Cities lying upon the West side of the Rheine, and hiring a Horse after the wonted price at Heydelberg, I rode two miles and a halfe to the Rheines side, and then halfe a mile further to the City of Spire, where the imperiall chamber is held, in which
COMMENTS UPON WORMS

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Court the chiefe differences of the Empire are judged, and the Electors themselves, or any absolute Princes under the Empire, may bee called thither to triall of law. The City is built in a plaine, on the West side of Rheine, and hath more antiquity then beauty, or magnificence. Here I paid eight batzen each meale.

From hence I rode one mile to the City of Wormz, famous for many imperiallyl Parliaments held there of old; and by the way we passed Frankendale, a little City newly and very fairely built, which place Casimire the Elector gave unto the Flemings of late, who then had built many faire bricke houses there, and then compassed it with a wall; and Casimire taking upon him the tutorship of his Nephew, against the will of the Lutherans, who rejected him as a Calvinist, tooke some of these Flemings to guard the Castle of Heidelberg. The building of Wormz shewes great antiquity, and wanteth not magnificence, where I paid seven Batzen a meale. This territory on the West side of the Rheine is very fruitfull, and yeeldeth the best Rhenish Wines, so called of the Rheine by which they grow. From hence againe I passed the Rheine, and returned to Heydelberg.

Then I tooke my journey to Franckfort Faire. The first day I passed foure miles to Bentzon, having hils on my right hand toward the East, planted with Vines, and fields set with roots; and upon my left hand towards the West, a faire and fruitfull plaine: and here I paid seven Batzen for my supper. The second day in the morning I passed foure miles in the territory of George Landgrave of Hessen, to Arhelygen, through wooddy mountaines, planted with some Vines, and a plaine for one mile sandy, but the rest good pasture. We passed by Dormstat, where the said Landgrave holds his Court, and there each man paid sixe Fenning tribute. At Arheligen I paid sixe Batzen for my dinner. In the afternoone I passed some three miles to Franckfort, through a sandy plaine, and a wood of Oakes and Beeches, and by the way they shewed us a strange leape of a Stagge, which being chased, did
leape over a cart (if you may beleev them) loaded with hey.

Franckfort is a free City of the Empire, famous for the Electors meeting there, to choose the Emperor, and for two yeerely Faires, as also for many Parliaments of the Empire held there, and it is called Franckfort upon the Mæne, to distinguish it from another City of the same name, built upon the Brooke Odera, and named thereof. For the River Mæne running from the East to the West, divideth the great City from the lesse called the Saxons House, vulgarly Sachsen-hausse, and betweene them is a bridge of stone upon foure narrow Arches. Both the Cities are governed by the same Senate and Law, and have the same name, either of Francus rebuilding it, or of a Foord for passage of the Franckes or French. The City is compassed strongly with a double wall, and upon the East side is the gate Heilegthore, where is the Jewes street, who are permitted to dwell in this famous Marttowne, and sucke the blood of Christians by extortion. There is another gate called Freydigthore: On the North side of the City is the gate Brickenport, and a large place for an Horse Faire. On the West side is the gate of strangers, vulgarly Welsh-thore, so called because the French enter that way: it is very strong; and without the gate there is a very pleasant walke upon the banke of Mæne, among Vineyards and Meadowes, with sweet Groves. On the South side the Mæne runneth by, dividing (as I said) the new City from the old. In the new or lesse City called the Saxons-house, is a house of old belonging to the Teutonike order of Knights, which by old priviledge is to this day a Sanctuary for banckrupts and manslaiers, so they be not wilful and malicious murtherers; but they enjoy this priviledge onely for foureteen daies, so as when the time is neere out, or upon any opportunity during the time, they use to steale out, and returning after an hour, begin a new to reckon againe the foureteen daies. A little before my comming thither, a certaine bankrupt of Colen entered the same for a debt
of twenty thousand Guldens. On this side some ground without the wals belongs to the City, but on other sides it hath almost no Land without the wals. The City is of a round forme, seated in a large plaine, the streetes are narrow, and the houses built of timber and clay, the foundations of some being of stone. In the Innes they aske seven or eight batzen a meale, but Merchants and many strangers use to hire a chamber, and buy their meat of the Cookes.

From hence to Hamburge I and foure others hired a Coach for fifty Dollers, and besides were to pay for the coach-mans diet, for here first the coach-man conditioned to be free from paying his diet, vulgarly Maulfrey; that is free for the mouth, whereas in other parts our coach-men paid for themselves. Alwaies understand that at the times of the faires, Coaches are set dearer then any time els. The first day after breakfast, wee went three miles to Freideburge, through corne fields set with cabages and rootes, and by the way we passed a Village belonging to the Count of Hanaw. Freideburge is a free City of the Empire, and the buildings are of timber and clay: here each man paid seven batzen for his supper, and for his part of the coach-mans supper. The second day in the morning, we went three miles to Geysen, through fruitfull hills of corne. Phillip Landgrave of Hessen left three sonnes, William of Cassiles, whom Maurice his sonne succeeded, and was now living, and Lodwicke of Marpurg, and George of Dormstat. This territory belonged to the Landgrave Lodwicke, (for all the brothers in Germany have the same stile of honour) and he was also at that time Lord of this City Geysell, which is fortified with wals of earth, and deepe ditches, but the building is base of timber and clay, and for the most of meere dirt. These verses were written upon the gate of the City.

Captus erat Princeps non marte sed Arte Philippus, Cum bene munitum destrueretur opus. Nominis hoc patrii Lodovicus amore refecit, Anno bis septem lustra sequente nono;
AD. 1592.

Principe dignus honos, patrias surcire ruinas,
A quibus Hassiacos Christe tuere polos.

Prince Phillip captiv'de not by warre, but Art,
This worke of strength was then demolished;
In Countries love Prince Lodwicke for his part
Rebuilt it, seventy nine yeeres finished,
Ruines repaire is for a Princes hand,
From which disasters Christ shield Hessen land.

Here I paid sixe Batzen for my dinner, and my part
for the Coach-man.

In the afternoone we went three miles through high
stony mountaines and woods of oakes, to Kirnham,
belonging to the Landgrave Lodwicke, whose Court at
Marpurg lies a mile from thence. All of us at supper
drunke sixe measures of wine, besides beere, and from
henceforth wee paid severally for meat and drinke, and
at this time each of us paid ten Weissenfenning for both
together. The third day we passed three miles to Drest,
through high mountaines with woods of Oake, and many
fruitfull valleies of corne, and each man paid with his
portion for the Coach-man foure Weissenfenning for meat,
and as much for wine. This territory belongs to Land-
grave Maurice of Cassiles. After dinner we passed three
miles to Fesler, through high mountaines full of oake
woods, and entered the City, seated upon a mountaine
by a bridge of stone, upon which side great store of water
falls from the mountaines, the houses were of timber and
clay, each one for the most part having a dunghill at the
doore, more like a poore Village, then a City: but such
are the buildings of the Cities in Hessen, the houses of
Villages being of meere dirt, and thatched. Here each
man paid for his meat and old wine; and his part for the
Coach-man an Orts Doller, or fourth part of a Doller.

The fourth day we passed three miles to Cassiles, a
City where the Landgrave Maurice holds his Court, all
our way lying through fruitfull hils of corne. The City
is strongly fortified with wals of earth and deepe ditches,
but the houses are basely built like the rest in Hessen. Phillip his grandfather built the castle, and William his father the wals. For my dinner and my part for the coach-man I paide the fourth part of a Doller.

In the afternoone we passed two miles through woody mountaines, to Myndaw, in the territory of the Duke of Brunswike, who is also Lord of the City. The River Visurgis runnes by it, over which there is a bridge of stone upon five Arches. Here each man paid for himselfe and his part for the coach-man, seven maria-groshen for meat, and as much for wine. The beere of this territory is very bitter, and like a potion makes one laxative. The fifth day we passed three miles and a halfe, through Mountaines for halfe the way, and the rest through corne fields most fruitfull, and dined at Norton, each man paying five batzen and a halfe. After dinner we passed two miles and a halfe to a poore Village, through a like fruitfull plaine of corne, and by the way we passed Namerton, a City belonging to the Duke of Brunswicke. In this Village each man paid five Maria-groshen.

The sixth day we passed two miles to the City Zeanon, through hils and fields of corne, the building of the City is of meere clay, covered with thatch, but our diet was plenti-full, and each man paid sise Maria-groshen for himselfe, and his part for the Coach-man. After dinner we passed three miles to a poore village, through woody mountaines, yet fruitfull of corne and pasture, and through a great Fen, and here each man paid seven Maria-groshen.

The seventh day we passed three miles to Brunswike, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, end a large Fen set with willow trees neere the City. Many fields as we came besides the corne, were set with cabage and rootes, and within a mile of Brunswike we left on the right hand toward the South, the City Wolfenbieten, where the Duke of Brunswike keepes his Court, and though he be so called of an old title, yet he is not Lord of Brunswike, which is a free City of the Empire seated in a plaine, all
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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

the territory round about it being most fruitfull in corne. The City is of a quadrangle forme, and in circuit containes two miles, being held greater then Nurnberg, and lesse then Erford. It hath high wals of earth fastened with willowes, and is very strong, having the wals on some sides double, and otherwhere treble, besides that it hath a woody valley between deepe ditches filled with water, and is compassed with the River Ancur. Within this wall and river are five Cities, distinguished by priviledges, but united by lawes. The first seated towards the west, is called Altstat, that is Old city, having almost at the entrance a faire market place, and neere it the cathedrall Church, called Martinstift. The second lying towards the North, is called Newstat, that is New city. The third lying towards the East is called Imsacke. The fourth lying towards the South is called Imhagen. And the fifth, which was built first of all, and lieth also towards the South, is called Altweg, that is, The old way. This city of old was the metropolitan city of Saxony, and had the name of Bruno, and the Dutch word Vuick, signifying a Village. It hath twelve Churches, whereof two have the steeples covered with lead, which being very rare in Germany, is held to be magnificent; the rest are covered with tiles, one excepted, which (to my remembrance) is covered with brasse, which being lesse rare with them is lesse esteemed, and the houses are built of timber and clay. In the yard of the Cathedrall Church there is a statua of a very great Lion, which the Emperour Henry the first, surnamed Lyon, erected there.

[1. i. 36.] From Brunswike I went to Luneburge, and the first day in the morning passed foure miles to a certaine Village, through a sandy plaine, and fenny wild ground, and by the way we passed Getherne a village, where the Duke of Luneburge (Lord of this territory) hath a Castle, and he holds his court some five miles off, at Sell. Here each man paid for his dinner five Lubecke shillings. In the afternoone we passed five miles to a countrey house, through like Fenny and woody wild grounds, seeing but
one Village in the way; and here each man paid for supper three Lubecke shillings. Next morning we passed four miles to a Village Empsdorff, through like grounds: and here each man paid for dinner five Lubecke shillings, the coach-mans part being reckoned: for I formerly said that hiring a Coach from Franckfort to Hamburg, we were tied to pay for the coach-mans diet, himselfe paying for his horse-meat, as commonly they doe. After dinner we passed three miles to Luneburge, through a soyle as barren as the former, where each man paid for himselfe and his part of the coach-mans supper, eight Lubecke shillings. I speake nothing of the City, which I have described before, but goe on with my journey.

The next morning we passed three miles to Wintzon, through a Fenny ground, and woods of Oake, yeelding some corne, but sparingly, and here our coach-man paid a Lubecke shilling for his Coach to the Duke of Luneburge, whose territory endeth here. Then we passed a mile further to Bergendorff, and by the way our coach-man passing over the Elve, paid a Lubecke shilling to the Officers of the Cities of Lubecke and Hamburg, to which Cities this territory is subject, and governed by them in course, the soyle whereof after the passage of the Elve, is more fruitfull, the fields being full of corne, and ditches of water planted with willowes: here each man paid six Lubecke shillings for our dinners. In the afternoone we passed three miles to Hamburge, having on the left side towards the West, faire pastures, and on the right hand towards the East, woods of oake, and fruitfull hils of corne. From hence I passed by boat with a faire wind in three houres to Stode, and paid for my passage three Lubeck shillings. These things I briefly set downe, having described these Cities before.
From Stode I wrote this Letter to Francis Markham, an English gentleman, whom I left at Heidelberg.


Oble Sir, I gladly take this occasion of witnessing my love to you, which in a word I have done, omitting all ceremonies as your selfe have given me example: Onely for my promise sake, I will trouble you with the short relation of my journey. When we parted at Franckfort, you know I had for companions of my journey two Flemmings, poore Merchants of Linnen cloth, and a Dutch Rider, and a Booke-binder of Denmarke. I comming first to the Coach, tooke the most commodious seat, which these my worthy companions (forsooth) tooke in ill part, yet neither their murmuring nor rude speeches could make me yeeld the place to them. Wee passed through Hessen to Brunswike, which journey since you purpose to take, I advise you to passe as soone as you can, that you may be out of your paine, and come to more pleasant Countries: for there you shall have grosse meat, sower wine, stinking drinke, and filthy beds, and were not the way free from robberies, and the people curteous, I know not what other inconvenience might happen to a stranger in any passage. Your diet shall be for most part of cole worts, which was so strange to me, and so hard of digestion, as it greatly troubled me, and wrought upon my body like physicke. At Brunswike I saw a lamentable sight, which I dare scarce relate to you, knowing your tendernes in those cases, yet for promise sake I must tell you, that I saw a very faire maide of fifteene yeeres, married to mine Host an old churle of seventy yeeres. Be not discouraged, I will tell you a merry accident. Who would have thought that my companions had dissembled so long their malice to mee, that now it might breake forth with more bitterness? You know Brunswike is a free city of the Empire, and one of those, which for priviledge of traffike upon these coasts, are called Hans-steten. Here out of custome
passengers comming at first to enter traffice, use to give the wine to the old Merchants, to which custome gentle-
men for sociablenes have submitted themselves, so as the custome is almost growne into a Law. Now, for this purpose, salt being put about the table, for all to sweare whether they were free or no, I confessed that I had not yet paied for my freedome, yelding my self to their censure. To be briefe; after they had fined me some cannes of wine, and with many ceremonies, had made me free, it remained that he whom they had chosen to be my God-father, making a grave Oration, with some rude jeasts after their fashion, should instruct me with some precepts how to recover this expence. One of my companions easily tooke this charge upon him; and after many circumstances, he concluded in this manner: You are an Englishman, and because your countrey men love to sit easily, and to fare delicately, I advise you, that both at table and in coach, you be carefull to take the best place, which if you be diligent to performe, you shall bee soone satisfied for this expence. By chance my place then at table was betweene the coach-man and his servant, for you know the Dutch are not curious of place, and little regard strangers in that kinde; but I knew where my Gentlemans shooe wrung him, namely in that I had chosen my place in the coach. And thus I answered him; Sir I take thankefully your grave counsell, and will make use of it; but me thinkes it is too generall, making no distinction of degrees, for if I have Gentlemen to my companions, who are not willingly overcome in courtesie, I should rather yeeld them place: but if I fall into base and clownish company, I will not faile to make use of your counsell. The Gentlemen at Table smiled, and so we ended this ceremony with a health. Hence I passed to Luneburg, and so to Hamburg; where the people after dinner, warmed with drinke, are apt to wrong any stranger, and hardly indure an English-man in the morning when they are sober. Therefore without any stay, I passed hence to Stode. It
is strange how the people raile on English-men in these parts. For that which we call warre at sea, and the royall Navy, that they terme robbery and Pirats ships: neither have they the patience to heare any justification or excuse. You see what toyes I write, rather then I will leave you unsaluted, and if you use not like freedome to me, farewell friendship. So I take my leave, from Stode the first of October, 1592.

From Stode I passed to Emden, and for the better explaining of that journey, give mee leave to prefix the following Letter; out of the due place, being written from Emden, and directed

To Ægidius Hoffman, a Gentleman of Flaunders, my deare friend, Student at Heidelberg.

Oble Ægidius, the Letters you gave me to deliver at Breme, have produced a comicall event, (such may all the passages be of our love,) which you shall understand in a word. When in my purposed journey I came to Stode, more tired with the base companions I had, then the way; it happened, whilst I spent some dayes there with my friends, every man spake of Spanish theeves, vulgarly called Freebooters, who stealing out of their Garrisons upon the Low-countries, lay in the villages, and upon the high-wayes, by which I was to passe in my journey to Emden, from which Citie a Merchant was newly arrived, who terrified me more then all the rest, affirming that in one day he had fallen thrice into these cut-throtes hands, and though he were of a neutrall City, yet had paied many Dollers for his ransome, adding, that they inquired curiously after English-men, promising rewards in the villages, to any man should give them notice when any such passed. I knew not what counsell to take. There was no lesse danger from the Pirats of Dunkirke, if I passed by sea, especially in a ship of Hamburg, no other being in the harbour, & they being like to betray me, out of malice to our nation. Besides,
LETTER TO AEGIDIUS HOFFMAN

A.D. 1592.

the weather was very tempestious, & not like to change. Therefore my obstinate purpose to see the Cities upon this coast, made me resolve to goe by land. So I bought an old Brunswicke thrummed hat, and made mee a poore Dutch suite, rubbing it in the dust to make it seeme old, so as my Taylor said, he took more pains to spoyle it, then to make it. I bought me linnen stockings, and dis-coloured my face and hands, and so without cloake, or sword, with my hands in my hose, tooke my place in a poore waggon. I practised as much as I could, Pythagori-call silence; but if any asked me who I was, I told him that I was a poore Bohemian, and had long served a Merchant at Leipzig, who left mee to dispatch some businesse at Stode, and then commanded me to follow him to Emden. If you had seen my servile countenance, mine eyes cast on the ground, my hands in my hose, and my modest silence, you would have taken me for a harme-lesse yong man. Many pleasant events happened to me thus disguised; wherewith I will not trouble you, onely one I am tied to impart to you. When I came to Breme, I was doubtfull what to doe with your Letters. I thought not to deliver them, but keepe them till a fitter time, or at least to send them by a messenger. But in so doing I should have broken my promise to you, have lost the fruit of your recommendation, and the opportunity to see your mother and sisters, without hope hereafter to see them. Then I thought to deliver them, and because I was disguised in base apparell, to confesse who I was, and wherefore so disguised. But when I looked my face in a glasse, I could not for shame take this course. At last I resolved to deliver them, and to say, I was servan to myselfe, (wherein I lyed not, for I have ever too much obeyed my owne affections,) and that my master meaning to passe from Stode by sea, for feare of the above-said dangers, had sent me by land, with command to stay for him at Leyden. To bee briefe, I went to your mother house, where a servant opened mee the doore, to whom I gave your Letters; but when he scarce looking at me,
would have locked the doore, I took my Letters againe, saying I had promised to deliver them with my owne hand; and so I entred with him, and gave them into the hands of your mother and sister, who inquired much after you, and so much after my master, as I might perceive you had made friendly mention of me in your Letters. They entertained me with much curtesie, being thus disguised for my owne servant; and when I went away your mother would needs give mee six batzen to spend, neither would any refusall prevaile, but I must needs take them. So I set a marke upon these peces, lest I should spend them; and am not out of hope, ere I die, to shew them to you. To the purpose; at the dore I met your brother, whom I had scene at Frankfort, and was not a little afraide lest for all my disguising, he would have knowne me. Let it not trouble you, that I tell you another merry accident I had in the same City of Breme. Disguised as I was, I went to the house of Doctor Peuzelius, desiring to have the name of so famous a Divine, written in my stemme-booke, with his Mott, after the Dutch fashion. Hee seeing my poore habite, and a booke under my arme, tooke me for some begging Scholler, and spake sharply unto me. But when in my masters name I had respectively saluted him, and told him my request, he excused his mistaking, and with all curtesie performed my desire. I will trouble you no longer, but hope by some good occasion to imbrace you, & tell you all the other passages of my journey. In the meane time I go forward to Leyden in Holland, you (as you do) ever love me, and as my soule, live and farewell. From Emden the twenty one of October, 1592.

I paied twenty foure Stivers for my passage eleven miles in a waggon from Stode to Breme. And the first day after breakefast, wee passed three miles to Ford, a poore Citie, subject to the Bishop of Breme: through wilde, fenny, and woody grounds. The Towne is seated in a Fenne, having a long paved Causey to passe unto it; and
the gate being opened to us by night, each man gave the Porter two Lubeck shillings, and by the way in a village each man paid, six Fenning for his person. At Ford the Bishop of Breme hath a Castle, strongly fortified with Rampiers of earth, and deep ditches full of water; and here each man paid for his supper three Lubeck shillings and a halfe. The waggoner taking me thus disguised (as formerly I have said) for a poore Bawre; said these words to me in Dutch: Du knecht hilff zu tragen die packe hye: that is Ho good fellow, helpe here to carry this pack; I answered, ya gar gern, yea most willingly; and smiling laied my shoulder to the burthen, and groned deepe, but helped him very little. Next morning early, by Moone light, we passed on three miles, through large and wilde woods, to a Countrey house; and by the way my companions fell in talke of English affaires, so foolishly, as my laughter, though restrained, had often betrayed me; if twi-light had not kept mee from being scene. Their ignorance greatly shortned my way, with the pleasure I took in their answeres to some such questions propounded by me, whereof my selfe had many times beene forced to give an account to others. By the way they shewed mee a Hill called Meineidig, of certaine false witnesses, of old sinking there into the ground. At this Countrey house, each man paid for his breakfast three Lubeck shillings and a halfe. Then from sixe of the clocke in the morning, till nine, we passed five miles to Breme; through an Heath, and many huge Woods of Oake; having towards the South a Fenne of tenne miles length, which of the vastnesse and wildenesse, is called the Divels Fenne. By the way within a mile of Breme, each man paid halfe a Sesling tribute, to the officers of the City; and from thence wee passed a winding paved Causey, to the very City. Men may also passe from Hamburg to Breme by water.

This Citie is one of the Imperiall free Cities, and of them which upon this Sea-coast, are called Hans-steten, for freedome of trafficke, and it is very strongly fortified
with high walles of earth, and deepe ditches filled with water: besides that the Citizens may drowne the Fenny fields almost round about at pleasure. The building of this, as also of the neighbour Cities; is partly of bricke, partly of stone, and very faire, but the streets here are filthy. The Citie is five miles distant from the sea; And the river Visurgis running from the South-east to the North West, by the South west side of the City runneth al the length of the same. On the North east side, the walles of earth are broad, and there bee three faire gates, with strong Rampiers. Upon the South West side, being compassed all with Fennes, there bee no walles. In the furthest angle or corner towards the North west, where the City growes narrow there is a strong Fort built, & the gate is within an Iland, beyond which lies a plaine of faire pastures. Osen-bridge lies not farre hence, from which towne great quantity of narrow linnen cloth is brought into England. At Breme I paied halfe a Doller for dinner, supper and breakfast; and a stiebkin or measure of wine extraordinary.

They had heere also the custome of making strangers free, and the same ceremony of giving salt to sweare by; and I confessing that I was not free, committed my fine to their censure, hoping they would deale better with mee, for my poore disguised habit, but it saved me nothing; the chiefe man saying to mee in Dutch: Gutt gesell du must gedult haben, es gelt gleich bistu knecht oder here, deise gewonheit betrefft beyde zu gleich. That is, good fellow thou must have patience, it is all one whether thou beest a servant or a master, this custome toucheth both alike.

After dinner, taking my journey from Breme, wee passed a mile upon a stony Causey, called Steinweck, that is, stony way; and there each man paied to the officers of Breme, a quarter of a Stiver. Then entering the Territory of the Grave (that is Count) of Oldenburg, we passed a mile through faire pastures, compassed with ditches of water, to a village, where each man paid a
COMMENTS UPON OLDENBURG

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Sesling to the Count, and to this place each man paid for his Waggon five groates. Here when my companions had drunke their fill, and had slept a while in the straw, as my selfe did upon a bench, to shun the stinking heat of the stove, we hyred another waggon for three miles, paying fifteene groats: and that we might more securely passe, wee tooke our journey at midnight, through a heath of huge woods of Oake, and came to Oldenburge, early in the morning before the gates were open.

The Citie is built of meere clay, but the Counts Castle is built in a round forme of stone, with deepe ditches of water, over which they passe by a drawing bridge, and both the Castle and the City are strongly fortified. Heere we had English beere, the goodnesse whereof made my companions speake much in honour of England, and of the Queene, with much wonder that shee being a Virgine, was so victorious against the Spaniards, till in this discourse they all fell fast asleepe.

After breakfast the next morning, wee having hired a waggon for eightene groates, passed foure miles in the territory of the said Count; and one mile to Stickhausen, in the territory of the Count of Emden, who had a Castle there. Then because we could get no waggon in this place, wee went one mile further on foot, which being very long, and my selfe having some gold Guldens in my shooes, which I could not remove without suspicion; the way was very irkesome to mee, and we came to a courntyre house, but wee found good cheere, each man paying for his supper seven groates. My selfe sitting last at the table, by reason of my poore habit, paied as much as the best, and fedde on the worst, but I had more minde of my bed, then of my meat. And one of my companions after supper, having streight boots, when I had taught him to pull off one by the helpe of a staffe, for recompence of my counsell, desired mee to pull off the other, which being disguised as I was, I could not well refuse. The next morning we hired a waggon for eleven stivers, and passed a long mile to Leere, a towne subject
to the Count of Emden, who dwelt not far off, at Dunort a strong Castle. Our way through a Fen, was so deepe, as the waggon wheeles being pulled off, we went good part of the way on foot.

Here we understood that the Spanish Free-booters (called by the English, Male-contents) lay at Aurick, another castle of the said Count, and being loded with booty, had taken a barke by force, to passe over the Emsz. These cut-throates used at this time to raunge out of the Spanish Garrisons upon the Low-countries, & to spoile all passengers in these parts, which they did with more confidence, because the Count of Oldenburg, being offended with the Citizens of Breme, permitted these theeves to rob them, who were also very malicious against those of Breme, because they had lately taken thirty foure Free-booters; and beheading them altogether, had set up their heads upon stakes. Besides the Count of Emden having beene lately driven out of Emden by the Citizens in a tumult about religion, did permit these Free-booters to lie in his Country, and spoyle the Merchants of that City. The chiefe Captaine of the Free-booters then lying at Aurick was Hans Jacob, a notable roge, and very malicious to the English, whom he used to spoyle of their very apparell, & to handle them cruelly; mocking them with these English words; I cannot tell, and swearing that he would make them tell, both of themselves, and of their countrey men passing that way. Some few dayes before hee had taken foure English wollen clothes, and many Flemmish linnen clothes; which they divided by the length of a ditch, in stead of a better measure, and we were glad to heare that in this division they fell at variance, for when this Hans Jacob would have stopt a part, for the chiefe Captaine of the Garrison, the rest cryed out in Dutch: Wir wollen dein mawger kopff lieber in zwey kleiben: Stelen wir fur andern und hangen fur uns selbs? That is, wee will rather cleave thy leane pate in two. Shall we steale for others and hang for our selves? And they used many reproches against him and their chiefe
Captaine, saying in Dutch: Finstu was, bringt mirs, hangstu aber, habt dirs: Die Judem, paffen, haupteleiute, und ein hund, verdienen ihr kost mit ihr mund: That is, findest thou ought, bring it me, hangest thou, take that to thee? The Jewes, Priests, Captaines and dogs, earne their living with their mouth; but these cut-throates, howsoever they had passed the Emsz, yet meant presently to returne, and had their spies in every towne and village.

I returne to my journey. While we lay at Leere for a night, a Doctor of the Civill Law seeing mee walke in the garden, and thinking my servile habit not fit for contemplation, commanded mee to draw water for his horse, giving mee no reward presently but onely a nod; yet after when he had drunke with his friends, going out, he said to me, Knecht dore hastu zu drincken, That is, Sirra drinke you what is left. After supper, having expected a bed almost till midnight, the maide at last told mee I must lie upon the bench; but after, while I was washing my feet, which the gold in my shooes had gauled, she espying my silke stokings, which I wore under my linnen, ran to her mistresse, and procured me a very good bed. This effect pleased me well, but I was afraide of the cause, by which lest I should bee discovered, I hasted away early next morning. I paied heere for my supper and breakfast, fifteene Stivers, and giving the servant one for his paines, hee would have restored it to mee, seeming by my habit to have more need thereof then himselfe.

All this night and the next day, great store of raine fell, and the winde was so tempestuous, as we could not passe by water, neither would my companions hire a waggon, besides that, the way was at this time so dirty, as no waggon could passe it. Notwithstanding since now onely two miles remained of my dangerous journey, and I thought no thiefe would come out in such raine, I resolved to goe on foot with my companions to Emden, being two miles, but of unspeakable length, and difficulty to passe. In the high way wee had three passages; one
upon the top of the Banke, lying upon an arme of the Sea, or rather upon the River Emsz running into the Sea, and in this passage the tempestious winde was like to beare us over, and blinded us with driving salt water into our eyes, besides that wee went over the shoes in dirt. The second passage was on the side of the banke, from the water, somewhat fairer then the other, but in that most troublesome, that wee were forced continually to leane upon a staffe, which every one had in his hand, lest being not staied with the staffe, we should fall into the lower way, which was intolerably dirty. The lower way, or Dangerous third passage, in the bottome of the banke furthest from the water, was for the passage of waggons, but the fields round about being overflowed in winter, this passage was now intolerably dirty. In this way we passed a very long mile, from the little City Leere, to the Village Aldernsea, from seven of the clocke in the morning to twelve. We came out at first tenne companions in this journey, but at the very comming out of Leere, six of them left us, despairing to passe against a contrary winde, in a foule rainy day, and their feet sticking fast in the dirt, and they mocked at our obstinacy in going. Within a while, my selfe was wet to the skinne, and my shoes at every step, were almost torne off, so as I was forced to binde them on with foure points, neither did any of us looke backe at his fellow, to helpe him if hee could not follow, and if I should have fallen into the Sea, I am confident none of them would have come back to succour me. After we had gone halfe a mile, one of our foure companions, being a yong man with a blacke beard, & able body, would not goe one foot further, though he had but one Stiver in his purse, and was forced to borrow money of us, that he might stay in a poore Ale-house. When we came to Aldernsea, the Free-booters spies, came to the Inne & gaped upon us, so as though I were wet to the skin, yet I durst not pull off any thing to dry, lest my inward garments better then my upper, should betray my disguise: neither durst I call for wine.
and spend freely lest they should thinke I had store of money. Each of us paied seven Stivers for his dinner. Here another of our companions left us, being so tired, as hee went to bed without eating one bit. So as now I had onely one companion left, called Anthony, a man of little stature, and a Citizen of Emden. We to be free of this dangerous journey, went forward, and as we came out of the Village, the Free-booters spies came close to us, and beheld us narrowly; but seeing us all covered with dirt, they tooke us for poore men, and a prey unfit to be followed. Wee gathering up strength went on, till at last wee were so weary, as having no strength to chuse our way, wee cast away our staves, and went almost up to the knees in dirt, in the lower way.

At last, having gone one mile (as me thought wondrous long) from one of the clocke in the afternoone to five, wee came to Emden, where my selfe entring the gate, could not stand till the Souldiers wrat our names, but had lynen downe on the ground if they had not given mee a seat. Now being out of all danger of the Free-booters, in giving my name, I wrote my selfe an English-man; the standers by not a little wondering, that I had put my self to this dangerous passage. And truly this journey, if it were free from all danger; yet the ill diet and lodging would yeeld trouble enough, for which I appeale to Lipsius, who hath pleasantly written of the entertainement in West-phalen, and Oldenburg. The Citie of Emden lies in the utmost border of the Empire, and is onely divided by the River Emsz, from the united Province of Netherland, and by an inland Sea from West Freez-land, being one of them. The Countrey about Emden aboundeth with villages, and from a Tower at Goricome, a man may see at once upon a faire day, twenty two walled Townes. Not farre from this City, neere Immengen, is the place where the Duke of Alva defeated the forces of Lodwick of Nassaw, his Dutch-men refusing to fight, except they were first paied. All the fields about Emden are drowned in winter, and the City lying upon
the Sea; for want of fresh waters they dresse most of their meat with raine water. The aire is very unhealthfull, but the City is fairely built of bricke, and the Citizens are very curteous. On the South side the River Emsz washeth the City with his salt streames, on which side is the Haven, and the Citizens are said to have some three score ships of a hundred tunnes a piece, and some six hundred barkes of their owne. In the Church-yard on this side, many peeces of Ordinance are laid, towards Leere and Dunort the Counts Fort, and the like are laid upon the Haven, and some places of advantage: for the City hath no walles on this side. On the West side, beyond the water lyeth Marish ground to the mouth of the Sea, and upon this side is a strong old Castle. On the North side the City is compassed with a wall of earth, and deepe ditches full of water, and there be two strong gates, Belgar-port, and New-port, without which the fields are Fenny. On this side there is a passage by boat, to the suburbs on the East side, where the fields without the towne are faire pastures in summer, but all overflowed in winter; and upon the Rampier of the wall, are many Winde-mils. The City is of a round forme, if it were not somewhat longer from the East to the West. At Emden they pay ordinarily six Stivers a meale, three stivers for a quart of English beere, eleven Stivers for a quart of Spanish wine, thirteene Stivers a quart of Rhenish wine, and seven Stivers for French wine: my selfe paid for supper and breakfast twenty three Stivers.
Chap. III.

Of my journey from Emden in Germany, to Leyden in Holland, and through the united Provinces of the Low-Countries.

In Thursday the twenty seven of October, in the yeere 1592, I tooke ship after dinner at Emden; being to saile into West Freesland, one of the united Provinces, and paid for my passage tenne Stivers. The same night wee cast anchor neere Ursphurn, a Fort seated beyond the Emsz, and belonging to the States of the united Provinces; and beyond this Port towards Flaunders, on the same side of the Emsz, lieth the Territory of the City Groning, seated in an Iland, rich in pastures, and at this time governed by a Spanish Garrison, which the Citizens had willingly received, though the States after besieged this City, and drove out the Spaniards, and united the City to the rest. As we lay at Anchor, two little Ilands lay on the North side, one subject to Emden, the other to Groning, and beyond them lay the German Sea. On Friday wee set saile with a scant winde, and towards night were left upon a Flat, vulgarly called Gat: where the water forsaking us, we walked out of the ship upon the sand, compassed round about with the Sea, till the same flowing backe againe, our ship floated. On Saterday we set saile againe, and towards night rested upon a like Flat, expecting the floud. Three of these Flats are in this Inland sea, and there be two like Flats in the Inland sea, betweene Freesland and Holland. At last wee landed on Sunday in Freesland, at the Village Anjou, lying neere the Sea shore, whether wee hired a sledge for eight stivers, and were drawne thither over the yce and snow.

After we had dined for twelve stivers each man (whereof more then halfe was reckoned for drinke) we went in a
skeut by water, in foure houres space, one mile to Dockam: and each man paid for his passage foure stivers and a halfe, we could not passe by waggon, the high way being then drowned. Nothing were more pleasant, nothing more quicke, then Sea-voyages, if a man might promise himselfe a good wind, and a reasonable gale: but through contrariety of winds and tempests, they commonly prove tedious. This small voyage which afflicted us foure daies, might have beene passed in sixe houres, if the winds had favoured us. And this hope of a short passage, caused us to make no provision of victuals, so as the Barke being governed by one Mariner and a boy, who had nothing but cheese and musty bread to live upon, and so could not much releeve us; each houre of these foure daies seemed a yeere unto us. Dockam a City of West Freesland, little in circuit, is in two places divided with water, which at this time overflowed into the very houses. The wall is strong with rampiers of earth, and the houses here, as in all these parts of Netherland are built of bricke. Here I paid for my supper twenty stivers, eating at an Ordinary, but the company sitting at the fire, and drinking after supper, all useth to be divided equally, whether a man drinke or no.

The first of November we went by water in sixe houres space two miles to Lewerden, having on each side the water, fertile pastures, and passing by two Forts, and each man paid for his passage three stivers. The City is faire and well fortified; and William Count of Nassau, cousin to Count Maurice, and Governor of Friesland, had his residence in the same. The streetes are large, and divided with water, and the houses are fairely builded of bricke. The City hath no Suburbs, and is of a round forme, but the waters dividing the streetes, slowly or not at all moved, are in this City (as almost in all other of these Provinces) subject to stinking. In the midst of the City there is a dam to let in water at pleasure, which in this place and two miles further is salt in tast. Passengers entering the City leave their swords with the guard of souldiers, and
COMMENTS UPON HARLINGEN

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1592.

receive them backe when they goe out of the Towne. The Villages hereabouts paid yeerely contribution to the Spanish garison of Groning, lest they should breake in, and spoile them. Here (they say) the first sermon of reformed religion was made, in the Monastery of the Jacobines: and here I paid for my supper foureteene stivers.

From Lewerden we went by water from eight a clocke in the morning, to five in the afternoone, two miles to Froniker, an University of Friesland, lately renewed, and one mile to the City Harlingen, and we paid six stivers for our passage. Entering this City, we left our swords with the guard of soouldiers, who restored them to us when wee went away. It is a little City, and lieth in length from the East to the West, but is somewhat more narrow towards the North, where the houses are thinly built. On the west and North sides, lies an arme of the Sea, comming out of the German Sea, and here inclosed with the continent and Ilands. On the South and East sides without the gates, are faire pastures in a large plaine. I lodged in an Englishmans house, the chiefe Host of the City, who either dispising England and Englishmen, or too much respecting his masters of Friesland, gave me such entertainment, as I tooke him for one of the old Picts: for having placed his gentlemen of Friesland at one table, he called me to the second, and seeing that I tooke it in ill part, lest I should no lesse dislike my lodging, he intreated a gentleman of Friesland to admit me partner of his bed, but I hearing the gentleman condition with him about the cleannesse of my body and linnen, for very scorne would not trouble his worship, but chose rather to lie upon a bench. And it was most ridiculous, that this Host excused himselfe to me, as having for countries sake made bold with me, whom he had never scene before. I paid for my supper and breakefast with wine, thirty stivers, and one of my consorts drinking no wine, paid sixeteene, whereof nine was for beere.
From Harlingen I went by the said Inland Sea, vulgarly called Zwidersea, fourteen miles to Amsterdam, and paid eight stivers for my passage. Some of our passengers going onely to Enchusen, paid five stivers, for by covenant betweene the Cities, the ships must land their passengers at Enchusen, and there receive such new passengers as they find, and one ship at least is bound daily to make this passage. From the said Harlingen a City of Friesland, wee passed in foure houres saile to Enchusen a City of Holland, which is fortified with a wall of earth, and strong rampiers, and lieth in length from the North to the South. The Haven lies on the East side; and the new City was then building towards the West side. This City lying betweene the mouth of the German sea, and Amsterdam, another City of Holland, and in the beginning of the warre taking part with the Prince of Orange, forced Amsterdam by stopping all supply of victuals, to yeeld to the said Prince. Having made short stay here, we tooke ship againe, and sayling from five a clocke in the evening, to twelve in the night, in the same Inland sea, we entered the River Tay, where we cast anchor till foure in the morning, and then setting sayle, passed one mile in that River before sixe of the clocke, and landed at Amsterdam.

Five streetes of this City are divided with water: the River Tay flowes like a large and calme sea on the North side, where is a safe port, the trafficke being great in this City, and at Midleburg since the passage to Antwerpe was stopped. Upon the Haven lies a field or market place, called Campplatz, where the Citizens use to behold their friends going to sea, and returning home. From this place towards the South lies Warmerstrat, a long and large street, betweene two Rivers, which part of the City is called, the new Ditch. The Merchants in summer meet upon the Bridge, and in winter they meet in the New Church, in very great number, where they walke in two rankes by couples, one ranke going up, and another going downe, and there is no way to get out of the Church,
COMMENTS UPON AMSTERDAM

A.D.

1592.

except they slip out of the doores, when in one of those rankes they passe by them. On the East side of the City there is a wall of stone, higher then the City, having a pleasant walke upon it. In the same place are houses for exercise of shooting in gunnes and crosse-bowes: beyond this wall there is another of earth, and betweene these wals the new City was plotted out, whereof few houses were then built, but since I heare it is fully finished. Likewise on the South and West sides there be two like wals, and between them the plot of the said new City, in which many faire houses were then built. The fields on all sides without the gates being fenny and drowned with water, doe make the City more strong, but for this cause (they say) the foundations of the houses being laid in water, cost as much or more as the houses themselves. The River Amster (of which and the word dam, the City is named) running from the South through three lakes, entereth this city, and passing through it, falls into the River Tay on the North side. The City hath five gates, which are shut at dinners and suppers, though the danger of the warre be farre from them. There be two Churches in which they have two sermons each second day, and foure on sunday. The City lay in length from the North to the South, but adding the plot of the new City, it is of a round forme. The streetes are narrow, and the building of bricke, with a low rooFe, shewed antiquity. They have two Almes-houses (called Gasthausen, that is, Houses for strangers) which were of old Monasteries. One of these houses built round, was a Cloyster for Nunnes, wherein sixty beds at this time were made for poore weomen diseased, and in another chamber thereof were fifty two beds made for the auxiliary Soulders of England, being hurt or sicke, and in the third roome were eighty one beds made for the hurt and sicke Souldiers of other Nations: to which souldiers and sicke weomen they gave cleane sheetes, a good diet, and necessary clothes, with great cleanlinesse, and allow them Physitians & Surgions to cure them: and
most of the Cities in these Provinces have like houses. Here I lodged with an English-man, and paid for dinner and supper twenty stivers, and for a guest invited to supper, ten stivers, and for three pints or chopines of Spanish wine, twenty one stivers.

From Amsterdam I went in a boat three miles to Harlam, and paid for my passage foure stivers: we had not passed farre from Amsterdam, when we came to a damme, shutting out the flowing of the sea, for the waters are salt thus farre, though the ebbing and the flowing of the sea can hardly be discerned at Amsterdam, for the depth of the River Tay; and because Inland seas shew little ebbing or flowing. Our boat was lifted over this damme by ropes, and so let fall into the water on the other side, for which the Mariners paid tribute. There is another damme for greater Barkes, and as by these dammes they let in waters to the Land at pleasure, so they have other dams at Torgay to let them out againe into the Sea, when the Land hath too much water. From hence we had the Sea-shore all the way on the North side, not farre distant, and on both sides of the water in which we passed, were faire pastures, parted with ditches of water.

The River running from Amsterdam, from the East to the North, doth turne neere Harlam towards the South, and divideth the City, which on all sides is compassed with Navigable waters. On the North side neere the gate Jans-port, Don Frederick, sonne to the Duke of Alva, pitched his tent in a meadow, when he besieged the City with the Spanish forces, and much spoiled those parts, beating downe Gentlemens faire houses (dwelling frequently in that part) with his Artillery, playing into this street, having the name of the Knights of Saint John. On the same side are two other gates, Sayle-port, and Cruyse-port, and without them toward the sea, being halfe a mile distant, are very faire pastures, but there is no river nor ditch that leads from the City to the sea. For these Provinces have onely three passages to goe to sea:
COMMENTS UPON HAARLEM

A.D. 1592.

one betweene Rotherodam and Bril, a Fort of Zealand, the second at Vlishing another Port of Zealand, and the third from Amsterdam betwenee two Ilands, called the Fly and Shelling. Wee comming from Amsterdam to Harlam, entred the Citie by the gate Kleine-holt Port, on the East side, where the very Almes-houses were beaten downe, in the aforesaid siege of the Spaniards, and the walles then beaten downe, were not yet rebuilt. On the South side is the fifth gate, Grote-holt Port, the street whereof is the fairest, next that of the Knights of Saint John. On this side was a wall of stone, but at this time they were building another very strong wall beyond it of earth. In the New-street is the house for exercise of shooting, and another old house for the same use, and one market-place sweetly shaded with trees, and a second market-place of good length for the selling of Cattle. Likewise on this side another part of the Spanish Army lay, and destroyed a most pleasant Wood, of which the gate and street have the name. And they report that the Spaniards taking the City, used great cruelty to all; but especially to the Garrison of the English Souldiers. The Histories witnesse, that three hundred were beheaded, and more then two hundred drowned in the Lake, called Harlam-mere. On the West side the Citie is compassed with a wall of earth, and there bee faire pastures betwenee the City and the Sea. Among the Churches, that which is called the Great, is the fairest, and our Ladies Church, vulgarly called Unser-fraw kirke, is the next in beautie. All the sea coast of Holland, is a sandy downe, in which are great store of conies. This Citie makes great store of linnen clothes, and hath some five hundred spinsters in it. The water heere (as most of these Cities) standing, and little or nothing moving, is subject to stinking, so as they are forced to fetch water for brewing by boats. Here I paiied for supper, and my part of wine twenty stivers, and for my dinner without wine, thirteene stivers. About a mile from the City is a very sweet Hil, called Weligheberg, whether the brides use to walke, and there take
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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

their leaves of the Virgins. And in the mid way towards Almer, is another Hil, where the Counts of Holland were wont to bee consecrated. In the market-place, over against the Pallace, they shew the house for one Laurance John, whom they brag to bee the first inventor of the Presse for Printing; and they shew two bels of the brasse of Corinth, which they say were brought from Pelusium, a City in Affrick upon the Nyle.

From Harlam wee hired a waggon for eight stivers, and came five miles in five houres space, to Leyden, our waggoner baiting his horses in the mid way, but staying very little. In the way we had on all sides faire pastures, and passed by the Lake, or Mere of Harlam, lying towards the South, and the sea bankes within sight towards the North. The high wayes in these Provinces seeme to be forced, and made by Art; being sandy and very dry, though all the pastures on both sides bee compassed with frequent ditches of water. At the gates of Leyden, the men goe out of the waggon, and onely women may be carried into the City, lest (as I thinke) the wheeles of the loaded waggons, should breake the bricke pavements of the streets.

Hence I returned presently to Amsterdam, that I might receive money sent me by exchange. So I hired a waggon for eight stivers my part, from hence to Harlam, and by the way I observed, that the waggons having past more then halfe the way, must have the way given them by all the waggons they meet, because their horses should in reason be most weary. At Harlam I paied for supper, bed, and breakfast, twenty five stivers. Hence I went by waggon, and paid for my part of it sixteene stivers, for three miles to Amsterdam, and there receiving my money, returned to Harlam, drawne over the snow and ice (which had plentifully fallen) on a sledge: for which I paid foure stivers; and I observed many markes set up in the fields, to direct the way to passengers.

From Harlam I returned to Leyden, where I lodged in a French-mans house, for intending to bestow all my
COMMENTS UPON LEYDEN

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time in the French tongue, till by Letters I should dispose of my estate in England, and there being a famous University in this City, I found no abiding fitter for me then this. I paid for my diet and chamber in this Frenchman's house three guldens, and fifteene stivers weekly, but in the common Innes they pay ten or fifteene stivers a meale, according to the quantity of beere they drinke, and ordinarily twenty stivers or more, if they drinke wine. Leyden is so called of the words Legt bey de dunen, that is, lieth by the Downes (so they call the sandy bankes of the Sea, as the English doe likewise in Kent.) Leyden is of a round forme, or perhaps somewhat longer from the East to the West, where the Rheine passeth by it. It is a City of much beauty, the houses are very fairely built of bricke, and be uniforme. The Churches are covered with long slates (as they be almost through all Holland) and among the streetes one is much fairer then the rest, in the middest whereof is a peece of ground railed in, where the Merchants meet. Many streetes are divided with waters, which are passed by woorden bridges, and in deede if a man dig two foote in any part of Holland, he shall find water. I said that the Rheine passeth by this City, yet doth it not fall into the Sea, but leeseth it selfe in many standing ditches of water, in this low part of the continent. Toward the North-west about a mile from the City, there is the end of a ditch digged of old from the very City, & vulgarly called Malgatt, because the Citizens spent much treasure, in a vaine hope to make a Haven for ships, and a navigable water to come up to the Towne; for the heapes of sand daily cast up by the Sea, filled the place up, where they thought to have made the Haven, as fast as they could dig it, yet was it long before they would cease from this ill advised worke. Notwithstanding salt water comes under the earth from the Sea into this ditch, and they carry the same unto the City to make salt thereof. Upon the same Sea-shore, towards the North, and like distance from the City, is a Village called Catwicke, seated upon Mountaines of sands,
on the maine sea. Upon the same shore further towards the North, is a place where they say the Romans of old had an Armory, the ruines whereof (some musket shot from the shore) more or lesse appeare, as the wind covers them with sand, or blowing from another quarter, drives away the sand, and so laies them open. Hereabouts they say that many coines of the Romans are oftentimes digged up, and neere the Hoch-landish Church is a Monument built by Caligula the Emperour, which now belongs to a Gentleman of that Countrey. Upon the North side of this city the Villages Warmond and Nortwicke, lie upon the aforesaid Downes, but the City hath no gate that directly leades to them. Leyden hath five gates, Regenspurgport, on the West side, which leadeth to Harlam, and to Catwicke; and white port which leadeth to Hage, betweene which gates there is a low water-gate of iron grates, for boates to passe in and out. Neere White Port lies a house, where they exercise shooting with the Peece and Crosse-bow. On the South side is the gate Kowport, leading into the pastures. Upon the East side is the gate Hochwertz-port, more fortified then any of the rest, and it leadeth to Uberden, Gonda, and to Alphen. There is another gate Zillport, which leadeth to Utrecht, whither you passe by water or land. The foresaid street, which I said was the beauty of the Towne, lieth from the West to Hochwertzport, on the East side, and is called Breitstrat, that is Broadstreete.

In the spring time of the yeere 1593. purposing to see the Cities of the united Provinces, I hired a Waggon for sixe stivers, and went from Leyden to Delph, three miles in three houres space, through corne fields and rich pastures, and having gone two third parts of the way, we passed over the water that runnes from Leyden to Delph. In all these parts the high way hath ditches on both sides, and is very plaine, sandy, and very dry, being daily repaired by the countrey people. By the way is a mill, in which they make oyle of rape and line seedes mingled with wallnut shels, and they have many such mills in those
COMMENTS UPON DELFT

A.D.
1593.

parts. Not farre of, at Voberg, the Histories write of a holy Grove, famous for a conspiracy against the Romans.

The City of Delph, lyeth in length from the North to the South, and the fairest street called Corne-mart, lies the same way. Here (as in all the Cities of these parts) the buildings are of bricke, but the houses of Delph are more stately built, and seeme to have more antiquity then other where. In the New Church is a Monument of the Prince of Orange, the poorest that ever I saw for such a person, being onely of rough stones and morter, with posts of wood, coloured over with black, and very little erected from the ground. Neere the Church is a large market-place, and within a little Iland the Senate house is built. The Haven is on the South side. The Prince of Orange dwelt heere in a Monastery, and used to eat in a low parlor, whence as he ascended the staires into the chamber, a wicked murtherer gave him his deaths wound, who flying by a backe doore, was after taken in the Citie, and put to a most cruell, but most deserved death. The Countesse of Buren, daughter to this said Prince, now lived in this Monastery with her family. Here I paied for one meale, for my selfe and a guest invited by me, and two pots of Rhenish wine, three guldens, and five stivers. When the Spanish Army most pressed the united Provinces, the Prince of Orange then lying here, to shunne a greater mischiefe from the Spaniards, brake downe the bankes of the sea, and let in the waters, which did much hurt to the Countrey, but saved them from the Spaniards, who with great feare hasted away, giving great rewards to those that guided them to the firme continent. At Delph are about three hundred Brewers, and their beere, for the goodnesse, is called Delphs-English; but howsoever they had Brewers, and the very water out of England, they could never make their beere so much esteemed as the English, which indeed is much bettered by the carriage over sea to these parts.

Hence I went to Sluse, so called of the damme to let waters in and out, and came thither in two houres, paying
for my waggon thirteene stivers, which I hired alone, for if I had light upon company, we should have paied no more betweene us. Hence I passed the River Mase, where it falleth into the sea, and came to Brill, my selfe and two others, paying twelve stivers for our passage: but the barke being presently to returne, and therefore not entring the Port, set us on land neere the Towne, whether we walked on foot.

Brill. Brill is a fortified Towne, laid in pledge to Queene Elizabeth, for money she lent the States, and it was then kept by foure English Companies paid by the Queene, under the government of the Lord Burrowes. The Towne is seated in an Iland, which was said to bee absolute of it selfe, neither belonging to Zealand, nor Holland. On the North side, the River Mase runneth by. On the East side are corne fields, and the River somewhat more distant. On the South side are corne fields. On the West side are corne fields, and the maine Sea little distant. Here I paied for my supper and dinner twenty stivers, and for a pot of wine eightene stivers.

From hence I returned by water to Roterodam in Holland, and paied for my passage three stivers. In the mouth of the River of Roterodam, lies the City Arseldi-pig, and another called Delphs-Ile, being the Haven of Delph, which was then a pleasant Village; but growing to a City, and having beene lately burnt by fire, was fairely rebuilid.
COMMENTS UPON ROTTERDAM

house. In the market place toward the West, is the statua of Erasmus, being made of wood, for the Spaniards brake downe that which was made of stone; and the inscription thereof witnesseth, that hee was borne at Roterodame, the twenty eight of October, in the yeere 1467, and died at Bazel the twelth of July, in the yeere 1531. In New-Kirk-street, there is the house in which Erasmus was borne, wherein a Taylor dwelled at this time, and upon the wall thereof, these Verses are written:

Ædibus his natus, mundum decoravit Erasmus,
Artibus ingenuis, Religione, fide.

The world, Erasmus in this poore house borne,
With Arts, Religion, Faith, did much adorne.

The same Verses also were written in the Flemmish tongue, and upon the wall was a picture of Erasmus. Upon the same West side is the house for exercise of shooting in the Peece and Crosse-bow. The waters of Roterodam and Delph, being neere the sea are more wholesome then the standing waters within land. Heere I lodged at an English-mans house; and paied for my supper tenne stivers, for my breakfast two stivers, and for beere betweene meales five stivers: by which expence, compared with that of the Flemmish Innes, it is apparant that strangers in their reckonings, pay for the intemperate drinking of their Dutch companions.

From hence I went by sea three miles to Dort, in two houeres space; to which City we might have gone great part of the way by waggon, as farre as Helmund, but then we must needs have crossed an Inland sea, for the City is seated in an Iland, having beene of old divided from the continent of Holland, in a great floud. The forme of the City resembles a Galley, the length whereof lies from the East to the West. Wee landed upon the North side lying upon the sea, where there be two gates, but of no strength. On the East side is the New gate, Reydike, and beyond a narrow water, lye fenny grounds. On the South side, the ditch is more narrow, yet the sea ebbs and
flowes into it, and upon old walles of stone is a convenient walking place. On this side is the gate Spey-port, and beyond the ditch lye fenny grounds. On the West side is the gate Feld-port, and a like walke upon walles of stone, and there is a greater ebbing and flowing of the sea. There is a great Church built of bricke, and covered with slate; being stately built with Arched cloysters, and there of old the Counts of Holland were consecrated. From this part the two fairest streets Reydikeye-strat, and Wein-strat, lie windingly towards the North. Turning a little out of the faire street Reydikeye-strat, towards the South, lies the house for exercise of shooting in the Peece & Crosse-bow, and there by is a very pleasant grove; upon the trees whereof certaine birds frequent, which we call Hearnes, vulgarly called Adhearne or Regie, and their feathers being of great price, there is a great penalty set on them, that shall hurt or annoy those birds. There is a house which retaines the name of the Emperor Charles the fift, and another house for coyning of money; for the Counts of Holland were wont to coyne money at Dort, as the Counts of Zealand did at Midleburg. Betweene the faire streets, Reydikeye-strat and Wein-strat, is the Haven for ships, to be passed over by bridges, and there is a market place, and the Senate house; which hath a prospect into both these streets. The houses are higher built then other where in Holland, and seeme to be of greater Antiquity. This Citie by priviledge is the staple of Rhenish wines, which are from hence carried to other Cities, so as no imposition being here payed for the same, the pot of Rhenish wine is sold for twelve stivers, for which in other places they pay eighteene, or twenty stivers. For three meales I paied heere thirty stivers.

From hence I went by water to the States Campe, besieging Getrudenberg, and came thither in two houres space, but the windes being very tempestuous, wee saw a boat drowned before us, out of which one man onely escaped by swimming, who seemed to me most wretched, in that hee over-lived his wife and all his children then
drowned. The besieged City lies in the Province of Brabant; and the County of Buren, being the inheritance of the Prince of Orange, by right of his wife; and in this Month of June, it was yeelded to Count Maurice, the Spanish Army lying neere, but not being able to succour it.

The Sea lying upon this part of Brabant, was of old firme land, joined to the continent, till many villages by divers floods (and seventeene Parishes at once by a famous flood) were within lesse then 200. yeeres agoe swallowed up of the Sea, and for witnes of this calamity, divers Towers farre distant the one from the other, appeare in this Sea, and according to the ebbing and flowing, more or lesse seene, doe alwaies by their sad spectacle put the passengers in mind of that wofull event. And the Hollanders say, that these flouds caused the Rheine to change his bed, as hereafter I shall shew in the due place.

From Count Maurice his Campe at Getrudenberg, I sailed in six houres space to the Iland Plate, and at midnight putting forth againe, sailed in ten houres space to the Iland Tarlot, and from thence in three houres space to the City Bergenapzome, where we landed. By the way we saw one of the aforesaid Towers high above the water, being a steeple of some parish Church swallowed up in the said deluge, of which there be many like sad remembrances in this Inland sea. The channell leading to the City is called Forcemer, and hath upon the banke many strong forts, and in this channell lay a man of warre to defend passengers from the bordering enemy. This City is strongly fortified, and is seated in Brabant, and had many castles of the enemy lying neere it, and it was governed by a garison of English, not in the Queenes, but in the States pay, as Ostend at that time was (whereas Vlishing and Brill pledged to the Queen for money, were kept by English Garisons in the Queenes pay) and Sir Thomas Morgan was at this time Governour of this City. At our entrance every man gave his name to the Guard. Without the City on the West side, many akers of land
were drowned, when the Prince of Orange (as I said) let in the waters to drive the Spaniards out of those parts, which from that day to this, could never be dried and gained againe. On this side I entered the City, where be many poore houses built in forme of a Lutes necke, which being added to the City almost of a round forme, make the whole City much like unto a Lute. On this side were three strong ravelings, and upon the necke of the said Lute is the Haven, in the channell Forcemer, which going no further into the land, endeth in a mill made of purpose to keepe the ebbing water, so as the ditches may alwaies be full. On the North side is the prison, not unpleasant for situation, and the English House, and the House of the Governour, which of old belonged to the Count of Brabant. Betweene the Gates Wouldport and Stephenbergport, which are both strongly fortified, the River Zome fals into the Towne, whereof it hath the name, yet the channell being stopped, it seemes here a standing water, rather then a River. Towards the East, the City is very strongly fortified, and there is the Gate Boskport, so called (as I thinke) of the word Bosco, which in the Italian tongue, signifies a wood: for on this side without the gates, were many woods and orchards, till they were destroyed in the warre. On this side is another Raveling of great length, and beyond the fortifications lie faire pastures, but somewhat covered with waters. And from hence wee might see Woudcastle, scarce three English miles distant, which was then possessed by the Spaniards. On the South side is a new fort, beyond a strong bulwarke, and a very strong counterscarp compassing the City. And from hence was of old a most pleasant walke, under the shade of trees, to the old castle, some mile distant. On this side in a pleasant grove were many such birds, as I said to be at Dort, vulgarly called Adherne, much esteemed for the fethers they beare in their fore-head, and there is a penalty set on those that hurt or drive them away. On this side also is the English Church, and upon this and the East sides the Prince of Parma incamped,
when hee besieged this City. There is in the middest of the City a triangular market place, and from the sharpe end thereof towards the West, five ravelings run beyond the wals. The houses are built of bricke, and seeme to be built of old. The Church hath a very high steeple, whence the watchmen shew the comming and number of horse-men by hanging out white flagges, and of foot by redde. All the Villages hereabouts, though living under the Spaniard, yet pay contribution to this Garrison, lest the souldiers should upon advantage breake out, and spoile them. The Citizens live of manuall arts, and the expences of the Garison.

From hence I sayled to Midleburge, and at one ebbe of the Sea, passed in seven houres space to Der-goese, and at another ebbe in four houres space to Armuren, a City of the Iland Walkern, belonging to Zealand, and I paid for my passage six stivers. From hence in halfe an houre I walked on foot to Midleburge, the houses whereof are stately built, and very high, especially the new City, and are all of bricke, as be the Cities of Holland, and as be the houses of Vlishing, but some of these are stately built of free stone, yet the streetes are somewhat narrow. Here I paid for my supper five stivers in the English House, where the Host is onely bound to provide for the Merchants and such guests as they invite, yet many times he admits English Gentlemen both to lodge and eat there. The House lies in the street Longdelf, and howsoever the Merchants eat there, yet they hier their lodgings scatteringly in the City, and refused an Abbey which the Senators offered them to lodge therein, perhaps out of feare, lest in any civill tumult they might more easily be wronged, if they should all lie together. This City is the Staple of all Merchandise, excepting Rhenish wine, for which by old priviledge Dorte is the Staple. Therefore French and Spanish Wines are here sold much more cheape then other where, because they are free of impost in this place, and have great impositions laid on them, being carried out to other Cities. The forme of the

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City is round, save that on the East side, the buildings of the new City being unperfected, made it to have the forme of a halfe Moone, though the plot thereof were round. Comming from Armuren, I entered on this East side, by a very faire gate, called the New Gate, where the water falling into the Towne, passeth to the Burse, where the Merchants meet. There is a publike House for shooting, the wall on this side (as round about the City) is of stone, and is rather adorned then fortified with some Towers. And this wall is double, upon the Inner whereof compassed with deepe ditches, many Houses are built. On the West side without the gates, almost halfe way to Vlishing, is Rammakins Castle, kept by English Souldiers, sent from Vlishing to that purpose, being a place of great importance, because the channell going to Mibleburge, runnes within the command of their Artillery. On this South side is the Haven, and without the wals very faire pastures, to the uttermost part of the Iland. Also on this side is a new Haven made for ships in the winter time, and the gate is called, Rammakins Port, of the said Castle. On the West side you may see Vlishing a mile off, and in a cleere day, the Downes of Kent in England. On this side within the wals is a round market place, and the Senate-house of antick building, and two Gates called of the Cities to which they leade, Vlishing port, and Longe-ville port. On the North side is an Abbey, and pleasant walking, and another publike House for exercise of shooting. This populous City hath onely two Churches, either because the people being of many sects in Religion, and much occupied in trafficke, scarce the third part comes to Church, or else because the people being much increased by strangers, comming to dwell in these parts, upon the stopping of the passage to Antwerp in the civill warres, it is no wonder that the old Churches will not receive them. The Citizens may at pleasure drowne all the fields about them. And this, one, and the chiefe Iland of Zealand, called Walkerne, containeth five walled Cities, besides Villages;
COMMENTS UPON FLUSHING

but the aire is reputed unwholsome. Midleburge is the chiefe place of trafficke in Zealand, as Amsterdam in Holland.

From hence I went in a long Waggon covered with hoopes and cloth to Vlishing, a long mile; and paid for my passage two blankes. Ten English foot companies, one hundred and fifty in each company, under the government of Sir Robert Sidney, kept this strong Towne for the Queene of England, and under her pay; being ingaged to her for money lent the States, and the ten Captaines in course watched each third night. The City is little and of a round forme, but very strong. It hath a narrow Sea on the West side, where, upon the last confines of Zealand and the united Provinces, is one of the three passages (whereof I formerly spake) to the Maine Sea. On this side is the Mountaine of the Mill, where the Souldiers watch nightly, and beyond the Mountaine is a damme to let in the Sea at pleasure. On the South side is the Gate Waterport, strongly fortified, lying upon the Inland Sea. On this side towards the North, the Sea flowing into the Towne, maketh one Haven, and towards the East another, and divideth the City into three parts, the Old, the New, and the Middle, whereof any one being taken by the enemy, yet the other are fortified for defence. Beyond these Havens or channels, is a Mountaine lying over the City, upon which the Souldiers kept guards day and night, as they did likewise upon the Bridge dividing the Cities, and upon other lower hills, at all the gates of the City, and in prayer time, at the doore of the English Church. This Church is on the East side, and is common to the English and Dutch at divers houres. Betweene the high mountaine & this Church, was the Governours House, belonging of old to the Counts of Zealand, and the publike house for exercise of shooting, but lesse pleasant then the like houses are in other Cities. On the same East side lie two waies, one to Rammakins Castle, the other to Midleburge. On the North side the Downes of Kent in England may
easily be seen, and there is the Hospital or Gast-house for sick people, and for sick and maimed soldiers, of which a Mountaine thereby hath the name. On this and the East sides, are two Mils to retain the water when the Sea ebbs, that the ditches round about may alwayes be filled, and if need be to overflow the fields. These ditches are commonly a pikes depth, and can by no art or enemy be dried. The Citizens want good water, having no wels, nor any fresh water, but raine water kept in Cesternes. The foresaid number of Soldiers in the Garrison, was not sufficient to master the Citizens, onely their couragious minds despising death, kept the Citizens in such awe, as they durst not attempt to recover their liberty by force, which they hoped to obtaine by peaceable meanes, and the united Provinces depended upon the opinion of the Queenes aid, perhaps more then upon the aid it selfe, so as either failing, they were like to be a prey to the Spaniards. Since that time I heard the Garison was diminished, so as it seemes the English had lesse strength to keepe it, if the States changing their minds, should attempt to surprise it. Being invited by my English friends, I spent nothing in this City.

Hence I returned to Midleburge on foot, upon a paved causey, having on each side rich corne fields, and faire pastures, with many orchards; and in the mid-way a Gentleman called Aldegondey, famous for his wisdome, hath his Castle, wherein he dwelt. At Midleburge I paid six stivers for my supper, and two for my bed, and providing victuals to carry by Sea, I paid for a loyne of mutton twenty foure stivers, as also for my washing seven stivers, and staying in the Towne two daies, I spent in all foure guldens and foure stivers.

I tooke ship at ten in the morning, and betweene the Iland Der-goese, and the Inland Sea, called Zurechsea, I saw two Towers of Villages swallowed in the foresaid deluge, and sayling by the Iland Plate, and the Iland of Brill, we passed certaine booyes directing to find the channell. The next day in the afternoone, I landed at
Roterodam in Holland, and paid ten stivers for my passage. Thence I passed in two hours space by boat to Delph, and paid two stivers for my passage. Thence in two hours space I passed to the Hage by Waggon, and paid for my passage two stivers; for which journey one man alone may hire a Waggon for seven stivers.

At the Hage Count Maurice with his mother in law the Countesse of Orange (born of the Noble Family of the Chastillons in France) and the Generall States of the united Provinces, and Princes Ambassadours, have their residence, which made me desirous to stay here a while, to which purpose I hired a chamber, for which, for my bed, sheets, tableclothes, towels, and dressing of my meat, I paid twenty five stivers weekly. I bought my owne meat, and living privately with as much frugality as conveniently I might, I spent by the weeke no more then five guldens and a halfe, though all things were in this place extraordinarily deere. My beere in one weeke came to foureteene stivers, and among other things bought, I paid for a quarter of lambe thirty stivers, for a Hen seven stivers, for a Pigeon foure stivers, for a Rabet three stivers. I remember not to have seen a more pleasant village then this: great part of the houses are fairely built of bricke, though many of them in by-streetes be covered with thatch, and some few are stately built of free-stone. The village hath the forme of a Crosse, and upon the East side comming in from Leyden, there is a most pleasant Grove, with many wild walkes like a maze, and neerer the houses is another very pleasant walke, set round about with willowes. Here is the publike house for exercise of shooting in the Peece and Crosse-bow, which hath a sweet prospect into a large greene plaine, where they use to spread linnen clothes in the sunne, and here certaine rowses of trees being planted, yeeld a pleasant shade to them that walke therein. One of the said rowses of trees called Vinareberg, leades to an old Castle of the Counts of Holland, compassed with a drie
The Castle of the Counts of Holland.

The ditch, in which Count Maurice dwelt, but in the great Hall thereof were many shops of Merchants for small wares. Upon the walls of the said Castle, and upon the windowes of the Church, these words were written in latine.

To Charles the fifth, &c. To the most invincible Caesar Charles the fifth Roman Emperour, the victorious defender of the Catholike Religion, and Augustus. The Provisors of this House have placed this, in the yeere 1547.

Thereby was the statua of Charles the fifth, kneeling on his knees. In the window were painted the Armes of all the Knights of the golden Fleece. The Histories of the Countrey report the building of this Pallace to be wonderfull, in that the top of the Hall is not joined with beames, but with arches: but for my part I observed no great magnificence in the worke. The second of the foresaid rows of trees, called Furholt, leads to a gentlemans house, the fairest & most stately built in this Village. In the middest of the Hage lies the market place, and the Church. On the South side is the water that leads to Delph: and round about on all sides without the Village, are faire pastures, excepting the North-side, where the sandy downes of the Sea lie neere to the Village. In the Church is a Monument of Count Albertus, Duke of Bavaria, and another of a Count of Hanaw, with divers others, which I omit, as having no antiquity or magnificence.

While I staied at the Hage, I walked out in halfe an houres space to the village Lausdune, where I saw a wonderfull monument, the History whereof printed in a paper, the Earle of Leicester (as they said) had carried with him into England, leaving onely the same in written hand, the coppy whereof I will set downe, first remem- bring that two basens of brasse hanged on the wall, in which the children (whereof I shall speak) were baptized.

The manuscript was in latine as followeth,
En tibi monstrosum nimis & memorabile factum,  
Quale nec a Mundi conditione datum.  
Hae lege, mox animo stupefactus lector abibis.  

So strange and monstrous thing I tell,  
As from the worlds frame nere befell,  
He parts amasde that markes it well.  

The rest in latine is thus englished;  

Margaret, wife to Hermanuus Count of Henneberge,  
daughter to Florence Count of Holland and Zealand,  
sister to William King of the Romans, and Cæsar, or  
Governour of the Empire. This most noble Countesse  
being about forty two yeeres old, the very day of prepara-  
tion called Parascene, about nine of the clocke, in the  
yeere 1276. brought forth at one birth three hundred  
sixty five children, which being baptized in two basens  
of brasse, by Guido Suffragan of Útretcht, all the males  
were called John, and all the females Elizabeth; but all  
of them together with the mother, died in one and the  
same day, and lie buried here in the Church of Lausdune:  
and this happened to her, in that a poore woman bearing  
in her armes two twinnes, the Countesse wondering at  
it, said shee could not have them both by one man, and  
so rejected her with scorne, whereupon the woman sore  
troubled, wished that the Countesse might have as many  
children at a birth, as there be daies in the whole yeere;  
which besides the course of nature, by miracle fell out,  
as in this table is briefly set downe for perpetuall memory,  
out of old Chronicles, as well written as printed. Almighty  
God must be in this beheld and honoured, and extolled  
with praises for ever and ever. Amen.  

From the Hage, my selfe and other consorts hired a  
Waggon for two guldens, and passed to Leyden, having  
on both sides faire pastures, fruitfull corne fields, and some  
pleasant groves.  

[Chap. V.]
Of my journey out of the united Provinces, by the Sea coast, to Stode and Lubeck in Germany. Of my sailing to Denmarke, and thence to Dantzk in Prussen, and my journey through Poland to Padoua in Italy.

In the end of the Month of June, and the yeere 1593: having now dispatched by Letters, all my businesse in England, and having seene the united Provinces, I was in doubt by what way I should returne into Italy: and having already passed the two waies of Germany, that by Augspurge, and the other by the Sweitzers, and the way by France being then shut up by the civill warres, the common desire of Travellers not to passe the same way twice, but to see as many new Countries as their course will permit; made me resolve to passe through the Kingdomes of Denmarke and Poland, and by the fortified City of Wien in Austria. In which journey, howsoever I should goe much out of my way, and was like to indure many troubles; yet I thought nothing was difficult to a willing minde. Therefore I hired a waggon from Leyden to Utrecht, and paied for my part twelve stivers. Wee passed three miles and a halfe in three houres, by the village Alpha, where the Spaniards in-camped, when they besieged Leyden; and by a little Towne called Gonda, having on both sides faire pastures, but somewhat overflowed, and ditches set with willowes; and we came to a little village, where the waggoner gave his horses meat. Then in foure houres space wee passed foure miles and a halfe, having on both sides fruitfull corne fields, and like ditches set with willowes, and so we came to Utrecht. But a mile and a halfe before we came thither, we passed out of the Territory of Holland,
and entred the Bishopricke of Utrecht, which is one of the united Provinces. Not farre from the City wee saw a crosse, set up for a Monument of a Bishop dying in battell against the Hollanders. I had almost forgotten the little City Werden, which they shewed us by the way, and told us, that the forme thereof was like the City of Jerusalem, which at that time I had not seene, and therefore mention this from their report, rather then from my judgement.

The City Utrecht is seated in length from South-east, by East, to North-west by West, and upon the end at South-east by East, is the gate Weitefraw, where the Rheine enters the City. At the other end, North-west by West, are the ruines of an old Castle, which the Spaniards kept before the wars, to bridle the City: and there be two gates, Saint Katherine-port, and Wert-port, each of them having their suburbes. On the South-west side are walles of earth, but the ditches were almost dry. On the North-east side is the gate Olske-port, and there bee three strong Ravelings, one defending the other. On this side bee two streets fairer then the rest, called New-graft, and Altkirkhoffe; and there is a pleasant walke well shaded with trees, upon the banke of the River. In the midst of the City is the Cathedrall Church, having a faire Tower, and a Bell, which they report to be of eighteene thousand pounds weight. Neere to the same is the Bishops Pallace, wherein the Bishops dwelt before the union of the Provinces; but at this time there dwellled the Countesse of Meurs, whose husband died in these warres. In the same part lie the market place, and the Senate house. The houses of the City are of bricke, and fairely built, but lose much of their beautie by being covered on the outside with boords, and they seeme to have more antiquitie, then the buildings of Holland. There be thirty Churches, but onely three are used for divine service. In Saint Maries Church, (which as I remember is the Cathedrall Church) these verses are written upon a piller.
Accipe posteritas quod per tua secula narres, Taurinis cutibus fundo solidata columna est.

Posterity heare this, and to your children tell, Bull hydes beare up this piller from the lowest hell.

Upon a second piller this is written in Latine.

A Frison killed the Bishop because hee had learned of him, being drunke, and betrayed by his sonne, the Art to stop a gulfe in this place, the yeere 1099.

Upon a third piller this is written in Latine:

The Emperour Henry the fourth, built this Church to our Lady, because hee had pulled downe another Church at Milane, dedicated to her.

And to my understanding, they shewed me at this time manifest signes of the aforesaid gulfe, which these inscriptions witnesse to have beene in this place. Heere I paied for my supper twenty stivers, and for my breakefast six stivers.

From hence I went to Amsterdam, five miles in three hours space, and paied for my passage in the waggon ten stivers. For halfe the way on both sides wee had faire pastures, and saw many strong Castles belonging to Gentlemen. Neere Utrecht, at the passage of a river each man paid a Doight, and before wee came to the halfe way, we passed the confines of this Bishopricke, and entred the County of Holland. Then in the space of two houres and a halfe, we came to Amsterdam, having in our way on both sides faire pastures.

On Friday in the beginning of the Month of July, at five a clocke in the evening, I tooke ship, upon the Mast whereof was a garland of Roses, because the master of this ship then wooed his wife, which ceremony the Hollanders used. And the sea being calme, wee passed eight miles to Enchusen, where wee cast anchor. By the way wee passed a shole, where our sterne struck twise upon the sand, not without feare of greater mischiefe,
On Saturday we sayled betwene West Freesland upon our right hands towards the East, and Holland upon our left hands towards the West, and after tenne miles sayling, came to the Iland Fly, which being of small compasse, and consisting of sandy hils, hath two villages in it. From hence they reckon twenty eight miles by sea to Hamburg in Germany, whether we purposed to goe. Assoone as wee cast anchor here, the Master of our ship went aboard the Admirall of certaine ships, which used to lie here, to guard this mouth of the sea, with whom hee spake concerning our passage to Hamburg, and delivered him Letters, commanding that our ship should have a man of war to waft it. This Admirall lay continually in this harbour, to guard this passage into the sea, and he commanded nine ships, which were upon all occasions to waft the Hollanders to Hamburg, and defend them from the Dunkirkers, and all Pirats. But at this time there was not one of these men of warre in the harbour, and the Admirall himselfe might not goe forth. So as for this cause, and for the tempestious weather, wee staid here all Sunday. But upon Monday, the winde being faire for us, and contrary for the men of warre that were to come in, so that losing this winde, we must have expected (not without great irkesomnesse) a second winde to bring in some of these men of warre, and a third winde to carry us on our journey: the Master of our ship (carrying sise great Peeces, and having some tenne Muskets) did associate himselfe with seven other little ships, (having only Pikes and swords) and so more boldly then wisely resolved to passe to Hamburg without any man of warre.

This Monday morning we hoysed saile, but being calmed at noone, we cast anchor between the Fly, on our left hand toward the West, and another little Iland Shelling on our right hand towards the East: and lying here, wee might see two little barkes, hovering up and downe, which wee thought to be Fisher-men, and nothing lesse then Pirats of Dunkirke. Here till evening we were tossed by the waves, which use to bee more violent
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upon the coast; but a faire winde then arising, all our shippes gladly weighed anchor. At which time it happened that the anchor of our ship brake, so as our consorts went on, but our Master, according to the navall discipline, not to put to sea with one anchor, returned backe to the harbour of the Fly, there to buy a new anchor, all of us foolishly cursing our fortune and the starres. On Tuesday morning while wee sadly walked on the shoare, wee might see our consorts comming backe with torne sailes, and dead men, and quarters of men, lying on the hatches. We beholding this with great astonishment, tooke boat to board them, and demanding the newes, they told us that the little barks we saw the day before were Dunkirkers, having in each of them eighty Souldiers, and some few great Peeces, and that they had taken them, & spoiled their ships, of their chiefe & lightest goods, and had carried away prisoners to Dunkirk all the passengers & chief Marriners, after they had first wrung their foreheads with twined ropes, & with many horrible tortures, forced them to confesse what mony they had presently, & what they could procure for ransom. Further, with mourning voice they told us, that the Pirats inquired much after our ship, saying that it was the bride, with whom they meant to dance, cursing it to be destroyed with a thousand tuns of divels, & swearing that if they had foresene our escape, they would have assailed us by day, while we rode at anchor. They added, that they had left no goods, but those they could not carry for weight, and had changed their ragged shirts and apparell with the poore Marriners. And indeed they had just cause to bewaile the escape of our shippe, being laded with many chests of Spanish Ryalls, whereof they were not ignorant, using to have their spies in such places, who for a share in the booty, would have betrayed their very brothers. As we had just cause to praise almighty God, who had thus delivered us out of the jawes of death, so had wee much more cause to bewaile our rashnesse, yea and our wickednesse, that we had striven, yea and repined against
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his divine providence, which with humble and hearty sorrow I confesse to the glory of his sacred name. In this Iland I paied for my supper and bed ten stivers, for my breakfast and dinner eight stivers.

On Wednesday we had a most faire winde, but the terrore of our last escape, made us stay in the harbour. In the evening I went to lodge in the village, and paied tenne stivers for my supper and bed, and there I saw great store of all kindes of shell-fish, sold for a very small price.

Since this journey by Sea, (had besides our expectation) proved so difficult, my selfe, though I had seen the Cities upon the sea coast of Germany, yet preferring my safety before the charge and trouble of that way, did resolve to passe to Hamburg by land, with which purpose when I acquainted my consorts; suddenly al the passengers resolved to leave the ships, and to go by land; at which resolution the Masters of the ships stormed, but when each of us had payed them a Doller for our passage from Amsterdam to the Fly, they were well pacified.

My selfe and nine consorts in my company, hired a boat for thirty stivers, each man paying three stivers: and so upon Thursday in foure houres space, wee sailed three miles to Harlingen, a City of west Freesland, passing the aforesaid Inland sea. And the same day hiring a boat, for which each man paied six stivers: wee passed a mile to the City Froniker, where is an University, and passing by water through the midst of that pleasant little City, we passed two miles further, to Lewerden, where we lodged, and I paied for my supper ten stivers. The next morning, being Friday, wee passed in six houres space two long miles to Dockam, and each man paied for his boate hire three stivers. Without delay in the afternoone we entred a barke, to saile from West Freesland, one of the united Provinces, into East Freesland, a Province of the German Empire: but scarce one mile from the towne we cast anchor, to expect the floud; and lying there, we heard from the land great noise, barking of dogs, cries of
men, and sounding of bells, which proceeded from some Spanish Free-booters breaking out of Groning, to spoile the Peasants. All the next day wee sailed, and in the evening for our better safety wee cast anchor neere a man of warre, (whereof there be some appointed to lie in this Inland Sea, to guard the friends of the States,) and early the next morning being Sunday, wee set saile, and by the rising of the sunne, landed in the Iland of Rotermere (which is divided from the continent by this Inland Sea, and hath the maine Sea on the other side,) whence soone after we parted, and were put on land in East Freesland, a Province of the Empire, and passing one mile on foot, came to the City of Emden.

I said that the States maintained some men of warre in this Inland Sea, and these used to send out in lesser boates some bodies of men, to search the Barkes whether they be friends or not; which bodies of men are vulgarly called Diejagt, that is, the hunting, of a metaphor taken from the hunting of dogs. For my passage from Dockam to Emden I paid ten stivers, and here for supper and breakefast I paid twenty three stivers, though the ordinary rate be but sixe stivers a meale without wine: and for a pound of cherries I paid eight stivers.

In our journey to Stode, the first day wee came in sixe hours space three miles, to the village Detrem, upon the confines of the county of Emden, passing through fruit-full corne fields, and faire meadowes; and being eight in the Waggon, we all paid fifteene stivers for the same. From hence we went a mile through wild and fenny fields, to the village Open, and each four consorts paid for their Waggon three stivers, and our Waggon was driven by a woman. Here the Grave or Count of Oldenburg hath a Castle, and each man paid for his supper seven groates. By night we passed four miles through a wild heath, to Oldenburg, and four consorts paid ten stivers for a Waggon. They have very little horses in these parts to draw the Waggons, like to the galloway nags of Scotland. The second day wee passed two miles and a halfe in four
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hours space, through a sandy heath ground and thicke woods of oake, and came to a Village; where each man paid for his dinner foure stivers. After dinner we passed more then a mile through a like woody Heath, and in three hours space came to Delmerhurst, where the Count of Oldenburge hath a faire and strong Castle, though it be a poore Village: and here each man paid halfe a stiver to the Count, and for our Waggon ten stivers. The same day we passed a mile through sandy pastures, and in three hours space came to Breme, where each man paid for our Waggon foure groats, and for our supper five lubecke shillings. From Breme we passed foure miles through wild fields, yeelding some little corne, and thicke woods, and in sixe hours space came to a poore house; where each man paid for dinner five lubecke shillings. Here those which carried any merchandise paid tole: and one man having a packe which a man might carry on his shoulder, paid foure lubecke shillings for the same: but all that goe to study in Universities, or be no Merchants, are free from this imposition. After dinner we passed three miles in five hours space to Furd, where each man paid for his supper five lubecke shillings. The next day from two of the clocke in the morning to seven, wee passed three miles through a heath and woods of oake, and came to Stode, where each man paid for his Waggon from Breme twenty two Lubecke shillings. At Stode I paid for my dinner in a Dutch Inne foure Lubecke shillings and a halfe, and for a steifkin or measure of Rhenish wine, halfe a doller. I briefly passe over this journey upon the sea-coast of Germany, because I formerly discribed the same.

The one and twenty of July, I passed in foure hours space by boat five miles to Hamburge, and paid for my passage by water three Lubecke shillings, for my supper foure, and one for my bed. Early in the morning I passed six miles in sixe hours space, through wild fenny fields, woods of oake, and some few fields of corne, and came to the Village Altslow, seated in a bogge, whereof
it hath the name; where I paid for my dinner five Lubecke shillings and a halfe. Give me leave to tell you a ridiculous toy, yet strange and true: At Hamburge gate leading to Lubecke, we found a dogge that followed us, and some passengers of credit assured mee, that for many yeeres this dogge had lien at that gate, and every day without intermission, watching the first Coach that came forth, had followed the same to this village Altslow, being the bayting place at noone, and after dinner had returned backe to Hamburge gate, with another Coach comming from Lubecke, for Coaches passe daily betweene those Cities.

After dinner we passed foure miles in foure houres space, through hils more thicke with woods, but in many places bearing good corne, and came to Lubecke. For my place in the Coach this day I paid twenty lubecke shillings, and this night for my supper and bed, I paid sixe lubecke shillings. Here I bought the foureteenth Booke of Amadis de Gaule, in the Dutch tongue, to practise the same: for these Bookes are most eloquently translated into the Dutch, and fit to teach familiar language; and for this Booke I paid eighteene lubecke shillings, and for the binding foure; and for a Map of Europe to guide me in my journey, I paid foureteene lubecke shillings: Also I paid for a measure of Rhenish wine five lubecke shillings, and as much for a measure of Spanish wine. From Lubecke I passed two miles in three houres space, through fruitfull hils of corne, and some woods of oake to the village Tremuren, and paid for my coach the fourth part of a Doller (which notwithstanding useth to be hired for five lubecke shillings) and for my supper I paid foure lubecke shillings. I formerly shewed that this village is the Haven, where the great ships use to be unladed, and from thence to be carried up to lie at Lubecke in the winter.

Here I tooke ship to sayle into Denmarke, upon the Balticke Sea, so called, because it is compassed by the Land, as it were with a girdle. This sea doth not at all
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ebbe and flow, or very little, after it hath passed in by the streight of Denmarke, being more then twenty foure miles long, so as upon the shoares of Prussen, Muscaw, and Suetia, this sea seemes little to be moved, and many times is frozen with ice, from the shore farre into the sea; and the waves thereof once stirred with the winds, are very high, neither is the water of this sea any thing so salt as otherwhere, so as the ships sayling therein, doe sinke deeper at least three spans then in the German Ocean, as manifestly appeares by the white sides of the ships above water when they come out of this sea, and enter the said Ocean. And this will not seeme strange to any, who have seeen an egge put into salt pits, and how it swimmes, being borne up with the salt water. The Master of the Lubecke ship in which I passed to Denmarke, gave me beere for foure lubeck shillings; for which the Dutch-men and Danes drinking more largely, paid but one lubecke shilling more, and every man had provided victuals for himselfe. I paid for my passage twenty foure lubecke shillings, and gave foure to the marriners. From Lubecke they reckon twenty foure miles to Falsterboaden, and from thence seven miles to Coppenhagen, so called as the Haven of Merchants. We left upon our left hand towards the South, a little Island called Munde, and (as I remember) the third day of August, landed at Drakesholme, being one mile from Coppenhagen, whether I passed in a Waggon through some pastures and barren corne fields; and neere the City I passed over the Haven from one Island to another. I paid for my Waggon three lubecke shillings.

At our entrance of the City, on the East-side, is the Kings Castle, where the Court lies, especially in winter time. On this side, the City lies upon the sea, and there is the said Haven, as likewise on the North-side the sea is little distant from the City. When I entered the gates, the guard of souldiers examined me strictly, and the common people, as if they had never seeen a stranger before, shouted at mee after a barbarous fashion; among
which people were many marriners, which are commonly more rude in such occasions, and in all conversation. The City is of a round forme, in which, or in the Kings Castle, I observed no beauty or magnificence. The Castle is built of free-stone in a quadrangle. The City is built of timber and clay, and it hath a faire market place, and is reasonably well fortified. Here I paid for three meales and breakefast eight lubecke shillings, and as much for beere. The King at this time lay at Roschild, purposing shortly to goe into the Dukedome of Holst, where he had appointed a meeting of the gentlemen at Flansburge, to receive their homage there, which uppon old priviledges they had refused to doe unto him in Denmarke.

Therefore I went foure miles in foure houres space, through a wild hilly Country, to Roschild, so called of the Kings Fountaine; and my selfe and one companion paid twenty lubecke shillings for our Waggon: and though it were the moneth of August, yet the wind blowing strong from the North, and from the Sea, I was very cold, as if it had beene then winter. Roschild hath a Bishop, and though it be not walled, hath the title of a City; but well deserves to be numbred among faire and pleasant Villages. Here they shew a whet stone, which Albrecht King of Suetia, sent to Margaret Queene of Denmarke, despising her as a woman, and in scoffe bidding her to whet her swords therewith: but this Queene tooke the said King prisoner in that warre, and so held him till death. Here I paid seven Danish shillings for my supper. In the chancell of the Church is a monument of blacke and white stone for this Queene Margaret and her daughter, and the Danes so reverence this Queene, as they have here to shew the apparell she used to weare. In this Church are the sepulchers of the Kings, whereof one erected by Frederick, for Christianus his father, is of blacke Marble and Alablaster, curiously carved, having his statua kneeling before a Crucifix, and hung round about with sixteene blacke flags, and one red.

Having seen the King and the Courtiers, my selfe
and my companion next day returned to Coppenhagen, each of us paying for the waggon tenne Lubeck shillings: and here I paid for my supper six Lubeck shillings, and three for beere.

From hence I passed by sea, foure miles in five houres space, to Elsinure, and paied for my passage eight Lubeck shillings, and for my supper eight Danish shillings. And because I was to returne hither, to take ship for Dantzke, I passed the next morning three miles in foure houres space; through Hils of corne but somewhat barren, and woods of Beech, to Fredericksburg, and having but one companion with mee, wee paied for our waggon thither, and so to Coppenhagen, each of us twenty two Lubeck shillings. Here the King hath a Pallace, and a little Parke walled in, where (among other forraine beasts) were kept some fallow Deare, transported hither out of England, the twenty foure yeere of Queene Elizabethe raigne. I paied for my dinner foure Danish shillings, and as much for beere.

In the afternoone we passed five miles in six houres, through barren fields of corne, and groves of Beech and hasel-nuts, to Coppenhagen, and by the way we saw a Crosse, set up in memory of a waggoner, who having drunke too much, drove his waggon so fast, as hee over-turned it on the side of a Hil, and himselfe broke his necke. The waggoners have an appointed place at Coppenhagen, where they have a stable for their horses for two Danish shillings a night, but themselves buy hay and oates. And the next day by noone, they must return to their dwellings, though they go empty, when no passengers are to be found.

From hence, my selfe and one companion, hired a waggon for twelve Lubeck shillings each of us, to Elsinure, being five miles, whither we came in five houres, fetching many circuits upon the sea coasts.

This is a poore village, but much frequented by seafaring men, by reason of the straight sea, called the Sownd; where the King of Denmark hath laid so great
imposition upon ships and goods coming out of the Balticke sea, or brought into the same, as this sole profit passeth all the revenewes of his Kingdome. In this village a strong Castle called Croneburg lyeth upon the mouth of the Straight, to which the other side of this Narrow sea, in the Kingdome of Norway, another Castle is opposite, called Elsburg, and these Castles keepe the Straight, that no ship can passe into the Baltic sea, or out of it, having not first payed these impositions. They say there is another passage between two Ilands (for all the Kingdom of Denmark consists of little Ilands) but the same is forbidden upon penalty of confiscation of all the goods. And they report that three shippes in a darke fog passed this straight without paying any thing; but after, this being made knowne to the Kings ministers, at the returne of the said ships all their goods were confiscated. In respect of the Danes scrupulous and jealous nature, I did with great difficulty, (putting on a Merchants habite, and giving a greater reward then the favour deserved,) obtaine to enter Croneburg Castle, which was built foure square, and hath only one gate on the East side, where it lies upon the straight. Above this gate is a chamber in which the King useth to eat, and two chambers wherein the King and Queene lie apart. Under the fortification of the Castle round about, are stables for horses, and some roomes for like purposes. On the South-side towards the Balticke sea, is the largest roade for ships. And upon this side is the prison, and above it a short gallery. On the West side towards the village is the Church of the Castle, & above it a very faire gallery, in which the King useth to feast at solemn times. On the North side is the prospect partly upon the Iland, and partly upon the Narrow sea, which reacheth twenty foure miles to the German Ocean. And because great store of ships passe this way in great Fleets, of a hundreth more or lesse together: this prospect is most pleasant to all men, but most of all to the King, seeing so many shippes, whereof
not one shall passe, without adding somewhat to his
treasure. On this side lie two chambers, which are called
the King of Scotland his chambers, ever since his Majesty
lodged there, when he wooed and married his Queene.
The hangings thereof were of redde cloth, and the chaires
and stooles covered with the same, but they said that the
rich furniture was laid up in the Kings absence. The
Haven will receive great number of shippes, and it hath
Croneburge Castle on the North side, the Castle of
Elsburg on the East side, and Zealand (the chiefe Iland of
the Kingdome) on the West side, and the Iland Wheen
on the South side.

To which Iland the long straight or narrow sea lies
opposite towards the North, leading into the German
Ocean. This Iland Wheen is a mile long, and not
altogether so broad, having onely one grove in it. This
solitary place, King Fredrick, Father to Christianus now
raigning, gave to a Gentleman called Tugo-Brahe for his
dwelling, who being a famous Astronomer lived here
solitarily at this time, & was said to have some Church
livings for his maintenance, and to live unmarried, but
keeping a Concubine, of whom he had many children,
& the reason of his so living, was thought to be this;
because his nose having been cut off in a quarrell, when
he studied in an University of Germany, he knew him-
selve thereby disabled to marry any Gentlewoman of his
own quality. It was also said that the gentlemen lesse
respected him for living in that sort, and did not acknow-
ledge his sonnes for Gentlemen. King Frederick also
gave this learned Gentleman of his free gift, many and
very faire Astronomicall instruments, and he living in a
pleasant Iland, wherein no man dwelt but his family,
wanted no pleasure which a contemplative man could
desire. Besides the aforesaid instruments, this Gentle-
man had a very faire Library, full of excellent bookes,
and a like faire still-house. Besides not farre from his
house, he had a little round house of great beauty, in
which he did exercise his speculation, the cover thereof
being to bee removed at pleasure, so as lying with his
face upward, he might in the night time fully behold the
Starres, or any of them. In this little house all famous
Astronomers were painted, and the following Verses were
added, each to the picture, to which they belong.

Sulveta Heroes: vetus O Timochare salve,
Ætheris ante alios ause subire polos.

Timocherus. God save ye worthies: old Timocherus
I greet thee, more then many venturous,
To mount the Starres and shew them unto us.
Tu quoque demensus Solis Lunæque recursus,
Hipparche, & quot quot sidera Olympus habet.

Hipparchus. And thou Hipparchus, thou didst measure even,
The course of Sun, Moone, and all Starres of heaven.
Antiquos superare volens, Ptolomee labores,
Orbibus & numeris promptius astra locas.

Ptolomy. Ptolomy, thou to passe old ages reach,
The Numbers and the Orbes dost better teach.
Emendare aliquid satis Albategne studebas,
Sydera conatus post habuere tuos.

Albategnus. Thou Albategnus somewhat yet to mend
Didst strive, but wert prevented by thine end.
Quod labor & studium reliquis, tibi contulit Aurum
Alphonse, ut tantis annumerere viris.
These got by paines and study, thou by gold

Alphonsus. Alphonsus, with such men to be inrol’d.
Curriculis tritis diffise Copernice, terram
Invitam, astriferum flectere cogis iter.

Copernicus. Copernicus, thou old said sawes didst doubt,
Thou mak’st heaven stand, and earth turne round about.

[I. i. 60.] In the best place this Gentleman Tugo Brahe had set
his owne picture, with the following Verses;

Quæsitis veterum & propriis, normæ astra subegi,
Quanti id: Judicium posteritatis erit.

With old Rules and my owne, the Starres I place,
Which after-times, as it deserves, shall grace,
COMMENTS UPON HVEN

Many Instruments are there placed by him, which himselfe invented, and hee hath made a solemne dedication of the house to the ages to come, with earnest prayers that they will not pull downe this Monument.

The Danes thinke this Iland Wheen to be of such importance, as they have an idle fable, that a King of England should offer for the possession of it, as much scarlet cloth as would cover the same, with a Rose-noble at the corner of each cloth. Others tell a fable of like credit, that it was once sold to a Merchant, whom they scoffed when he came to take possession, bidding him take away the earth he had bought. The great revenew exacted in this straight, hath given occasion to these and the like fables. And in truth, if either the King of Suetia, or the free City of Lubeck, had the possession of this Iland, and were fortified therein, they might easily command this passage, and extort what they list, from the Merchants passing that way, and perhaps conquer the parts adjoyning; but the possession thereof were altogether unprofitable for any Prince, whose Territories lie out of the Sound, the entrance whereof is forbid by the two foresaid strong Castles. But lest I should bee as foolish as they, I returne to my purpose. And first give me leave to mention, that there lies a City not farre distant, in the Kingdome of Norway, which is called London, as the chiefe City in England is called.

Upon Sunday, the twenty six of August, in the yeere 1593, I tooke an English ship heere, to saile into Prussen, having first bought for my victuals halfe a lambe for twelve Danish shillings, thirty egges for six shillings, and some few pots of Spanish wine, for forty two Danish shillings, with some other small provisions. From Elsinure to Dantzk, they reckon eighty English miles. As soone as wee were come out of the harbour, wee saw two ships sayling two contrary wayes, and yet having both a fore-wind, which sometimes happens upon the shoare, as marriners know. For of these two contrary winds, the one is airy, which holds when you are gone into the maine,
the other is from the earth, and in short time faileth at
the very shore: which event we presently saw with our
eyes, one of the ships going fairely on his course, the
other casting anchor. The English ship in which I went,
was called the Antilope, being of one hundred fifty tuns,
or thereabouts, and one Master Bodley was the Master
thereof, who shewed me manifest signes, where his ship
in two places had beene struck with lightning; the first where-
of passed into the pumpe, and rent it, but comming to the
water, was by the nature thereof carried upward, and com-
ing out at the top of the pumpe, made two little holes;
then passing to the great Mast, rent it, and made a great
crany therein, from the hatches to the top. The second
struck the top of the said maine Mast, and againe rent it,
in such wise as it would scarcely beare saile, till wee might
come to Dantzk, where the best Mastes are sold at a
good rate. The first day we sayled in the Baltick sea,
some five miles with a scant winde, and cast anchor neere
Copenhagen. With a faire winde and good gaile,
Marriners usually sayle some three Dutch leagues in an
houre. On Monday early, wee sayled along the shore
three miles to Falsterboden. On Tuesday early, wee
sayled eightene miles to the Iland Brentholm, and upon
our left hands saw the land in two places, and there
sounding with our plummet, sand of Amber stuck there-
unto. The same day by noone, wee sayled the length
of that Iland; and upon Wednesday, by three of the
clocke in the morning, having sayled thirty miles, we
passed by Rose-head, being a Promentory neere Dantzk.
On Thurs-day by eight of the clocke in the morning,
having sayled eighteen miles, we came to a Land called
Kettell, and entered the Port of Melvin, where the water
was scarce two fadome deepe, our ship drawing one fadome
and a halfe; the entry was narrow, and there were many
booyes floting upon shoales & sands; and the weather
being calme, we were drawne in by a boate with Oares. In
like cases ships use to draw themselves in, by the casting
and weighing of Anchors, with great labour, and slow
riddance of way. From Kettell we passed ten miles, and came to the Port of Melvin. In the aforesaid entry of the River, on the right hand towards the West, we saw Dantzke seated not farre from the sea shore, where it hath a haven, but not so safe as this: and towards the North-east in the same place a channell runneth up to Konigsberg, the Court of the Duke of Prussen. The Port of Melvin is scarce ten foot deepe, but our ship passed through the mud, like a plow upon land. This port is a little distant from the City, on the North-side, where we entered by a faire large street, called Martgasse, lying thence towards the South. Prussen of old was subject to the order of the Teutonicke Knights, but by agreement made betweene the King of Poland and the Margrave or Marques of Brandeburg, Master of the said order, part of the province was given to the said Marques and his heires, with title of Duke, under homage to the King of Poland, with condition that for want of heire male, it should returne to the Kingdome of Poland; and the other part was then united to the said Kingdome: but Dantzke and Melvin remained free Cities, acknowledging the King of Poland for their Protector, for which cause they give him many customs, and permit his Officer to abide in the City, and receive the same. Melvin is a little and faire City, lately compassed with new wals, and at this time grew rich by the English Merchants, having their staple in the same. They give good fare for foure grosh a meale; and he that paires for two meales in the day, may besides have meat or drinke beweene meales, at pleasure, without paying any thing. The same evening we landed at Melvin, our Marriners staying in the ship, entertained other English Marriners comming aboard; and according to their custome, giving them a peece when they departed: it happened that the peece being of iron, brake, and therewith cut the Cooke off by the middle, and rent all the prow of the ship. The English Merchants at Melvin had no Preacher, though the Citizens gave them free exercise of religion: so that
howsoever they excused it, by reason that learned Preachers could hardly be drawne to come so farre for meanes to live, yet I thought them not free of blame in this point; because our Merchants further distant in Asia, and living under the Turkes Empire, found meanes by their bounty to have learned Preachers. Neither indeed did I ever observe in any other place (Italy excepted) that our Merchants wanted Preachers, where they held their staples.

From Melvin I went ten miles in one day to Dantzke, and we being onely two consorts, paid each of us a Doller for our Coach. In the morning we went sixe miles, and by the way passed the River Begot, comming out of the river Vistula, where our Coachman paid three grosh to have his Coach carried over a damme. Beyond this river we entered the territory of the King of Poland, and passing all this way through fruitfull corne fields, and rich medowes, and pastures, in a Countrey abounding with townes and Villages, we dined in a Village where we two by covenant paying for our coachman, spent each of us eight grosh. In the afternoone we passed the rest of the way, one mile in the Kings territory, where we passed another damme of the river Vistula, and three miles to Dantzke in the territory of the same City. The King of Poland at this time was at the Port of Dantzke, called Der Mind, an English mile from the City, expecting a wind to sayle into his Kingdome of Suecia, and had with him his Queene, and many Ladies and Courtiers. Therefore desirous to see the King and the Queene, with their traine, I walked the next morning to this Port, which is barred with a mountaine of sand, so as the ships must unlade in the roade, before they can enter this Haven; neither is any village built there, but onely one Inne, in which the King lay, with all his traine: but beyond the water there is a strong Castle of a round forme. From hence after dinner I returned on foot to Dantzke. The next day the King had a good wind, but before this (as those of the Romish religion are very superstitious)
COMMENTS UPON DANTZIC A.D. 1593.

the King and the Queen (being of the house of Austria) while sometimes they thought Munday, sometimes Friday, to be unlucky daies, had lost many faire winds. The City of Dantzke is a very faire City, and howsoever few ages past, they had not any houses built of stone, yet at this time many were built of free-stone, and the rest of bricke, with great beauty and magnificence, being sixe or seven roofes high. And they had publike gardens for sports, banquets, and exercises, which are very pleasant. They have a very faire Senate-house, called Hoff, that is, the Court; and the Citizens have a strange fashion, to put off their hats when they passe by it. From the market place being round (in which the King of Poland lodged some daies) to the gate Hochethore (being richly engraved) lieth a very faire street (called Longgasse) and leads up towards the Mountaines hanging over the City. The famous River Vistula doth not enter the City, but passeth by it on the East-side, and running towards the North, fals into the Balticke sea. But a little brook enters the City on the South-side, and runnes through it towards the North. There is a faire water conduit, vulgarly called Wasserkunst, where by a mill the waters are drawne up into a cesterne, from whence they are carried by pipes into all the streetes and private houses; besides that many Citizens have their privat wels. The aforesaid brooke drives many mils, among which, one for the grinding of corne, belongs to the Senate, and it hath eightene roomes, and bringeth into the publike treasure every houre a gold gulden, and another without any helpe of hands, saweth boords, having an iron wheele, which doth not onely drive the saw, but hooketh in, and turneth the boords to the saw. The Garners for laying up of corne called speiker, are very faire, and very many lying together, in which the Citizens lay up corne brought out of Poland, and according to the wants of Europe, carry it into many kingdomes, and many times relieve fruitfull Provinces in time of casual deearth. The Queene of Poland came in a disguised habit to see these garners:
and they have a law that no man may carry fire or a lighted candle into them. In the Church called Parkirk, the resurrection of our Lord is painted with great art, and the same againe is figured under a globe of glasse, which kinde of painting is here in use. This City compassed with one wall, containes three Cities, governed by three Senates, out of which one chiefe Senate is gathered to governe the whole City; and these three Cities are called Furstat, that is, the fore City, and Altstat, that is, the old City, and Reichstat, that is, the Empires City. The whole City united, lies in length from the South to the North, and upon the South-side is Furstat, where the foresaid brooke dividing the City doth enter, and there is the aforesaid water conduit, and without the wals a faire village or suburbe called Scotland, in which there is a sanctuary, which offenders may enter, paying a gulden to the Bishop; and none but Artificers, & for the most part shoemakers, dwell in this suburbe. Upon this side, and towards the East and North, without the wals, lie plaine fields, which may be drowned at pleasure. Upon the East-side within the wals, are the aforesaid garneres for corne. On the West-side without the wals, great mountaines hang over the City, and upon them Stephen King of Poland incamped, when he besieged the City, which hath for defence very high wals on the same side. Upon the North-side in a corner lies Altstat, betweene which and Furstat on the South-side, lies the chiefe City Reichstat, in the middest whereof is the aforesaid market place, and a publike armory; besides that great Ordinance is planted upon the wals round about the City. I said that from this market place, the faire street Longgasse lieth to the gate Hochethore. Betweene Reichstat and Altstat, lie the foresaid two mils, to grinde corn, and saw boords, both (in my opinion) very rare. The City of Dantzke, from the Roman superstition, hath the same Saint for protector of their City, which England hath; namely, Saint George, whom they carry in their flags and banners. And by the way let me remember, that the
state of Genoa in Italy, and the Island of Chios, vulgarly Zio, in the sea neere Constantinople, carry also the same Saint in their flagges. At Dantzke I paid five grosh a meale, and being to passe into Poland, where good meat is not in all places to be had, I carried some provision in the Coach, and paid for two hens five grosh, and for each measure of wine (all kinds being of like price) I paid ten grosh, which measure is called a stoope, and is somewhat bigger then the English quart.

The ninth of September, after the old stile (for the new stile is used in Poland,) I took my journey to Crakaw, and we being foure consorts, hired a Coach for forty guldens. The first day in the morning we passed five miles in five houres space, through fruitfull hills of corne, and onely one wood, in that part of the Dukedome of Prussen, which belongs unto the King of Poland, and came to the City Diersaw, by which the river Vistula runneth. After dinner we passed three miles, through a wood and a Fen, to the Village Zunzane, inhabited by Hollanders, who having dried the Fen, made the fields much more fruitfull. And from thence the same night having passed the river Vistula, we went halfe a mile to Gratenis, a City belonging to the Sborosky, a family of Gentlemen. The second day in the morning we went five miles, through a wood and fruitfull fields of corne, to a little City Colmersea, where that day was a meeting of the neighbour Gentlemen. If you except Crakaw, and the greater Cities, the building in these parts is poore, being of meere dirt in the Villages, and of timber and clay in the better townes, the houses being covered with straw, or tiles of wood, and the gentlemens houses be farre distant one from the other, and of no beauty. After dinner we went foure miles through fruitfull fields of corne, to the City Toarn. Hitherto we had given money to a Hollander, one of our consorts, for the paying of our expences, and now by his account each of us had spent three guldens and a halfe, for he had provided wine and such things which wee could not find in Villages,
to be carried in our Coach. In this City we supped at an Ordinary, and five of us paid two dollars. The river Vistula passeth by this City, and for passing the same by a bridge, wee paid for our Coach two grosh, and then entring Massovia, a Province of the Kingdome of Poland, the third day in the morning we passed three miles through a wood of firre, and one mile through corne fields, and I have omitted what I paid for my dinner. In the afternoone wee passed three miles through a wild plaine, and woods of oake to Britzoll, where I likewise omitted my expences. The fourth day in the morning we passed five miles, through corne fields and woods of oake, to Quodonab, where I forgot my expence. I formerly said that foure of us had hired a Coach from Dantzke to Crakaw, but the horses being but two, were extremely weary; so as one of our company having a letter to take post horses (if so I may call poore jades) paying a grosh for each horse every mile; which Letter is vulgarly called Podwoda-briefe. I was easily induced to leave the Coach, and beare him company; and they telling us that we had now passed more then halfe the way, we agreed so, as we two who left the Coach, should pay each of us six guldens for the same. But the Hollander over-reached us; for we had not gone halfe the way, and yet paid more then halfe the price which we should have paid for the whole journey. This done, we two drawne upon a sledge, passed two miles through corne fields that afternoone to a poore Village, and paid for our passage two grosh. The fifth day in the morning hiring a countrey Waggon, and two horses at the same rate, we passed two miles through fields of hops, and sandy fields of corne, and two woods of firre, to Lonzchizcha, and from thence five miles through woods and sandy fields, to another village, and paid for our sledge halfe a grosh each mile, and for a horse for two miles sixe grosh, and for three miles seven grosh. Here we invited two Polackes to dinner, yet both together spent onely foure grosh and a halfe for us and them, for we had ten egges
for a grosh, and all other victuals very cheape. After dinner we hired two horses, and a Countrey Waggon for eight grosh, and passed foure miles through a stony way, and sandy fields of corne, to Peterkaw, where the King hath a Castle, and there we bought for our selves, flesh, bread, and beere, for our supper, at a very cheape rate, and giving one grosh to the Hostesse for dressing our meat, and for butter and fier, shee was very well content with it. The sixth day in the morning we passed five miles, and in the afternoone two miles, with the same Waggon, for which wee paid seven grosh, and the same horses, for which wee paid foureteene grosh. And we passed through woods of high firre trees, and some few fields of corne. Our meat we bought our selves, and as formerly our Hostesse dressed it, and we fetched our beere without doores. I remember wee paid three grosh for a goose, two for a partridge, two for a loyne of mutton, and three for a pigge. They sold a bushel of oates for two grosh, which at Thoarn they sold for six grosh. In these parts were great store of hop-yards. After dinner we passed three miles through woody hils, and corne fieldes, and paid for our horses and a country waggon twelve grosh.

The seventh day in the morning, wee passed to a poore village foure miles, through fruitfull hils of corne, and many woods of firre, and one of oake, and wee hired our country waggon with two horses, for fourteene grosh. Further wee went three miles to another village, through hils of corne, and a heath full of woods, and paid for one horse and a waggon, six grosh. After dinner we passed to a village three miles, through fruitfull hils of corne; and by the way we might see a stately Gentlemans house, and Gentlemen hawking in the fieldes: and I remember not in all my long travell, ever to have met hawkers or hunters in the fieldes, but onely heere, and once in Bohemia. In this village the King hath a Castle. The eight day, in the morning, we passed forward with the same horses and waggon, which we had in the after-
noone before, and went two miles to Pnecho, and wee paied for our horses and waggon fifteene grosh, and gave one to the waggoner. Here the King hath another faire Castle. From hence we passed two miles to a village, through mountaines and corne fields, and paied for two horses and a waggon foure grosh, and gave to the waggoner procuring our horses one grosh.

Crakaw. The same day we went three miles, through little mountaines of corne, to Crakaw, and paied for two horses and a waggon six grosh. Here wee lodged with the Fleming, consort of our journey, and had our diet after the Dutch manner, and price. Fortified Cities, are very rare in Poland, they placing their strength in their swords and horsemen, rather then in walles. Of all the Cities, Crakaw is the chiefe, where the King and his Councell reside. It is seated in a plaine, having mountaines on all sides, but somewhat distant, and it is compassed with two walles of stone, and a dry ditch. The building is very faire, of free stone foure roofes hye, but covered with tiles of wood for the most part. It is of a round forme, but somewhat longer from the East to the West. In the midst of the City is a large market place quadrangular, wherein is the Cathedrall Church, and in the midst of the market place is the Senate house for the City, about which are many shops of Merchants. Upon the East side of the City is the Kings Castle, seated on a hill; being faire, and high built, almost quadrangular, but somewhat more long then broad, and lying open on the South side, without any building above the wall. On the East side be the Chambers of the King and Queene, with galleries adjoyning. On the North side is a faire gallery, some forty five walking paces long, where they use to feast and dance. On the West side are the chambers of the Queene Dowager; from whence are private staires to the gate of the Castle; by which the French King, Henry the third, stole away secretly into France. On the same side is a Chappell, in the which the Kings are buried. Upon the East side of this City,
COMMENTS UPON CRAKAW

where this Castle is seated, lie four suburbs; namely, the Jewes little City, and Cagmen, which is divided by the river Vistula, from the other two, called Stradam and the Stewes. And Stradam belongs to the City, but the rest have their own Magistrates and privileges. Towards the South and South-west, lies the suburb Garbatz, belonging to the City, which of late was burnt in the civil war, by the forces of Zamosky, one of the Palatines, and Chancellor of the Kingdome, defending the Election of Sigismund now King, against Maximilian of Austria, chosen King by another party. On the North side are the suburbs Biskop, and Cleparf, which have their own Magistrates.

From hence being to take my journey for Italy, I bought a horse for eighteen Guldens, and he that sold him, according to the manner there used, caused his bridle to be put on, and so by the same delivered the horse into my hands. I paid fifteen grosh for a pair of shooes, fifty for a pair of boots, nine for spurs, two guldens and a halfe for a saddle, a gulden and a halfe for other furniture for my journey, nine grosh for stirrups, eight grosh for four horse shooes, and eight grosh for each bushell of oates. An Italian Gentleman being to returne into Italy, bought likewise a horse; and with this faire companion I tooke my journey. The first day towards evening we rode two miles through fruitfull hills of corne, to a Country house, where I paid for my supper two grosh, for hay a grosh & a halfe, for a quarter of a bushell of oates, two grosh, and gave to the Ostler halfe a grosh. The second day in the morning we rode three miles, through woods of firre, to a village, where I paid for my dinner two grosh, for hay halfe a grosh, for the third part of a bushell of oates a grosh and a halfe. After dinner we rode one mile and a halfe through a great wood, having the Mountaines of Hungary on our left hand, and passing the river Vistula, wee rode a mile through finny fields, and woods of firre and beech, and came to a little Citie Opsenson, where I paid for my supper eight
FYNES MORRISON’S ITINERARY

A.D. 1593.

grosh, and for some three English pintes of wine five grosh, for beere a grosh and a halfe, for a third part of a bushell of oates, nine grosh, and for hay and straw a grosh and a halfe, and this City was subject to a Gentleman of Poland.

The third day in the morning, wee rode three miles and a halfe, through fields somewhat overflowed, but fruitfull in corne, and a wood of firre, to Plesna, subject to the Barrons of Promnitz, and seated in Silesia, a Province of the Dutch Empire; for after one miles riding we came out of Poland, into the said Province, which is subject to the Emperour, as likewise Moravia is, by his right as hee is King of Bohemia: but in Silesia they speake Dutch, and Moravia hath his owne language, little differing from that of Bohemia. Also in our way we passed the river Vistula by boat, and another arme thereof by a bridge. Here the Barrons of Promnitz have a Castle, wherein they reside; and here I paied for my dinner sixe grosh, for beere one, for hay and a third part of a bushel of oates two grosh, and for a measure of wine (somewhat bigger then the English quart) ten grosh. After dinner we rode two miles, through fruitfull fields of corne, to a little City subject to the Emperour, (not by large subjection, but proper right to all the Revenewes of that Territory) as he is King of Bohemia: and I paied for supper three grosh, for a third part of a bushell of oates with hay and straw five grosh. The fourth day we rode two miles in the morning, being now entred into Moravia, where the miles are exceeding long, as they be in Bohemia: and we passed through most fruitful hils of corne, and some woods, and came to a little village, seated a little beyond the City Freestat, belonging to the Dukes of Tesch, and here I paied for my dinner three grosh, and as much for my horse-meat. After dinner we rode two miles through hils and mountaines, fruitfull of corne, and some woods of oakes: for Moravia is a pleasant Countrey, very fruitfull, and full of townes and villages; and wee came to Ostrenam, where I paied for my supper.
three grosh, for beere two, for my horse-meat foure and a halfe. The fift day in the morning we rode three miles, through fruitfull hils of corne to the village Botevisa; being very pleasant and full of orchards, and subject to a Gentleman of that Countrey. By the way we passed on horse-backe two armes of the river Odera, which hath his head three miles distant. Heere wee dined with the Preacher (or Minister) of the Towne, because the Hoste of the Inne was newly dead; & I paied for my dinner foure grosh, for beere one grosh, and for horse-meat two grosh. After dinner we rode two miles, through most fruitfull hils of corne, to a pleasant village (as all Moravia is pleasant and fertile) and I paied for my supper five grosh, and foure for my horse-meat. The sixth day in the morning we rode three miles, through fruitful hils of corne, having woody Mountaines on both hands; and in the midst of the way, passed by the City Granitz, and came to Leipny. The Cities in these parts are built with Arches halfe over the streets, so as in the greatest raine, a man may passe in the streets under them with a dry foot, and such is the building of this little City, where in some thirty families of Jewes did dwell. Here I paied for my dinner foure grosh, and for my horse-meat two grosh (hitherto I meane groshes of Poland.) After dinner we rode a mile and a halfe in a paved way, with corne fields on both hands, to the City Speron; where I paied for my supper five grosh, (I meane now, and hereafter grosches of Moravia,) and for my horse-meat three grosh: and here I paied for an Orange two grosh. In this journey through Poland, and from Cracaw to this place, we had heere the first bed, having before lodged upon benches in a warme stove. The seventh day in the morning, wee rode two very long miles, through most fruitfull hils of corne, & rich pastures, to a village, having by the way passed by the Citie of Creitzon (wherein many Jewes dwelt) & by very many villages: and here I paied for my dinner three grosh, & for my horse-meat one grosh, for a measure of wine like an English pint, three creitzers.
A.D. 1593.

**FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY**

After dinner we rode a mile and a halfe, through most fruitfull hils of corne, to a place called, The Jewes village, beyond the Episcopall City Vascon, and I paied for my supper two grosh, and for my horse-meat three grosh and a halfe. The eight day in the morning wee rode two miles, going much out of our way, and passed through most fruitfull hils of corne, and pleasant vineyards, to Nimsich, and I paied for my dinner foure grosh, for my horse-meat two and a halfe, and for beere to wash my horses feet, six creitzers.

The ninth day in the morning, wee rode foure miles to a village, through hils of corne, and in the mid way were the confines of Moravia, and of Austria, into which we now entred. Here I paied for my dinner fourteene creitzers, and three for my horse-meat. The vintage being now at hand, when wee came from our Innes in the morning, wee used to carry bread with us, and so to breake our fast with bunches of grapes gathered by the way. After dinner we rode two miles, through hils and mountaines most fruitfull of corne and wine, to Pasdorffe, and I paied for my supper eighteen creitzers, and nine for my horse-meat. The tenth day in the morning we rode two miles and a halfe; through hils of corne, and many woods, to a village, not farre from Ulrich-kirke, and here I omitted my expence.

After dinner we rode two miles and a halfe, through a very large plaine, fruitfull of corne and pasture, with many pleasant woods, and compassed round about with mountaines, and came to Vienna, vulgarly called Wien. Neere the City on the North side the river Danow runneth by, from the East to the West, three armes whereof close together (with some ground betweene, which many times is overflowed) wee passed by three bridges, whereof one hath twenty nine arches, the other fifty seven, and the third fifteene, each of those arches being some eighteen
COMMENTS UPON VIENNA

walking paces long. Betweene the second bridge, and the third next to the City, is a pleasant grove, and good part of the ground under the bridges is many times dry; but when the river riseth, it doth not only fill all the beds, but overfloweth the fields on both sides. At the gate of Wien, each man paid for his horse two pochanels; and when wee came to the Inne, the Hoste sent our names written to the Magistrate. Wien the metropolitan City of Austria, is a famous Fort against the Turkes, upon the confines of Austria, which if they should once gaine, their horse-men might suddenly spoile the open Countries of Bohemia, and Moravia, and good part of Silesia. The Citie is of a round forme, and upon the North side there is an ascent to it upon a hil, otherwise without the walls on all sides the ground is plaine, except the West side, where mountaines lie a good distance from the City, and upon that side the Sultan of the Turkes incamped, upon the hils neere the gallowes, when in the time of the Emperour Rodulphus, hee besieged the City, or rather came to view it, with purpose to besiege it the next summer. The streets are narrow, but the building is stately, of free stone. Two Towers of the Church are curiously ingraven, the like whereof is not in Germany, except the Tower or steeple of Strasburg. The common report is, that two chief workemen had great emulation in building them; and that one having finished his Tower, found meanes to breake the necke of the other, lest his workemanship should excel that he had done. One of the Towers some three yeeres past, was shaken with an earth-quake, and indeed the houses of this City are many times shaken therewith, and they have a Prophecy of old, that this City shall be destroied with an earth-quake. It is dangerous to walke the streetes in the night, for the great number of disordered people, which are easily found upon any confines, especially where such an army lieth neere, as that of Hungary, governed by no strict discipline. Ernestas and Mathias, Arch-dukes of Austria, and brothers to the Emperour Rodulphus, did at this
time lie here, both in one house, and did eat at one table, and in the time of their meales, it was free for strangers and others to come into the roome. I staied three daies at Wien to ease my weary horse, and I paid each meale twenty foure creitzers, for oates the day and night eighteene, and in like sort for hay six creitzers.

From hence we tooke our journey for Paduoa in Italy, and the first day after dinner we rode six miles, in a plaine of vineyards, pastures, and corne fields, with some woods, to a village, where I paid fiftene creitzers for my supper, and eight for my horse. The next day in the morning we rode foure miles, through a wild plaine, by the City Newkirke, and not farre thence came to Newkirke, where I paid twenty foure creitzers for my dinner, foure for my horse, and twelve for a measure of wine, like our English quart. Henceforward we had no more beere, but onely wine set on the table. After dinner we rode three miles through woods and mountaines, planted with vines, and a rich valley of pasture and corne, all in a stony soyle, to Schwatzen. I observed that the horses we met laded with wine, had their noses covered, which they said was done, lest they should be overcome with the vapour thereof. This City is seated betweene most high mountaines, in a narrow streight, hewen out of a Rocke, and shut up with a wall of stone. Here I paid for my supper twenty creitzers, and for drinking after supper (vulgarly schlaffdrencke, that is, sleeping drinke) sixe creitzers, and for the fourth part of a bushell of oates, nine creitzers (which before we had for foure creitzers and a halfe) and for hey and straw three creitzers. The third day in the morning we rode two miles, through woody mountaines, the ascent of one of them being halfe a mile, and through rich pastures, to Morthusly, and I paid for my dinner eightene creitzers, and for my horse-meat five creitzers, oates being deerer here then before. This day neere Spitle we passed out of Austria into Styria. After dinner we rode two miles, through woody mountaines, yeelding good pastures, to a village, where I paid for my supper
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twenty foure creitzers, and twelve for my horse-meat. The fourth day in the morning we rode foure miles, through mountaines with pasture and woods, and valleies of corne, to the City Brucke, where I paid for my dinner fifteene creitzers, for my horse-meat five creitzers, the third part of a bushell of oates being here sold for twenty foure creitzers. After dinner we rode in like way two miles, to the City Lowen, and I paid for my supper fifteene creitzers, for three little measures and a halfe of oates, foureteene creitzers, for stable three creitzers, and foure for dregs of wine to wash my horses feet. The fifth day in the morning we rode two miles in like way to a village, where I paid nine creitzers for my dinner, and foure for my horse meat. After dinner we rode in the like way, and over mountaines covered with snow, three miles and a halfe, to a village, not farre from which, Charles of Gratz, Arch-duke of Austria, (uncle by the Father side to the Emperour Rodulphus, and Father to the Queene of Poland, lately maried to King Sigismond,) was of late buried in a Monastery neere Knettelfeld. In this village I paid foureteene creitzers for my supper, and twelve for my horse-meat. The sixth day in the morning we rode one mile in like way, to Judenburg, that is, the City of the Jewes, and I paid foureteene creitzers for breakefast. Then we rode five miles in a stony way, through high mountaines, to Newen-marckt, and I paid eighteene creitzers for my supper, and fifteene for my horse-meat. In this Countrey of Styria, many men and weomen have great wens hanging downe their throats, by drinking the waters that run through the mines of mettals.

The seventh day in the morning we rode two miles to the confines of Styria, and entring Carinthia, passed by the City Freysacke, in which was a faire and strong Castle, seated upon a high mountaine, and so wee passed one mile further to a village, all our way having beene very troublesome, by reason of the stony mountaines, and narrow passages, we having a coach in our company.
Heere I paied twenty foure creitzers for my dinner, and fourteene for my horse-meat. After dinner wee rode two miles in a plaine compassed with mountaines, to Sternfield; where I paied nineteene creitzers for my supper, and sixteene for my horse-meat. The eight day in the morning we rode one mile, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, to a pleasant City, Saint Voyte. As in Styria, so here in Carinthia, the men and women have great wens upon their throats, with drinking the waters that passe the Mines. Heere I paied for my dinner and supper forty eight creitzers, and twenty foure for my horse-meat, for we staid here to rest our horses, and every day we tooke shorter journies, because wee had a Coach in our company, which could hardly passe the streights and stony waies of the Alpes, and in no other part of the Alpes, they use at any time to passe with Coaches, but here very seldom, in respect of the ill way. The ninth day we rode three miles, through a fruitful plaine of corne, to Feldkirken, where I paid nine creitzers for my dinner, and foure for my horse-meat. After dinner we rode about two miles, by the side of a lake on our left hand towards the South, beyond which lake Boleslaus King of Poland lies buried in a Monastery, who having killed a Bishop, warning him to amend his life, did upon his owne free will doe penance there, taking the habit of a Monke, and serving in the same Cloyster, as a lay brother to warme stoves: but the Polackes say, that the body of the dead Bishop did many miracles, whereupon with great expence of treasure, they of late obtained at Rome, to have him made a Saint. And so we came to a village where I paid twenty creitzers for my supper, thirteene for my horse-meat, and eight for drinke after supper. The tenth day in the morning we rode about a mile, through high and rocky mountaines, to the City Villake, by which the River Draw runneth, and here I omitted my expences. After dinner we rode three miles, through high and rocky mountaines, and a narrow way; and our Coachman by the way showed us uppon the left hand towards the South,
a Castle, which of old belonging to the Governours of the Province, was now demolished, and because money received of the Turkes for treason, was hidden here, they say that ever since ill spirits walke in that place.

In the villages of Carinthia (being a Province of the Dutch Empire) the Countrey people speake Wendish, or the tongue of the old Vandals, which I have likewise heard to be used in villages neere Augsburg, and neere Witteberg in Saxony, and upon the shoare of the Balticke sea in Pomern, and Meckleburge, so as it seemes, that barbarous nation, though scattered and loosing their name, yet still liveth in those places.

So we came to Altaporta, that is High gate, where I omitted my expences. The eleventh day in the morning wee rode a mile, through high mountaines and rocky, and a narrow way to the village Treviso, where the Dutchmen shewed a pasport, and we all had a like pasport given us from the Emperour his Officers, which we were to deliver to the Venetian Officers at Pontena, lest either for suspition of infectious sicknes, or any other cause, they should not permit us to enter into Italy. In the said village I paid fiftenee creitzers for my dinner, and fife for my horse-meat.

After dinner we rode two miles, in a stony way betweene mountaines, to Pontena, which the Dutch call Pontafell, and by the way there was a wall of stone betweene the mountaines, and a village called Chiusa, where there was a gate, shutting up the high way, upon which was written in Italian.

La chiusa,

L’Alpi chiudono i confini della famosa Italia, ma non ponno mai chiudere l’honor del sagio Contarini.

The inclosure or shutting up.
The Alpes close up the confines of famous Italy, but can never inclose the honour of the wise Contarini.

The Contarini are a family of Gentlemen in Venice. Here the Venetian soouldiers keeping this passage, required
a benevolence of us, which we willingly gave, and our companions paid four Venetian lires for the four horses in their Coach, but wee that were horsemen paid no tribute. Here we had another passe-port to be shewed at Venzona. I paid at Pontena thirty sols of Venice for my supper, thirty five for oats, and ten for hey.

And give me leave to remember, that I having for the cold at Dantzke, in the beginning of September, put on a woollen wasecoat, was forced now at the entering of Italy, for great heat in the end of October, to put off the same.

The twelfth day in the morning wee rode four miles (meaning Dutch miles, though wee be now entered into Italy, because my Dutch companions so reckoned them.) We now had entred the Italian Province Frioly, which the Latines call Forum Julii; because the Legions used to be sent from hence over the Alpes, & the Venetians call Patia, that is country; because the Venetians fled from hence, into the Lakes of Venice, when Attila King of the Huns invaded Italy, by this name acknowledging it to be their country, from whence they originally came. Aquilegia the seat of the Patriarkes, destroyed by Attila, was of old famous; but the Venetians by the Popes favour, have drawne the Patriarkes seat to Venice. By the way wee passed seven branches of the River Tagliamonti on horse-backe without boats, the streame being so violent by the waters falling from the mountaines, that it dazels the eyes, if the passenger looke upon the water; for which cause wee passed warily, turning our eyes from the water, and having guides passing before us, to try and shew us the Fordes. By the way upon a bridge, this was written in Latine:

For the carrying over of Dutch merchandize, by the streames of Ledra, S. S. President of the Province, speedily built this Bridge.

So wee came through a plaine somewhat wilde, or lesse fruitfull, to Spilenburg; where I paied twenty one sols

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for my dinner, eight for oats, and foure for hay. After dinner we rode two Dutch miles, through wild stony fields, to Sanvocate, where I paid thirty sols for my supper, thirty two for oats, and ten for hay. The thirteenth day in the morning, we rode three Dutch, or fourteen Italian miles; through wilde grounds, and stony fields of corne, and neere our journies end, by many Orchardes and Vineyards, to Konian, where I omitted my expence. By the way wee met a Gentleman, in his coach drawne with oxen. After dinner wee rode two Dutch, or eight Italian miles, and in a wilde field, passed two branches of a river by a boat, in which we sate on horse-backe; and we paied sixteene sols for our passage, and thence wee came to a village, where I paied forty sols for my supper, twenty three for oats, and ten for hay. And coming hither on All-soules evening, which they keepe with great superstition, wee could not sleepe for little bels tinckling all night. The fourteenth day in the morning, we rode six Italian miles, through fruitful full hills of corne, and by pleasant Vineyards, to Trevigi, a City little in circuit, but fortified, and built of bricke, with arches hanging over the streets, under which men walke dry in the greatest raine, where I have omitted my expences.

After breakefast we rode twenty two Italian miles, through a most pleasant plain, in which we passed over a river, and came to Paduoa. Here I sold my horse for twenty silver crownes, which I bought at Crakaw for eightene guldens; and by the way, I might have sold him for twenty six crownes or more, and from the place where I sold him, might easily have hired a coach or horses to Paduoa, but my foolish hope to sell him deerer, and desire to save the charge of hiring a coach, or horse, kept me from selling him by the way, whereof I repented when I came to Paduoa, where horse-meat was very deere, and the horse-coarsers finding that I must needs sell him, agreed among themselves, so craftily, sending mee every day new buyers, to offer mee lesse then before they had offered, as when I had kept him fourteene dayes, I must

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have beene forced to sell my horse at their price, if I had not found an English Gentleman by chance, who returning into Germany, gave mee twenty crownes for my horse. I staied all this winter at Paduoa, in which famous University I desired to perfect my Italian tongue, where a Student may have his table at an Ordinary (vulgarly a la dozena) and his chamber for eight, or at most, for tenne silver crownes the month: but few live after this fashion, save the Dutch, and strangers new arrived, and having not yet got the language; but rather they hire a chamber, which is to be had for a zechine, or tenne lires the month, or at a lower rate, the Hostesse being to finde linnen, and dresse the meat you buy. My Hoste had a large house, with a faire court, hired yeerly for forty crownes, and with him, my selfe and some Dutch men lodged, each having his chamber and plentiful diet, for eight silver crownes the month.

When I went to Venice, I lodged with an Hostesse, an old widow, which had a house like a Pallace; for which, he paied two hundred crownes yeerely, and there I paied for a chamber foure silver crownes by the month, every man there buying meat at his pleasure, which the Hostesse dresseth; and findes linnen.

But that the price of things may better appeare, it will not be amisse particularly to set some prices downe for both Cities; for howsoever strangers spend more in Venice, then in Paduoa; yet that is not by reason of diet, but for the greater price of chambers, and extraordinary inticements to spend. The prices I will briefly set downe, in some few particulars, because in the due place treating of diet, I am to speake more largely thereof. It is the fashion of Italy, that onely men, and the Masters of the family, goe into the market and buy victuals, for servants are never sent to that purpose, much lesse weomen, which if they be chast, rather are locked up at home, as it were in prison. Againe, the small coines of brasse, are very helpefull to the poore, all victuals being sold in small portions, according to the smallest money, yea, the very
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spices, which in the shoppes are put up in papers, ready
beaten, according to greater or the very least coynes. The
Italians are sparing in diet, but particularly at Padua,
the markets abound rather with variety, then quantities
of meat. Some hundreds of turkies hang out to be sold,
for six or seven lires each, according to the goodnes. And
this territory yeelding better corn then other parts, they
have very white bread, light, & pleasant in tast, especially
that which is called Pan-buffetto. I remember I bought
a pound of mutton for five sols and a halfe, of veale for
eight, of porke for eight, a fat hen for two lires, eight
little birds for six sols, a great and fat pigeon for two
lires, a pullet for thirty five, and sometime forty sols, an
Eeele after ten sols the pound, krevises the pound three,
and sometimes six sols, a pike the pound seven or eight
sols, round cockles the hundred three sols, the longe, which
we call raseres, the hundreth twenty sols, the skalops which
they call holy cockels, twelve for a lire, Cheverns the
pound foure sols, a plaise sixe sols, tenches the pound
eight sols, sawsages the pound ten sols, sixe egges eight
sols, butter the pound fourteene sols, piacentine cheese
the pound six sols, and parmesan the pound ten or twelve
sols, a measure of salt for the table foure sols, rice the
pound three sols, ten snailes foure sols, apples the pound
two sols, peares & wardens the pound foure sols, chesnuts
the pound three sols, dry grapes the pound two sols,
sometimes three; almonds the pound five sols, six orenge
for one gaget, a pomegranat one sol, oyle the pound ten
sols, a secchio of wine thirty five sols, or the pound thereof
eight sols, waxe candles the ounce two sols, and ten small
waxe candles twenty two sols, other candles the pound
sixteene sols, or foureteene if they be little, a quire of
writing paper five sols. The Hostesse dresseth your meat
in the bargaine for your chamber, and findes you napkins,
tableclothes, sheetes, and towels; and either in your chest
or her owne, will lay up the meat, and very bread you
leave, more providently then any of our parts would
require; and little boyes attend in the market places with
baskets, who for a soll will carry home the meat you buy; and dare not deceive you though you goe not with them. I paid to my taylor for making a cloake foure lires, and for my doublet and hose eight lires; to my laundresse for making a shirt a lire, that is, twenty sols; for washing it two sols; and for washing foure handkerchers one sol. And this shall suffice for particular expences.

The City Paduoa, was built by Antenor a Trojan, and the Heneti driven out of their Countrey, joined themselves to these Trojans. These with joint force drove out the Euganei from the fertile Euganean hills neere Paduoa, where Hercules left them, and these Heneti gave to their posterity the name of Venetians, to whom the Colonies of Tuscany joined themselves, then the French subdued all this Province, till at last they subjected themselves to the Romans, and were made Citizens of Rome. The Roman Empire declining, the Visigothes under Alaricus drove the chief Citizens of Paduoa, into the lakes of Venice. Then Attila King of the Hunnes spoiled Paduoa, and the Longobards burnt it, which being rebuilt, and flourishing under the German Emperors, Acciolinus usurped the governement thereof, in the yeere 1237. But Pope Alexander the fourth helped by the Venetians, restored it to liberty in the yeere 1257. In the faction of the Guelphes & Gibellines, Paduoa then & from that time hath bin subject to many Princes of the Scaligers, & Cararrians, til about the yeere 1402. the Venetians tooke the City, which they held to the yeere 1509. when the French King Lewis made them yeeld to the Emperour; but the Venetians after two moneths recovered it, and to this day it is subject to them, who send a Magistrate called Podesta, every fiftene moneths to governe it. Some say Paduoa was first called Antenor (as the Heneti gave the name of Venice to the Countrey) till after Antenors death, the Heneti called it Paduoa, of a City in their Countrey whence they were driven. Others say it hath the name from a Greeke word, upon the flying of Swannes: others say it is so called of the river Po,
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called in Latine Padus, or of the territory lying beyond the Po, the River giving name to the territory, and that to the City. Before it was destroyed by Attila, it was seated on the East-side of the River Medoacus, but after it was built on the other side, in a fenny soyle, where now the market place is, but since it hath beene inlarged on both sides the water, being without the outmost wals seven miles compasse, and of a triangular forme, as it seemed to me. The first angle is on the North-side, where is the Monastery of the Hermites of Saint Augustine, and the stately Pallace Areno, in which the French King Henry the third was lodged, when hee returned from Poland into France. The second angle is towards the East; where is the gate at which they take water to passe upon the River Brenta to Venice. The third angle is towards the South, where is the monastery Santo, called of Saint Anthony of Lisbon, and the monastery of Saint Justina. And these angles taken away, the old City is round. On the West-side upon the wals, is built the old Pallace of the old City. Paduoa is seated in a sweet plain, having no trees neere the City. Of old the wall was triple, and now it is double. The inner wall is some three miles in compasse, and is very high having a walke upon it round about, with pleasant shade of trees, where Gentlemen use to play at the balloone. This wall compassed round with the Brent, hath foureteene gates, with as many bridges of stone. The river Brent likewise compasseth the outward wall, which is about seven miles compasse, and hath six stately gates, but this wall is nothing so strong as the other. The River Athesis divides the territory of Paduoa, from that of Verona, and the river Po divides it from that of Ferrara.

Two rivers of old called Medoaci, enter the City; the greater at this day called Brenta, falling from the Alpes, with the right hand branch, runneth to Paduoa, and with the left hand branch to Rosta, and dividing againe into two branches, one by the ditch Brentella is carried to
Paduoa, the greater takes the name Bachilio, and neere to the wals of Paduoa, receives the waters of Brentella, increased with a branch of Brenta. These Rivers enter the City, and with divers channels drive many mils, compasse the wals, and not onely make the fields fertile, but serve to carry all commodities (abounding here) from hence to Venice, and to bring from thence such things as they want, and besides doe cleanse all filth of the stables and privies.

The aire at Paduoa is very healthfull, and the building is with arches of stone, hanging over the streets, under which they walke dry in the greatest raine; but the streetes are thereby made narrow, and in the middest are dirty. There be five market places: in the first the Gentlemen and Students meet and walke: in the second herbes are sold, in the third corne: in the fourth wood, and in the fifth straw. The aforesaid monastery of Saint Anthony, is inhabited by Franciscan Friars, and is much fairer then any other religious house; the Church whereof was of old dedicated to Juno, and after to the Virgin Mary; and at last to Saint Anthony. The pavement thereof is of marble, and the building very stately, having in the top seven globes covered with lead, and three high towers. The Chappell wherein St. Anthony lies, is all of marble, & round about it the miracles are engraven, which they attribute to this Saint: at whose feast day they use to present for great gifts the hallowed girdles of this St., which they tie about their loyns, and attribute strange effects thereunto. Here is a statua of marble, erected to Peter Bembus; and in the large yard there is a horse-mans statua of brasse, which the Senate of Venice erected to Gatta Melata. In the Church of Franciscan Minorites, there is a statua erected to Roccha Benello, a Physitian, sitting in his chaire. In the aforesaid monastery of Saint Justina, the order of Saint Benedict was first established, and from thence dispersed into Italy, and the Church thereof was of old dedicated to Concord, and after being made the Bishops Church, was endowed
with great rents. These Monkes have a blacke habit, and in the Church they shew the relics of the Martyr Saint Justina, of Saint Prosdomimus a GREEKE, (who is said to have bee Saint Peters Disciple, and to have converted Paduoa, and to have baptised Saint Justina, when shee suffered Martyrdome) and likewise of Saint Maximus (both Bishops, and protecting Saints of the City,) as also of Saint Luke the Evangelist, brought by Urius a Monke from Constantinople; but the Venetians say the relics of Saint Luke are with them. Biondus writeth, that here was a Church dedicated to Jupiter, and the sepulcher of Titus Livius. In the first court yard of this Monastery, the incredible miracles of Saint Benedict are painted. In the second I found this Epitaph:

Adolescens tametsi properas,
    Hoc te saxum rogat ut se aspicias;
Deinde quod scriptum est legas.
    Hic sunt Poetae Pacuvii sita ossa:
Hoc volebam nessius ne esses: vale.

D. M.

Young man tho thou hastest
    This stone desires thee to behold it;
Then to read that is written.
    Here are laid the bones of the Poet Pacuvius,
This I would have thee know: Farewell.

D. M.

A large and pleasant meadow lies before this Monastery. There is another of the Benedictines in this City, but those Friers weare a white habit, & live with more severe rules. In the Monastery of Saint Augustines Hermits, before named, are the sepulchers of the Princes of the family Carraria. The Cathedrall Church was of old Magnificall, and to this day hath twelve Churches under it within the City. The Marble chest containing Antenors bones, being found when the foundation of the
Almes-house was digged, was then brought to the Church of Saint Laurence; wherein was found a guilded sword, and Latine verses in a barbarous stile, shewing that the Letter A, should be fatall to the City; which they say to have proved true by Attila, Agilulfus, Acciolanus, Ansedissus and Albertus: under whom the City was much afflicted. This chest is erected upon Marble pillers at the doore of the Church, and upon the wall these verses are written in Latine:

Epitaph on Antenor.

Inclitus Antenor post diruta moenia Troiae,
Transtulit hic Henetum Dardanidumque fugas,
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit urbem,
Quem tenet haec humili marmore cæsa Domus.

Famous Antenor, Troyes walles pulled downe,
Henets and Dardans remnant here did traine;
Expeld th’ Euganeans, built faire Paduoa Towne,
Whom this low Marble house doth here containe.

Another Epitaph of the same Antenor, seemes lately written by the very name of the City, and savoureth a Transalpine wit, giving small credit to Livy, or their fabulous Antiquities:

Hic jacet Antenor Paduanæ conditor urbis,
Proditor ipse fuit hique sequuntur eum.

Antenor Padoaes founder lieth heere,
He was a Traytor, these him follow neere.

The Monument of the Trojan horse of wood, is kept in the Pallace of the Capilist family, whereupon they are called the Capilists of the horse. There bee eighteene Cloysters of Nunnes in the City, and two of repenting or illuminate women, so they call whores entring Cloysters. About the middest of the City is a faire Pallace, where the Venetian Podesta or governour dwells, the gallery whereof (in which hee sitteth to judge causes) is very large, and hath a high arched rooфе hanging by Art, not
sustained by any pillers, and the same is covered with lead, and adorned with many pictures of the famous Painter Zoto, and the length thereof is one hundred forty walking paces, the breadth forty three paces. There is the Statua of Julius Paulus, Doctor of Civill Law, and of Peter Aponensis, or, d’Abano, and of Titus Livius, and of Albertus the Hermitan, placed over the foure dores. At the West end of this gallery, is a Monument of Titus Livius the Historian carved within the wall, and these verses are written upon the wall in Latine:

Ossa tuumque caput, cives tibi maxime Livi,
Prompto animo hic omnes composuere tui:
Tu famam aeternam Rome, patriæque dedisti,
Huic oriens, illi fortia facta canens.
At tibi dat Patria hæc: & si majora liceret,
Hoc totus stares aureus ipse loco.

Greatest Livy, thy countrey men have laid,
Thy head and bones here with a ready minde:
Thy Countrey, and Rome thou hast famous made,
Here borne, while their greatest acts thou hast refinde:
Thy Countrey gives thee this, if more it might,
Here all in gold thou shouldst stand shining bright.

This Titus Livius died in the fourth yeere of the Empire of Tiberius Caesar, and in the sixty six yeere of his age. Not farre from this Monument stands a brazen Image of the same Livy, with this inscription in Latine:

The bones of Titus Livy of Paduoa, by all mortall mens consent worthy, by whose penne truely invincible, the Acts of the invincible Roman people should be written.

Besides, they shew in the City Titus Livius his house. And this Monument, or these bones of him were brought thither from the Monastery of Saint Justina. The Court where the Senate meetes, lieth neere to the said gallery of this Pallace; where there is a stone, which they call the stone of Turpitude, (that is, filthines or disgrace:)
whereupon debtors, which disclaim the having of goods to pay their debts, do sit with their hinder parts bare; that with this note of disgrace, others may be terrified from borrowing more then they can pay. They have a Pest-house called Lazaretto, & two like houses for Lepers, and one Almes-house for the poore strangers, another for Orphanes, and a third for children cast out, or left in the streets. Neere the Church of Saint Lucia, there is a Well, called the Divels Well; which they say was brought into the street by Art Magick, out of the courtyard of a Gentleman, denying water to his neighbours. This City hath little trafficke, though it lies very fit for the same, because the Venetians draw it all to themselves.

But Gentlemen of all Nations come thither in great numbers, by reason of the famous University, which the Emperour Frederick the second, being offended with the City of Bologna, planted here in the yeere 1222, or there abouts, some comming to study the civill Law, other the Mathemetickes, & Musick, others to ride, to practise the Art of Fencing, and the exercises of dancing and activity, under most skilful professors of those Arts, drawn hither by the same reason. And Students have here great, if not too great liberty & priviledges, so as men-slaiers are only punished with banishment, which is a great mischiefe, and makes strangers live there in great jealousie of treason to be practised against their lives. The Schoole where the professors of liberall Sciences teach, is seated over against Saint Martins Church, and was of old a publike Inne, having the signe of an Oxe, which name it still retaineth. The promotion of degrees is taken in the Bishops hall, neere the Cathedrall Church, and the Doctors are made in the chiefe Church. And there bee eight Colledges built for poore Students of severall Provinces.

The Athestine family of the Dukes of Ferrara, and the Honorian family, of the tyrant Acciolinus, and the Carrarian family of their owne Princes, had their beginning in this City, as they write. And they doe no lesse triumph of divers Citizens borne heere, namely Marsilius,
Mamordinus a Minorite who being a Divine, wrote learnedly in the yeere 1329, of the power of the Pope and Emperour, defending the majesty of the Emperour against the Pope: and Julius Paulus a civill Lawyer, Disciple to Papinius, and living in the time of Titus Livius; and Francis Zabarella a civill Lawyer, dying in the yeere 1417, and Peter D'Abano a Physician and Astrologer, dying in the yeere 1312: whose body being to bee burnt for suspicion of his being a conjurer, his Concubine buried, but his picture and his bookes were burnt by the Emperors command: and Michael Savonarola a Physitian, and Titus Livius a famous Historian: And Lucius Aruntius Stella, and Caius Valerius Flaccus, all Poets celebrated by Martiall: and Angelus Beoleus a Stage-player of wonderfull elocution, dying in the yeere 1542, and Thraseas Peto a famous Souldier, hated by Nero: and Andreas Mantinia, the best Painter of his age, being knighted, and dying about the yeere 1517, and Augustinus Zoto a Painter, with other famous men.
THE SECOND BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Of my journey from Paduoa, to Venice, to Ferraria, to Bologna, to Ravenna, and by the shore of the Adriaticke Sea, to Ancona: then crossing the breadth of Italy, to Rome, seated not farre from the Tirrhene Sea.

Certificates of Health.

Hosoever comes into Italy, and from whence soever; but more especially if he come from suspected places, as Constantinople, never free from the plague; hee must bring to the Confines a certificate of his health, and in time of any plague, hee must bring the like to any City within land, where he is to passe, which certificates brought from place to place, and necessary to bee carried, they curiously observe and read. This paper is vulgarly called Bolletino della sanita; and if any man want it, hee is shut up in the Lazareto, or Pest-house forty dayes, till it appeare he is healthfull, and this they call vulgarly far' la quarantana. Neither will the Officers of health in any case dispence with him, but there hee shall have convenient lodging, and diet at his pleasure.

An. 1594.

In the spring of the yeere, 1594, (the Italians beginning the yeere the first of January) I began my journey to see Italy, and taking boat at the East gate of Paduoa, the same was drawne by horses along the River Brenta;
FROM PADUA TO VENICE

& having shot two or three small bridges, and passed twenty miles, we came to the Village Lizzafusina, where there is a damme to stop the waters of Brenta, lest in processe of time, the passage being open, the Marshes on that side of Venice should be filled with sand or earth, and so a passage made on firme ground to the City; which they are carefull to prevent, and not without just cause, having found safety in their Iles, when Italy was often overflowed by barbarous people. Besides, they say that this damme was made, lest this fresh-water should bee mingled with their salt waters; since all the Gentlemen of Venice fetch their fresh water by boats from thence, the poorer sort being content with Well water. Heere whiles our boat was drawne by an Instrument, out of the River Brenta, into the Marshes of Venice, wee the passengers refreshed our selves with meat and wine, and according to the custome, agreed upon the price of our meat before wee did eat it. Then we entred our boat againe, and passed five miles to Venice, upon the marshes thereof; and each man paied for his passage a lire, or twenty sols, and for a horse more then ordinary, that we might be drawne more swiflty from Paduoa to Lizzafusina, each man paied foure sols, but the ordinary passage is only sixeene sols. We might have had coaches, but since a boat passeth daily too and fro betweene these Cities, most men use this passage as most convenient. For the boat is covered with arched hatches, and there is very pleasant company, so a man beware to give no offence: for otherwise the Lumbards carry shirts of Male, and being armed as if they were in a Camp, are apt to revenge upon shamefull advantages. But commonly there is pleasant discourse, and the proverb saith, that the boat shall bee drowned, when it carries neither Monke, nor Student, nor Curtesan (they love them too well to call them whores,) the passengers being for the most part of these kindes. I remember a yong maide in the boat, crossed her selfe whensoever an old woman looked upon her, fearing she should be a witch, whereat the

The River Brenta.

Passage boats from Paduoa to Venice.
passengers often smiled, seeing the girl not onely crosse her selfe for feare, but thrust her crucifix towards the old womans eyes. I said formerly that two Rivers Medoaci, runne through Paduoa, and that the greater by the name of Brenta, running to the village Lizzafusina, is stopped with a damme, lest it should mingle it selfe with the salt marshes of Venice, and that also the lesser River by the name of Bachilio, passeth through Paduoa. This lesser streame runneth thence into the ditch Clodia, and going out of it makes a haven, called de Chiozza, which lieth in the way from Venice to Farraria, and there it divideth it selfe into two streames; and entring the salt marshes, makes the haven of Venice, called Malamocco. Besides other Rivers falling from the Alpes, through Frioli, do increase these marshes, which are salt by the tides of the sea, though the same doth very little ebbe or flow in this Mediterranean, or Inland sea. And this haven Malamocco is very large and deep, and is defended with a banke from the waves of the Adriatique sea.

The Description of Venice.

Upon the West side of Venice beyond the marshes, lies the Territory of Paduoa. On the North side beyond the marshes, lies the Province Frioli. On the South side beyond the marshes, lies partly the firme land of Italy, and partly the Adriatique sea; On the East side beyond the marshes lies the Adriatique sea, and the City consisteth all of Iles, compassed round about with the saide marshes.

A The great channell.
B The market place of Saint Marke, seated in the first Sextary of Saint Marke.
C The Cathedrall Church of Saint Peter, the seate of the Patriarkes, seated in the second Sextary, called Castelli Olivolo.
D The third Sextary on this side the channell, called di Canarigio.
E The Church of Saint James lies neere the bridge
The description of Venice
COMMENTS UPON VENICE

Rialto, and is seated in the fourth Sextary of Saint Paul, being the first of them beyond the channell.

The rest of the City is divided into two other Sextaries beyond the channell, namely the fifth di Sta. Croce, and the sixth de Dorso duro.

F The Church of Saint George the greater. G And the Church of Santa Maria delle gratie, both lie in the Sextary di Santa Croce.

H The Iland Giudecca belongs to the sextary di Dorso duro.

K The banke of the sea, vulgarly Il Lido.

L The Iland Murana. M The new Lazaretto.

N Mazorbo.

O Buran. P San Franscesco del deserto.

Q Torcello. R Duo Castelli.

S La Certosa. T Sta. Hellena.

V Lazaretto Vecchio——

W Chioza.

X Malamocco, the haven within the sea banke.

Y Povegia, an Iland.

Z San' Georgio d' Alega, in the way as we come from Paduoa to Venice, a little Iland.

+ La Concordia: a little Iland.

The Henetians of Paphlagonia, their King Palemon being dead at the siege of Troy, joyned themselves to Antenor, and possessing these parts, after they had driven out the Euganeans, called the countrey Venice, and through their great vertue were made Citizens of Rome, and their chiefe men Senators thereof. But when Attila King of the Huns invaded Italy, and the Empire of the West being weakned, did destroy the same, the said Henetians came out of Histria, now called Frioli, and from the Territory of Paduoa, and other Italians came from adjoyning parts, into certaine Ilands compassed with marshes, that they might be safe from those Barbarians; and about the yeere of our Lord, 421, began to build a City, which proving a safe retreate from the tyranny then continually oppressing Italy, in processe of time by
A.D. 1594.

The government of the City.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

civill Arts grew incredibly. These Islands were in number sixty neere adjoyning, and twelve more distant; which being all joyned in one, have made this stately City, and the chiefe of them were called in the vulgar tongue, Rialto, Grado, Heraclea, & Castello Olivolo. The Island Grado was of old the seat of the Patriarkes, after that the Patriarchate of Aquilegia in Histria, was by the Popes authority translated thither: but now the seat of the Patriarkes is removed to Castello Olivolo. The Island Grado was of old the seat of the Patriarkes, after that the Patriarchate of Aquilegia in Histria, was by the Popes authority translated thither: but now the seat of the Patriarkes is removed to Castello Olivolo. At first the Consuls governed the City, then Tribunes, chosen out of each Ile one, till the yeere 697, when the Citizens abiding in Heraclea chose them a Duke, who dwelt in the same Ile. After forty yeeres they chose a Tribune of soouldiers, in stead of a Duke, with like authority as hee had, and at last in the yeere 742, meeting in the Island Malamocco, they chose a Duke againe, and removed his seat from Heraclea, to that Island. Then Pipin reigning in Italy about the yeere 800, the Venetians demolished Heraclea which was built againe, but never recovered the old dignity, being more notable in the seat of the Bishop, then in the number of Citizens. For most of the Gentlemen removed their dwellings into the Island Rialto, otherwise called Rivo alto; either of the depth of the marshes, or because it was higher then the other Islands, and thereupon called Ripa alta. Whereupon that Island getting more dignity then the rest, the Citizens in processe of time joyned the sixty Islands lying neere one to the other, with some foure hundred bridges; of which Islands (as is above said) and of the twelve more distant, this stately City consisteth. Then by common counsell, the seat of the Dukes was established in this Island, who built the stately Pallace which at this day we see. And now a new Dukedome arising out of these salt marshes of the sea, from that time daily grew in dignity. But the City was first called Rialto, and after, of the countrey from whence the Citizens came, was called Venetia, or in the plurall number Venetiae: because many Dukedomes and Provinces, or many Nations were

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joyned in one, and at this day is vulgarly called Venegia. That the City was first called Rialto, appeares by old records of Notaries, written in these wordes: After the use of Venice. In the name of eternall God, amen: subscribed in such a yeere of Rivoalto, and in these wordes after the use of the Empire; In the name of Christ, amen: subscribed, dated at Venice. This stately City built in the bottome of the gulf of the Adriatique sea; in the midst of marshes upon many Ilands, is defended on the East side against the sea, by a banke of earth, which hath five (or some say seven) mouths or passages into the sea; and is vulgarly called Il Lido: and being so placed by nature, not made by Art, bendeth like a bowe, and reacheth thirty five miles; and by the aforesaid passages, the ships and the tides of the sea goe in and out, and the deepe marshes whereof I have spoken, are made of these salt waters, and of divers fresh waters falling from the Alpes, and vulgarly called, il Tagliamonti La livenza, la praca, la Brenta, Il Po, l' Adice, and il Bacchiglione. On the West side, the City is compassed with marshes, and after five miles with the Territory of Paduoa. On the North side with marshes, and beyond them partly with the Province Frioli, partly with the aforesaid sea banke. And upon the South side with many Ilands, wherein are many Churches and Monasteries, like so many Forts, and beyond them with the firme land of Italy. The City is eight miles in circuit, and hath seventy parishes, wherein each Church hath a little market place, for the most part four square, and a publike Well. For the common sort use well water, and raine water kept in cesternes; but the Gentlemen fetch their water by boat from the land. It hath thirty one cloysters of Monkes, and twenty eight of Nunnes, besides chapells and almes-houses. Channels of water passe through this City (consisting of many Ilands joyned with Bridges) as the bloud passeth through the veins of mans body; so that a man may passe to what place he will both by land and water. The great channell is
in length about one thousand three hundred paces, and
in breadth forty paces, and hath onely one bridge called
Rialto, and the passage is very pleasant by this channell;
being adorned on both sides with stately Pallaces. And
that men may passe speedily, besides this bridge, there
be thirteene places called Traghetti, where boats attend
called Gondole; which being of incredible number give
ready passage to all men. The rest of the channels
running through lesse streets, are more
narrow, and in them many bridges are to be passed under. The afore-
said boats are very neat, and covered all save the ends
with black cloth, so as the passengers may goe unseen
and unknowne, and not bee annoyed at all with the sunne,
winde, or raine. And these boats are ready at call any
minute of the day or night. And if a stranger know
not the way, hee shall not need to aske it, for if hee will
follow the presse of people, hee shall be sure to bee
brought to the market place of Saint Marke, or that of
Rialto; the streets being very narrow (which they pave
with bricke,) and besides if hee onely know his Hosts
name, taking a boat, he shall be safely brought thither
at any time of the night. Almost all the houses
have two gates, one towards the street, the other
towards the water; or at least the bankes of the
channels are so neere, as the passage by water is as
easie as by land. The publike boats, with the private
of Gentlemen and Citizens, are some eight hundred, or
as others say, a thousand. Though the floud or ebbe
of the salt water bee small, yet with that motion it
carrieth away the filth of the City, besides that, by the
multitude of fiers, and the situation open to all windes,
the ayre is made very wholesome, whereof the Venetians
bragge, that it agrees with all strangers complexions, by
a secret vertue, whether they be brought up in a good
or ill ayre, and preserveth them in their former health.

And though I dare not say that the Venetians live long,
yet except they sooner grow old, and rather seeme then
truly be aged: I never in any place observed more old
men, or so many Senators venerable for their grey hair and aged gravity. To conclude, the situation of Venice is such, as the Citizens abound with all commodities of sea and land; and are not onely most safe from their enemies on the land, being severed from it by waters, and on the sea being hedged in with a strong sea banke, but also give joyfull rest under their power to their subjects on land, though exposed to the assault of their enemies.

The City parted in the middest with the great channell, comning in from the sea banke neere the two Castles, is of old divided into six sextaries, or six parts, vulgarly Sestieri; three on this side the channell, and three beyond the channell. The first sextary on this side the channell, is that of Saint Marke; for howsoever it be not the Cathedrall Church, yet it is preferred before the rest, as well because the Duke resides there, as especially because Saint Marke is the protecting Saint of that City. The body of which Saint being brought hither by Merchants from Alexandria: this Church was built in the yeere 829. at the charge of the Duke Justinian, who dying, gave by his last will great treasure to that use, and charged his brother to finish the building, which was laid upon the ruines of Saint Theodores Church, who formerly had bee the protecting Saint of the City. And the same being consumed with fire in the yeere 976. it was more stately rebuilt, according to the narrownes of the place, the Merchants being charged to bring from all places any precious thing they could find fit to adorne the same, whatsoever it cost. The length of the Church containeth two hundred foot of Venice, the bredth fifty, the circuit 950. The building is become admirable, for the singular art of the builders and painters, and the most rare peces of Marble, Porphry, Ophites (stones so called of speckles like a serpent) and like stones; and they cease not still to build it, as if it were unfinished, lest the revenues given by the last wils of dead men to that use, should returne to their heires (as the common report goes.) There were
stairs of old to mount out of the market place into the Church, till the waters of the channell increasing, they were forced to raise the height of the market place. On the side towards the market place are five doores of bras, whereof that in the middest is fairest, and the same, with one more, are daily opened, the other three being shut, excepting the dayes of Feasts. Upon the ground neere the great doore, is a stone, painted as if it were engraven: which painting is vulgarly called, A la Mosaica, and upon this stone Pope Alexander set his foot upon the necke of the Emperor Fredericke Barbarossa, adoring him after his submission. The outward part of the Church is adorned with 148. pillars of marble, whereof some are Ophytes, that is speckled, and eight of them are Porphry neere the great doore, which are highly esteemed. And in all places about the Church, there be some six hundred pillars of marble, besides some three hundred in the caves under ground. Above these pillars on the outside of the Church is an open gallery, borne up with like pillars, from whence the Venetians at times of Feasts, behold any shewes in the market place. And above this gallery, and over the great doore of the Church, be foure horses of brasse, guilded over, very notable for antiquity and beauty; and they are so set, as if at the first step they would leape into the market place. They are said to be made to the similitude of the Horses of Phoebus, drawing the Chariot of the Sunne, and to have beene put upon the triumphall Arke of Nero, by the people of Rome, when he had overcome the Parthians. But others say that they were given to Nero by Tiridates the King of Armenia, and were made by the hands of the famous engraver Lisippus. These Horses Constantine removed from Rome to Constantinople, and that City being sacked, the Venetians brought them to Venice, but they tooke of the bridles, for a signe that their City had never bee conquered, but enjoyed Virgin liberty. And all the parts of these horses being most like the one to the other, yet by strange art, both in posture of motion, and otherwise,
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they are most unlike one to the other. Above this gallery the Image of Saint Marke of marble, and like images of the other Evangelists, of the Virgin Mary, and of the Angell Gabriell, are placed, and there is a bell upon which the houres are sounded, for the Church hath his Clocke, though another very faire Clocke in the market place be very neere it. The roofe in forme of a Globe, lies open at the very top, where the light comes in; for the Church hath no windowes, and the Papist Churches being commonly darke, to cause a religious horror, or to make their candles shew better, this is more darke then the rest. I passe over the image of Saint Marke of brasse in the forme of a Lion, guilded over, and holding a booke of brasse. Likewise the artificiall Images of the Doctors of the Church, and others. I would passe over the Image of the Virgin Mary, painted a la Mosaica, that is as if it were engraven, but that they attribute great miracles to it, so as weomen desirous to know the state of their absent friends, place a wax candle burning in the open aire before the Image, and beleeve that if their friend be alive, it cannot be put out with any force of wind; but if he be dead, that the least breath of wind puts it out, or rather of it selfe it goes out: and besides for that I would mention that those who are adjudged to death, offer waxe candles to this Image, and as they passe by, fall prostrate to adore the same. To conclude, I would not omit mention thereof, because all shippes comming into the Haven, use to salute this Image, and that of Saint Marke, with peeces of Ordinance, as well and more then the Duke. A Merchant of Venice saved from shipwracke, by the light of a candle in a darke night, gave by his last will to this Image, that his heires for ever should find a waxe candle to burne before the same. Above the said gallery are little chambers, in which they lay up pieces of stone and glasse, with other materials for the foresaid painting, a la Mosaica, which is like to engraving, and Painters having pensions from the state, doe there exercise that Art, highly esteemed in Italy.

[I. ii. 79.]
The outward roose is divided into foure globes, covered with leade. Touching the inside of the Church: In the very porch thereof is the Image of Saint Marke, painted with wonderfull art, and the Images of Christ crucified, of him buried, and of the foure Evangelists, highly esteemed; besides many other much commended for the said painting like engraving, and for other worke-manship. And there be erected foure great pillars of Ophites, which they say were brought from the Temple of Salomon. At the entery of the doore, is an old and great sepulcher, in which lies the Duke Marino Morosini. Not far thence is the image of Saint Geminian in pontificall habit, and another of Saint Katherine, both painted with great art. When you enter the body of the Church, there is the great Altar, under which lies Saint Marke, in a chest of brasse, decked with Images of silver guilded, and with plates of gold, and Images enamelled, and with the Image of Christ sitting upon a stately throne, adorned with pillars of most white Marble, and many precious stones, and curiously engraven. At the backe of this Altar there is another, which they call the Altar of the most holy Sacrament, made of the best marble, with a little doore of brasse, decked with carved Images, and with foure pillars of Alablaster, transparant as Christall, and highly esteemed; and upon the same hang every day two lampes of Copper: but at the times of feasts there hang two of pure silver. Moreover the Organs are said to be the worke of a most skilfull Artificer. In the higher gallery compassing the Church, is the image of Pope Pelagius, under which is a place where the holy relikes are kept, which Pope Clement the eight gave to John Delphin Knight, one of the Procurators of Saint Marke, and Ambassadour at Rome for Venice, namely a peece of a bone of Phillip the Apostle, a peece of the cheekbone, and foure teeth of the Martyr Saint Biagius: peeces of bones of Saint Bartholmew, and Saint Thomas (for-sooth) of Canterbury, and of the Apostles Saint Matthew, and Saint Marke, (whose body they say is laid in the
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foresaid chest) and part of the haire of the blessed Virgin, and a peece of a finger of the Evangelist Luke, and a peece of a ribbe of Saint Peter, with many like, which they shew to the people to be adored certaine daies in the yeere. Above the Altar of Saint Clement, these verses are written, which shew how they worshipped Images in a more modest though superstitious age.

Nam Deus est quod Imago docet, sed non Deus ipse
Hanc vides, sed mente colas quod cernis in ipsa:

That which the Image shewes, is God, it selfe is none,
See this, but God heere seene, in mind adore alone.

Likewise these verses of the same Author, be in another place.

Effigiem Christi qui transis, pronus honora,
Non tamen effigiem sed quod designat adora.
Esse deum ratione caret, cui contulit esse
  Materiale lapis, sicut & manus effigiale.
Nec Deus est nec homo, præsens quam cernis Imago,
  Sed Deus est & homo, quem sacra signat Imago.

As thou Christs Image passest, fall the same before,
  Yet what this Image signifies, not it adore.
No reason that it should be God, whose essence stands
  Materiall of stone, formall of workemens hands.
This Image which thou seest, is neither God nor Man,
  But whom it represents, he is both God and Man.

At the entry of the Chancell, is the throne of the Dukes, made of walnut-tree, all carved above the head, and when the Dukes sit there, it was wont to be covered with carnation satten, but now it is covered with cloth of gold, given by the King of Persia. There be two stately pulpits of marble, with Histories carved in brasse, where they sing the Epistles and Gospels. On the left hand by the Altar of Saint James is a place, where (if a man may beleeve it) the body of Saint Marke, by a crevice

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suddenly breaking through the marble stone, appeared in the yeere 1094. to certaine Priests who had fasted and prayed to find the same, the memory of the place where it was laid at the building of the Church about 829, being utterly lost. I believe that the memory thereof was lost about the yeere 829. when superstition was not yet ripe, but that it was found in the yeere 1094. that age being infected with grosse superstition, let him that list believe. They themselves seeme to distrust this miracle, while they confess that the same body was most secretly laid under the great Altar, and never since shewed to any man, but once or twice, and that after a suspicious manner. To the foresaid pulpits another is opposite, where the Musitians sing at solemn Feasts, and from whence the Dukes newly created, are shewed to the people, and likewise the holy relics (as they tearme them) are shewed twice in the yeere. The walls in the Church are so covered with the best marbles, as the lime and brick cannot be seen: and these pieces of marble with their spots and brightnes, are very beautifull, whereof two are held for admirable Monuments, which are so joined, as they lively represent the Image of a man. Here Marino Morosini first of all the Dukes hung his Armes upon the wals, whom the other Dukes after him in number forty three have followed, and there hung up their Armes. In the middest of the Church hangs a banner, given by the Citizens of Verona, in token of subjection, and two others for the same purpose given by the Citizens of Crema and Cremona. The Marble pillars set in Caves under the Church, beare up the pavement, which is made of pieces of the best marble, carved and wrought with little stones of checker worke very curiously, especially under the middle globe of the roofe, and neere the great doore. And among the rare stones opposite to the singers pulpit, they shew one of such naturall spots, as it is esteemed a Jewell, which by change of colour (they say) doth shew the change of weather. Moreover they shew certaine Images, carved by the direction of the Abbot
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John Joachim of old time, whereof many shew future events, as that of two cockes carrying a wolfe upon their backe, which they understand to be Lewis the twelfth, and Charles the eight, French Kings, casting Lodovico Sfortia out of his Dukedom, and in like sort, (to omit many other more hidden) that of the Lyons fat in the waters, and leane upon land, which they understand to be the power of Venice by sea, and the weakenes by land. Besides they say the same Abbot caused the Images of Saint Dominicke and Saint Francis to be drawne upon the doore of the Sanctuary, long before they lived; and the title of Saint is added to each of them, but the name is not set upon the pictures, yet they both are painted in the habit of their order. They shew two like pictures drawne by direction of the said Abbot, whereof they understand one to be the last Pope, under whom shall be one shepheard and one fould: but they say it is unknowne what the other signifies. Before the new Chappell of the blessed Virgin, there be two little chambers, whereof one is called the Sanctuary, in which their holy relikes are kept, the other is called the Jewell house, because the treasure of Saint Marke (so they appropriate all publike things to Saint Marke) is there kept, and it is vulgarly called Luogo delle gioie, that is, the place of the Jewels.

The Procurators of Saint Marke, keepe this treasure, and make no difficulty to shew it to strangers of the better sort. In this place I saw the Ducall Cap, (vulgarly ill corno, or, Beretta Ducale) which the Dukes weare at their Creation, being of inestimable value, for the multitude and price of the Jewels, especially of a diamond upon the crowne of the Cap, and a chrysolite set in the midst. I saw two crownes of Kings with twelve stomachers of pure gold set with rich Jewels (which the Noblewomen wore at Constantinople before the Turkes tooke it) and twelve other Crownes all of pure massy gold; all which the Venetians dividing with the French, had for their part, when they tooke Constantinople, in
1594. I saw a saphyre of extraordinary bignes, and a Diamond which the French King Henry the third gave to this state, when he returned that way from Poland; and two whole Unicornes hornes, each more then four foot long, and a third shorter, and a little dish of a huge price, with innumerable vessels, which for price, rares, and workemanship, are highly valued. They say that a Candian thiefe tooke away this treasure, which is kept with many doores and barres of iron, but that he restored it, being betrayed by his fellow.

In a Chappell of this Church, is a Font of brasse, with a brasen image of Saint John baptizing, and the Altar thereof is of a stone brought out of Asia, upon which they say Christ did sit, when he preached at Tyrus: but others say it is the stone upon which the Patriarke Jacob did sleepe. They shew there the chaire of the blessed Virgin, of stone, and two pieces of marble spotted with the blood of John Baptist, and the marble sepulcher of Duke Andrea Dandoli. In the Chappell of the Cardinall Zeno, they shew the Rocke strucke by Moses, and distilling water, and two precious pieces of porphery. In the upper Vestry they shew the picture of the Virgin, painted by Saint Lukes hand, and the ring of Saint Marke, and his Gospell written with his owne hand, and a peec of the Crosse of Christ, and of the Pillar to which he was tied, and Bookes covered with massy silver, and candlestickes, chalice, and many vessels of silver guilded, all set with little precious stones, and the Bishops Miter of great price, and many rich vestures for the Priests. The chiefe Priest of this Church must be a gentleman of Venice, and though hee be no Bishop, yet the Popes have given him great priviledges, and he is to be chosen by the Duke; because the Dukes built this Church, whereupon it is ever since called the Dukes Chappell. This Church of Saint Marke, is not unworthily called the golden Church, for the rich ornaments thereof, especially for the Images thereof, painted a la mosaica, like a worke engraven. For the workemen doe incor-
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porate gold with little square pieces of glasse, and guild the same over; then breaking them in very small pieces, they lay them upon the pictures.

Among the Parish Churches belonging to Saint Marke, is the Chappell of Saint Theodore, where the Inquisitors of Religion sit thrice a weeke: namely the Popes Nuntio, and the Patriarke (an Inquisitor by his place, and at this time a Dominican Friar) and three Senators chosen by the Senate. Likewise the little, but most faire Church of Saint Geminian, is seated in the market place of Saint Marke, whose Priest, according to the custome of Venice, is chosen by them that have unmoveable goods in the Parish, and is confirmed by the Patriarke, in which Church the most notable things are, three Images graven upon the great Altar, and the sepulcher of John Peter Stella, Great Chancellor, and the Altar of Lodovico Spinello, and the Monument of James and Francis Sansovine, famous engravers. In the Church of Saint Mary Zebenigo, the Monuments of Sebastian Foscarini, a Phylosopher, and of Jerome Molini, a Florentine Poet, and the picture of the Lords Supper. In the Church Saint Vitale, the artificiall statua of that Saint on horsebacke. In the Church Saint Angelo, built by the family of the Morosini, the Altar of the holy Sacrament. In the Church of Saint Fantino, the Architecture, and among other Images, the head of a Crucifix, and the singular Images of the blessed Virgin, and Saint John, painted standing by the Crosse. In the Vestry of Saint Fantino (whose Monkes use to accompany and comfort those that are executed) the two Altars, and in the first of them the brasen Images of the blessed Virgin and Saint John, and in the second the excellent Marble Image of Saint Jerome. In the Parish Church of Saint Luke, seated in the middest of the City, a monument of four most learned men, and another of Peter Aretine, called the scourge of Princes, are the most remarkable things. The Inquisitors worthily condemned the bookes of this Aretine, for the filthinesse of them (howsoever they be yet commonly sold) and the common
report is, that they also commanded his horrible Epitaph to be blotted out, which was set in this Church of Saint Luke, in these words;

Qui gace l' Aretin' Poeta Tusco,
Chi disse mal? d'ogniun', fuora che di Dio,
Scusandosi, dicendo, io nol' conosco.

Here lies the Aretine, a Poet of Tuscany,
Who spake ill of all but of God,
Excusing himselfe, saying, I know him not.

Of the same Aretine saith Ariosto:

Ecco il flagello de' i Principi,
Il Divin' Pietro Aretino.

Behold the scourge of Princes
The Divine Peter Aretine.

In the stately Church of Saint Salvatore, the Marble image of Saint Jerom, another of him, and a third of Saint Laurence, and the great Altar of pure silver, are curiously engraven: and in the chappell of the holy Sacrament, the Image of Mary Magdalen; and in another chappell, the Image of Saint Augustine, praying among his Monkes; and not farre off two Images of the Monument erected to Duke Francis Venerio: all painted with great Art, and the Altar of the blessed Virgin equall, or to be preferred to the best in the City: the Altar of St. Antony, and two Monuments of Dukes, all adorned with rare engraven and painted Images, and a faire paire of Organs. In the Church of Saint Bartholmew, the picture of Manna falling from heaven, and the brasen Images of Christ, of the foure Evangelists, and six Angels. In the Church of Saint Giuliano, many pictures, but especially that of Christ carrying his Crosse, and neere the doore another of Saint Jerom, and two Marble Images upon the Altar. In the Church of Saint Stephen, rich with Marble and pillers, the Marble Images of the Apostles, with the pillars whereon they stand, and the
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Altar ingraven with brasse, and the Monument of James Suriani, and another of Anthony Cornari with this inscription:

Antonii ad Cineres viator adsta
Hic Cornarius ille, quem solembat,
Rerum principia & Deos docentem
Olim Antenoriaræ stupere Athenæ,
Accitus Patrias subinde adoras,
Ornatus titulis fascibusque,
Doctrina venetam beavit urbem.

At the ashes of Anthony, passenger stand,
This is that Cornarius whom of old,
Teaching the principles of Nature and the Gods,
Antenors Athens was wont to admire.
After called home to his Countrey,
Graced with Titles and Magistracy,
With his Learning he made Venice happy.

These things I say are in these Churches most remarkable.

The second sextary on this side the channell, vulgarly Il sestiero di Castello, hath the name of the Castle Olivolo, which seated towards the sea, may seeme to be divided from the Citie, yet it is joyned thereto by a long bridge. Of old it was a City by it selfe, and therefore the Dukes Throne being established in the Iland Realto, the Bishops seat was made here, who is invested by the Duke, and was consecrated by the Patriarke of Grado, till that being extinguished, this was raised to the dignity of a Patriarke, in the yeere 1450. In the Cathedrall Church of Saint Peter, this is written upon the Chappell in Latine;

Who ere thou be that approachest, worship: Within [I. ii. 83.] these grates of Iron the crosse is inclosed, that is adorned with three haires of the beard of Christ, with a naile, the cup in which he drunke to his Disciples, and with a peece of the true Crosse, &c.
This Patriarchal seat hath two old pulpits of marble, the monuments of the Bishops and Patriarches, which with the adjoining Palace of the Patriarches, are the most remarkable things thereof. In the Church of John Baptist in Bragola, many curious pictures, the sepulcher of that Saint guilded over, the Image of Christ, the pictures of the lesse Altar, especially that of Christ baptised, that of Saint Hellen, that of Christ's resurrection, and the lively picture of Christ sitting with his Apostles at his last supper. In the Church of Saint Mary Formosa, this inscription is read; Vincentius Capellus most skilful in Navigation, and Prefect of the Gallies, no lesse praised of old, who received signes of honour from Henry the seventh, King of Britany, &c. There, upon the great and very faire Altar, the Images of the four Evangelists, and upon the top, that of Christ's resurrection, and of two Angels. In the Church Saint Marina, the statua on horsebacke erected by the Senate to Tadeo della volpe of Imola, and the great Altar, with the pillars of porphry. In the Church of Saint Leone, the Images of Saint Jerome, of Christ at supper with his Disciples, of John the Evangelist, and Saint Michaell, all painted by the hands of most skilfull workemen. In the Church of Saint Anthony, four most faire Altars (in the second whereof the Image of Christ, and in the third rich with excellent pillars, the History of ten thousand Martyres painted, and in the fourth the espousals of the blessed Virgin, are al painted with singular Art) and a foot statua erected by the Senate to Victor Pisanus. In the Church of Saint Dominicke, the library, and pictures of the Altars. In the Church of Saint Francis di Paola, many things given upon vow, and hung upon the wals. In that of Saint Francis della vigna, a very faire and stately Church, the Altar of the Chappell belonging to the Family Grimani, and the pictures & brasen images of the same: and in the Chappell of the Family Dandoli, the picture of Saint Laurence martyrred, and in the Chappell of the Justiniani, being very rich, the Images of the four Evangelists and
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Churches in the second Sextary.

twelve Prophets. In the Chappell of our Lady, the
monument of Marke, Anthony, Morosini, Knight and
Procurator (famous in the warre which the French King
Lewis the twelfth, made in Lombardy, and thrice
Ambassador from the State) also the famous library of
this monastery, and the bels (which they say were brought
out of England after Queene Maries death.) In the
Church of the Saints, John and Paul, (being one of the
chiefe Churches) the situation, the architecture, the
pictures, and the monuments of sixteene Dukes; and
another of Marke, Anthony, Bragadini (who having
defended the Iland Cyprus from the Turkes, when they
tooke it, had his skinne fled off, by the command of the
tyrant, against his faith, in the yeere 1571.) Also three
horsemens statuaes, one to Leonardo de Prato, Knight
of Rhodes, another to Nicholao Orsino Count of Pitiglia,
both erected in the Church, the third for greater honour
erected in the market place, to Bartholmeo Coleoni of
Bergamo, for his good service to the State in their Warres;
at all three erected by the Senate. Also a foot statua erected
by the Senate, to Dennys Naldo, a most valiant Com-
mander of their foote, and the stately sepulcher of James
de Cavallis, and the Chappell of the Rossary (magnificall
in the architecture, in rare marbles, in the art of engravers,
and excellent pictures, especially that of Christ crucified.)
In the Church of Saint Mary delle Virgini, (a Cloyster
of Nunnes, built by the Dukes, and belonging to them
by speciall right) two marble sepulchers. In the Church
Saint Gioseppe, the admirable monument of the Grimani
(with admirable Images engraven of the Duke Grimani
created, and his Dutchesse Morosini, crowned, and the
like curiously wrought:) also the Image of Christ trans-
figured, and another of Christ buried, are the most
remarkeable things. And whereas the graven images of
this Church, be of rare beauty, they say that the chiefe
of them were brought out of England, after the death
of Queene Mary. In the Church of Saint Justina (a
parish Church, and yet the chiefe cloyster of Nunnes,
twice rebuilt by the family Morosini,) two curious statueues
of marble of Paros. In the Church of the Holy sepulcher,
(being a cloyster of Nunnes) the sepulcher of Christ like
that at Jerusalem, of ophites and like stones. In Saint
Zachary a cloyster of Nunnes, the pall of the Virgin
painted, another like it in the chappell, the sepulcher or
Altar under which the said Saint (father to John Baptist)
is laid, and at the backe of the great Altar, three sepulchers
of Porphyry and Ophytes, the stones of the great Altar,
and the stately architecture of the Church, are the things
most remarkeable: and the same cloyster hath great
revenues. In generall understand that the Churches are
for the most part built of bricke, and some few of free
stone, though they be so covered with Marbles and like
stones, as the bricke or free stone is scarce scene in the
inside. In the Priory of St. John, belonging of old to
the Templary Knights, & now to the Knights of Rhodes
or Malta, it is remarkeable that the revenues thereof be
great, and that the Priory is given by the Pope, which
Paul the third gave to the Cardinall Saint Angelo his
nephew (for so they call their bastards), whom Alexander
the Cardinall of Farnesi succeeded, yet not as Cardinall,
but as Knight of Malta, and after him the Pope gave
it to the Cardinall Ascanio Colonna. And the most
remarkeable things in the Church are the pall of the great
Altar, the supper of our Lord painted, the picture of
Christ speaking with the woman of Samaria, and that
of Herods banquet, when he gave John Baptists head
to Herodia. The Greeke Church belongs to this sextary,
built in Rio di San' Lorenzo. The almes-house Saint
Lazero, feeds four hundred, or five hundred poore
people; for all that beg are sent thither, and they have
many of these houses. These are the most remarkeable
things in the Churches of this sextary.

The third sextary, or sixth part of the City on this
side the channell (meaning towards the gulfe of Venice)
vulgarly is called Il sestiero di Canaregio, of the canes
or pipes which they were wont to use in the building of
ships. In the Church of the Prophet Jeremy (built by three families, Morosini, Malipieri, and Runandi) the sepulcher of Saint Magnus (who built eight Churches when the City was first founded) and the Image of the blessed Virgin much adored. In the Church of Saint Marciali, the Images as well of the great Altar, as of the Altar of Angelo Raphaeli. In the Apostles Church (where excellent sermons are made in the Lent) the carved Image of our Lady upon the Altar, and her picture upon the same painted by Saint Luke. In the Church of Saint John Chrysostome, the pictures of three Theologicall vertues, & of Saint Marke, and the carved Images of the Virgin, and the Apostles. In the Church of Saint Giob, the ingraving of the chappell of the Grimani, and of the Altar of the Foscari; the picture of Christ in the garden, with his Apostles sleeping, and the pictures of the next Altar, namely, that of the Virgin, Saint Sabastian, and Saint Giob. In the Church of Saint Mary de servi, the pictures of the great Altar, especially of the Virgins assumption, and also of the Virgins Altar, and of Saint Augustins Altar, especially that of the wise men adoring Christ, and the carved Images of another Altar, the Marble sepulcher of Duke Andrea Vendramini, being the fairest of all other in the City, and the Oratory of the banished men of Lucca, who first brought into this City the weaving of silke, and of whom many were made Gentlemen of Venice. In the Church of Saint Mary del' Orto, the huge image of Saint Christopher, the History of Moses, and the prophicies of the last judgement painted, the painting of the arched-roof, rare for perspective Art, and the chiefe of that kinde, the Monument of Jasper Contarini Cardinall, of the Marble of Paros, and the pillers of our Ladies Altar, with many Marble stones. In the Church of Saint Mary de Crostechieri, the ancient pictures, the notable pall of Saint Laurence, worth seven thousand crownes, and the pictures in the chappell of Lewis Usperi. In the Church of Saint Lucia, the Monument and chappell of the Saint. In the chappell of Saint Luigi,
the great Altar, fairest of those built of wood. In the Church of Saint Mary of the Miracles, the fairest of any Nunnery, for the beauty and rare stones, the walles covered with Marble, two Marble Images of two children under the Organs, (the works of famous Praxitiles,) the Images of marble of Paros, the stones of Porphyry and Ophytes wonderfully carved, the great Altar of Marble, ingraven with great Art, the brasen Images of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and of Angels. These are the things most remarkeable. In the Church of Saint Mary of Mercy, Sansovine witnesseth this Epitaph, (which I will set downe, lest any should thinke incredible the like practises of Papists against Emperours and John the King of England,) in these words: To Jerom Savina, a Citizen of Venice, Prior of Saint Maryes, notably learned in good Arts; but more renowned for piety, which hee also shewed at his death towards his enemy, who gave him poyson in the challice at the Lords Supper, by many arguments of his charity. He died in the yeere M D C I. Also in the great schoole, the same is witnesssed in these wordes: To Jerom Savina wickedly killed by poyson given, (O horrible villany) in our Lords Supper, &c.

The fourth sextary or sixth part of the City, and first of those beyond the channell, (meaning towards the Territorie of Paduoa,) is vulgarly called of the chiefe Church II sestiero di San' Polo. In which Church of Saint Paul, the most remarkeable things are these: the picture of Christ washing his Apostles feet, the pall of silver guilded, and the precious stones upon the great Altar; the pictures of the Altar of the holy Sacrament, and of the blessed Virgin, and the Images of Saint Andrew and the Apostles upon pillars. In the very faire market place of the same Church, of old a market was weekly held, and to the yeere 1292, the market was held heere on Wednesday, and in the market place of Saint Marke, on the Saturday; but at this day none is held here, but both in the place of Saint Marke, for the benefit of those that dwell there, and that the houses may bee more deerely

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let, which belong to Saint Marke. Neere the Church of Saint Silvestro, the Patriarkes of Grado dwelt, till the Bishop of Castello Olivolo was made Patriarke. In the Church of Saint James of Rialto, narrow, but very faire, the precious stones and the pictures of great Art and antiquitie, and the five Altars. In the Church of Saint Mary Gloriosa, faire and great, the Belfrey stately built, the Monument of the most famous Painter Titiano, two Images of Marble neere the great doore, the Marble Image of Saint John, over against the Florentine chappell, the chancell paved with Marble and adorned with the graven Images of the Prophets, at the charge of the family Morosini; the rare pictures of the great Altar, the Epitaph of Francis Bernardo; who being imployed into England in his yong yeeres, made peace betweene King Henry, and the French King Francis, which many great men had attempted in vaine, and for this brave act was Knighted by both the Kings. These things in this church are most remarkeable.

The fifth sextary, and the second beyond the channel of the chiefe Church, is called Il Sestiero di Santa Croce: in which Church, being a cloyster of Nunnes, Duke Dominick Morosini lies buried, with this inscription: Here lies Dominick Morosini Duke of Venice, with Sophia his Dutchesse; hee was a good Duke, and most wise, full of faith and truth, &c. He tooke the City Tyrus, and under him Istria and Pola were subdued with fifty gallies, whereof were Captaines his sonne, and Marino Gradonico. This glorious Duke died in the yeere M C L V I. Also the Marble pillers of the great Altar, the brasen Angels, and the brasen Images, of Christ rising from the dead, of Saint Francis and Saint Anthony. In the Church of Saint Simion Prophet, the picture of Christs supper with his Apostles. In the Church of St. Giacomo dell' Orio, a piller esteemed for a Jewell, a Marble pulpit, one of the fairest in the City, and the Images of the chappell for christning. In the Church of Saint Eustace, the pictures of Christ whipped, of Christ carrying his
crosse, and of Christ praying in the garden, all of great Art. In the Church of Saint Mary Mater Domini, the great Altar of most pure silver, and the passion of Christ ingraven, the Altar of the blessed Virgin with her picture, and the Altar of the holy Sacrament with the rich Porphyry and Ophyte stones; and the Marble Images of Saint Marke, and Saint John the Evangelist. In the Church of Saint Andrew, the fairest of this sextary, and a cloyster of Nunnes, the pictures of Christ crucified, and of his supper with his Apostles, and the most faire Altars of the Virgin, Saint Anthony, and Saint Nicholas. In the Church of Saint George the greater, (giving name to the Iland in which it is seated, over against the market place of Saint Marke, and the chiefe Church next that of Saint Marke,) the pall of the great Altar, and the brasen Images; two brasen Images of the Organs, the seats of the wal-nut tree wonderfully ingraven, another Altar built by Vincent, Morosini, the Altar of Saint Stephen the first Martyr, the Altar of the blessed Virgin and her Image, the Altar of Saint Lucia with her Image, and the wonderfull crucifix of another Altar. In the Church of Saint Mary delle gratie, the infinite gifts hung up there upon vowes. In the Church of the Holy Ghost, the Pall of the great Altar, and the marble stones and pillars, and the brasen candlestickes, and a skreene of brasse guilded, and the pictures of Saint Markes Altar, the candlesticke of the great chappel, curiously carved, the rare Images and arched rooef of the Altar of the Cratch; being all the worke of the famous Painter Titiano, whose rare image also the Friars have: and in the publike refectory of the Friars, the admirable pictures of the resurrection, of Sampson, and especially of Christ supping with his Apostles. In the monastery of Saint Hellen, (giving name to the Iland, and founded by Alexander Boromeo, and being one of the fairest in the City) a crosse of inestimable value. In the Church of Saint Andrew della Certosa, the monument of Austine Barbadici, who hartening the confederates to fight, was
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chiefe cause of the victory against the Turkes by sea, in the yeere 1571. and while he lived, by faire and rough tearmes, kept the league unbroken, which presently upon his death was dissolved. In the Church of Saint Nicholas del Liro, the sepulcher of Duke Dominicke Contarini, rich with porphery and ophyte stones, and a well of fresh water, lying very neere the sea, and having so full a spring, as it serveth all the shippes and gallies. The almes-house of Saint Lazerus, is built for lepers. The old Lazareto is a pest-house, where the Prior and Physitians have yeerely fee to attend the sicke. Not farre from that, is the new Lazareto, whither they are sent who are suspected to have the plague: but as soone as they begin to be sicke, they are sent thence to the old Lazareto: and hither all suspected men are sent to try their health, which if they keepe for forty daies, then they are set free. These things are in this sextary most remarkeable.

The sixth sextary, and the third and last beyond the channell, is of the forme of the Iland, called Il sestiero di dorso duro. In the Church of the Saints, Gervaso and Protaso, the graven Images and pictures in the chappell of the holy sacrament. In the cloyster of Saint Agnes, the Prioresse bringeth up six Virgins, which being of ripe yeeres, are either married or made Nunnnes, and sixe more of good families sent thither in their place. In the Church of Saint Gregory, there is a second monument erected to Anthony Bragadini, traiterously slaine by the Turkes at the taking of Cyprus. The Iland Giudecca belongs to this sextary, the chiefe Church whereof is Saint Eufemia, it having nine other Churches. The Church of the Jesuites is called Saint Mary of Humblenes, and it hath pictured with great art the pals of the passion of Christ, of the Apostles Peter and Paul, of Christ circumcised, and of Saint Francis, and the great Altar is one of the fairest in the City. In the Church Carmini, a singular paire of Organs; the Images of the blessed virgins, foure Evangelists, and Christ crucified: and upon the altar of Christ crucified, two stones shining
like christall, which are esteemed for jewels. In the Church of Saint Mary of Charity, the rich chappell of San Salvadore. In the most faire Church of the Capuchine Friars, seated in the Iland Giudecca, the images of brasse, and the faire screene of the great Altar. In the most faire Church of Saint Mary the greater, being a Nunnery, the rare pictures of the greater chappell. In the Church of the holy crosse Della Giudecca, the monument of the Cardinall Francis Morosini, sent Ambassador to the Turke, and Nuncio to Pope Sixtus the fifth, in the French Court: and here the rest of his Family use to be buried. The Monastery of the converted is for whores repenting. Another is built for Orphan Virgins, the Church whereof hath rich screenes of marble, with brasse images: and in the same live some two hundred and fifty Virgins of almes, and by the worke of their hands, which comming to ripe yeeres, are either married or made Nunnes. These things are in this sextary most remarkeable.

The Venetians have six fraternities or great schooles, such as be also at Rome, and the Gentlemen and Citizens all give their names to one of them, as in England at London, the Citizens have companies, into which the King, Queene, and Nobles, many times vouchsafe to be admitted. And in these schooles, as it were in Universities, they use to have exercises of religion. The first of them is called Saint Mary of Charity, after the rule thereof, the rest are framed, and the great Guardian thereof is chosen yeerly, and weares a skarlet gowne with large sleeves, which they call Ducall sleeves, and he hath the title of Magnifico by priviledge. These schooles give dowries yeerely to 1500. Virgins, and distribute among the poore much money, meale, and clothes: for besides many gifts by last testaments daily given to those uses, each of the schooles hath some five or sixe thousand duckets in yeerely revenew, and they are governed like common wealthes. In the said schoole, the Images of the Apostles, and the pictures, especially one of the blessed
Virgin, and another of the foure Doctors of the Church, are very faire. In the schoole of Saint John the Evangelist, the passion of Christ is wonderfully figured, and Phillip the second King of Spaine, and his sonne Ferdinand, and Don John of Austria, and other Princes, have beeene of this fraternity. The third is of mercy. The fourth of Saint Marke. The fifth of Saint Rocco, passing the rest in ceremonies & pompe, and number of brethren. The sixth is of Saint Theodore, and each of these hath his Church and Pallace, and precious monuments, and these are subject to the counsell of ten; for there be many lesse schooles, each art having his schoole, and these are subject to the old Justice, and out of them when need is, souldiers are pressed.

It remaines to adde something of the magnificall building of this City. And in the first place, the market place of Saint Marke is paved with bricke, and it consists of foure market places, joined in one; whereof two may rather be called the market places of the Dukes Pallace (joining to the Church of Saint Marke) the one being on the furthest side from Saint Marke, betweene the pallace and the great channell, the other right before the pallace towards the channell, foure hundred foot in length, and some one hundred and thirty in brendth. The third is before the Church doore of Saint Mark, and lies in length five hundred and twenty foot towards the Church of Saint Geminiano, and hath one hundred and thirty foot in brendth, which may more properly be called the market place of Saint Marke. The fourth is on the other side of the Church, towards the Church of Saint Basso. In this market place of foure joined in one, are solemne spectacles or shewes, and all processions made, and there on Ascretion day, is the Faire held, and the markets on wednesday and saterday: there they use to muster souldiers; and there the gentlemen and strangers daily meet and walke. Before the doore of Saint Markes Church, are three peeces of brasse carved, and for bignesse like the bodies of trees, upon which at festivall daies
three rich banners are hung in signe of liberty, or as others say, for the three Dominions of Venice, Cypro, and Candia.

Under the tower of the Clocke, fifty foot distant from Saint Markes Church, is a passage to and from this market place; and this tower all covered with marble, beares a remarkeable Clocke, which sheweth the course of the Sunne and the Moone daily, and the degrees they passe, and when they enter into a new signe of the Zodiacke, and above that the guilded Image of our Lady shineth, placed betwene two doores, out of one of which doores, onely at solemne Feasts, an Angell with a Trumpet, and the three Wise Men of the East following, passe before our Ladies Image, and adore her, and so goe in at the other doore. Above that, there is a carved Image of a Lyon with wings, and upon the very top, two brasen Images, called the Mores, which by turnes striking with a hammer upon a great bell, sound the houses.

The houses opposite to the Pallaces of the Procurators of Saint Marke, are called the houses of the State, and they belong to the Church of Saint Marke, and having some fifty shops under the Arches of the upper roofes (where men may walke dry when it raines) they yeedl good rents to the Church. Opposite to these are the Pallaces of the said Procurators, which are also in the said market place, which I said to be more properly called the market place of Saint Marke, and these being stately built, sixty sixe foot high, and the stones curiously carved, doe not onely adorn the market place, but in summer give a pleasant shade to passengers, besides that under the Arches of them, men may walke drie in the greatest raine, and the shops under these Arches yeedl great rents, and under these Pallaces out of foure little streetes there be so many passages to and from the market place. These Pallaces are built at the charge of the State, the nine Procurators being to have nine Pallaces: for as yet they were not all built; but in the meane time any pallace falling voide, it was given to the eldest of them that had
none, yet not according to their age, but according to their election.

The steeple or belfrey of Saint Marke, distant some eighty foot from the Church, and set over against it, is to be admired, not onely for the foundation, strangely laid under the earth; but also for many other causes. It is built foure square, each square containing forty foot, and it is three hundred thirty three foot high, of which foot the pinacle contains ninety sixe, and the woodden Image of an Angell above the pinacle covered with brassse and guilded, and turning with the wind, containes sixteene feete. It is adorned with high pillars of marble, and with a gallery at the bottome of the pinacle, made with many pillars of brassse, and upon the pinacle with great marble Images of Lyons, and from the top in a cleere day, men may see a hundred miles off the ships under sayles; and it beares foure great bels, whereof the greater called La Trottiera, is rung every day at noone, and when the Gentlemen meet in Senate with like occasions: but when a new Pope or Duke is made, all the bels are rung, and the steeple is set round about with waxe candles burning. I went to the top of this steeple, which hath thirty seven ascents, whereof each hath foureteene lesse ascents, by which the going up is as easie, as if a man walked on plaine ground, at the contriving whereof I much wondered. In the lodge of this steeple, the foure brassen Images of Pallas, Apollo, Mercury, and of Peace, and above them, the figure of Venice, with the Dominion by sea and land, and the Image of Venus the Goddesse of Cyprus, and of Jupiter the King of Candia, present themselves, and neere the great gate the Images of the blessed Virgin and of Saint John Baptist, are highly valued.

Right over against the Dukes Pallace, in the foresaid second market place of the pallace, is the library, whose building is remarkable, and the architecture of the corner next the market place of the Bakers, is held by great Artists a rare worke, and divers carved Images of Heathen
Gods, and Goddesses in the old habit, are no lesse praised, as done by the hands of most skilfull workemen. On the inside, the arched roofes curiously painted, and the little study of ivory, with pillars of Alablaster, and rare stones, and carved Images (in which an old breviary of written hand, and much esteemed, is kept) are things very remarkeable. The inner chamber is called the study; in which many statuaes and halfe statuaes, twelve heads of Emperors, and other things given to the State by Cardinall Dominicke Grimani, are esteemed precious by all antiquaries. And in this Library are laid up the Bookes, which the Patriarke and Cardinall Bessarione gave to Saint Marke (that is to the State) by his last will, and the most rare books brought from Constantinople at the taking thereof, and otherwise gathered from all parts of Greece. Out of this Library is a passage, to the chambers of the Procurators of Saint Marke: before you enter them most faire statuaes, and on the inside rare pictures, draw your eies to them.

Not farre from thence are two pillars (the third whereof in taking them out of the ship, fell into the sea, and could never be recovered) and they be of huge bignesse; for the erecting whereof, as a most difficult thing, great rewards were given to a Lumbard, and immunity was given to him by priviledge, for all that should play at dice under them. Since it is accustomed, that all condemned men are executed betweene these pillars, which of old were put to death neere the Church of Saint John Bragola, and upon one of these pillars stands the brasen statua of Saint Marke, under the forme of a Lyon, and upon the other stands the marble statua of Saint Theodor. The statua of Saint George beares a shield, in token that Venice rather defends itself, then offends others, since the right hand carries a defensive weapon.

Behind the Library is the Mint house (vulgarly called La zecca, whereupon I thinke the gold coyne of the Venetians is called Zecchino) in which house it is remarkeable, that there is no wood in any part thereof, but for
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feare of fire it is all built with stone, bricke, and barres of iron. Here the great statuaes of Gyants, lifting up their massie clubs, as it were forbidding the entrance; and in the court yard the statua of Apollo, holding wedges of gold in his hand, to shew that gold is made to grow in the bowels of the earth by the vertue of the sunne, are things remarkeable.

From hence on the left hand is the market place, which I said to be the first of the Pallace, seated between the channel & the Pallace. And from hence on the right hand is the fish market, in which (as likewise in that of Rialto) store of good fish is to bee bought twice in the day.

The market place in which the said Bel-frey and Library are built, is also adorned with the stately Pallace of the Duke, all covered with Marble, and most sumptuous in the carved Images and pictures, and in the pillers of the Arched walke on the outside. The first staires towards the second market place of the Pallace, and over against the said Library, are very stately, and are vulgarly called Scala de' Giganti, that is the staires of the Giants, so called of two huge Marble statuaes of Mars and Neptune, which the common people call Giants. But the Pallace hath many other staires, whereby men ascend thereunto. Opposite to the aforesaid statuaes, are two other of Adam and Eve, but not so great as they: and not farre from thence is a stone guilded, with an inscription which the Senate placed there, in memory of the French King Henry the third, whom they entertained, passing that way from Poland into France. On the left hand is the Chappell of Saint Nicholas, which is the Dukes private Chappell. Hence you ascend into a large Hall (as they call it) or a large Gallery; in the middest whereof the golden staires shine with gold, and two marble Images and rare pictures. On the left hand of the said staires, is the passage to that part of the Pallace, which is assigned to the Duke for his dwelling, and in the first chamber, called the Dukes Armes, Sala del scudo, the pictures of Christs resurrection, and another of him crucified, are much praised, though
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it hath many other rare pictures. When you have ascended the golden staiers, you shall see foure rare pictures. From thence the way on the left hand leads to the Chancerie, where many chambers are adjoyning, proper to divers Councils of State, all adorned with graven Images and pictures of the best; namely, the chambers of the Councell rich in the painting of the arched roofe. That of the Pregadi, having generall rare painting and carving. That called La secreta, in which the secret writings of the State is laied up. The Chappell of the Colledge, where the Duke and the Senators daily heare Masse, and it appeares by an inscription, that the Antiquities were of old laid up there, among the pictures whereof, that of Christs resurrection, and the Map of the Territory of Venice, are much praised. That of the Councell of Tenn, in which the picture of the Wise-men offering gifts to Christ is much praised, (neere are chambers, in which many rich Armors and rare Monuments are laid up.) And that of the great Councell, one hundred fifty foot in length, and seventy foure in breadth, adorned round about with rare pictures, namely on the side towards the foresaid second market place of the Pallace, the History of Fredericke the Emperour, and of Pope Alexander the third is cursorily painted. Towards the foresaid first market place, lying betweene the Pallace and the channel, the History of Constantinople, taken by the Venetians and French, is painted; and the capitulation of the voyage, made in the Church, and the rest of the Saints in heaven, are reputed rare workes.

The Prisons.

The prisons of old were under this Pallace of the Duke, but lately a new house is stately built of the stone of Istria, for that use neere the bridge Della Paglia.

The market place of Rialto.

The foure square market place of Rialto, is compassed with publike houses, under the arches whereof, and in the middle part lying open, the Merchants meet. And there is also a peculiar place where the Gentlemen meet before noone, as they meet in the place of Saint Marke towards evening; and here to nourish acquaintance, they
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spend an houre in discourses, and because they use not to make feasts one to another, they keepe this meeting as strictly as Merchants, lest their franishp should decay. The Gold-smiths shoppes lie thereby, and over against them the shoppes of Jewellers, in which Art the Venetians are excellent. There is the Pallace of a Gentleman, who proving a Traytor, the State (for his reproch) turned the same into a shambles, and some upper chambers to places of judgement. The fish market lies by this shambles, a great length along the banke of the great channell, and in the same shambles and fish market, as also in the like of Saint Marke, great plenty of victuals, especially of fish, is daily to be sold. A publike Pallace stately built lieth neere the bridge of Rialto.

This bridge in the judgement of the Venetians, deserves to be reputed the eighth miracle of the world. The old being pulled downe, this new bridge began to bee built in the yeere 1588, and was scarce finished in three yeeres, and is said to have cost two hundred fifty thousand Duckets. It is built of the stone of Istria, upon one arch over the great channell, and the ascent to the toppe hath thirty sixe staires on each side, and upon each side of these staires, are twelve little shoppes covered with lead: not to speake of the carved Images, of the blessed Virgin, the Angell Gabriel, and the two protecting Saints of the City, namely Saint Marke, and Saint Theodore.

Thereby is a Pallace called II Fontico de i Todeschi, because the Dutch Merchants have it to their use.

The Armory built for all kinde of Armes & Munitions, vulgarly called P Arsenale, as it were the Tower of the Senate, is compassed with walles being in circuit more then two miles, where some foure hundred Artificers are daily set on worke about naval provisions, and they receive weekly for wages about one thousand two hundred duckets. Within the same is a several place to make cables, & within the circuit hereof and no where else in the City, they build Ships and Gallies, and there bee alwayes in the same about two hundred gallies ready for
service. To conclude, the State of Venice, being not
growne to full strength, did in a hundred daies space,
arme one hundred gallies against Emanuel Emperour of
the East, and no doubt their strength hath every day
growne greater to this time. In the said compasse of
the Armory, lies a great boat called Il Bucentoro, because
it carries about the number of two hundred; which boat
hath upon it a kinde of chamber which useth to be richly
hung, and covered over, when in the same the Duke and
Senators be carried by water at some times of solemnity,
especially at the feast of the Ascention, when of an old
custome, they goe forth to espouse the sea, by the
ceremony of flinging a ring into the same, and to challenge
the command thereof, given them by Pope Alexander the
third.

The Jewes have a place to dwell in severally, called
Il Ghetto, where each family hath a little house, and all
have one court-yard common, so as they live as it were
in a Colledge, or Almes-house, and may not come forth
after the gates are locked at night, and in the day they
are bound to weare a yellow cap.

Though the City bee seated upon little and narrow
Ilands, in the middest of marshes and tides of the sea;
yet hath it gardens in great number, and abounding with
rare herbes, plants, and fruits, and water conduits, which
with the carved Images and pictures, (out of the Gentle-
mens curtesie) may bee scene by any curious stranger.

The publicke Libraries of speciall note are these: Di S
Giovanni & Paolo: di San' Francesco: di San' Stefano:
di San' Georgio Maggiore: and di Sant' Antonio. Also
private Libraries may be found out by those that be
curious, and will bee after the same manner easily shewed
them, and are indeede most worthy to bee sought out
for the raresnesse of many instruments, pictures, carved
Images, Antiquities, and like rare things: For the
Venetians being most sparing in diet and apparell, doe
exercise their magnificence in these and the like delights,
and these precious Monuments, they will with great
curtesie shew to any strangers, or to any loving antiquities, which my selfe found by experience, more specially at the hands of Sigr. Nicolao vendramini, a Gentleman dwelling in the Iland Giudecca, who most curteously shewed mee and my friends, though being altogether unknowne to him, some rare clockes, admirable carved Images, and a paire of Organs having strange varieties of sounds.

The Pallaces of Gentlemen were called houses, but are, and worthily deserve to be called Pallaces, some hundred of them being fit to receive Princes. For howsoever this Common-wealth at the first founding, was tied by many lawes to mediocrity, and the equality among the Citizens, yet pride hath by degrees seised upon the same. The said Pallaces have one doore towards the Land, and another towards the water, and most of them have gardens. The foundations are laid of Oake in the waters, and the stone of Istria is much esteemed. The floorers of the upper roomes are not boorded, but plastred with lime tempred with tiles beaten to dust. The windowes are for the most part very large, the greater roomes lying almost altogether open to receive aire, but the lodging chambers have glasse windowes, whereof the Venetians brag, glasse being rare in Italy, where the windowes are for the most part covered with linnen or paper. And howsoever glasse be common with us on this side the Alpes, yet it is certaine that the glasse makers of Venice, dwelling in the Iland Murano, have a more noble matter, & thereof make much better glasse then we can. To conclude, as I said the Venetians are most sparing in diet and apparel, so not onely in the building of their houses, but in the furniture thereof, the general sort passeth their degree, and many of the Gentlemen use Princely magnificence. These are accounted the chiefe Pallaces: That belonging to the Procurators office, neere the Church of Saint Anthony. The old Pallace which belonged to the Templary Knights. That of the family Gritti neere the bridge Della Madonna. That of Alexander Gritti, neere the market place of Saint John Bragora. That of
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Dandoli, neere the bridge Della Paglia. The Pallace neere Saint Francis Church, which the Senate bought, and use to assigne it to the dwelling of the Popes Nuncio. That of the Dutchesse of Florence, built upon the channell of the Dukes Pallace. That of the Vetturi, neere the market place of Saint Mary. That of the Patriarke Grimani, neere the Malipieri. That of the family Georgii, neere the same. That of Francis Priuli. That of Lodwick Gerogii. That of the Capelli. That of Peter Giustinianii. That of those of Pesaro, neere the Church of St. Benedict. That of the Loredani neere Saint Stephens Church. That of Zeni. That of Contarini. That of Silvester Valierii, neere the Church of Saint Job. That of the Cornari, neere Saint Pauls Church. That of James Foscarini, neere the Church Carmenii. That of the Michaeli, neere Saint Lewis Church. That of Lewis Theophili, neere the Church Della Misericordia. The chiefe Pallaces upon the channell are these. That of the Loredani. That of the Grimani, neere Saint Lucia. That of the Delphini. That of the Cornari, neere Saint Maurice Church, and that of the Fascorini, an old building but having the best prospect of all the rest. In which the Venetians entertained the French King Henry the third. To conclude, there be two rich Pallaces in the Iland Giudecca, one of the Dandoli, the other of the Vendramini.

In this famous City are twenty thousand families, and three thousand of the Gentlemen, and no age hath beene so barren, which hath not yeelded worthy men for Martiaall and civill government and learning. Of this City have beene three Popes, Gregory the twelfth, Eugenius the fourth, and Paul the second, and many Cardinalls of which these are the chiefe: Peter Morosini, Marke Landi, Anthony Corari, John Amideus, and in our age John Baptist Zeni, and Dominick Germani. Also Peter Bembus was a Venetian, whom Pope Paul the third made Cardinall. Heere was borne Pantalean Justinianus, Patriarke of Constantinople when the French ruled there.
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And Venice hath yeelded many most learned men, Andrew Dandoli, Duke Francis Barbarigi, Andrew Morosini, who wrote the History of his time in Heroique Verse. And many famous Civill Lawyers, Lodwicke Foscarini, and Jerom Donati. And many rare engravers, and painters, Titiano, Tenterotto, and Belino. And many Commanders in the warre, John Bolari, Marino Gradinici, Dominick Morosini, (the first provisors of Military affaires,) Andrew Morosini, and Simon Dandoli, and many more famous in all kindes of vertue, to the chiefe whereof I have said, that the Senate erected many Statuaes and Monuments. Give me leave to adde this of the family Morosini, namely, that among the most famous men, whose pictures were in the chamber of publike meeting, before it was burnt; there were the pictures of Barbaro and Marco, and Antonio, Morosini. And that the same family hath given three Dukes, Dominico, Marino, and Michaele; and three Patriarkes, and twelve Procurators of Saint Marke, (which number few families have attained, onely that of the Contarini, that of the Justiniani, and that of the Grimani, have a little passed it). And that my selfe being at Venice, found there eighty Gentlemen of this name. Let the Reader pardon this observation, which I make for the Consonancy of that name with my owne, onely differing in the placing of a vowell, for more gentle pronuntiation, which the Italian speech affecteth; yet these Gentlemen being of one family, write their names somewhat diversely, some writing in their owne tongue [I. ii. 90.] Morosini, others Moresini, and in the Latin tongue, Morocenus, and Maurocenus.

Of the hiring of chambers, and the manner of diet in Venice, I have spoken jointly with that of Paduoa, in the discription of that City, onely I will adde, that this City aboundeth with good fish, which are twice each day to be sold in two markets of Saint Marke & Rialto, & that it spendeth weekly five hundred Oxen, & two hundred & fifty Calves, besides great numbers of young Goates, Hens, and many kinds of birds, besides that it aboundeth
with sea birds, whereof the Venetian writers make two hundred kinds, and likewise aboundeth with savoury fruits, and many salted and dried dainties, and with all manner of victuals, in such sort as they impart them to other Cities. I will also adde that here is great concourse of all nations, as well for the pleasure the City yeeldeth, as for the free conversation; and especially for the commodity of trafficke. That in no place is to be found in one market place such variety of apparell, languages, and manners. That in the publike Innes a chamber may be hired for foure sols a day; but for thecheapenes and good dressing of meat, most men use to hire private chambers, and dresse their owne meat. That in the Dutch Inne each man payes two lires a meale. That no stranger may lie in the City more then a night, without leave of the Magistrates appointed for that purpose; but the next day telling them some pretended causes of your comming to the Towne, they will easily grant you leave to stay longer, and after that you shall be no more troubled, how long soever you stay, onely your Host after certaine daies giveth them account of you. To conclude this most noble City, as well for the situation, freeing them from enemies, as for the freedome of the Common-wealth, preserved from the first founding, and for the freedome which the Citizens and very strangers have, to injoy their goods, and dispose of them, and for manifold other causes, is worthily called in Latine Venetia, as it were Veni etiam, that is, come againe.

From Venice to Farraria are eighty five miles by water and land: and upon the third of February (after the new stile) and in the yeere 1594. (as the Italians begin the yeere the first of January) and upon Wednesday in the evening, my selfe with two Dutchmen, my consorts in this journey, went into the Barke, which weekly passeth betwixt Venice and Ferrara. The same night we passed twenty five miles upon the marshes, within the sea banke, to Chioza or Chioggia, or (to speake vulgarly, the better to be understood in asking the way) a Chioza, the first
village on firme land, or rather seated in an Iland, where the Ditch Clodia maketh a Haven. The next morning in the same Barke we entred the River, and passed fifteene miles to the Village Lorea, and after dinner ten miles in the territory of Venice, and eight miles in the Duke-dome of Ferraria to Popaci, and upon Friday in the morning twenty two miles to Francoline, where we paid for our passage from Venice thither, each man three lires and a halfe. By the way on land upon both sides the River, we passed a pleasant plaine, and fields of corne divided by furrowes, in which furrowes Elmes were planted, and upon them Vines grew up to the tops. Such is the manuring of Lombardy, or the loward part of Italy towards the West, where the Vines growing high, yeeld not so rich wines, as in the other parts of Italy upon mountaines and hils, upon the sides whereof the Vines supported with short stakes, and growing not high, yeeld much richer wines. By this way our Barke staied many times in Villages, where we had time to eat, or to provide victuals to be carried with us; and we had an Ingistar, or measure of wine, something greater then our pint, for three sols of Venice: we bought bread after the weight, for they have loaves of all prices, in which a stranger cannot be deceived. It is the fashion to see the meat in the kitchin, and to agree of the price before you eate it, which if you doe not, you shall be subject to the Hosts insatiable avarice, who take pleasure to deceive strangers. And the price of the meats you may understand, by the Italians, whom you shall see buy of the same. And if the deerenesse displease you, you may carry drie figs and raisons, and dine with them, the price of bread and wine being certaine; but you must sup at your Hosts Ordinary, if you will have a bed. I said that we left our Barke at Francoline, where we might have hired a coach to Ferraria, for which we three should have paied twenty two bolinei, [I. ii. 91.] but the way being pleasant to walke, we chose rather to goe these five miles on foot.

Ferraria is a very strong City of Flaminia, and neere
the City, the River Po dividing it selfe, hath made a long and broad land, which now is growne to firme land. It was compassed with walles by the Exarches of the Eastern Emperors, Lords thereof, and after it was subject to the Bishops of Ravenna; then it came into the hands of the Princes of the family of Este, the lawfull heires whereof possessed it to the yeer 1394, when it passed to the line of Bastards. These Princes of Este were at first Marquesses, and afterwards were created Dukes, and Hercules of Este was the third Duke, who lived about the yeere 1550. At this day the family of Este being extinct, the Bishop of Rome hath invaded this Dukedome.

The City seated in a plaine, is compassed with a fenny banke, and is of a triangular forme, the three corners being towards the North, West and South. On the South side the river Po did runne of old, but it hath now left his bed, which is dried up to firme land. But the lesse branch thereof runneth from Francoline to Chioza, where it falls into the sea, the greater making many lakes at Comatio, yeelds the Duke much profit by the fishing of eoles. In the heart of the City is a large market place, and joyning thereunto a little land, in which the father of Hercules of Este built a stately Pallace, called Belveder, and in the market place before the doore of the Pallace, there is a statua sitting in a chaire, erected to Duke Burso, and another of a horse-man, and of brasse erected to Duke Nicholas. The streets are broad, and very dirty in winter, and no lesse subject to dust in summer. The houses are built of free-stone, but according to the building of Italy, are almost flat upon the top, so as that upper roofe hath neither chambers nor windowes. The houses are not built one neere the other, but divided with most pleasant gardens, and dispersed.

On the North side of the City without the walles, the Duke hath a large Parke for hunting, and to keepe therein many strange beasts. There be two stately Pallaces besides the Dukes; one of the Bentivoli, the other of Cæsar, Nephew to Duke Alfonso, who being eighty yeeres
old, begot him of a Concubine; and because the Popes had intruded themselves into the succession of this Duke-dome, which this holy mother the Church daily gaped to enjoy, upon the want of lawfull heires males; the Duke could not obtaine by intreatey, or any money, to have the right of succession conveyed to this Nephew. And howsoever he were now eighty yeeres old, yet the opinion of his command in military affaires, made the common people report, that the Pope would grant the succession to his Nephew, upon condition he should lead an Army into Hungary against the Turkes. But the event shewed, that the Popes thought nothing lesse: for this Caesar defending his possession fearefully, the Popes have since that time, and long before I wrote this, invaded this Dukedome, and united it to the Patrimony of Saint Peter. The circuit of the City is said to containe seven miles, and in the same is an University little frequented, and a faire Colledge wherein the professors read. The Duke hath two stables, in the one, one hundred twenty horses for coaches, in the other fifty for the saddle. In the Beneventane Monastery, is the sepulcher of the Poet Ariosto, borne in this City, and it is of red Marble, with this inscription in Latine;

To Lodwick Ariosto Poet, a Patrician of Ferraria, Augustine Musicus, to so great a man and so well deserving of him, hath caused this Monument and Image of Marble to be erected at his owne proper cost, in the yeere of the Lord CIɔCIɔLXXIII, Alfonso the second being Duke: he lived LIX yeeres, and died in the yeere of the Lord CIɔCIɔXXXIII the eighth of the Ides of June.

The Statua of Marble is to the shoulder, and is set over his Tombe with these verses:

Hic Ariostus est situs, qui comico,
Aures Theatri sparsit urbanas sale,
Satyraque mores strinxit acer improbos,
Heroa culto qui furentem carmine

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Ducumque curas cecinit, atque prælia,
Vates corona dignus unus triplici,
Cui trina constant, quæ fuere vatibus,
Graii, Latinis, vixque Hetruscis singula.

Here Ariosto lies, whose pen still feasts,
The Civill eares on stage with comick jeasts,
Whose Sayters scourg’d the foule sins of his time;
Who sung the frantick worthy, in sweet ryme:
Great Dukes, fierce battels, and their pensive care.

Thus hath one Poet, three crownes to his share;
Greeke Poets, Latines, Tuscanes, each scarce one
Of these attain’d, he hath all three alone.

In the Monastery Certosa there is a round pinnacle, the Monument of Duke Borso. In the Church of Saint Mary of the Angels, are laid up some trophies of victory against the Venetians, which when a Citizen of Ferrara shewed upon a time to a Venetian, in fashion of bragging, he answered pleasantly and wittily: to my remembrance, when you of Ferrara got this victory against us, wee tooke the Countrey of Poleseno from you, and though we were overcome yet we keepe that to this day. Jerom Savenorolla a Frier was born in this City, who in a late age was of great fame & authority among the Florentines, and for some opinions of religion was burnt by the Pope. Here I paied thirty bolinei for a meale, in the chiefe Inne, where we were well used, when in baser Innes we had paied more with vile usage.

From hence they reckon thirty foure miles to Bologna. Wee went on foot three miles to the village La Torre della fossa, and in the midst of the way, wee observed the old bed of the River Po, which was now dried up. From hence we hired a boat for foure bolinei and foure quatrines, and passed in a broad ditch betweene high reedes, to a place called Mal’ Albergo, that is, the ill lodging, being nine miles; and we understood there, that foure soldiers were drowned the day before in the said ditch by their own folly, playing and tumbling in the
boat. We had now passed seven miles in the State of Bologno, and lodging here, each man paid for his supper sixteene bolinei. The next morning a boat went from hence to Bologna, but since they asked for each mans passage twenty two bolinei, and that the day was faire and the way very pleasant, we chose to goe on foot these eighteene miles to Bologna. In the mid-way we came to a Counrty Inne, where they demanding excessive Entertainc- prices for meat, we for sparring in the beginning of our long journey, and loth to be made a prey out of their opinion of our gluttony, tooke bread and wine of them at the knowne price, and dined with some provisions we had with us; namely, one pound of Raisons, for which we had paid seven bolinei, a pound of figges at the same price, and a pound of Almonds at the same price, bought at Ferraria to this purpose. After this refection we went the rest of our journey through pleasant fields, manured after the Lumbard fashion, before discribed.

When we entred the gates of Bologna, the souldiers demanded a curtesie of us, which wee gladly gave them, perceiving they would not search our portmanteaus, which otherwise by their office they may do. This is a City of Flaminia, of old subject to the Exarchate of Ravenna, til the Eastern Emperors were cast out of Italy, by the conspiring of the Popes with the Kings of Lombardy, and so the Exarchate was united to that Kingdome, and shortly after the Popes likewise conspiring with the French King Charles the Great, against the Kings of Lombardy, and dividing Italy betweene them, this City fell to the Popes share, howsoever they did not then attaine the possession thereof, or at least did not keepe it long: for afterwards the City was subject to many tyrants, somet- times under the Vicounts of Milano, and at last invaded by the Citizens thereof; namely the Family of Bentivoli, under pretence to defend the common liberty, till the Pope about the time of the French King Lewis the twelfth, conspiring with him to invade Italy, did cast out the Bentivoli, and by little and little reducing the
Citizens to obedience, and using them to the Church government, did at last set over them his Podesta, and a Cardinall Legate (both strangers) to governe them. This populous City is of a round forme, and of great circuit, but the wals are round about almost fallen downe. The City is seated in a large plaine, and such is the whole territory, onely on the South-side without the wals lie the Apennine mountaines, which divide Italy almost in the midst, all the length thereof even from Genoa, to the furthest limits of the Kingdome of Naples, bordering upon the sea towards the East. On the same South-side, are the schooles of the University, and the monastery of Saint Michaell, and the rich stately monastery of Saint Dominicke, in which is the sepulcher of the said Saint curiously engraven, and of white marble, and under a rich skreene lies the body, which they superstitiously worship, and they shew the place where the Saint gave up his last breath. Their refectory or place where the Monkes eat, is faire and large, and the Cellars of wine, and their store thereof are so great, as would better become the Temple of Bacchus, then a Cloyster of Monkes. It hath two four-square Court yards, with arched Cloysters to walke under, and they be pleasantly planted round about with Cedars, of which they especially esteeme one, planted by the hands of that Saint, who likewise with his owne hand did beautifie a well of water no lesse esteemed by them. Their publike Library is much esteemed for many bookes of written hand, wherein they brag to have a Bible written by the hand of Esdras. The building of this monastery is very stately, and it hath large galleries, as well below under the Arches, as round about in the upper rooфе. Here is a monument of Hans (that is John) sonne to the Emperour Fredericke the second, & they have a place given by priviledge to the Dutch for burial. The building of the City is anticke, and many houses seeme to have beene built by the Lombards. The foundations of the houses are of free stone, and the rest for the most part of bricke, built
with arched Cloysters towards the street, under which they walke dry in the greatest raine. The Pallaces of Gentlemen are built towards the street, stately on the inside, but with little shew on the outside, and they all seeme to have beeene built of old. The windowes are not glased (which the Venetians brag to be proper to their City, as a thing to be wondered at) but they are covered with paper, whereof part is oyled over. Towards the West-side of the City, is a large market place twoforked, in which is a faire conduit of water, with the Images of Neptune, and divers Goddesses powring water out of their mouthes and breasts, and all made of mettall. In this market place is the Senate-house, vulgarly called Il palazo della signoria, on the one side whereof are the Courts of judgement, on the other the lodgings of the Governour. At the very entry is a statua of brasse, erected to Pope Gregory the thirteenth, a Citizen of Bologna, which appeares by an inscription in the Cathedrall Church: and within the Pallace is a statua of white stone, erected to Pope Paul the third, and another statua of a Gyant. The staires of the Pallace are made winding, and rising by little and little, give so easie an ascent, as a horse may goe up without difficulty: (the like staires be at Ferrara in the Dukes Pallace, and at Venice in the steeple of Saint Marke, and at Torge a City of Germany.) Within the Pallace is the statua of Julius the second, Bishop (or rather the God Mars) of Rome, engraven to his shoulders, with a leane and long face. Upon the doore of the Pallace is written in golden letters, that the Emperour Charles the fifth held his Court there, when the Pope put the imperiall Crowne upon his head, in the Church of Saint Petronius, which Church is of the old Lombard building: and this Saint is the protecting Saint of the City. Neere the stately Cathedrall Church of Saint Peter, is a house called the mountaine of piety, where poore men may borrow money freely, bringing pawnes, to avoid the oppression of the Jewes usury. Among the Lombard buildings there is an old Tower, called

Windowes of oyled paper.
The Senate house.
The mountaine of piety.
d’ Asinelli, built of bricke with foure hundred seventy two staires, which they esteeme one of the highest in Europe. From this Tower without the gates, all the fields are full of Pallaces and Houses. At the gate of Saint Francis, is a pinacle with this inscription. The Sepulcher of Accursius, who wrote the glosse upon the Law, Sonne to Francis Hus. In the territory of this City is a medicinall water, found in the yeere 1375. very famous throughout all Italy, of which is proverbially said; Chi beve l’ Acqua della Porretta, O che lo spezza, o che lo netta, that is, He that drinkes the water of Porretta, either it bursts him, or els it cleanseth him. The strangers students here, call the stately Pallace of Cardinall Caup:

Charges at Bologna.

Forcelli.

In the territory of Bologna, there is a place almost an Iland, called Forcelli, which was an Iland of old, and Historians witnesse, that the Triumviri, Augustus, Antonius, and Lepidus, here divided the world betweene them.

From Bologna the right way for Rome is directly to Florence, which way I never passed, disposing (as I thought) my journey more commodiously; yet for the direction of other passengers, it will not be amisse to set downe the way. From Bologna to Pianoro are eight miles, to Lograno sixe, to Scaricalasino five, to Caurez three, to Fiorenzuola twelve, to Scarperia ten, to the
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bridge Saint Piero two, and to Fiorenza or Florence two miles.

At Bologna we chanced to light upon post horses, being to returne twenty miles to Imola, and each of us paid five poli for his horse. By the way towards the South were pleasant hils, towards the foot of the Apennine mountaines. On the left hand towards the North, were fields manured after the Lombard fashion before described, and we passed by the Castle Saint Petro, (the Italians call the walled Townes which have no Bishops seat, by the name of Castles.) When we entered the gates of Imola, according to the custome, we delivered our swords to a boy, who was to carry them to our Host, that he might keepe them till we went out of the Towne; and here each of us paiied two reali for our supper, and halfe a reale for our bed. The next morning we rode ten miles to the City Faenza, through a sandy way, and a barren soyle, yeelding some few vines growing upon trees, and each man paid for his horse eight poli.

From hence our right way to Ancona, had beeue to Forli Cesena, and Rimini; but our desire to see the old famous City of Ravenna, made us goe out of the way twenty miles to the said City, through a dirty way, and fruitful fieldes of corne; and each of us paid seven poli for his horse. Ravenna is a most ancient City, whose wals the Empeour Tiberius either built or repaired. Here of old was the harbour for the navie of Rome. Here the Empeour of the East, after the Western Empire was extinguished, made the seat of his Exarch. After, by the conspiring of the Popes, and the French Kings, Pipin and Charles the Great, all the Cities of this Exarchate fell to the Popes share. Yet others write that the French King onely added Tuscany to the Patrimony of Saint Peter; and it is most certaine that these Cities for long time did not acknowledge the Pope for their Lord, till at last the Popes in like sort conspiring with the French Kings, Lewis the twelfth, and Charles the eight, had their aide to subdue these Cities, and then
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Pope Julius the second by terour of his excommunications extorted Ravenna and other Cities from the Venetians, and casting out the Lords of other Cities, the Popes from that time, being very skilfull to fish in troubled waters, have gotten possession of all the territories, from the confines of the State of Venice, to Ferraria, Bologna, and along the Coast of the Adriaticke sea, to Ancona. It is said that Ravenna stands not now in his old place, for at this time it is some two miles distant from the Sea: but the soyle thereof is most fruitfull in corne, and unfit to yeeld wine, and it is rich in pastures. The houses are built of bricke and flint stone, and are so old as they seeme ready to fall. This City having been often taken by enemies, hath lost all the ornaments which it had, from so many Exarches and Kings of Lombardy, and from the Bishops thereof, who were so powerfull, as they strove long time for primacy with the Bishops of Rome. On the North-side of the City lies the sea, but distant from the same, and without the walls is a wood of Pine trees, and not farre thence lie the ruines of a very old and most faire Church, Saint Mary the Round, whose roofe was admirable, being of one stone, and in the same Church was the rich sepulcher of the Lombard King Theodoricus, which the soouldiers pulldowne with the Church, to get the mettals thereof. On the East-side the sea lies some two Italian miles distant, where is the Haven for ships, so much spoken of in the Roman Histories, where the navy of Rome did winter, yet is it now neither convenient nor secure for ships; neither indeed can any but very small boates come up to the Towne. On the South-side without the golden gate (built by the Emperour Claudius) lie the ruines of a stately Pallace, built by the same King Theodoricus, and likewise of the City Cæsaria. In a Chappell of the Cathedrall Church is a most rich Font, and they report that many Kingly monuments were of old in this Church. In the market place lies a vessell of Porphyry, a Kingly monument, which the Citizens in the yeere 1564. brought from
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1594.

the foresaid sepulcher of King Theodoricus in the ruined Church of Saint Mary, neere the gate on the North-side. In the monastery of Saint Francis, is the sepulcher of the Poet Dantes, with these verses in Latin:

Exigua tumuli Dantes hic sorte jacebas,
Squallenti nullis cognite penè situ.
At nunc marmoreo subnixus conderis Arcu,
Omnibus & cultu splendidiore nites.
Nimirum Bembus Musis incensus Hetruscis
Hoc tibi (quem inprimis hæ coluere) dedit.

In a poore Tombe Dantes thou didst lie here,
The place obscure made thee almost unknowne,
But now a marble chest thy bones doth beare,
And thou appearest fresh as flower new blowne.
Bembus with Tuscan Muses ravished,
Gave this to thee, whom they most cherished.

In the yeere 1483. the sixth of the Kalends of June, Bernar: Bembus the Praetor, laid this at his owne charge: The strength, merit, and crowne of the Friars minorite covents. S. V. F. and these verses were added in Latin:

Jura Monarchiæ, superos, Phlegetonta, lacusque
Lustrando cecini voluerunt fata quousque.
Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris,
Actoremque suum petit fælicior Astris.
Hic claudor Dantes, patriis extorris ab oris,
Quem genuit parui Fiorentia Mater Amoris.

The Monarchies, Gods, Lakes, and Phlegeton,
I searcht and sung, while my Fates did permit;
But since my better part to heaven is gone,
And with his Maker mongst the starres doth sit,
I Dantes a poore banishd man lie here,
Whom Florence Mother of sweet Love did beare.

In the Church of Saint Vitalis the pavement is of marble, and the wals all covered with precious stones of many kinds, but unpolished as they were taken out of
FYNES MORISON'S ITINERARY

The Church of Saint Vitalis.

the mines, shew great antiquity and magnificence, and
doe not a little delight the beholder. Also there be
certaine Images graven in some stones, I know not whether
by nature, or strange art, which are to be admired.
Among which I remember one stone had the picture of
a Turke in all the apparell they weare, another the Image
of a Monke in his habit, another of a Priest with his
bald head, and two other, the one most like the foot the
other the leg of a man. There is an Altar of Alablaster,
and the Church is of a round forme, whose rooffe is painted
A la Mosaica, like engraving (of which kind of painting
rare and much esteemed in Italy, I have spoken before
in the description of Venice.) In this Church is a
fountaine of water, which by vertue given it from this
Saint (as they say) being thrice drunke off, gives remedy
to the head-ach. Another Church of Saint Gervasius is
so joined to this of Saint Vitalis, as it seemed to mee
but a Chappell thereof; and in this Church also is the
Saint buried, of whom it hath the name: and there be
also the sepulchers of Placidia, sister to the Emperor
Honorius, and of her sonnes and daughters, and of her
nurse, with her husband. Here wee paid each man three
poli for his supper.

From Ravenna we rode thirtie five miles to the old
Citie Rimini (namely, ten to Savio, five to Cervia, five
to Cesnadigo, and fiftene to Rimini) through wild fenny
fields, and a great Wood of Pine-trees, and by the sandie
shoare of the sea, betweene which and the Apenine Moun-
taines (dividing Italy by the length) the Valley was so
narrow, as we continually did see the snowy toppes of
those Mountaines towards the South, and for the most
part did see together with them the Adriatique sea towards
the North. In the foresaid Castle Cesnadigo, the Post-
master would have forced us to take new post-horses, if
he that let our horses to us, had not pleased him, by the
paiment of some money: for the post-horses are knowne
by a list of furre they weare in their bridles; and if a
man ride into a Towne upon a Post-horse, he must either
goe away on foote, or take another Post-horse there, for no private man dare let him a horse, which makes passengers loth to hier post-horses of returne, though many times they may be had at good rate, rather then he will returne empty with them; yet if a man will walke a mile or two, he may easily hier a horse in other Townes, which are frequent in Italy. And let no man marvel, that these Princes favour the Post-masters and Inkeepers to the prejudice of strangers, because in that respect they extort great rents from them. By the way, in the Village Bel' Aria, each of us paid two bolinee for passage of a River. The Brooke Rubico, now called Pissatello, by this way to Rimini, did runne from the West into the Adriatique sea, and there of old was a Marble pillar, with this inscription in Latin; Here stay, leave thy Banner, lay down thy Armes, and leade not thy Army with their Colours beyond this Brooke Rubico; therefore if any shall goe against the rule of this command, let him be judged enemie to the people of Rome, &c. And here-upon it was, that Julius Cæsar returning out of France, and first stopping here, and then after he had seene some prodigious signes, passing over this Brooke with his Army, uttered words in Lattin to this effect; Let us goe whither the prodigies of the Gods, and the sinnes of our enemies call us. The Die is cast.

In the Market-place of Rimini is a monument of the same Cæsar yet remaining, where words in the Latin tongue are graven in a stone to this effect; The Consuls of Rimini did repaire this pulpit, daecaid with age, in the moneths of November and December, in the yeere 1555. Under that is written; Caius Cæsar Dictator having passed Rubico, here in the Market place of Rimini spake to his fellow souldiers, beginning the civill warre. In the same Market-place of Rimini is a pleasant Conduit of water. The Citie hath no beautie, and lyeth in length from the East to the West. On the West-side is a bridge built by the Emperour Augustus, which they hold to be very faire. Towards the East is a Triumphall Arke,
built by the same Augustus, with old inscriptions, and
a pinacle erected, which shewes the Flaminian way to
Rome, and the Emilian way towards Parma.

I said, that the Popes territory extendeth this way as
high as Ancona, and these inhabiteers of Marca are
accounted a wicked generation, the greatest part of the
cut-throtes and murtherers dispersed through Italy, being
borne in this Country. Our Hoste used us very ill,
demaunding of each of us a poli for our bed, and three
polo for our supper; and when we desired a reckoning,
demaunding for a little piece of an Ele one polo and a
halfe, and for three little Soles tenne bolinei, besides that
by the aforesaid priviledge, he forced us (being Post-
master) to take horses of him at what price he listed.

The next morning we rode fifteene miles to the Castle
la Catholica, where is a bridge dividing the territories
of the Pope, and the Duke of Urbine: then we rode
to Pesaro ten miles, and each man paied for his horse
foure poli, and all our way was through fruitful hills and
little mountaines.

This Citie hath a faire round Market-place, and a
pleasent Fountaine therein, distilling water at eight pipes.
The aire is thought unwholesome; for which cause, and
the great plentie of fruit, nothing is more frequent here,
then Funerals in the Moneth of August, and the Inhabi-
tants seldome live to be 50 yeeres old: each of us paid
a Polo for our dinner, calling for what meate we liked,
and agreeing first for the price.

From hence to Ancona are fortie five miles, and wee
[1. ii. 97.] hired three Horses for twenty five Poli, with condition,
that our guide (vulgarly called Veturale, or Veturino),
should pay for his horse-meate, and bring them backe
againe. After dinner we rode five miles to the little City
Fano compassed with high walles of Flint, and lying upon
a hill-side towards the sea, and subject to the Pope, where
we did see a triumphall arck of marble, curiously engraven.
Then we rode fifteene miles more to Senogallia, a strong
Citie, and subject to the Duke of Urbin. By the way
we passed the Bridge Di Metro (having four-score Arches) and the Bridge Di Marettia (having fifty Arches), both built of wood, and very low, as serving to passe over little Brookes, which notwithstanding, by reason of the Mountaines being neere, doe often overflow. All this dayes journey was by the Sea-shore on our left hand towards the North, and fruitfull hills of corn towards the South, over which hung the Apennine Mountaines; whence many times the waters descend violently, by reason of the narrow valley betwene the sea and the said Mountaines. It is proverbially said of the Magistrate of Senogallia; II Podesta commanda & fallo stesso: that is, The Governour commends, and doth it himselfe; whereby it seemes he is little esteemed. The Citie is of a small circuit, but very strong, and the houses are built of bricke, with a roofe something flat, after the Italian fashion. The Inne is without the gate, and so the more commodious for strangers, who may come late; and departe earely, which they could not do, if their lodging were within the walls. It is true, that he who buyes hath need to sell; for the Duke extorting great rent from the Inkeeper, he in like sort oppresseth the passengers: for a short supper at a common table, each man payed foure Poli, or Poali (a coine so called of Pope Paul). The next morning we rode fifteene miles to Fimesino, and tenne to Ancona, having the sea on our left hand towards the North, and fruitfull mountaines on our right hand towards the South. Fimesino is a Fort, and belongs to the Pope, but the Inne without the gate belongs to the Duke of Urbine: And againe, when you have passed the Bridge, all the Territorie to Ancona is subject to the Pope.

The Citie of Ancona is compassed with three Mountaines, and hath the forme of a halfe Moone. On the North side is a Mountaine, upon which the Governour dwelles, and upon the East side is another Mountaine, and upon the side of these two Mountaines the Citie is built to the valley, and sea-side, towards the North. On
the South-side is the third Mountaine, upon which is the Castle called Capo dè Monte, built in the same place where the Temple of Venus stood; and upon this side the Citie is narrow, there being no houses built upon the Mountaine, but only in the valey upon the sea. The Pope hath souldiers in this Castle, and thereby keepes the Citie in subjection: for the Citizens long defended their liberty, and howsoever they were subject to the Pope, yet secretly chose their Magistrates every yeere, to the yeere 1532; at which time Pope Clement the seventh built this Castle against the Turkish Pirates, but besides he used it to bring the Citizens in absolute subjection. The streetes are narrow, and the wayes ill paved with Flint. The Haven is of a triangular forme, and is now very pleasant, as of old it was of great fame for a most secure Port, yet it seemed not to me capable of many or great ships. Perhaps it was of old fit to receive the Roman Navie of Gallies; but since they have neglected to preserve it. Trajane the Emperour repaired this Haven, and adorned it with a stately triumphall Arke of marble, which remaines to this day. About this Haven there is pleasant walking, and the place where the Marchants meete, called la Loggia, lying upon the sea, is as sweete an open roome, as ever I saw; but narrow, and nothing answerable for stately building to the Exchange of London. It is beautified with sweete pictures, among which one of an Angell, which lookes right upon you, on which side soever you behold it, is much esteemed. They have a proverb, one Peter in Rome, one Tower in Cremona, and one Haven in Ancona (for the excellency of them). Neere the gate of the Citie (to my remembrance) on the East-side, is a very sweete Fountaine, powring water out of many heads of stone.

At Ancona, according to the custome of passengers, we agreed with a Vetturine, or letter of horses, that each of us paying him fiftie five Poli, hee should finde us horses, and horse-meate, and our owne diet to Rome; and to this end his servant followed us on foote, after the
fashion of the Italians, who ride slowly, and these servants are called Vetturini, or Vetturali. Now we were to crosse the bredth of Italy, from the Adriatique to the Tyrrhene Sea. The first day in the Morning, we rode fifteene miles to a little Citie, called Madonna di Loretto, through fruitfull Mountaines, and passing an high Promontary. By the way was an Altar, with this inscription in Latin; O passenger, goe on merily, &c. Gregorie the thirteenth hath well paved the rest of the way. The like inscription is in the ascent of the Mountaine, upon which the little Citie Loreto stands for this way (in a fruitfull Countrey of corne, and a dirty soile) was paved at the charge of the said Pope.

A certaine chamber hath given beginning to this Citie and the Church thereof, then which nothing is esteemed more holy among the Papists; and because many gifts of great price use to be given by vow to our Lady of this Church, the City is well fortified against Pirats, who did once spoile the same, and were like againe to be invited by the hope of rich spoiles to the like attempt, if the Towne lay unfortified. It is of little circuit, and lieth in length from East to the West, so narrow; as it hath almost but one streete in the bredth, and all the houses of this streete are Innes, or Shops of them that sell Beadesc to number prayers. On the East side, after a steepe descent of a Mountaine, lies a valley of two miles, and beyond that the sea. On the North side, towards Ancona, though the sea be very farre distant, yet from this Citie, seated upon a high Mountaine, it may easily be scene. Upon the dores of this Church, famous for mens superstitious worship, these verses are written:

Illotus timeat quicunque intrara, Sacellum,
In terris nullum sanctius orbis habet.

Enter not here unwasht of any spot,
For a more holy Church the world hath not.

At the Church dore is a statua of brasse erected to Pope Gregorie the thirteenth. As I walked about the
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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

Church, behold in a darke Chappell a Priest, by his Exorcismes casting a divell out of a poore woman: Good Lord what fencing and truly conjuring words he used! How much more skilfull was he in the divels names? then any ambitious Roman ever was in the names of his Citizens, whom he courted for their voices. If he had eaten a bushell of salt in hell; If he had been an inhabitant thereof, surely this Art could never have been more familiar to him. He often spake to the ignorant woman in the Latin tongue, but nothing lesse then in Tullies phrase, and at last the poore wretch, either hired to deceive the people, or (if that be more probable) drawne by familiar practice with the Priest, or at least affrighted with his strange language and cries, confessed her selfe dispossessed by his exorcisme. In the body of the Church, a Table of written hand, in the Greece, Latin, and many other tongues, was fastened to a Piller, setting downe at large the wonderfull historie of the Chamber in the midst of the Church, which I confesse was lesse curiously observed by me, abhorring from that superstition, & hastening from thence as much as I might; yet give me leave to set down the sum thereof out of the itinerary of Villamont a French Gentleman. This Chamber or Chappell (saith he) is the very house, in which the Queene Virgin of Nazaret was borne, brought up, and saluted by the Angell, foretelling her of Christs birth, and in which Christ was conceived, and in which the Virgin dwelt after Christs ascention, accompanied with the holy Apostles, especially with Saint John by Christs commaund, which the Apostles after the Virgins death, for the great mysteries done here, turned into a Chappell, consecrated to the sacrificing of Christ, and dedicated the same, and with their owne hands, made the great Crosse of wood, now set in the window of the Chappell, and in which Saint Luke made with his hand the picture and Image now set above it. Let mee adde: This Chappell from a House became a Chamber, and of a Chamber was made a Chappell, and it is built of bricke, and is thirtie
COMMENTS UPON LORETO

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foote long, twelve and a halfe broad. In the chimney (as Villamont saith) as yet remaine the holy ashes, which no man dare take away, and the Altar also, upon which the Masse is sung, was made by the Apostles hand. There is a roome into which you first enter, which is divided from the Chappel by an iron grate, for no man enters the chappell without leave, but must say his prayers in the outer roome; yet leave is given to any that aske it. Villamont addeth, that he found by diligent search, that this Chappell was much reverenced in the primitive Church: but the holy land being subdued by Sarasens, then by Turkes; he saith it hapned in the yeere 1291. that this house was taken up from the foundations, by Angels, who in the night miraculously carried it to the Sea shoare of Slavonia, where it was made knowne to the people by the shining of the Virgines Image, and then by a vision of a religious man, the Virgine her selfe made knowne the History to him. He addeth the Virgins Oration, wherein shee gives her selfe many titles, which in later ages were first invented, and shee doth so extoll her owne praises with her owne mouth, as hee that reades the old song of the blessed Virgin, would cry out with the Latine Poet, onely changing the name. O how is she changed from the Virgin, which so modestly spake of her selfe.

Villamont addeth, that messengers were sent into Palestina, who found this History to be most true: yet this Chappell did not long abide in Slavonia, but the Angels in the yeere 1294. tooke it up againe, and transported it to this Sea coast of Italy, where againe it was made knowne by the shining of the Image, and many miracles daily done; whereupon the Chappell of the Image was called Madonna at Loreto, that is, our Lady of Loreto. And because theeves lying in the wood, did spoile strangers, who daily came thither for devotion, the Angels (as he saith) the third time tooke it up, and set it downe in a private possession of two brothers, who disagreeing in the division of the profit rising by the concourse of
This image never rested till it came into the Popes Territory where it is not more helpsful to others, than profitable to the Pope and Church men.

people, the Angels the fourth time tooke it up, and placed it in this firme seat, where now it remaineth. After it was often visited by strangers, Pope Paul the second built an other stately Church over it, Pope Leo the tenth having first fortified the little City against Pirates. Let me add, that Pope Sixtus the fifth, borne in this Marca of Ancona, established a Bishop in this Towne, and so made it a City. Villamont relating the treasure of this Church, among the rest, nameth certaine Mapps of Cities, and Mountaines, and the Images of the twelve Apostles, a great Crucifix, Candlesticks, and infinite Vessels of silver, Images, Chalices, Crosses, of gold, and many precious stones of huge value, two Crosses made all of precious stones (whereof one was given by the Arch-Duke of Austria), and a Harte of gold set with precious stones (the gift of the Duchesse of Lorayne) and a vessell of huge value, which the French King Henrie the third gave, with this inscription:

Ut quae prola tua Mundum Regina beasti  
Et regnum & Regem prole beare velis. 
Christianiss. M.D.LXXXIII.  
Additaque Regni insignia.  

O Queene who with thy Childe the world hast blest,  
Let not this King and Kingdome childlesse rest.  
Of Henry the third, of France and Poland most Christian King, in the yeere 1584.  
The Armes of the Kingdome are also set upon it.

Thus farre Villamont relates,  
He remembers no gift of greater value, then this of Henrie the third, yet (with leave be it spoken) this King, a very slave to the Romane Church, obtained not his petition. All these gifts are given upon vowes, and my selfe did see in the outward roome of the Chappell (into which all are admitted) a Galley under all sailes, all of beaten gold, given by the vow of the Duke of Florence,
upon the recovery of his health. Villamont adds that this Chapel is compassed with a wal of white Marble, curiously engraven, but that this wall could never by any art bee fastned to the Chappell, and that the Chappell is also compassed with twentie pillars, bearing the Images of ten Prophets, and the ten Sybills. Hee adds, that many miracles are heere done, and first gives instance in the person of the Marques of Baden, in the yeere 1584. Secondly he sets it downe for a Maxime, and proves it [I. ii. 100.] by an example, that no man ever tooke any thing out of this Church, without great mischiefe befalling him; and that the robbers thereof are compelled to restore, as it were by infernal furies. Let me say truly (alwaies reserving due reverence to the blessed Virgin, to whom the Scriptures teach such divine worship to be most unpleasing, as the Papists yeeld her), I say let me with due reverence tell a truth. My selfe and two Dutch-men my consorts, abhorring from this superstition, by leave entred the inner Chappell, where we did see the Virgins picture, adorned with prectious Jewels, and the place (to increase religious horror) being darke, yet the Jewels shined by the light of wax candles. When we were entred, the Priest courteously left us, to give us space for our devotion: but when we came forth (as the Italians proverbially speake of the Priests avarice, Every Psalme ends in, Glory be, &c. as if they should say, All religion to end in profit) it was necessarie for us to cast almes into an iron chest behind the Altar, covered with an iron grate. Therefore my consorts, of purpose to delight the Priests eares with the sound of money, as with musicke, did cast into that chest many brasse quartrines, but of small value, and my selfe being last, when my turne was to give almes, did in stead thereof, gather some tenne quartrines of theirs, which lay scattered upon the grate, and got that cleare gaine by that Idoll. God forbid I should bragge of any contempt to Religion; but since it appeares, that such worship is unpleasing to God: and because Papists will have all their miracles beleieved, I
will freely say by experience, that having gotten these few quatrines in such sort as I said, yet after that, God of his mercy preserved me in my long and dangerous travell, and from that time to this day, by his grace, I have enjoyed, though no abundant, yet a competent estate, and more plentifull then in my former dayes. The fourth miracle related by Villamont (for I omit the third) is worth al the rest, which he saith hangs up in this Church, written in the Italian tongue, and also printed; namely, that a French woman possessed with a divel, came hither, and being exorcsised by a holy Canon, did answer, that she had seven devils, and he casting them out, that the first called Sordo, at his comming forth blew out a torch; and that the second was called Heroth, the third Venteloth, the fourth Arcto. And while hee makes them all (without torture or commaund) to confesse their own wicked acts; and while he omitteth the other three, yet he doth not omit that the fourth told the Priest things unknowne to the world, namely, that he shewed him the stone, upon which the Angell stood, when hee saluted the Virgin; and likewise the place where the Virgin at that time stood, and that those places were afterward no lesse worshipped then the Chappell it selve. This Villamont relates. Of these things revealed by the divell, give me leave to say, that if the divell had been the greatest friend the Church of Rome hath, he could not have told a more profitable thing to it, and that the Roman Church is not altogether ungratefull, which beleeves the father of lies in so great a matter, and doth not so much as put him to his oath: but they are wise, to be of Ovids opinion,

Cur ego non votis blandiar ipse meis?

Why should I not flatter my owne desires?

I will ende the rest in one word. There is incredible concourse to this place from all parts professing the Roman Religion, neither is any man in the most remote parts of Europe oppressed with any calamity, but hee vowes some gift to this Image. In this Church I did see fiftie
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banished men, vulgarly called Banditi, who were banished for murthers, and such like crimes, and now had their pardon, upon condition, that for some yeeres they should serve the Emperour in Hungarie against the Turks. These men abhorred in all Italy, yet (no doubt) at this time very devout, did make stiffe vows, to expiat their sinnes, and to have happie returne out of Hungarie, yet they held their hands from giving any large almes. My selfe and my consorts were all this day fasting, for it had been an unperdonable sinne to have demaunded meate in our Inne, before wee had been in the Church, and would have given open occasion to suspect our Religion. At last when wee returned to the Inne, our Vetturine gave us our dinner.

The same day after a slight dinner we rode foureteene miles, upon a causey paved with stone, and winding about a mountaine, then through fields abounding with Olive trees, but having no vines, and we came to the City Macerata, where the Popes Legate lies, and keepes his chancery for this Marca of Ancona. Part of this Province yeelds rich wine, whereof they have onely white wine in the Innes. The second day in the morning, we rode twenty two miles to Polverina, through a pleasant way, and fruitfull fields, yeelding corne and olives. And by the way neere the City Tollentino, were the confines of the Marca of Ancona, and of the Dukedome of Spoleto. After dinner we rode ten miles to the Castle Serevallo, through stony and barren mountaines. The third day in the morning we rode sixteene miles to Fuligni, through most stony and barren mountaines, which are called Apennine, and divide the length of Italy, and through a large plaine planted with olive trees, and compassed about with mountaines. This City was built upon the ruines of the City Forum Flaminium.

After dinner we rode ten miles to the City Spoletto, through a firtile plaine, but stony, yeelding together in the same field, vines, corne, Almond and Olive trees, and at the end of the plaine this City is seated, partly in a
plaine, partly on the side of a mountaine, upon the top whereof is a strong Castle, built upon the ruines of an old Amphitheater, to the which men passe over a bridge of stone, upheld by twenty four great pillars & joyning two mountaines, which have a deepe valley between them, but narrow and without water. In the Church of this Castle, they shew a picture of the blessed Virgin painted with Saint Lukes hand, of which kind there is an infinit number among the Papists. Theodoricus King of the Gothes, built a stately Pallace in the City, which being ruined, Narses the Eunuch Governour of Italy under the Eastern Emperour did rebuild it. The Dukedome of Spoleto is subject to the Pope, who tooke it, when he cast the Eastern Emperours out of Italy, and after extorted the grant thereof from the renewed Western Emperours. And the soile of this Dukedome is most fruitfull, of corne, wine, almond, and olive trees, and of most sweet fruits. Of the wine Martiall thus writes;

De Spoletanis quæ sunt curiosa lagenis Malueris, quam si musta Falerna hibas.

If with Spoleto bottels once you meet,
Say that Falerno must is not so sweet.

The fourth day in the morning, wee rode ten mils through stony and most barren mountaines, and five miles through a fertile plaine; wherein grew together corne, vines, and olive trees, (which trees I observed alwaies to grow in stony ground, which soyle in Italy useth to be more firtile then other,) and seven miles through a more firtile plaine; in the end whereof is the City Narni, whose situation is altogether like that of Spoleto. The Italians told me that the soyle of this territory, is made dirty with the sunne and wind, and dusty with raine, which since I have found confirmed by learned Cosmographers. On the South-side of Narni, the River Negra fals with great noise from a steepe Rocke, and the Friar Leandro (who hath best discribed Italy) affirmes that the River Velino makes a Fen, (which Cicero numbers among wonderful
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things,) and that this Fen endeth in a Lake, of old called Velinus, now vulgarly called Lago di pie di luco, and that betweene the running out of the waters, there is a Fountaine of Neptune, (which Pliny hath described) and that this Lake is the Navell or midst of Italy; and lastly, that the water falling into the Lake (compassed with mountaine) by steepe discents, maketh noises like the groanes, yellings, and sighes of infernall spirits. From whence, and by other arguments, he seemes to prove plainly, that the verses of Virgill in the seventh Booke of his Æneadis, are meant of this place, and that others are deceived, who thinke them meant by Tenaso in Apulia, especially since the vallies Ansancti are in this place, vulgarly called Nesanto, for Ansanto, which signifies on all sides holy, because they are fertile. The verses of Virgil are these;

Est locus Italiæ in medio, sub montibus altis,
Nobilis, & fama multis memoratur in oris,
Ansancti valles, &c.
Hic specus horrendum, & sævi spiracula Ditis,
Monstrantur, &c.

Italies Center hath great Mounts beneath
A noble place, which is farre knowne by fame,
The Ansancti valleyes, &c.
A dreadfull hole, whereat fierce Dis doth breath,
Here may be scene, &c.

After dinner, we rode twelve miles to a little Towne, lying beyond the River Tyber, namely, eight miles to the Castle Otricoli, through woody Mountaines, and Valleyes bearing Olive trees, and corne together with those trees; and from thence to the side of the River Tyber two miles in pasture fieldes. Here we passed to the West side of this so famous River, where of old the Emperour Augustus built a stately bridge; but now men and horse passe in a ferry-boate, which is drawne over with the force of mens hands, by a great cable fastned a-crosse the River. And least the boate should be carried
away with the swift stream, a second cable is fastened across the River by posts on each side higher than a man; and they have a third short cable, to the one end whereof the boat is fastened, and the other end hath a strong wheel, which is put upon the second high cable, upon which the boat slips forward, as it is drawn with men's hands by the first low cable: for the bed of the Tyber is broad in this place, and hath his spring not far off, among the high Apennine Mountains, and falling thence with great force, would carry away any boat rowed with oars: But from thence the bed of the River grows narrow, and is such at Rome, as it scarce deserves the name of a Brooke, and nothing answers the glorious fame which Italians have given it, who always extoll their own things to the skies. Hereupon it is necessary, that when any store of rain falls, or much snow suddenly melts, those waters falling from the Mountains, should overflow the fields, and the City of Rome itself, as they have often done, with great danger of the City, the same being not far distant from this Ferry, and these high Mountains, among which the river hath his spring. But from Rome it runs in a narrow bed 12 miles to Ostia with a slow course, and there endeth in Lakes, the mouth of the haven being so stopped, as the least Barks cannot passe to & from the sea. Here beyond our expectation, our Veturine alleged, that he had agreed with us to pay for our diet, not for our passages of Rivers; by which captious trick, each of us was forced to pay two Giulii for our passage over the River. Of the foresaid twelve miles to the little town whereof I spake, two miles remained, which we rode, and there lodged that night. The fifth day in the morning, wee rode seventeen miles to Castel' nuovo, through woody Mountains, and Valleys of corn, in a way very dirty and slippery; and here our Veturine tied to pay for our diet, put a new tricke upon us, saying, that he would not dine, but goe on to Rome, yet if wee pleased to dine, hee would out of his duty stay for us, otherwise being ready to finish the rest of
his journey. We smiled at the knaves craft, and each of us paid two poli and a halfe for our dinners.

After dinner we rode thirteene miles to Rome (of old the Head-Citie of the World) through winding hills and pastures; and when we came to the first Gate, we did meete many English men on horse-back, without bootes, being all Priests, going to Madonna di Loreto. I was much afraid, lest some of them being Schollers of Cambridge, should know me brought up in the same Universitie; neither was the hearing of the English tongue, or the sight of English-men, ever before so unpleasing to me. From this first Gate we rode, in the way of Flaminius, by the winding banck of Tyber, and many caves under mountaines and hills, to the bridge called Ponte-Mole, which uniteth the said way of Flaminius, lying on both sides the River, and there we passed to the East-side of the said River Tyber; and passing on the same way of Flaminius, we entered the Citie by a large Gate, vulgarly called Porta del Popolo, and by a Market place vulgarly called Fore del Popolo, in which Market-place is the Church of S. Mary del Popolo.

Chap. II.


Eferring the view of Rome till my returne, I thought best to passe on presently to Naples, lest if I had staid longer, I might perhaps have beene betraied into the hands of the Spaniards when I should come thither, for that Kingdome is subject to the Spaniards, with whom the English then had warre: besides that in like cases, delay breeds
danger, into which if I should have fallen, I hoped to
escape with more ease and contentment, when I had beene
at the furthest of my journey. Therefore according to
the fashion, I agreed with a Vetturine at Rome, for forty
foure Giulii to give me a horse to Naples, and to pay for
my diet and horsemeat. I say it is the fashion, especially
in waies of danger and trouble to get meat, that passengers
should agree with their Vetturine for their diet; which
if they doe not, they shall be subject to the fraud of Hosts,
in such a journey, and hardly get so good meat as they,
who daily passing, are well acquainted in all places. And
in this tumultuary journey to Naples, it is most of all
necessary for strangers thus to agree with their Vetturine,
since the Hosts are great extorters from all men, and
especially from strangers; and it would be difficult for
strangers not knowing the fashion of that hasty journey
and of the Country, to provide for themselves. When
we went out of Rome, our consorts suddenly in a broad
street lighted from their horses, and gave them to the
Vetturines to hold, and so went themselves to the Holy
staires, vulgarly called Le scale sante, that they might
there pray for a happy journey; at which time my selfe
and my consorts slipped into the next Church, and going
in at one doore, and out at the other, escaped the
worshipping of those holy staires, and at fit time came
to take our horses with the rest. They say that these
staires were the same which Christ ascended in Pilates
house at Jerusalem, and that they were from thence
brought to Rome: and indeed at Jerusalem the place
of them lies void, so as I would in this much rather
beleeve the Romans, then in the transportation of the
Chamber at Loreto, which they would have done by the
Angels, and that often and at unseasonable times, whereas
in so many voyages into Palestine it was not difficult
to bring these staires from thence. Yet they being of
marble, and very rich, I would faine know how such a
monument could be preserved, when Jerusalem was
destroyed. And if they say they belonged to that house
The description of Naples, and the Territory
of Pilate, which they shew at this day, I dare be bold to affirme that the magnificence of these staires is nothing answerable to the poore building of that house.

The twelfth of March we rode twelve miles to Marino, a Castle belonging to the Roman Family of Colonna, and we passed through a fruitfull plaine of corne, having on our right hand towards the South, the ruines of old Rome, and the Castle Tusculo, where Cicero wrote his Tusculane questions, not farre from Palestrina, of old called Preneste, where Marius besieged by Scylla, killed himself, & we might often see the Tyrrhene sea: and having upon our left hand towards the North, an anticke conduit, made of bricke, lying all the length of the way from Rome to the Easternne mountaines, in which Marino is seated, and from whence the water was so farre brought to Rome, and upon the same side having a new conduit built by Pope Sixtus the fifth, when the pipes of the other were broken: but the same is much lower and lesse magnificent then the other, and upon this hand we had mountaines not farre distant. Marino was of old called Mariana villa, and from this Castle the mountaines which by the way we had on our left hand toward the North, crosse over to the Tyrrhene sea, towards the South, shutting up the large plaine from Rome hither. And these mountaines planted with vines, and having a sweet prospect into the same plaine, are very pleasant. Whereupon there be very many Pallaces of Roman Senators built upon these mountaines, which lying high, of the fresh aire, vulgarly this place is called La Frescada. Among these mountaines in the Village Tivoli, the deceased Cardinall Hipolito of Este, built a Pallace and a wonderfull garden, which being ten mile distant from the City of Rome, the passengers for the most part having seenee Rome, did in the Cardinals time, and yet many times doe passe that way. For it resembles a terrestriall Paradice, by reason of the fountaines, statuaes, caves, groves, fishponds, cages of birds, Nightingales flying loose in the groves, and
the most pleasant prospect. In this Castle Marino we made some stay, to expect some passengers which were longer detained at Rome by their business.

And the Pope in this place gives sixty Horsemen Musqueters to accompany the Carrier, vulgarly called Il Procaccia, and to defend him from the spoyling of banished men, vulgarly called Banditi. And for this cause all passengers goe in this Carriers company, neither dare any passe alone. For these banished men lurking upon the confines of the Popes State and the Kingdome of Naples, many times make excursions as farre as these mountaines, to doe robberies, and the weeke last past they had killed many passengers, and had robbed the Carrier, who doth not onely beare letters, but leads many Mules laded with goods. The chiefe of these banished men was the Nephew (so they call Church-mens bastards) of the Cardinall Cajetano, who having eight thousand crownes yeerely rent in these parts, was banished by the Pope, and he understanding that a Roman Gentleman passed with that Carrier, who had great friends about the Pope, and hoping to make his peace by taking him prisoner, did for that cause assaile that Carrier and his guard, till hearing that the Gentleman while they fought, had escaped to the next City, he withdrew himselfe & his men into the mountaines. This danger from banished men, makes the journey to Naples very troublesome; and it is not safe nor lawful for any man to leave the company of this Carrier. So as the passengers rise before day, and take horse, and so sitting all the day, yet ride not above twenty miles, for the slow pace of the mules, and at noone they have no rest, onely when they have the Inne in sight, so as there is no danger of theeves, they are permitted to gallop before, that they may eat a morsell, or rather devour it: for as soone as the mules are past, they must to horse againe, every man not onely making hast for his owne safety, but the souldiers forcing them to be gone, who are more slow then the rest. To conclude the mules going a very slow pace, it was very irkesome to the
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passengers to rise before day, and to follow them step by step.

Having dined at Marino, and our full company being come, we together with our guard of horse-men rode eight miles to Velitri, through woody mountaines, infamous for the robberies of banished men, and upon our right hand towards the South and towards the Tyrhene sea, was a Lake vulgarly called Lago Nympæo, which the old Romans (delighted with doing difficult things) used to fill with sea water, and therein to make navall fights. One wood by which we passed was more dangerous then the rest, where the Pope maintaines forty foot to assist the Guard of horse, till they have passed the same. The descent of the last mountaine neere Velitri, was two miles long, yet pleasant by reason of the multitude of Vines growing upon short stakes, which use to yeld the richest wine. Velitri is by writers called Belitre, an old City of the Volsci, and famous for the birth of the Emperour Augustus, and the dwelling of the Octavian Family. The second day in the morning we rode thirteene or foureteene miles to Sermoneta, and in the midst of the way our guard of horse left us, and their trumpet asked of every man a gift in courtesy, which we gladly gave, and there new horsemen meeting us, tooke upon them our guard. After dinner we rode eight miles to a little towne La casa nuova, and five miles to an old City, which Livy calleth Privernum, yet other Cosmographers write that the ruines thereof lie in a plaine two miles off, whereas this is seated upon a mountaine, yet growing to a City by the decay of the former, is called Privernum, and vulgarly Piperno. We passed through woody mountaines, full of Olive trees on the right hand, and a fruitfull plaine of corne, and many Orchards of Orange trees, and like fruits, on the left hand. And among the mountaines on the right hand, the most remote was called Circello, of the famous Witch Circe, and it is a Promontory hanging over the sea, where at this day they shew the cup, in which Ulisses drunke the
inchanted potion, and under the hollow caves of this mountaine, the Turkish Pirates lurke in the summer time, and rob the Christians. The last five miles of our journey, all the passengers and souldiers were put before the Carrier and his Mules; for then we turned out of the plaine towards mountaines on the left hand, where (as they said) the banished men had the weeke before assailed the Carrier. After we had dined, the horse-men left us, and certaine foot did after guide us from one City to another. The third day in the morning we had a guard of horse-men, and rode twelve miles to Terracina, an old City, so called in the time of the Emperor Tiberius, and we passed through a fertile plaine of corne on the right hand towards the Sea, and stony hills full of Olive trees on the left hand towards the Land, and many vineyards, and ruines of houses neere the City. After we had this morning rode two miles, we passed by an old Monastery called la Badia della fossa nuova, where they have a monument of Saint Thomas Aquinas, but his body was carried to the City Tolouse in France, when the French-men had the Kingdome of Naples. And after we had rode ten miles our guard of horse left us, and certaine foot meeting us, conducted us other 2 miles. In this way the waters in many places at the foot of the hills did stinke of brimstone, but infinite Laurel trees on all sides refreshed our smel. Terracina in the flourishing time of Rome was called Anxur, and it is seated upon a mountaine, as most of the foresaid Cities are, and it lieth upon the sea, which the land imbraceth like a halfe Moone, this Citie lying upon one horne thereof, and the Citie Cajeta upon the other, of which Citie the Cardinall had name, who did oppose himselfe to Luther. The flouds of the sea make great noise, with striking upon hollow caves of Rocks. A souldier came out of the Tower of Torracina, and demaunded of every man five baocci, which we paid, though it were onely due from them, who had portmanteaues with locks. Neere this City we did see the ruines of a stately Theater. After
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dinner we rode ten miles to the City Fondi, through a stony way, being part of the old way of Appius; and upon the right hand we had a plaine towards the sea, and upon the left hand rockey Mountaines towards the land, where wee passed by the Citie Monticello. At the mid-way, the Popes guard having left us, we came to two old ruined walles, shutting up the way, and lying from the Mountaine to the sea. This place called Sportelle, devides the territories of the Pope and the King of Naples, and is kept by a Garison of Spaniards. I remember at our comming backe, these Souldiers demaunded of the passengers a gift in curtesie, and when some refused it, they stopped their passage, and onely troubled them in the searching of their carriage, under pretence that they might carry some prohibited things. These Souldiers did accompany us to the Citie Fondi.

I call the same and some other places by the name of Citie, because they were Cities of old, though now they be onely Villages, and have no other beautie, but the ruines of age. This old Citie was sacked in the yeere 1534 by Barbarossa a Turkish Pirate. It is seated in a Plaine, having onely a meadow and a field overflowed betweene it and the sea, and the houses are built of Flints and such little stones, but it had most pleasant Orchards, of Citrons, Oranges and Lemons. The Orange trees at one time have ripe and greene fruites and buds, and are greene in winter, giving at that dead time a pleasant remembrance of Sommer. By our Veturines sparing, our diet was daily very short, and at Terracina we could not so much as get wine; and here our supper was so short, as we judged our Vetturines good Phisitians, who perswade light supperers. The wines of Fondi and Cecubo (for the mount Cecubo is not farre distant) are much celebrated by the Roman Poets, namely, by Horace. The fourth day in the morning, we rode ten miles to Mola, vulgarly called Nola, upon a paved Causey, betweene stony Mountaines, being part of the way of Appius, and through great woods of Olive trees, having by the way many
Orchards of Oranges and like fruites, and entering neere Mola into a more open aire. Not onely this Village, but all this sea coast is called Mola, of the Milles (as I thinke) driven by waters falling from the Mountaines, and it is numbred among the most pleasant places of Italy. Mola is built upon the ruines of old Formia, which are to be scene in the fields round about it. Among these ruines is the house of Cicero, who speaks of his Village Formia, where Scipio and Lelius came to recreate themselves; and there is also the sepulcher of Cicero, so as it seems he was killed by Anthony in this Territory. After dinner we rode eight miles through a wilde field with low shrubs, upon a paved way, till wee came to the River Garigliano, whose narrow and deepe streame we passed by boat, and staied long about the putting over of our horses, our company being great, and each horse-man paied five baocci for passage. Neere this River wee did see the ruines of a most faire Theater, built of bricke and flint, and of another old and round Theater, and of a Conduit built of brick, upon a 140 arches. Not farre hence among huge and snowy Mountaines, is the Citie Traeto, which hath the title of a Dukedome, and was of old called Minturne. After we had passed the River, we rode seven miles to Sesso, and three miles to a Country house, through a fruitful Plaine of corne, having the Tirrhene sea so neare us, as we might see it three or foure times. And because the other Carrier comming from Naples to Rome, lodged with his consorts a mile before us in the Village Castellano, we were forced to lodge in this Country house. The fifth day in the morning, at the beginning of our journey, we met the said Carrier with his consorts, and we rode eight miles to the Village Francolisse, in a most pleasant way, betweene Hills of black clay like stone, but a most fruitfulfull Country. This Village lay on the left hand of our way towards the land, among very pleasant Hills; and the place is not farre distant, where Hanibal brought into straights by Fabius, did escape by a stratagem, tying fire upon the horns of Oxen.
COMMENTS UPON CAPUA

After we rode 8 miles to the most pleasant City Capua, through a most sweet Plaine, called Laborina, because it is laborious to the tiller, but it is wonderfull fruitfull, and aboundeth with Olive trees, and vines planted upon Elmes. Here we dined, not according to our covenant at our Veturines charge, but at our owne cost, and each man had such meate as he chose, and that (as I thinke) because the passengers being now out of danger, and in a place abounding with all dainties, refused to be dieted at their Veturines pleasure, and chose rather to feast themselves as they list. And in deede we had excellent chere, delicate wine, most white pure bread, and among other dainties, I remember wee had blacke Olives, which I had never seene before, and they were of a most pleasant taste. Here each of us paid two Giulii and a halfe for our dinner.

This City is newly built, but if you goe out of the Gates to Saint Maries Church towards Naples upon the South-West side of the Towne, there you shall see a Colossus, and a Cave, and many Monuments of old Capua among the Orchards: the delicacies of which Citie were of old so famous, as we reade, that the Army of Hanibal grew effeminate thereby. This new Citie hath a Castle upon the North-East side, built upon the walles, wherein is a Garrison of soildiers, which keepeth the Citie in obedience, and the River Vulturnus runnes upon the same side of the Citie, which they passe with a bridge of stone, neere which there is an inscription, that Phillip King of Spaine repaired the way, and built the bridge. The Citie is of a little compasse, but strong, and it hath a faire Senate-House, and a faire Church called I Annonciata, with a faire Altar.

After dinner wee had no guard, neither were tied to accompany the Carrier, but it was free for every man to take his way and company, or to ride alone at his pleasure. So from Capua we rode eight miles to Anversa, a new Citie, otherwise called Adversa, and of old called Attella, whence were the old Satyricall Comedies, which were full of baudery, and were called Attellane. And betweene
this City and the Mountaine Vesuvius, now called Somma, out of the way towards the land, and neere the Castle Airola, is the Valley Caudine, where Hanibal put the Romans, drawne into straites, disgracefully to passe under a paire of gallowes, which were called the Caudine gallows, wel knowne to all that have read Livy.

The same afternoone we rode further eight miles to Naples. And all this way from Capua to Naples, is a most fruitfull plaine of corne, and vines growing high upon Elme trees, according to the Tillage of Lombardy, one and the same field yeelding corne and wine, and wood to burne, but the other wines of this Country growing upon hills and mountaines, and all the other fruiites, cannot be worthily praised. We entered Naples on the East side by the Gate of Capua, where the Vice-Roies use to enter in pompe. And this Gate is stately built, and upon this side, the suburbes are long and faire, and the streete of Capua within the wals, is no lesse faire, in which is the prison: and because we were attired like Frenchmen, the prisoners scoffed at us, and to my great marvell, the Citizens of good sort did not forbeare this barbarous usage towards us.

The description of Naples, and the Territory.

A Rome farre distant. L Palmosa an Iland, and beyond it the Syrenes Iland, famous by fables.
B Capua. M The Citie Caieta.
E The Mountaine Pausilippo. P The Bay of Baie or Pozzoli.
F The Iland Nisita, or Nisa. R Linternum, now called Torre della Patria.
G The Iland Procida. X The Promontory Miseno.
H S. Martino (as I thinke) an Iland. Y The Cape of Minerva.
I Ischia, an Iland. Z The old Citie Cuma.
K Caprea, or Capre, an Iland.
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a The Gate of Capua.  m The Lake d’Agnano, compassed with the Mountaine Astruno.
b The Kings Gate.  
c The Church S. Clara.  d The Castle of S. Ermo.
d The Castle of S. Ermo.  eeeee Scattered houses.
 f The Haven.  g Il Molle.  
 h The Castle devouo.  i The Vice-Royes house.  l The new Castle.  w The Elisian fields.
 j The Castle of S. Ermo.  k The Church S. Clara.  l The new Castle.
 m The Lake d’Agnano, compassed with the Mountaine Astruno.
 n Grotta del can’.
 o Solfataria.  p Pozzoli.
 q Tripergola.  
r The Lake of Avernus.  s Baie.
 t Cento Camerelle.  
v Piscina mirabile.

From the foresaid part on the East-side of the Citie, where we entred by the (a) Gate of (a) Capua, without the walls, towards the land. Eight miles from the Citie lies (D) Torre di Graeco, now called Torre d’ottavio, where Pliny, writer of the Naturall history, and Admirall of the Navey of Augustus, was neere the said Tower choked with vapours, while too curiously he desired to behold the burning of the Mountaine Vesuvius, now called Somma. This Mountaine Somma is most high, and upon the top is dreadfull, where is a gulfe casting out flames, and while the windes inclosed, seck to breake out by naturall force, there have been heard horrible noises and fearefull groanes. The rest of the Mountaine aboundeth with vines, and Olives, and there growes the Greeke-wine, which Pliny calles Pompeies wine; and of this wine they say, this place is called Torre di Graeco. The greatest burning of this Mountaine brake out in the time of the Emperour Titus, the smoke whereof made the Sunne darke, burnt up the next territories, and consumed two Cities, Pompeia, and Herculea, and the ashes thereof covered all the fields of that territory. It brake out againe in the yeere 1538 with great gaping of the earth, and casting downe part of the Mountaine. The Pallace there, taking the name of the next Village, is called Pietra Biancha, that is white stone, which on

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the inside is all of marble, decked with carved worke in the very Chambers, and there is an Image of a Nympe sleeping, and lying upon an earthen vessell, out of which great quantity of water flowes, and falls into Marble Channels, wherein fish are kept as in pondes. This Pallace was built in the yeere 1530 by a Counseller to the Emperour Charles the fift. At the foote of this Mountaine, of old Decius, the first of all the Roman Consuls did by vow give himselfe for the Army. And at the bridge of the Brooke Draco, the last King of the Gothes Teius, was slaine, having three Bucklers all pierced with his enemies arrowes. On the same East side comming backe to Naples, (yet the said Mountaine lyes Northward) you shall come to a stately Pallace, which the Kings of Naples have built, and called it Poggio Reale, being not above a mile from Naples. There of old was seated the Citie Paleopolis, and it lies in a most sweete Plaine.

From the said Pallace the way leades right to the Kingly (b) Gate, called Porta Reale, at which onely the King enters in solemne pompe, and from this Gate right to the West, lies a most faire and large streete called Strada Toletana, the way whereof on both sides is raised with a faire and large pavement for men to walk upon, and it hath a faire Market-place. When you come to the end of this streete, there is the Church of Saint (c) Clara, called vulgarly San' chiara, which was built by Agnes of Spaine, wife to King Robert, where are artificiall sepulchers of the said Robert (comming of the French Kings) and of his wife Agnes, and of other Kings and Princes of the French family Durazzana. And there in a Chappell the Monkes day and night sing with a lamentable voice, or rather groane for the rest of their deceased soules. In the Church of Saint Dominick is an Altar, which they say, cost some twenty five thousand Crownes; and in the Vesterie lie the bodies of nine Kings in coffins of wood, covered with peuter, & having black velvet laied over them. Among these Kings are Alphonso the first,
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King of Aragon, and Ferdinand his sonne, and Ferdinand the second. And in this place also, the Monkes in like sort sing, or rather houle rest to their soules. They shew a Crucifix, which they say, did speake to Thomas Aquinas in this manner; Thomas, thou hast written well of me, what reward doest thou aske? And that Thomas should answere; No reward Lord but thy selfe onely. I have heard, that Saint Bernard knowing the fraudes and impostures of the Monkes, and not dissembling them, when the Image of the blessed Virgin did in like sort praise him, did with much more pietie and wisdome answere out of S. Paul, i. Cor. 14. Let women be silent in the Church, for it is not permitted them to speake.

Not farre thence are the publike schooles of the University, which the Emperour Fredericke the second founded there. In the most faire Church of the Monkes of Saint Olivet, the Images of Ferdinand the first, and Alphonso the second, are so lively engraven, and doe so artificially represent them, as well in the bed dying, as upon their knees praying, with the mourning of the by-standers, (the horror of Religion being increased with lampes continually burning,) as my selfe by chance passing by this Chappell, thought I had fallen among living Princes, not dead Images; and perhaps I have seen a more sumptuous monument, but a more beautifull did I never see. In the little Church of the Hermitane Friers, Saint John in Carbonara, is a monument of Robert King of Naples, and of Joane the first his sister, of white marble, being an Altar, which the Italians thinke the most stately monument of Europe; but for my part I dare not preferre it to some in Germany, nor to many in England, nor to the monuments of the Turkish Emperours. Many tables are hung up by vow in this Church. There is a faire sepulcher of white marble erected to N. Caraccioli Marshall of the Kingdome. I omit the most faire Church of Saint Mary of the Preachers, almost all of marble, and the Cathedrall
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Church called Episcopio, and the Church of Saint Laurence.

Upon the North-west and by-north part of the City, is the Fort called (d) S. Eremo cut out in a high Rocke, yet the ascent thereunto is so easie, as a horse-man may well mount to the top. Upon this mountaines top lies a plaine, in which this Castle is seated, which commands the City, though it were taken by the enemy. A little beneath is the monastery of the Carthusians, and upon pretence to enlarge that monastery, the Emperour Charles the fifth built this most strong Castle, to bridle the wonted petulancy and inconstancy of the Citizens; and from thence there is a most sweet prospect as well into the City, as to the bayes of the sea.

Towards the South-side is the Haven, and beyond the (f) bay of Naples lies firme land; for the Sea comming in from the West, makes this bay. Upon this side is a fortification for the safety of the haven, which is called (g) Il Molle, & it drives off the waves of the sea, and makes the Haven like an halfe Moone, and therein at this time were twenty gallies and ten small ships. The Armory lies upon the Sea, from whence the gallies and ships and land forces are armed; and among other things, there is kept the rich Armour (yet without any ornament of gold) of the French King Francis the first, which he did weare when he was taken prisoner at Pavia. Thereby lies a large market place, in which is a faire fountaine, with many Images casting out water. Also there is a Tower where they set light by night to guide sea men into the Haven. In the said market place is a stone, upon which many play away their liberty at dice, the Kings officers lending them money, which when they have lost, and cannot repay, they are drawne into the gallies, for the Spaniards have slaves of both sexes.

On the outside of the said Molle, or fortification upon the haven, towards the west, & neere to the shore, lies the most strong fort called (I) Castello nuovo, seated in a plaine, and built by Charles the first of Anjou, and so
fortified by Alphonso the first, King of Aragon, as it is numbred among the chiefe forts of Europe. The inward gate is most faire all of marble, and it hath a little foure-square hall, in which the Parliaments are yeerely held, and the Viceroyes weekly sit in judgement. Neere this hall is a faire tower, in which the Kingly ornaments are laid up; namely, a scepter of gold, with great diamonds upon the top, the sword with the haft and scabbard of gold, adorned with precious stones; the Kings Crowne shining with precious stones, a golden crosse, an huge pot of gold set with precious stones, great Unicornes horns, and the chiefe kinds of precious stones.

Further towards the West, (yet so neere, as the garden of the Pallace lies upon the ditch of this Castle), is the (k) Viceroyes Palace, which hath a large and most sweet garden, and delicate walk, paved with divers coloured and engraven marbles. And in this garden are two banquetting houses, whereof one is very stately built, and hath a sweet fountaine close to the table continually powring out water. Also there is a delicate cage of birds, wrought about with thick wyer, and it is as big as an ordinary stil-house, delicately shadowed round about, wherein are many kinds of singing birds, aswell of Italy as forraigne Countries.

A little further within the water, is the (h) Castle of the egge, built upon a rock by the Normans, which Rocke is of an ovall forme, and gave the name to the Castle, vulgarly called Castel’ del’ vuovo, which at this day is ruinous; and some say it was the Pallace of Lucullus; but it is certyne that the Normans built it, as they did also another Castle which is old, and called the Capuan Castle, of the adjoining Capuan-gate. Naples was of old called Parthenope, of one of the Syrens there buried, whom they write to have cast her selfe into the sea, for grieffe that by no flattery shee could detaine Ulisses with her. The Citizens of old Cuma built Naples, and lest it should grow great to the prejudice of Cuma, they pulled it down againe, till at last oppressed with a great plague,
upon the warning of an oracle, they built it againe, and changing the old name Parthenope, called it Naples, which in Grecce signifieth a new City. It is seated at the foot of hils and mountaines, in length from the North-east to the South-west, or rather seemeth to be triangular, whereof two corners lie upon the sea, and that towards the West is more narrow then the other, and the third blunt corner lies towards the mountaines. Upon the East-side there be pleasant suburbs, and upon the West-side more large suburbs; but upon the North-side without the wals, there be onely some few scattered houses built upon the sides of hils.

The houses of the City are foure roofes high, but the tops lie almost plaine, so as they walke upon them in the coole time of the night, or at lest in generall the tops are not much erected, like other parts of Italy, and the building is of free stone, and sheweth antiquity: but the windowes are all covered with paper or linnen cloth; for glasse windowes are most rare in Italy, and as it were proper to Venice. It hath three faire broad and long streetes, namely, La Toletano, la Capuana and la vicaria, the rest are very narrow. There be eight gates towards land, and as many towards sea, among which the Capuan gate, since the Emperour Charles the fifth entered thereat, is decked with monuments and statuaes. There be in this City very many Pallaces, of Gentlemen, Barons, and Princes; whereupon the City is vulgarly called Napoli Gentile: Among these, two Pallaces are most stately, one of the Duke of Grevina, which the King of Spaine forbad to be finished; the other of the Prince of Salerno. There be foure publike houses, called Seggii, in which the Princes and Gentlemen have yeerely meetings, and there also is the daily meeting of the Merchants. Almost every house hath his fountaine of most wholsome waters. Neere the market place are many Innes, but poore and base; for howsoever the City aboundeth with houses where they give lodging and meat, yet it deserves no praise for faire Innes of good entertainement. On all
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sides the eye is as it were bewitched with the sight of
delicate gardens, aswell within the City, as neere the same.
The gardens without the wals are so rarely delightfull,
as I should thinke the Hesperides were not to be com-
pared with them; and they are adorned with statuaes,
laberinthes, fountaines, vines, myrtle, palme, ceton,
lemon, orange, and cedar trees, with lawrels, mulberies,
roses, rosemary, and all kinds of fruits and flowers, so
as they seeme an earthly Paradice. The fields are no
lesse fruitfull, bringing forth abundantly all things for
the use of man. The Kings stables without the wals are
worth the seeing, for the horses of this Kingdome are
much esteemed; and if any man buy a horse, to carry
out of the Kingdome, he payes the tenth part of the price
to the King.

The City being seated upon the sides of hils, and by
lying open to the South, being subject to great heates,
and most parts of the streetes being narrow, so as in
walking the heat is not to be endured, and yet they cannot
use Coaches, one fashion pleased me beyond measure,
that at the end of many streetes they had chaires, vulgarly
called Seggioli di Napoli, which those that are weary doe
enter, and they being covered round about, and onely
having windowes on the sides, he that is carried therein,
cannot be scene of any, and yet himselfe may see all that
passe. Two Porters carry these chaires by two long staves
fastened thereunto, and lift them but little from the
ground, and so for a moderate price carry the passenger
to any part of the City. After I observed the same fashion
at Genoa, which is in like sort seated upon the sides of
hils and mountaines, and in Cities so seated, I thinke this
fashion very convenient.

The territory of Naples hath many famous antiquities,
and wonderfull things to be scene, which that we might
behold, we went early in the morning on foot out of the
Southwest-side of the City; & having passed long suburbs
& scattered houses we came within a Musket shot to the
mountaine (E) Pausilippo, which is wonderfully pleasant,
aswell for the houses and villages built upon it, as for the excellent fruits which it yeeldeth of all kinds. This mountaine being hard to be ascended, extendeth it selfe in good length from the sea towards the land, so as the way would be very troublesome to Pozzoli, either ascending the mountaine, or compassing it, had they not found a remedy to this inconvenience. Therefore the Progenitors of these Citizens (which some attribute to Lucullus, as they doe all magnificall things, and others to one Bassus: but Leander the Cosmogapher, a witnesse without exception, attributes it to Coccius a Roman,) I say, their Progenitors with wonderful Art and huge expence, digged a passage under this mountaine, and so made a plaine way to Pozzoli and those parts. This way Strabo cals a Cave, and it is vulgarly called La grotta di Napoli, and serveth this famous City in stead of a gate, yet is it a musket shot distant, and alwaies lies open. And the foresaid Leander witnesseth, that it is twelve foot broad, twenty foure high, and two hundred long, to which length if you adde 500. foote more, which at both ends was digged, but lies not covered as the rest, but in open aire, this worke may well be said to be an Italian mile long. My selfe observed, that part of the passage under the mountaine, to bee nine hundred and sixteene walking paces long, and nine broad, and the hight I imagined to double the bredth, yet is it in some places bigger then in other. And for the bredth, it is certaine, that two Coaches, or Carts may passe together, one by the other. The enterance and the going out at the other end, are like two gates, and of old light came in by many holes or windowes from the top of the mountaine; but the falling of earth did by little and little stop this light; and in the time of Seneca this passage was so darke, as he compares it to a prison, and at last the light was so stopped by the fall of earth, by nettles and shrubs, as there was no light at all, till Alphonso the first of Aragon, King of Naples, opened two windowes towards the two ends, which onely light it hath at this
day to direct passengers. At the entrance of either end, the opposite gate seems no bigger then a full Moone, and a man entering there, would seeme a little child. It hath no light in the middest, but like twilight, or the Ovidian light which is in thicke woods, and in the twilight of morning and evening passengers use torches, & continually the carters or horsemen when they passe by the midst of the cave, use to give warning one to the other, crying vulgarly Alla marina (that is towards the sea) or Alla Montagna (that is towards the mountaine) according to the side on which they come. Before we entered this cave, among other stately Pallaces, one vulgarly called, Merguillowno, built by James Sanazzarro, a famous Poet almost of our age, and given by his last will to a religious house, contains the sepulcher of a learned man, upon which Bembus is said to have written these verses,

Da sacro cineri flores, hic ille Maroni
Sincerus, Musa proximus, ut tumulo.

These relikes decke with flowers, Sincerus here
In tombe as muse to Maro comes most neere.

Upon the mountaine of Pausilippo, is the sepulcher of Virgil, shewed in two places, whom Servius writes to have beene buried in this way neere Naples; and that these verses were written upon his sepulcher;

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope, cecini pascua, rura, Duces.

Mantuan borne, Calaber dead, me holds
Parthenope, who sung ploughs, Dukes, sheepefolds.

Or thus;

Mantua gave me life, Calabry death, my grave
Parthenope, who sung pastures, Ploughs, Captaines brave.
Mantua life did lend to me,
Calabers laid me on deaths carre;
My bones lie at Parthenope,
Who sung sheepe, tillage, feates of warre.

And the best judgements hold, that he was buried in
the Church of the Friars regular canons, at the entrance
of the cave, as you go from Naples, & not in the Church
at the going out of the Cave; and though both places
shew the sepulcher, yet these verses are in neither place,
but the inscriptions are wore out with age: the Monks
report, that there was a statua of brasse upon his sepulcher,
which those of Mantua stole from thence, & indeede, at
Mantua they shew such a statua, whether stolne from
hence or no, let them dispute.

When we had passed this Cave, wee bent our way from
the Sea towards the land, and came to the Mountaine (m)
Astruno, being of forme like a Theater, compassing a
large Plaine. Alphonso the first, King of Aragon and
Naples, and his sonne Ferdinand, used to invite the
Princes, Nobles, and People of the Kingdome, to hunting
in this place, turning the dogs and beasts they hunted,
into the valley, himselfe and the noble men sitting in a
pleasant Grove upon the top of the Mountaine, and the
people being scattered round about the Mountaine, to
behold the sport. In the same plaine compassed with
this Mountaine, is the Lake of (m) Agnano which is
said to be without bottome, and to have nothing in it
but frogs. And at the foote of the inside of the Mountaine
next to Naples, there is a venimous Cave, vulgarly
called (n) la grotta del' can', that is the Cave of the dogge;
because they trie the poison by putting dogs into it.
This Cave is some eight foote high, and sixe broad, and
goeth some foure paces under the Mountaine, where a
signe is set, beyond which, if any living thing passe, it
presently dies. Pliny writes, that this cave was called
Cheroneæ scrobæ, evaporating a pestilent aire. We gave
two poli to a woman (dwelling there) for a dog, to trie the poyson with it, which dog wee fastened to a long staffe, and so thrust him into the cave, holding him there, till he seemed dead, and being taken out, would not move for any blowes wee gave it; then according to the fashion, wee cast the dog into the aforesaid Lake, and when he was drawne out, he began by little and little to move, and at last, being come to his senses, ranne away, as if he had been madde. The common sort attribute this to the blessing given to the water by the Saint of which it is named, but nothing is more cleere, then that the sprinkling of any water will revive the spirits choked with any ill vapour. Besides, many have tried, that living things cast into that cave, and held there for longer time then is usuall, could never be fetched againe to life by this or any other water. They report, that a French Gentleman of Tournan trying to fetch a stone out of this cave beyond the aforesaid signe, paiied for his curiosity by unrecoverable death. And that the French King Charles the eight, commanding an Asse to be thrust into this cave, the beast could never be fetched to life againe. And that don John, base sonne of the Emperour Charles the fifth, forced a Gally-slave to goe into this cave, and he falling dead, forced another slave to fetch him out, who likewise fell dead, and that hee killed the third slave with his owne hand, because hee refused to fetch out his two dead fellowes. Many cast frogs into this cave, and except they presently leape back, this vapour kills them, which is said to rise out of Mines of Brimstone and other mettals. Into the foresaid Lake they cast flax, which will be steeped in that water in 14 houres, though it lies usually two weekes in other waters. And this water, though cold to touch, yet seemes to boile. The Earthquakes and flames breaking out of these Mountaines, by the vapours inclosed, gave the Poets occasion to faine, that Giants were buried under them. Not farre hence are the wholesome baths, vulgarly called I bagni d’Agnano, which kind of baths are very frequent in this
part. Heere lie the ruines of a great Village of Lucullus, and Writers affirme, that hee brought the Sea water into the foresaid Lake, cutting the passage through Mountaines. Here also are the ruines of the Village of Cicero, which retaine the old name, and the Emperour Adrian dying at Baie, was buried here, and his successor Anthony here built a Temple to him.

Upon the top of a Mountaine neere this place, is a round field like a Market-place, vulgarly called (o) Solfataria, which Strabo calls Forum vulcani: & Pliny writes, that of old this place was called Campi Flegrei.

It is of an Ovall forme, somewhat more long then broad, having 1500 foote in length, and 1000 in breadth, being compassed on all sides with Mountaines, except the enterance, lying towards Pozzoli. All the earth is hollow, and being beaten with a mans foote, soundeth like an emptie vessell; and not only the earth by the Brimstone is made yellow, but it made our bootes and shooes of the same colour, with walking upon it, yea, when I cast a piece of silver upon the ground, it was presently made yellow, and with no rubbing could be made white againe. In this Ovall Market place (as I may call it) there is a short and narrow ditch of water, which is almost round, and the water thereof boyles, as if fire were under it. They say, if any thing be cast into it, that it will be sodden in short space; but some part of it will be consumed: and Leander reports, that one cast fourre egges into it, and presently tooke three fully sodden, but the fourth was consumed. Also he witnesseth, that this little ditch is not alwaies in one place, but in time workes it selfe from one place to another in this circuite, and yet is never greater, and that the old ditch is filled presently with new matter. An horseman cannot well come to this place, and as the same Leander writes, an horse-man comming boldly thither, was swallowed up into the hollow earth. And that the strange heate of this water may appeare, one of the Viceroyes Guard, a Dutchman, and comming hither, according to their fashion, to guide his
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Countrey men my consorts, told us, that one of his fellowes not long before, comming in like sort as hee did, to guide his Countrimen hither, either being carelesse, or rather (as it is most probable) having drunke too much, and not guiding his feete well, by chance stumbled into this ditch, and when one of his friends tooke him by the hand to pull him out, that he pulled of all the skinne from his hand, and that after better advice, they pulled him out with a cloake flung about him, but that within few daies he died, neither could the Phisitians give him any remedy or promise any hope of his life. At the foote of the Mountaine there is a hole, where the vapours with their owne motion, continually cast up little stones and stinking smelles; but if any man move these vapours by a staffe, or any thing put into the hole, the more they are stirred, the greater stones they cast up, yea flames of fire sometimes. There bee some cottages neere this place, where they make Brimstone, and all these parts smell of brimstone, and if the winde blow from hence towards Naples, the stinke thereof may bee smelled thither. On all sides here be Baths of wholesome waters, which of old were famous.

After we had passed huge ruines of old buildings, we came at the foot of a mountaine to the City (p) Pozzoli, of old famous, and called Puteolis, to which all these ruines are said to have belonged of old, and it had the name of the Latin word Putnus, as also it hath the present name from the Italian tong, of the wels, which are frequent. I say it hath the present name of the Italian word Pozzo, signifying a well, though some will have it named presently of Puzzo, which signifies a stink, because of the smell of brimstone in these parts: but the city being most ancient, cannot have the old name of an Italian word: and it is certaine, that the Roman Princes of old used this part for the place of their recreation; for the great sweetnes of the Country, and the plenty of medicinall waters, whereupon they gave it the first name. Others say that it was of old called Diciarchium, but at this day.
it is called Pozzoli, or Puzzoli. Here we dined, and were forced to give our swords to the Host, there being a great penalty set upon any that carry their Armes. The City hath nothing worth the seeing, but the old Church, first built to Heathen Idols, and after by Christians dedicated to Saint Proculus, and it hath the names of the workemen that built it graven upon it, and there be shewed the bones of a Giant of wonderfull bignes. The Haven of this City was of old very commodious, but by negligence is growne of no use.

Here the sea entering betwixte two Mountaines, was of old called the Creeke of (P) Baie, of that City seated on the opposite shore, or the Creeke of Pozzoli, of this City. Suetonius writes, that the Emperour Tiberius consulting about his successor, and inclining more to his true Nephew, Thrasylus the Mathematitian should answere, that Caius should no more raigne, then he should ride over the Creeke of Baie. Wherefore Caius being Emperour, and hearing of this divination (not as others say, in emulation of Xerxes, who made a Bridge over Hellespont, nor to the end that with the fame of this great worke, he might terrifie the rebellious Germans and Britans) did build a Bridge over this creeke of the sea, being about three miles long, that hee might thereupon passe from Baie to Pozzoli. Of this Bridge thirteene piles of bricke may bee seene neere the shore at Pozzoli, and as many on the other side neere the shore of Baie, and some of these piles have yet arches upon them, but ready to fall. And from these piles the Inner part of the bridge was founded upon two rankes of shippes fastened with ancors, and covered over with a bancke of earth, to make the passage like the way of Appius. The rest Suetonius addeth in these or the like words. Over this bridge he went to and fro for two daies; the first day upon a trapped horse, having his head adorned with a Crowne of Oake leaves, and bearing an Hatchet, a Sword, and a Garland, and a robe of cloth of Gold. The next day in a Coch-mans habit, driving a Coch drawne by
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foure famous horses, carrying before him Darius a childe, one of the pledges given by the Parthians, his Pretorian Souldiers accompanying him, and his friends following him in a Coach, &c. He that desires to comprehend the magnificence of this work, must first know, that the Mediterranean sea is very calme, having little or no ebbing or flowing, and that this Creeke is yet more calme, and that this bridge was built in the furthest part of the Creeke, very neere the land. These things considered, (if my judgement faile not), there is greater cause of greater wonder at the Bridge built by the Duke of Parma besieging Antwerp, being in like sort built upon barkes fastened one to the other, and also at the Bridge of London, bearing a great ebbing and flowing of the sea, and built of free stone, upon so firme a foundation, as it beareth many great and faire houses upon it: but whatsoever the magnificence were, surely the vanitie of this worke was great, to spend so much upon this Bridge, the way by land being not a mile longer then by the Bridge. Give me leave to digresse so farre, as to remember, that the Territorie of Falernum is not farre from Pozzoli, the wine whereof called Falernum, is so much praised by Horace. After dinner we went from Pozzoli, to view the Antiquities lying upon this Creeke; and first we came to the Labyrinth, a building under ground, which hath the name of the multitude of roomes, with such passages to and fro, as a man may loose himselfe in them; and here wee had not onely neede of the thread of Ariadne, but of light also to conduct us. Leander thinks, that all this building was to keepe fresh water: Then we came to the Amphitheater, being of an Ovall forme, the inner part whereof is 172 foot long, and 88 broad, the building wherof is little ruined: And Suetonius writes, that this was built for the Plaies of Vulcan. Not farre thence, neere the shoare, is a fountaine of cleare and sweete water, flowing plentifully out of the sea, so that for a great distance we might with our eies distinguish the same from the sea water, which Leander thinks to
have been brought by pipes under the earth, to these houses of the old Romans. Neere this place are the ruines of many buildings, now called Belgermano, which the Emperour Tiberius is said to have built, when he returned with triumph from the German warre. Betweene the rocks that compasse this sea, is the way Attellane, which leades those that passe to Rome, to the way of Appius, and there be many baths, for most of the waters are medicinall.

Neere the Lake of Avernus upon the side towards Pozzoli, lies a Mountaine, (q) which lately broke out of the earth, where of old were the bathes of Tripergola, whence the dwellings in this part, and this place, are called Tripergola, and here of old were many large and stately buildings, but by reason of many Earthquakes, and roberies of Pirats, the houses were long since forsaken, and at last in the yeere 1538 were swallowed up by the earth. For in that yeere upon Michaelmas day was a terrible Earthquake in this place, which brake out with fire in great flames, casting up stones, with a great tempest of winde, and darkenesse of the aire, so as the people thought the worlds end was come. And at this time the ashes of this fire were carried by the winde to places twenty miles distant. At last after seven daies, this confusion ceased, and then the aforesaid Mountaine breaking out of the bowels of the earth was first scene, being three miles high, and at the bottom four miles compasse. Upon the toppe of this Mountaine is a hole some fiftie paces broad, which towards the bottom growes more and more narrow, where it seemeth round, and of little compasse, having a cleare water, yet giving a stink of brimstone, and this hole is like a Theater made by art. In the foresaid fearefull Earthquake, caused by the breaking out of the vapours inclosed under the hollow earth, many famous bathes were lost, and no more scene. Not farre hence is the Mountaine of Christ, so called, because they say, that Christ with the squadrons of the Fathers, passed this way when hee ascended from Hell.
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But the French Gentleman Villamont worthily judgeth this to be fabulous, and likewise the miracle of the Crucifex here, bearing the markes of Christ, yet doth he give too much credit to the miracles of Loreto.

Upon the shore of the creek of (r) Baie, lies the [I. ii. 117.] Lake (as Virgil saith) of the foule stinking Avernus. This Lake is a naturall Haven, but is not used, because the Haven of Lucrinus is betwenee it and the sea. It is compassed with high hils on all sides, but onely where the Sea enters on the South-side at a passage fifty paces broad, and the forme of it is round, and the hils that compasse it now seeme pleasant, but of old were all covered with a thicke wood, which shutting up the aire, and by the shadow drawing many birds to it, was thought to be the cause that these birds stifled with the smell of brimstone, fell suddenly dead, till the Emperour Augustus caused the wood to be destroied. And of the birds thus killed, the Lake was called Avernus. For this smell of brimstone, and the shadow of the foresaid wood, darkening the Lake, and the blacke colour of the water, and because the sunne is shut out from the Lake by the hils, this Lake was feined by the Poets to be one of the Lakes of hell. Leander writes of a fountaine here, the water whereof no man would drinke, because they thought it came from hell, derived by the heat of Phlegiton, whereupon an Oracle was built here, as in a place consecrated to Pluto, and the Cymerians living here in a Cave, entered this place when they had sacrificed to the Gods for the soules of the dead. Leander also saith, that they used to sacrifice men in this place, and nameth Elpenor sacrificed by Ulisses (for he understands Homer to meane this place,) and also Misenus sacrificed by Æneas, though Virgil write that he died here. Some will have this Lake to be the famous Fen of Acheron, of which Virgil writes;

Tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso.
The darke Fen of Acheron powred out.

This also Servius affirms, and shewes that this Lake
comes from the infernal River Acheron, so called as without joy. But Leander shewes that Acheron faigned by the Poets to be a river of hell, is a river of Calabria, and that there is another river of that name in Greece. They say that the water of this Lake Avernus seems blacke, because it hath no bottome: but Leander affirmes that some by a long rope found the bottome to be three hundred and sixty fathome deepe. The hils that compasse Avernus are very steepe, with a head-long fall, whereupon Virgil saith;

Facilis discensus Averni.
The descent of Avernus is easie.

Under the hill towards the West side, is a Cave, which they call the cave of Sybilla of Cuma; and among many rooms there is one, in which shee is said to have attended her devotion, but Leander thinkes this place to have been a sweating Bath. Of this cave Virgil thus writes:

Horrendæque procul Secreta Sybillæ:
Antrum immane petit.
Excisum Euboicæ latus ingens rupis in Antrum, &c.
Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibillæ.

Of dreadfull Sibill the farre distant rites
To the vast cave he goes.

And after
An huge den cut out in the Euboyan rockes vast side, &c.

Whence rush so many voyces, Sybill answering.

From these hilles to the neighbour Citie Baie, they say the earth is all hollow with caves under it, and that the Cimerians of old dwelled under an hill towards the sea-shore. And Leander thinkes that cave to have belonged to them; and surely whether it belonged to them, or any old Prophets, or to the Prophetesse Sibilla, or whose worke soever it was, the wonderfull Art and huge expence therein do plainly appeare. These Cimerians of old did leade strangers under the earth to the Oracle, and were diggers in mines, and reputed to
have the spirit of divination; whereupon the King gave them pensions for revealing secrets unto him. These men never saw the Sunne, but came abroad onely in the night; whence is the proverb of Cimerian darkenesse, and the fiction of the Poets, that they did leade strangers to the Court of Pluto. They write, that these having deceived the King by false divination, were by him destroyed. Upon the Hilles of Avernus, they shew the ruined Temple of Mercurie, and another Temple of Apollo, little broken downe. Nero began a ditch to be made from the Lake Avernus to Ostia, to avoide the trouble of going by sea. From the said Lake there was a sluce of old into the Lake Lucrinish, by which when there was any flood of the sea, the water passed out of Lucrins into Avernus Lake: but this is now stopped since the foresaid Earthquake of Tripergula. The Lake Lucrinus is so called in Latin, of the gaine made by fishes sold. Suetonius writes, that Julius Caesar let in the Sea to this Lake as also into the other. For the Senate of Rome making great gaine of the fish sold here, (till the Sea did once breake in with such force, as the fish went out of these Lakes at the ebbing of the Sea) did thereupon commaund Cæsar to give remedie thereunto, which he did, raising bankes against the Sea, at which time he made a passage for the fish out of one Lake into another. Wee gave a Clowne three poli for leading us through the Cave of Sybilla.

Upon the Sea shore lies the bath, commonly called of Cicero, which the Phisitians call the bath of Tritoli, of a Latin word for rubbing, the letter F being changed into T, and this Bath lieth neere the ruines of the Village of Cicero, called his Academy. I know not whether this Village (or rather Pallace) had the name of Academy or no; for I finde in my notes a Village of Cicero in the way from Naples to Pozzoli, and likewise the mention of this bath of Cicero, and his Academy, neere the Lake of Avernus. And Leander mentions a village of his, in both places: but Villamont speakes of a Village neere
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Pozzoli, and of a Pallace in this place called Accademy; and these differ not much from my notes: but others confound the Village and the Bath, putting both together, so as writing of these intricate caves under the earth, my selfe am fallen into a Laberinth, wherein I had much rather die, then goe backe to Naples for searching the truth. We entered this Bath Tritoli, and gave a Clowne one Poalo for conducting us. The passage to enter was straite, and extendeth farre under the Mountaine, and there is a marke set, which they say no man ever passed. We did sweate extremely, yet I desired to come to that marke, till at last feeling my spirits begin to faile me, I was glad to returne, and to creepe upon the earth, where the aire was more cold then above. They say that this bath is very healthfull, and much frequented in the spring time, and that Nero had of old a Pallace built over it.

Neere this lie the ruines of Baulos or Boaulia, named of the oxen stolen, by Gerion, for here was the Temple of Hercules, and Servius, expounding Virgil, saith that Eneas did here speake with Hercules. Leander writes that Hortensius did here make cesternes, wherein hee kept his so much prised Lampreyes. Tacitus and Suetonius in the life of Nero, make mention of this place. For Agripina mother of Nero, passing by water from the Village of Piso to this Baulos, was of purpose and by the commaund of Nero put into a rotten boate, that she might be drowned, which boate splitting in the middest of the passage, Agripina perceived the intent, and silently (the neight being darke) slipped into another boate, and so for that time escaped: but her waiting-maide being in great danger, and crying out that shee was Mother to Nero, found death by that name, by which she hoped to save her life, being presently struck into the water by one of the conspiratours. At last when wicked Nero resolved to kill his Mother, he invited her to a feast, entertaining her lovingly on the Sea shore, and when she returned, out of shew of duty attending her to this Baulos, lying betweene the Misene Promontory, and the Lake
of Baie; but at the same time he commaunded that she should be killed, and here under the earth we did see her sepulcher in a cave, curiously carved, and one of the finest old monuments I did ever see.

Hence we passed to (s) Baie, an ancient Citie, and for Baie.

Nullus in urbe locus Baiis prælucet amænis.

No place of Rome sweete Baie doth excell.

The situation of this Citie is most sweete: but all the houses neere the shoare are drowned, except the Baths, and the houses upon the mountaine are all ruined, neither doe any dwel here, but some few poore and miserable people (such as the husbandmen of Italy are commonly) yet these ruines shew the pride and magnificence of that old time. This Citie is said to have the name of a friend of Ulisses there buried. Here bee the foresaid ruines of Caligula his Bridge, which I said doe lie on this side the Creeke. Here we did see the stately ruines of two Senators houses, where the excellent pictures did yet remaine upon the highest rooFE. They shewed us a tree (as they said) turned into a stone and the ruines of the Temples of Diana and Venus.

From hence we walked towards the Mountaine Misenus, and neere the dead sea; first, wee came to (t) a hill, made hollow by the building under it, which is vulgarly called of the number of the roomes Cento camereUle, that is, One hundred little chambers. Leander saith, that it was a Cesterne to keepe fresh-water, whereof the Romans had great store in these parts, whether they came certaine seasons of the yeere to recreate themselves; and all this Territorie on both sides neere this Creeke or Bay of the Sea, are so full of ruined Palaces, Temples, and Sepulchers, as a man would say, they were not severall Villages, but one great Citie. The said building is large, and foure square, and sustained by foure rankes of foure square pillars, into which wee were let down at a hole in the earth. Round about the entrance there were many
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Celles, almost foure square, and of an unequall bignesse, parted with enteries winding about, and because the building is intricate, some thinke it was a Laberinth.

(v) The ruines of a stately building are opposite to this, into which wee descended by fortie staires; it hath no windowes, but all the light comes in at crannies, and it hath foure rankes of fouresquare pillars to beare up the arched rooffe. Every ranke hath twelve pillars, and in all they be fortie eight, and each one is twelve foote distant from the other, and twelve foote high; to which if you ad the high rooffe of the building, the roome is twenty five foot high, which I beheld not without being amazed at the magnificence of the Romans in these buildings. This house is little broken downe, and the plaister of the wall is so hard, as I could not pierce it with my dagger, and it is vulgarly called la piscina mirabile. It is certaine, that the Romans of old bestowed great charge in building places for the keeping of fish, and some thinke this was built to that purpose by Antonia, the wife of Drusus; others say by Hortensius: but Leander saith, that it was built to keepe fresh water, and he (with other Writers) doth judge it a stately monument of the Pallace of Lucullus built neere Baie, which he proveth out of Plutarch, who mentions one Pallace of Lucullus in his foresaid village for his Summer dwelling, and another here neere Baie for his Winter abode. And Tacitus saith, that the Emperour Tiberius foreseeing his death, and often changing places, at last came to this place, and here died. It were an infinite worke if I should severally describe the Pallaces of Marius, Cæsar, and Lucullus.

I will not omit, that our Guides (I know not how credibly) shewed us certaine round (w) fields, compassed round with Mountaines, and at this time plowed, which they said were the Elisian fields.

We are now come to the (x) Misene Promontary, which hath the name of Misenus, friend to Eneas, buried here, or rather by him sacrificed to the gods at the Lake Avernus as is aforesaid. Upon the top of this Mountaine was
a Tower, of old called Faro, upon which a light was hung
for a sea-marke. Under the Mountaine (especially where
it growes narrow, and upon three sides is washed by the
Sea) there be so many houses under the earth, as the pillers
thereof seeme onely to beare up the Mountaine, and
among them there is one called Grotta Traconara, of the
winding passages therein, which by the ruines now remain-
ing, seemes to have been a magnificent worke, and this
Leander thinkes to have been built to keepe fresh water.

Right opposite to this mountaine, is the (Y) Cape of
Minerva, and neere that lies the Iland (K) Caprea, or
Capre, easie to be seeene by the white and high cliftes, and
famous by the cruelty, and more then goatish lusts of the
Emperour Tiberius, when he with-drew himselfe out of the
sight of the Senate and people of Rome, to live there
in solitude. This Iland hath no Haven, neither can little
boates land there; whereupon being safe from Pirates,
it was held a place of pleasure in the time of Augustus.
The creeke of the sea, comming in betweene these two
foresaid Promontories, was of old called Sinus Cratera.
Upon the side of the mountaine Misene, lying towards
Cuma, is a lake of salt water, called the dead sea, into
which water fals out of the creeke of Pozzoli, and it
was of old more large. For Suetonius writes that
Augustus kept one Navy in this Lake, and another at
Ravenna, to guard the upper and lower sea. And Tacitus
writes that his successour Tiberius kept two Navies in
those places. At this day the Lake is parted from the
Sea, with a banke some fifty paces broad, and it is almost
round in forme, and some two miles broad; and Plutarke
writes that Lucullus made this Lake to keepe fishes
therein.

From this mountaine Misene, we walked upon the Sea
shore five very short miles, and came to the ruines of
the old City (Z) Cuma, built by the Calcedons of the
Greek Iland Euboia, & the oldest City in all Italy, and
it is said to have had the name of a good presage from
the Captaines of the Navy, or a woman great with child
of that name. It was seated of old upon a hill neere the sea shore, and yet on the side towards the land, the wals are standing, but the daughter hath devoured the mother: for the increase of Naples, was the decrease of Cuma, yet the ruines still remaine, and upon the top of the hill was the Temple of Apollo, of which Virgil writes;

At pius Æneas arces, quibus altus Apollo, &c.
But good Æneas, high Apolloes Towers, &c.

And there is yet an ancient Temple partly ruined. A triumphall Arch is yet unbroken, but some say the foresaid Temple was consecrated to Hercules. Of old Aristodamus did lead the forces of Cuma, and after his victory they made him their Prince: and Livy writes that Tarquinius the proud, being banished, came to him, and there died. Historians write that Drusus made a Ditch from this shore towards Capua. In the hill or mountaine of Cuma, there is a labyrinth under the earth, and from this hill we did see divers Ilands neere the Land. The Poets fable that in one of them called (F) Nisa, the Witch Calipso dwelt. That in the second called (G) Procida, the Gyant Typhheus was buried, because of the flames that sometimes breake out of the earth. The third is called the (H) Iland of Saint Martine. The fourth is called (I) Ischia, wherein the Kings of Naples have a strong Castle, to which the King fled for a time, when the French King Charles the eight tooke Naples.

We walked along this shore of the sea, to the Tower called (R) della Patria, being sixeene miles from Naples, eight miles from Baie, and five miles from Cuma. It is seated in a pleasant place, and upon the West-side hath a Lake called by the name of the Tower, and the River Vulturnus running into the sea. On the South-side the sea is neere, and upon the East and North sides, it hath pleasant fields and hils. At this day there is no building standing, but the said Tower, and a poore miserable Inne to lodge passengers. But among the shrubs there be many ruines of houses, and of a bridge, and this place
COMMENTS UPON NAPLES  

was of old called Linternum, whether Scipio the Africam retired into voluntary banishment, to flie the envy of the ungratefull Romans, and there he built him a stately Pallace, and a sepulcher in which he would be buried; saying, that the ungratefull Romans should not have so much as his bones. Livy in his twenty two Booke calls Linternum a sandy soyle, beyond Vulturnus from Rome: but Leander thinkes that hee spake this of the territory, not of the place it selfe; and that the rather, because in his twenty three Booke, he write; that Sempronius the Consull, did lead the forces to Linternum beyond Vulturnus, and there doth agree in the situation thereof with all writers; and the sharpe fountaine like vineger, whereof Pliny writes, is found among these ruines, which water he saith makes them drunken that drinke thereof, though others write that they have taken it moderately without any such effect. Pliny also writes, that this water moderately taken, hath the vertue to cure the head-ach. While Scipio lived here in solitude, Livy and Plutarke write, that certaine bold and valiant Pirats, upon the fame of his vertue, came to see the face, & heare the words of so great a Captaine. Livy in his thirty eight Booke, writes that he did see two sepulchers of Scipio, this at Linternum, and the other at Rome, neere the gate Capena, both decked with carved Images; and that these verses were written upon his Tombe at Linternum;

Devicto Annibale, capta Carthagine, & aucto Imperio, hoc cineres marmore tectus habes.  
Cui non Europa, non obstitit Africa quondam, Respice res hominum, quam brevis urna premat.  
Hannibal foild, Carthage sack’d, and th’ Empire Inlarg’d, thine ashes in this marble lie, Whom Europe or Afrique, nere made retire  
How short a chest holds? see mans vanity.

Leander thinkes that Scipio was buried in this place, aswell because Livy writes it, as for the words of Scipio related by Valerius Maximus, that his ungratefull
A.D.
1594.

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Countrey should not have so much as his bones. And he thinks that the monument at Rome was either built by Scipio in the time of his prosperity, or by his friends long after, in memory of so worthy a kinse-man. As we walked from Cuma to Linternum, we did see no memorable thing, but tooke this journey onely out of desire to see the monument of this famous man, neither did we know the danger from banished men in this place, who often resort to this poore Inne; yet for that cause this way from Naples to Rome, more commodious then the other, and therefore having post-masters appointed there for publique affaires, had long beene forsaken by passengers. This way to Rome is thus distinguished into miles. From Naples to la Patria sixteene miles, to la Rocca foureteene, to la Fratta eighteene, to Ponte Curto, ten, to Capetano eight, to Frusalone eighteen, to Piedavani three, to val' di Montone twenty two, to la Ficha foureteene, to Rome eight. There is no house at Linternum but the foresaid base Inne, and there we lodged, and found not our supper answerable to the Miserable fruitfulness of Campania, neither had we any beds, and could hardly get cleane straw, which inconveniences were accompanied with the feare to be surprised by the banished men, so as we slept not one winke that night. Here we did see two Towers, one compassed with water, and neere the Tower della Patria, we did see the ruines of a stately Pallace, which they said was the Pallace of Scipio, and that he was buried there. Also we did see a pillar, upon which were the Armes engraven of the Kings of Spaine and Naples, and we did see the ruines of a bridge, which shewed the old magnificence thereof. But there was nothing to be seen, that might countervaile the danger we had runne. Our journey the day before from Naples to Baie was very pleasant, through most fruitfull hils of corne and vines. But from Cuma to this Tower, the way upon the sea shore was wild and barren, yet not farre distant within land we might see most pleasant and fruitfull hils.
COMMENTS UPON ROME

A.D. 1594.

When we had passed a night without sleepe at Linternum, we returned early in the morning to Naples, by the same way we came, but with a more right line. And there I made no stay, because England then had warres with Spaine, but tooke the next opportunity to returne to Rome with the Carrier, after the same fashion I came hither; and I paid to my Veturine fifty two charges from Naples to Rome, and beyond my covenant (to gratifie him) I was content to pay for my diet the first and last meale, which I promised of my owne free will, yet should have beene forced thereunto, for otherwise he would have carried me fasting to Rome, and have given me slender diet at Capua, being a plentiful place; and I observed the other passengers to doe the like in these places, where they were out of danger.

I passe over the journies, which I have discribed before, and wil only say in a word, that we returned to Rome, where that I might stay with more security, to see the antiquities thereof, it hapned very fitly, that the Cardinall Allan an Englishman, having used to persecute the English comming thither, and therefore being ill spoken of by them, had changed his mind, since the English had overthrown the Spanish Navy, in the yeere 1588. and there was now small hope of reducing England to papistry, and therefore to gaine his Countrey-mens love, did not onely dislike that they should be intrapped at Rome, but did himselfe protect them, though suspected for religion, so they would seeke his favour: whereof I being advertised by the experience of others, when I had in silence, and through many dangers seene Naples subject to the King of Spaine, and was now returned to Rome, I presently went to the said Cardinall, and after the fashion, having kissed the hemme of his vesture, I humbly desired, that according to this his curtesie, for which hee was much honoured in England, hee would receive mee into his protection, till I might view the antiquities of Rome. He being of a goodly stature and...
countenance with a grave looke and pleasant speech bad me rest secure, so I could commaund my tongue, and should abstaine from offence. Onely for his duties sake, hee said, that he must advise me, and for the love of his Countrey intreate me, that I would be willing to heare those instructions for religion here, which I could not heare in England. I submitted my selfe to these conditions, and when (after due reverence made) I would have gone away, the English Gentlemen and Priests there present, overtooke me in the next roome. Among these was an Englishman, a Priest of Calabria, who in my journey from Naples hither, had been my consort by the way, at the table, and even in bed, whom I had often heard talking with the Italians of English affaires, but more modestly and honestly then any man would expect of a Priest. He taking my selfe and one Master Warmington an English Gentleman by the hands, with an astonished looke, did congratulate with me, that I, who had bin his companion at bed and boord, and whom he had taken rather for any countriman, was now become an English man. All the rest commended my judgement, in comming to the Cardinall, and inquiring after my lodging, promised to be my guides in Rome, and for Countries sake, to doe me all good offices, and so after mutuall salutations, I went from them. I well knew, that such guides would be very troublesome to me, for they (according to the manner) disputing of Religion, I must either seeme to consent by silence, or maintaine arguments ful of danger in that place, besides that to gratifie them for their courtesie, I must needes have runne into extraordinary expences. Therefore having told them my lodging, I presently changed it and tooke a chamber in a vitling house, in the Market-place, close under the Popes Pallace, where I thought they, or any else would least seeke mee, and so being free from that burthen, and yet secure in the Cardinals promised protection, I began boldly, (yet with as much hast as I possibly could make) to view the Antiquities of Rome.
The description of Rome, drawne rudely, but so as may serve the Reader to understand the situation of the Monuments.


Rome being situated on the East side of Tiber, may
further bee distinguished into three parts seated on the West side of Tiber, whereof the first is called (I) Il Borgo, and it containeth the Popes Pallace, compassed with high walles by Pope Nicholas the fifth, and the Garden thereof, which of the faire prospect is called Belvedere, and the Librarie, and the Church of Saint Peter In vaticano, and the field or Market-place lying before the Church, and the strong Castle Saint Angelo, all which were compassed with walles by Pope Leo the fourth, and for a time this part was of him called Leonina, but now it is called Il Borgo. The second part is called (II) Trastevere that is beyond the Tiber, and was called of old Janicolo, of the Mountaine included therein; and also was called the Citie of the men of Ravenna, of the Souldiers which Augustus kept at Ravenna against Anthony, and after placed them here. And because the aire is unwholesome, as the winde is that blowes heere from the South, it is onely inhabited by Artisans and poore people. And at this day it is compassed with walles, which seeme ancient, save that it lies open towards the Tiber and Rome, and it is adorned with Churches and buildings, but much severed one from the other. The third part is called (III) P' Isola, that is an Iland of Tiber, which of old was called Licaonia, of the Temple of Jupiter of Licaonia. When Tarquinius the proud was of old banished from Rome, the people abhorring to convert the goods of such a wicked man to private uses, did make his ground a field for training of souldiers, and called it Campus Martius, and the Senate commanded the great store of his corne, chaffe, and straw, to bee cast into the Tyber, of which matter growing together, they say this Iland first came. After a Temple was built in this Iland, to Esculapius, brought hither from Epidaurus in the shape of a Serpent; and the Ile being consecrated to him, was then made in the forme of the ship that brought that serpent, whereof there is a monument in the Garden of Saint Bartholmew, namely a stone in the forme of a ship with a Serpent graven upon it. It is a quarter of a mile
in length, and some fiftie paces in bredth, and it is full of stately Churches and houses.

If you draw a line from the East-side of the Mountaine Capitolino (XXII) to the Gate del popolo, (III) lying towards the North; and from the said Mountaine draw a line to the furthest part of the Bridge upon the West side of the Iland of Tyber, this compasse may truly be called Rome, as at this day it is inhabited; for the rest lies wilde, having only ruines, and some scattered Churches and houses, and towards the South, fieldes of corne within the walles. They say, that Romulus did onely build upon three Mountaines, the Palatine, the Capitoline, and the Celian, yet others adde the Esquiline, and that he compassed them with walles, and that he built the Gate Carmentalis, so called of the mother of Evander, which lies under the Capitoll upon the right hand betweene the rock Tarpeius and the River Tiber, and was also called the cursed-Gate, of the 300 Fabii, which went out of the same to fight, and were all killed in one day. And that he built the Roman Gate lying neere the Mount Pallatine, towards the Amphitheater, called Obelisco, and the Gate Pandana, so called, because it was alwaies open. After, seven Mountaines being inclosed, Rome had eight Gates, and after thirtie foure (as Livy writes), and at last thirtie seven Gates.

At this day the first Gate is called (III) del popolo, lying on the East-side of Tiber towards the North, which of the River was of old called Flumentana, and of the way of Flaminius, to which it did leade, was called Flaminia. The second Gate is called (V) Pinciana, of a Senator of that name, and of old was called Collatina of a Pallace adjoyning, and it is a mile distant from the former Gate. The third Gate is called (VI) la Salaria, of salt brought in that way, and was of old called Quirinalis, of the Temple, or the Mountaine adjoyning of the same name, and also called Agona of a Mountaine, or as having no corner; and also called Collina of a Hill, and it is lesse then a mile distant from the last named.
Gate. The fourth Gate is called (VII) la Pia, of Pope Pius the fourth, who repaired it, and the way without it, and it is more then halfe a mile distant from the last named Gate. At this day it is many times called Saint Agnese of a Church lying neere it. And it was of old called Viminalis of Oseyres growing there, and also called Figulensis of Potters dwelling there, and also called of old Numentina of a Castle. I will omit the Gate, of old called Inter Aggeres, because almost no ruines therof remaine at this day. The fifth Gate is called (VIII) di S. Lorenzo of the Church neere it. It was of old called Tiburtina (though others think that Gate was neerer to Tyber on this side) and Esquilina of a place neere it, and Taurina of a bulles head which still is graven upon it; and it is a mile and a halfe distant from the last named Gate. The sixth Gate is called (IX) Maggiore, and was of old called Nevia, and Labicana, and Prænestina. The seventh is called (X) di S. Giovanni, and it was of old called Cælimontana of a Mountaine, and Quircotulana of an Oake, and Settimia, and Asinaria. The eighth is called (XI) Latina of Latium to which it leads, and was of old called Firentina, and is more then a mile distant from the seventh Gate. The ninth from the eighth more then halfe a mile distant, is called (XII) di S. Sebastiano, of the Church to which it leads, and was of old called Capena of the Citie or River of that name; and also Camena of a Church, and Appia of the way which Appius the Censor paved, and Fontinale of the Fountaines; and some write it was called Trionfale for part of the Triumphes that did enter there. And the brother of the Horatii escaping in the fight against the brothers Curiatii, did returne at this Gate: without the same is the Sepulcher of Scipio the Africane, whereof I spake describing Linternum neere Naples (where he would be buried, farre from his ungratefull Countrey). The tenth Gate is called (XIII) di S. Paolo of the Church whither it leads, and was of old called Trigemina of the 3 Horatii going out there, and called Ostiensis, as leading to Ostia where
The description of Rome
Tyber runs into the Sea, and it is a mile from the twelfth Gate, and as much distant from the River Tyber. The eleventh Gate lies on the West side of Tyber, in that part of the Citie which I said is called (II) Trastevere, and is distant from Tyber halfe a quarter of a mile, being called (XIII) di ripa, and was of old called Portuensis, as leading to the Haven of Rome, made by the Emperor Claudius. The twelfth Gate almost a mile distant from the former, is called (XV) di S. Pancratio, and of old was called Aurelia of Aurelius the Emperor, or of the way Aurelia, and of others called Pancratiana, and it lieth neere the Mountaine Janiculo. The thirteenth Gate halfe a mile distant from the former, is called (XVI) Settimiana, of the Emperor Settimius, whose name is engraven upon it, & it was repaired by Pope Alexander the sixth. Some think this Gate was called Fontinale, others Festinale, and it is the last Gate in Trastevere. The fourteenth Gate is called (XVII) di S. Spirito and it is the first in that part of the Citie called (I) Borgo. The fifteenth gate is called in the map (XVIII) Fornacum, but I find it called by Writers del Torrone, and Posterula, and to be repaired by Pope Nicholas the fifth. The sixteenth Gate is called (XIX) la Portusa, being neere to the Popes stables. The seventeenth is called (XX) di Belvedere, lying neere the Popes Pallace and (3) Garden, and it is called in some Mapps Angelica, and by others Giulia, of the Pope Giulius. The eighteenth is called (XXI) di S. Angelo, and del Castello, of the Castle S. Angelo, and it was of old called Enca, and more lately di Cenello. I passe over the Gate called of old la Trionfante, where the greatest triumphs did enter, because no ruines remaine thereof, but onely it is said to have bin seated neere the Triumphant Bridge. (XXXVI)

It remaines to speake of the waies leading to Rome, which I will note with the letters of the Gates leading to them. And first I will onely name the wayes that are within the walles.

The first la Suburra begins at the Amphitheater, called
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The waies within the walls.

Coliseo (20), and leads to the Church Saint Lucia in Orsia. The second la Sacra, lies from the Arch of Constantine (21) to the Arch of Vespasian (22), through Forum Romanum (23), to the Capitol (XXII.) The third la Nuova, did leade from the greater Pallace in Mount Palatine (XXIII) to the Bath of Antonius in Mount Aventine (XXIII). The fourth la Trionfale, did leade from the Mount Vaticano (XXIX), to the Capitol in the Mount (XXII) Capitolino. The fifth la via retta, was in the Campius Martius, where is la colonna di Trajano (10).

Leander names

29. waies.

Leander The Frier Leander describing Rome, nameth twentie nine waies within and without the walles, namely, 1. Appia. 2. Latina. 3. Labicana. 4. Campana. 5. Prenestina. 6. Cumana. 7. Flaminia. 8. Cassia. 9. Tiburtina. 10. Collatina. 11. Nomentana. 12. Salaria. 13. Emilia. 14. Portuesen. 15. Cornelia. 16. Claudia. 17. Valeria. 18. Ostiensis. 19. Laurentina. 20. Ardeatina. 21. Gallica. 22. Tiberina. 23. Settimia. 24. Quintia. 25. Gallicana. 26. Triumphalis. 27. Praetoriana. 28. Laticulesen. 29. Aureliana. And upon these waies hee relates many stately Pallaces built out of the Citie. Now I will note the waies without the Gates by the same letters, by which I have noted the Gates leading to them. Among these the most famous is the way of Appius, called the Queene of waies, most part of the chiefe Triumphes entring that way. It begins at the Gate of Saint (XII) Sebastian, and is paved to Capua, and then devided into two waies, that on the left hand leading to Brundusium, and that on the right hand leading to Pozzoli and to Cuma, having stately Pallaces on all sides, and it hath the name of Appius Claudius the Censor. In this way two miles from the Citie the Romans built a Temple, in memory of Hannibal, who incamping there, was forced to raise his siege with disgrace. The way of Flaminius is no lesse famous, which lies from the Pillar of Antoninus (II) to the Gate (III) del popolo, and did leade to Rimini upon the Adriatique Sea, and part of it was called Quincia, and
it was joyned with the way called Claudia, and of old was called the large way. Where the way of Flaminian endes, there begins the way Æmilia, made by his fellow Consul Æmilius Lepidus, leading to Bologna, and paved to the very Alpes. Yet there is another way of the same name neere Pisa. The way Collatina is without the Gate (V) Pinciana; the way Salaria without the Gate (VI) Salaria; the way Tiburtina without the Gate (VIII) Saint Lorenzo, the way Prænestina without the Gate (IX) Maggiore, on the left hand or East-side; and the way Labicana on the right hand or South-side of the same Gate. In the way Prænestina is the stately Conduit, or Aqueduct of Pope Sixtus Quintus, extending it selfe many miles upon the next Plaine, where lie the ruines no lesse wonderfull, whereof I spake in my journey from Rome to Naples. To conclude, the way Latina is without the Gate (XI) Latina; the way Ostiensis without the Gate Saint (XIII) Paolo; the way Aurelia without the Gate (XV) Saint Pancratio; which (if I be not deceived) was called also the way Vitelia, paved from the Mount Janiculus to the Sea. But who would not wonder, that from the Gate (XIX) Portusa, the way should leade into the Valley of Hell (for so it is called), close to the holy Seate of the Popes.

Rome was of old called Septicollis, of seven Hilles, or little Mountaines contained within the walles, namely Capitolinus, Palatinus, Aventinus, Celius, Esquilinus, Viminalis, and Quirinalis. Hereof the first and chiefe is (XXII) Capitolinus, of old called Saturnius, of the Citie Saturnia, and Tarpeius of the Virgin Terpeia, which betraying her Countrey to the Sabines, giving them entrance at that place, was for reward there killed by them. And at last in the raigne of Tarquin the proud, it was called Capitolinus of a head digged out of the ground. At this day it is vulgarly called Il Capidoglio. It is divided into two parts, namely, the Capitolium, and the Rocke Tarpeius, lying on the North side of the hil. And it had sixty Churches, wherof the chiefe was of old
dedicated Jovi Optimo Maximo, where the Triumphers used to give thanks for victory, and to offer rich spoiles to Jupiter. And it was adorned with the stately building of the Capitolium, and with many stately Palaces of noble men. The second Mount is called (XXIII) Palatinus, of Palantus, Grand-father to Evander, (among many divers opinions following Virgil). At this day it is vulgarly called Palazzo Maggiore, and it is a mile in circuit, but is not at all inhabited. And upon the side lying towards the Circus, they shew a little house in the place where Romulus dwelt, only preserved in memory of him. And upon this Mount Catilina and Catullus and Cicero did dwell. The third mountaine was called (XXIII) Aventinus, of birds, by whose flight they used Aventinus to prophecy, or of the King Aventinus. And it was of old called Romorio, of a place in the top, where they observed the flight of the birds, and it hath two miles in compass. The fourth Mount is (XXV) Celius, of Celius King of Hetruria, and was of old called Querquetulanus, of a Wood of Oakes. And a little Mountaine being part of it, is vulgarly called Celiolus, where I shall shew the Church of Saint John the Evangelist to bee seated. Upon this Mountaine was the house of Scipio the Africane, neere the Church of Saint George. The fifth Mountaine was called (XXVI) Esquilinus, or Esquiliae, of the guard of the Pretorian soldiars, or of the fragments of meate cast there to feede hawkes. It reacheth from the Market-place of Trajan, to the Baths of Dioclesian, and the Gate of S. Lorenzo, and the monument of Marius, vulgarly called I Trofei. And at this day it is called Cespius, and they say, that Virgil dwelt upon this Mountaine. The sixth Mount was called (XXVII) Viminalis, being long and narrow, and some say it is part of the Mount Esquiline, but all writers generally reckon it among the seven hills, and it had the name of the Church of Jupiter Viminius, so called of the Oseyers growing there, and they say Marcus Crassus dwelt upon this Mountaine. The seventh Mount was
called (XXVIII) Quirinalis of the Quirites, or Senators dwelling there, or of the Speare of Juno, and it was also called Egonus. At this day it is vulgarly called Monte Cavallo. There be two other Mountaines beyond the Tyber, which are seated in Toscany, not in Latium; for Leander makes all the places most neere to Rome on this side to belong to Hetruria. The first of these Mountes is called (XXIX) Vaticanus, of the crying of an infant, or of a god of that name, as Gellius writes, which god was the god of prophecies. Pope Leo the fourth compassed this Hill and the next field with walles, and called it Leonina, but at this day it is called Il Borgo. The other Mount beyond Tyber was called (XXX) Janiculus of Janus dwelling and buried there, and is now vulgarly called Mortorio. Within the walls of Rome there bee some other Hills or little Mountaines, but lesse famous. The first is called (XXXI) Pincius, and vulgarly de li hortuli, reaching to the Gate Salaria. The second was called (XXXII) Citorius, and of old Citatorius of the Tribes descending from thence to chuse Magistrates, as those that were sutors to be Magistrates descended from the Mount Pincius, and went into Campus Martius. The third Mount lesse and more obscure, is called (XXXIII) Jordanus, of the family Orsini, who at this day have their Pallaces upon it. The fourth Mount lesse and obscure is called (XXXIII) Testaceus, of earthen pots, for the Potters of old dwelt there, and the images and vessels of the Temples were for the most part of earth. And when the dead bodies were burned, the ashes were laied up in these vessels, whereupon a heape grew to a Hill, and a Hill to a Mount. Many doe falsely thinke, that it had the name of such vessels, in which tribute was brought to Rome, and then the vessels were broken here.

Of old eight bridges were built over Tyber, among which is reckoned Pons Milvius, vulgarly Ponte Mole, without the gate (III) Del popolo more then a mile distant from Rome, and neere this bridge Constantine the Great, under the signe of the Crosse did overcome the
tyrant Maxentius. Also this bridge was famous for the night lusts of Nero. The second bridge is called (XXXV) di Castel' Sant' Angelo, and it was of old called Elius, of the Emperour Elius Adrianus, who built it; but Pope Nicholas the fifth built it as now it stands, and set upon it the Image of Saint Peter with his keyes, and of Saint Paul with his sword. The third bridge is called (XXXVI) Vaticanus, as leading to that Mount, and was also of old called Triumphalis, of the Triumphes passing upon it, and it was not lawfull for the Countrey people to enter that way, but at this day onely the ruines thereof are scene. The fourth bridge is called (XXXVII) Ponte-Sisto of Pope Sixtus the fourth, who repaired it. It was of old called Janiculensis of that Mount, and Aurelius of the way of that name, and it was built of marble by Antoninus Pius, and after being decailed, was long called Ponte Rotto, that is, the broken bridge, till the said Pope repaired it in the yeere 1475. and it is two hundred and fifteene foot broad, and is built upon three Arches of stone. The fifth bridge joining Rome and the Iland, and next to the Capitolium, is called (XXXVIII) Ponte di quattro Capi, and was of old called Tarpeius, of the Rocke Tarpeia, which is in the Mount Capitolino, and was called Fabricius of the repairer, and it is seventy foot long, and hath but one Arch of stone. The sixth bridge of a Church neere it is called (XXXIX) di S. Maria Ægittia, and was of old called Senatorius and Palatinus, and it is somewhat longer then the bridge Sisto. The seventh bridge of a Church neere it is called (XL) di S. Bartolomeo, and it is opposite to the fifth bridge, and joineth the Iland with that part of Rome called Trastevere, and of old it was called Esquillinus, and Cestius, and it is sixty foot long, having but one Arch of stone. The eight bridge at the foot of the Mount Aventine, was of old called (XL) Sublicius, because it was built of wood, in the warre with the Tuscanes, that it might be more easily broken and repaired. And we read that the Tuscanes being Victors, had taken Rome, if Horatius Cocles had not defended

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the bridge, till it was broken downe behind him, which done, he saved himselfe by swimming. After that Emilius Lepidus built this bridge of stone, and called it Emilius; and when it was broken with floods, first the Emperour Tyberius repaired it, and then Antoninus Pius built it very high of marble, & condemned men were cast from it into the water. This bridge being the first that was built over Tyber, now is not to be seen by any ruins.

Rome by the great power of the Emperours, and since of the Popes, hath beene long most famous, and was first built in Latium upon Tyber, fifteene miles from the Tyrrhene sea, (as the Greekes write) by Ascanius, Eurilantes, Romulus, and Remus, Nephewes to Æneas, or (as other Greekes write) by the Achivi, or (as other Greekes write) by the sonnes of Roma, a woman of Troy, married to the Latine King of the Aborigenes, which sonnes were Romulus and Remus, or (as Xenagoras writes) by the sonne of Ulisses by Circe, to omit many other opinions of the Greekes. The Latine Historians doe no lesse vary. Some say it was built by the sonnes of Æneas, namely, Romulus and Remus. Others say that Ascanius built Alba, and Remus built Capua, and Romulus built Janiculum, after called Rome. But I omit these divers opinions, and will follow Leander the Fryar, who saith that Roma the daughter of the King in Italy, built Rome the same yeere that Moses was borne. And when the City had beene long forsaken, for the unwholsome ayre of the Fennes adjoining, that Evander comming from Arcadia into Italy, seated himselfe upon the Mount Palatine, and built a City called Palantium, of his City in Arcadia, and he being dead, that Hercules comming with an Army, left some of his consorts here, who built upon the Mount of Saturnius, after called Capitolinus. Before the destruction of Troy, for the unwholsome aire, Rome being againe forsaken, that the Albani began to dwell there in Cottages, and feed their flockes there. For by the continuall overflowings of Tyber, the field was
made fenny, and the aire unwholsome; but Historians write that upon sacrifices made to God Vertuno, these Fennes by little and little were dried up. Hee addes that Amulius tooke the Kingdome of the Albani from his brother Numitor, whose daughter Rhea a Vestall Virgin being great with child by Amulius, Mars, or any other, brought forth Romulus and Remus, and Amulius left them by Tyber to perish in the waters, but a shee wolfe fed them, and after Faustulus overseer of al the flocks and cattell of Amulius, tooke them home, who comming to ripe yeeres killed Amulius, and restored their Grandfather Numitor to his Kingdome: but themselves being desirous to build a City upon the Mount Palatine, at the foote whereof they had been cast out, Romulus drew with a plow the circuit of the Citie, of a quadrangular forme, in the 430. yeere after the destruction of Troy, and in the yeere of the World 3211. He gave Mount Celius to be inhabited by Celius King of Toscany, aiding him against the Sabines, and then taking by force the Sabine weomen, and they making peace betweene them, he gave to Tatius and his Sabines for their dwelling the Mountaines Capitolinus and Quirinalis, and to his brother Remus the Mount Aventinus, and kept for himselfe and his men the Mountaines Palatinus and Esquilinus, till the rest being dead, himselfe alone became Lord of all. The seven rockes were of old called seven hils, having a pleasant plaine betweene them and Tyber: and this circuit is in forme of a bent bowe, the Tyber standing for the string. Romulus made the City four square, but he being dead, Ancus Martius inclosed the Mount Janiculus beyond Tyber, and Servius inclosed other Mounts on this side of the Tyber. Six Kings raigned two hundred forty three yeeres in Rome, and Torquine being banished, it became a popular State, wherein Consuls yeerely chosen did governe, and eight hundred eighty seven Consuls, in four hundred sixty four yeeres, by forty three battels obtained the Empire almost of the whole world. In the meane time the Decemviri (that
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is tenne men) ruled for two yeeres, and the Tribunes for Military affaires, having Consular power, ruled forty three yeeres, and in the time of any difficult warre, a Dictator was chosen, who with absolute power ruled till that businesse was ended, and there were no Magistrates for foure yeeres. At last Julius Cæsar with the title of perpetuall Dictator, invaded the Empire, which being after divided into the Orientall and Occidentall Empire, and the Occidentall being destroied by the incursions of barberous Nations, the Bishops of Rome by little and little cast their Orientall Lords out of Italy, and erected a new Occidentall Empire in France, that they might invade the power of the Roman Emperors, and of the heavenly jurisdiction upon earth, under pretext of Religion, by a new monster of a Roman wit, drawne from the supremacy of the Apostle Saint Peter.

Pliny in his time makes the circuit of Rome twenty miles, and Vopiscus in the time of the Emperour Aureliius, makes the circuit fifty miles, but he joynted to Rome all the neighbour villages. At this day if you adde to Rome the two parts beyond Tyber, called Trastevere and Borgo, the circuit at the most is fifteene miles, for others say thirteene or fourteene, besides that a very great part of this circuit within the walles is not inhabited: and the walles notwithstanding lie not upon their old foundations, neither are built of that matter, but as it pleased those who repaired them. Among which Belisarius governour of Italy, under the Emperour Justinian, built Rome demolished by the Gothes, and made the circuit of the walles lesse; and Pope Adrian the first, a Roman, the wals being fallen, built them as now they stand, and many of his successours have since added new ornaments to decayed Rome. But the old wals (as appeares by some ruines) were built of foure square stone, the rest are of divers building, as it pleased the repairers, and have a bricke gallery to walke upon, under which men may stand dry when it raines; and they being ready to fal with age, have many round Towers, which in like sort are ready
to fall. Rome at this day is troubled with the old over-
flowings of Tyber, by reason of the Tybers narrow bed,
not able to receive the waters, falling suddenly from neere
mountaines, after great raine or melting of snow. For
memory whereof, these inscriptions are upon the walls
of the Church of Saint Mary supra Minerva. In the
yeere 1530. (if I be not deceived; for the first words
are raced out) the Ides of October, Clement the seventh
being Pope.

Huc Tyber ascendit, jamque obruta tota fuisset
Roma, nisi celerem virgo tulisset opem:
Thus farre came Tyber, and all Rome had drown'd,
Had we not from the Virgin, swift helpe found.
And there in another place this verse is written, in the
yeere MVD.

Extulit huc tumidas turbidus Amnis aquas.
Thus farre this muddy brookes water did swell.

In each place is a red marke upon the walls how high
the water ascended, by which it appeares, marking the
seat of the Church, that all the plaine was overflowed
betweene it and the Tyber. By reason of these flouds,
and for that the City is built upon the caves of old Rome,
(which makes the foundations to be laid with great charge)
and also by reason of the vapours rising from the Baths,
the aire of Rome is at this day unwholsome. The Romans
drinke raine water, and the troubled waters of Tyber,
kept in Cesternes, and they bragge that it is proper to
the water of Tyber, the longer it is kept to grow more
pure. Surely strangers doe not like that water, howsoever
the Romans (making a vertue of necessity) doe say that
it was onely made good to drinke at Rome, and no where
els, by the blessing of Pope Gregory the Great.

Now being to describe the antiquities of Rome, I will
first set downe out of order the seven Churches, famous
for the indulgences of Popes, which they say were built
by the Emperour Constantine the Great. Then I will
set downe the rest in due order, as they are seated. And
because I finished in hast the view of Rome in foure
daiies, I will distinguish the Antiquities into foure daiies
journies.

The first day being to visit these seven Churches, by
reason of their distance, and the hast we made, I and
my consorts hired each of us a mule, each man for two
poli, and we never found our errour till the evening,
when we demanding the way of a man of meane sort,
he replied thus with some anger; What doe you ride
to heaven, and we poore wretches goe on foote without
shoocs to visit these holy Churches. By this we found
our errour, and were glad that we had passed that day
without further danger. In generall these Churches are
bare on the Inside, without any pictures, except some
few about the Altars. This day we first rode to the chiefe
Church, (A) di S. Giovanni Laterano, seated upon Mount
Celius, and built by Constantine the Great, in his Pallace,
and it hath a stately Font, in which that Emperour was
baptized; and in the Church there be foure most faire
pillars of brasse. The Church is sustained by foure rowes
of bricke pillars, and there hang certaine banners taken
from the French, and neere the doore the Popes, Sergius
the fourth, and Silvester the second, are buried in low
monuments. In the Church yard are old sepulchers, and
little pillars of marble. Neere to this Church lie those
holy staires, whereof I spake in my journey from Rome
to Naples, when our Italian consorts went to pray for
a happy journey, kneeling without the grates. But they
that will have the grates opened, to pray there, use to
creepe upon their knees from staire to staire, and upon
each staire to say a pater noster, and Ave Maria. These
staires are twenty six in number, divided into three rowes,
and they be of marble, vulgarly called Scale Sante, and
were brought from the house of Pilate in Hierusalem.
It is not safe for him to inquire after relikes, who will
not worship them: yet to satisfie the curious, I will set
downe the chiefe by heare-say. Here they shew a tooth
of Saint Peter, a Cup in which Saint John dranke poyson at the command of Domitian, and had no hurt. The cloth with which Christ dried his Disciples feet, the heads of Peter and Paul, the rodde of Aaron, the Arke of the covenant, the table at which Christ supped; three marble gates of Pilates house, the Image of Christ being twelve yeeres old, with the like. Part of these (they say) were brought from Hierusalem by the Emperour Titus, yet he was no Christian, nor like to regard the monuments of Christ. One Chappell of this Church is called, Sanctum Sanctorum, and is thought to have bee the Chamber of Constantine, neither may any woman enter it. To conclude, the place is shewed here, in which many counsels have bee held, and the Popes long dwelt here, before the Pallace in the Vaticane was built.

The Church of (B) Saint Peter in the Mount Vaticano, joins to the Popes Pallace, they say it was built by Constantine the Great. The Popes have given full remission of sinnes to them that pray here upon certaine daies, and like remission for certaine yeeres sinnes, praying on other daies; and the remission of the third part of all sinnes, praying there upon Saint Peters even. And you must understand that all these Churches have some like indulgences. Here they shew the bodies of Saint Simeon, and Saint Jude the Apostle, and Saint John Chrysostome, and of Pope Saint Gregory the Great: and the head of Saint Andrew and of Saint Luke the Evangelist, and halfe the bodies of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and Christs face printed upon the hand-kercher of Veronica, and the head of the speare thrust into the side of Christ; and among many pillars brought from Hierusalem, one upon which Christ leaned, when he did preach and cast out Divels, which yet hath power (as they say) to cast out Divels. Alwaies understand that in Italy Priests that cast out Divels, are most frequent, neither are they wanting in any place where the Papists can hide their impostures. Great part of these reliques they say were sent by the Turkish Emperour to Pope
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Innocent the eight. But I omit these things, into which none but Papists may safely inquire, and returne to the monuments which lie open to every mans view. The Chappell is most rich in which Gregory the xiii. lies, and the stately sepulcher of Pope Paul the third hath most faire statuaes. The statua of Saint Peter of brasse placed under the Organs, was of old erected to Jupiter Capitolinus. In the Court of the Church (for I cannot call it a Church-yard) the Emperour Otho the second lies buried, in a low sepulcher of Porphyry. There is a most faire Pine apple of brasse, guilded, more then five cubites high, which they say was brought hither from the monument of the Emperour Adrian, in the place where the Castle of Saint Angelo now stands, (as likewise the Peacockes were brought from the Monument of Scipio.)

The third Church of St. Paul is without the (XIII) gate of St. Paul, about a mile from the City, in the way to Ostia, and they say it was built by Constantine, and it stands uppon eighty eight pillars of marble, in foure rowes, each pillar being but one stone, and it is adorned with marble staires, and pictures Alla Mosaica, as if they were engravened, which are onely in the chancell and neere the doore. The Popes have given great indulgences to these Churches, as well as to others. They shew here the bodies of Saint Timothy, Saint Celsus, and Saint Julian, Disciples to Saint Paul, and halfe the bodies of Saint Peter and St. Paul, and a Crucifix which of old spake to Saint Briget, the Queene of Suevia, and many armes and fingers of Saints. Neere this Church is that of Saint Anastatius, where the head of Saint Paul being cut off, made three leapes, and in the place where it fell, they say there sprang up three fountaines, which are there to bee seene.

The fourth Church of Saint (C) Mary Maggiore, is upon the Mount Esquiline: I will omit hence forward the indulgences and relikes, lest I be tedious. This Church is adorned with forty pillars of Marble. The rich Chappell di præsepio, (so called of the cratch in which

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Christ was borne, being kept here) is stately adorned with the pavement engraved, the arched roofe gilded, pictures Alla Mosaica as if they were engraved, the stately sepulcher of Pope Nicholas, and his statua of white marble. The Chappell of Pius Quintus, built for him after his death by Sixtus the fifth, is adorned with the Victory painted in golden letters, which he and his confederates had by sea against Selimus Emperor of the Turkes, and is adorned with statuaes gilded, with foure Angels gilded, and precious stones, together with the rare Art of engravers and Painters.

The fifth Church S. Lorenzo, is without the (VIII) gate of that name, in the way to Tiburtina, something more then a mile from the City, and it is said to be built by Constantine the Great. He that goes to this Church every wednesday in a whole yeere, shall deliver a soule from Purgatory, if the Pope keepe his promise. It is adorned with a Pulpit of white marble, and most faire ophte stones, and at the doore, with a sepulcher of Saint Eustacius, of white marble curiously carved, and another sepulcher opposite to that.

The sixth Church S. Sebastiano, is without the (XII) gate of that name, more then a mile out of the City, in the way of Appius. Here is a place called Catacombe, and there is a well, in which they say the bodies of Saint Paul and Saint Peter did lie unknowne a long time, and here is a way under earth to the Church yard of Calixtus, where they say the Christians lay hid, in the times of persecution; and that there were found 174. thousand which had beene made Martyres, and that eight of these were Bishops of Rome. Here on all sides with amaze-ment I beheld the ruines of old buildings, and the sepulcher of the Emperour Aurelius is not farre from this Church.

The seventh Church (D) di S. Croce in Gierusalem, is seated between the gate Maggiore, & the gate S. Giovanni, upon the Mount Celian or rather Celiolus, being part of it, and it is said that Constantine the Great
built it. Here they shew a little vessell filled with the blood of Christ, and the spunge which they gave him with vinegar upon the crosse, and the title which Pilate writ upon the Crosse, and one of the thirty pence which Judas tooke for betraying Christ. And no woman may enter into the Chappell wherein Helena is said to have praid, but once onely in the yeere upon the twelfth of March. And this Church gives the title to a Cardinall.

The second day we began the view of Rome with the (Q) Popes Pallace, seated in the part of the Citie, called Il Borgo; which Pallace Pope Nicholas the third built, and Nicholas the fifth compassed with walles, and the Pallace is of great circuit, and the staieres are so easie, that Horses and Mules may goe up to the top of the Mountaine, and with easie ascent and descent beare the Popes carriage. At the enterance there be three galleries one above the other, whereof the two first were built by Leo the tenth, and Paul the third, and the third and highest by Sixtus Quintus, and they are all fairely painted and guilded. Upon these lie two large chambers, and beyond them is a vast and long gallery of foure hundred seventie and one walking paces, in the middest whereof is the famous Librarie of the Popes In vaticano; and therein are many inscriptions of the Pope Sixtus Quintus who repaired it, and it is adorned with many faire pictures guilded all over. I did see the severall roomes thereof. The first one hundred fortie and seven walking paces long, had three rowes of Cubbards filled with bookes: the second was thirtie nine paces long; and the third containing the booke of greatest price locked up, was twentie paces long. Pope Sixtus the fourth built this Librarie, with the Chappell of the Pallace, and the Conclave. The wall of the Chappell shineth like a glasse with precious stones: where the Pope Sixtus Quintus commanded Michael Angelo to paint the day of Judgement, and the common report is, that this Pope promised this famous Painter, that he would not come into the Chappell, till he had finished his worke; yet by some Cardinals

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persuasions that he broke his promise, and that the Painter thereupon made the pictures of the Pope and the Cardinals in hell amongst the Divels, so lively as every man might know them. Betweene this Chappell and the Conclave, (where they chuse the Popes) lies a Kingly Gallery, not unworthily called vulgarly Sala Regia, (which others call Sala del Conclave). The wall of this Gallery in like sort shineth with pretious stones, and the pavement is of pretious marble, the arched roofe all guilded, and at the upper end I wondred to see the Massacre of Paris painted upon the wall, with the Popes inscription greatly commending that detestable cruelty. At the same upper end the foresaid Chappell (as you come up) lies on the left hand, and the Conclave on the right hand; in which Conclave the Cardinals meete to chuse the Pope, devided into severall roomes, but meeting at a common table, and when they have chosen him, they leade him into a Chappell at the lower end, and neere the dore of the said Kingly Gallery, and place him there upon a hollow seate of Marble. I know not whether this be the chaire, in which the sex of the Pope is tried, but I am sure it is hollow, with a hole in the bottom. After they put a Banner out of a high window, and there make knowne to the people the name that the Pope hath chosen, and then his armes are hung up round about. This Chappell at the lower end of the said Gallery, hath the name of Pope Paul the third, of the Family of Farnese, and it is little, and of a round forme (as I remember), but it is beautifull beyond imagination. The images of the Apostles seeme to bee of silver, and Paradice painted upon the arched roofe, with Angels flying, being the worke of Michael Angelo, seemed to me admirable. Upon the other side of the said Library is the private Gallery of the Pope, looking into the Garden (3) Belvedere, which is seated upon the side of the Mount Vatican, where Pope Innocent the eights built part of the Pallace, and called it Belvedere, of the faire prospect of all Rome subject to the eye. And Pope Julius the second placed in this Garden many very faire statuaes, namely,
of the River Nilus, of the River Tyber, of Romulus and Remus playing with the papps of a shee-Wolfe, all being placed in the open Garden, and a most faire statua of Apollo, another admirable statua of Lycaon with his children, another of the boy Antoninus, whom the Emperour Adrian loved, another of Hercules another of Cupid, another of Venus, another of Cleopatra sleeping with her arme over her face, and bearing a Serpent, being a wonderfull faire statua. And these are all locked up, and not to be scene without favour.

Hence we went to the Castle (4) of Saint Angelo of old called Moles Adriani, for it was the Sepulcher of the Emperour Adrian, upon the top whereof was the Pine apple of brasse, which before I said was since placed in the open Court-yard of Saint Peters Church. This Sepulcher of Adrian called Moles (B) was demolished by Belisarius, in the warre of the Goathes, upon the ruines whereof Pope Boniface the eight built this Castle, and Pope Alexander the sixth compassed it with walles and ditches, and placed therein a guard of Souldiers, and built from this Castle to the Popes Pallace an open and a close gallery, by which upon any tumult, the Pope may passe safely from his Pallace to the Castle. And after Pope Paul the third built very faire chambers in this Castle. On the outside is the statua of Pope Pius the fourth, and within is the statua of Paul the third, upon which these verses are written of the Emperour Charles the fifth comming to Rome.

E Lybia venit Romanas victor ad arces
Caesar, & in niveis aureus ivit Equis.
Ille triumphavit, sed tu plus Paule triumphas,
Victor namque tuis oscula dat pedibus.

With victory to Rome from Affrick came
Caesar, on milke white Horses, golden all.
He Triumph'd, Paul thy triumph hath more fame,
This Conquerour to kisse thy feete did fall.
In this Castle they shew the head of Adrian, the statua of Saint Peter, a bunch of Grapes of brasse, the place where the Cardinall Caietan escaped out of prison, and a Trap-doore where prisoners are let downe into a dungeon. The chambers are built in a circle round about the great chamber in the middest, which is called Sala regia, and without is a round Garden within the walles, and upon the top of the Castle, in the place of the said Pine-apple, is the statua of the Angell Michael, of which the Castle hath the name. The medowes of Quintis Cincinates lie neere this Castle.

In the (5) Market place or field before the Church of Saint Peter, (where of old was Metonianus Circus), Sixtus Quintus adorning Rome with many ornaments, erected an Obeliske seventie two foote high, upon the top whereof the ashes of Julius Cæsar were put of old: but in the yeere 1586 this Pope consecrated the same to the Crosse, and put upon the top of it a Crosse guilded, and beneath foure Lions guilded. This Obeliske is vulgarly called La Guglia di S. Pietro. The globe, in which the ashes of Julius Cæsar were put, is now shewed in the Capitoll, and in the place thereof stands the said Crosse, with the Armes of the said Pope.

In this part of the Citie called Il Borgo, and in the very Market-place before Saint Peters Church, is another Church called Saint Marie In Campo Santo, because the yard thereof is all of earth brought from Hierusalem, wherein all strangers are buried, and they say, there bodies are consumed in three dayes. Neere that lies the Church of Saint Spirito (called also Sassia of the Saxons that of old dwelled there), and this is an Hospitall for the sicke, and for Orphanes, the rent whereof is said to have been each day seven thousand Crownes, till Pope Sixtus Quintus did alien great part thereof to other uses, and still of the surplusage at the yeeres ende, many Orphen Virgins are married. The Chappell of Saint Angelo lies close to the Castle, and was built by the Pope, who singing the Leteny there in the time of a great plague, made the
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Romans believe, that he did see Michael the Angell putting up a blody sword in the sheath, and hereof the Castle hath the name. And it is a Schoole, or Fraternitie of Gentlemen, like to our Companies in London. The Church of Saint Ægidius the Abbot, hath great concourse to it in the moneth of September, when Agues raigne in Rome; for this Saint is the Patron for Agues.

From hence we went out of (II) Borgo by the Gate Saint Spirito, and entered the second part of Rome Trastevere, by the Gate (XVI) Settimiana, where under the Church of Saint Peter Montorio, is the Naumachia of Nero, that is a place to represent Nauall fights, and neere it is the like of Julius Cæsar. From this Church, to the Church Saint Honorio, is a Plaine, wherein was the large and long Circus or Theater of Julius Cæsar. In this part of the Citie the Church of Saint Cecilia gives the title of a Cardinall, and so doth the Church of Saint Grisogona. The said Church of Saint Mary in this part of the City, is the same which the old Romans called Taberna Meritoria, where they shew a Fountaine, whence (they say) that oyle did flow abundantly, and runne towards Tiber, the same night when Christ was borne; and this Church also gives the title of a Cardinall, and the old Romans called it Taberna Meritoria, of the souldiers nourished there, after they were past service by age or wounds. This Church of Saint Peter is seated upon the Mount Janiculus, in which there is a stately Monument erected by Pope Julius the third, to his uncle the Cardinall di Monte. The Church of Saint Pancratius hath many stones of porphry, and gives the title of a Cardinall, and the Friars of Saint Ambrose dwell in this Monastery. The Church Saint Honorio is a Monastery, and gives the title of a Cardinall. Neere the gate called Ripa, was of old the Romans Armory, of great circuit, lying upon the Tyber, the vast ruines whereof yet remaine, and the people of Rome serving for more then two hundred yeeres in the warres without any pay, was wont here to take Armes at their going forth, and here
to lay them up at their returne. And neere this place lie the meadowes, given by the people of Rome to Mucius Scaevola, for his valiant behaviour with King Porsena.

Hence turning to the left hand, we came to the (III) Island of Tyber, in which the Church of S. Bartholomew (of old consecrated to Æsculapius) is adorned with 4 stately pillars of porphry, it gives the title to a Cardinall. At the foot of the bridge (XXXIX) S. Maria, as you come out of the Island and enter into Rome, is the ruined house of Pontius Pilate, and opposite to that is the most ancient Church consecrated to the Moone, and upon the other side another to the Sunne. Here also is the Theater of Marcellus, and the porch of Mercury.

Not farre thence is a marble head, called Bocca della verita, that is, the mouth of truth, of a woman (as I remember) falsifying her oath, and bewraied thereby; but others say it is the Idoll of Rhea. Here also is the Church of Saint Mary, called the Greek Schoole, in which Saint Augustine is said to have taught, but it is shut up. At the foot of Mount Aventine, (where the Jewes use to fish) if you looke backe, you shall see the ruines of the old bridge Sublicius (XLI.) Thence going to the gate of Saint Paul, among vines, you shall see the ruines of one hundred and forty garners for corne, built of old by the Romans. In the pleasant meadow wherein the (XXXIII) mount Testaceus lies, the Romans were wont of old to keepe their Olimpike games. The sepulcher of (6) Caius Cestius is most ancient, rising in a pyramis, and the inscription shews it was built in three hundred and thirty daies, which the common sort falsly thinkes to be the Monument of Romulus. This monument of stone is compassed with wals, and it hath an inscription in great letters, but raced out. Some also thinke that it is the monument of Publius Sestius. From the gate of Saint Paul we returned into the City, and under the Church of Saint Gregory, where Laundresses continually wash, they say that of old the (7) Circus Maximus, (or greatest Theater) did lie betweene the Mount Palatine.
and the Mount Aventine, being more then a quarter of a mile long, and halfe a quarter broad, which was built by Tarquinius Priscus for the hunting of Buls, and running of Horses, and after was inlarged by Julius Cæsar and other Emperours, so as it received 260 thousand beholders, being adorned with pillars and commodious seates, and at this day the place is called Cerchi. Neere this place were of late three rowes of pillars, one above the other; and this monument is called Il Setti zonio di Severo, of seven souldiers engraved thereupon, and is thought to be the sepulcher of Septtimius Severus, but the Pope Sixtus the fifth pulled it downe. Neere this place uppon (XXIII) Mount Aventine lie the Bathes halfe ruined of Antonius Caracalla, built of bricke, the large chambers whereof, almost innumerable, are of exceeding height, having many stones and pillars of marble, whereby it appeares to have beene a most stately work. The (8) church of S. Stephano Orotando, seated in mount Celius, gives the title of a Cardinall, and is possessed by Fryars of Hungary, and it was a Heathen Church of Faunus. There lie old and high wals, said to have beene part of the conduit bringing water to the Capitoll. I have before spoken of the Church of (A) Saint John Lateran, being one of the seven Churches, and of Constantines Font therein, and of the Chappel called Holy of Holies, and of the holy staires. I wil adde that here is an Obeliske, called la Guglia, of old consecrated to the Sunne, and brought out of Egypt, which Julius Cæsar, or Augustus, did direct in the Circus Maximus, but Pope Sixtus the fifth brought it hither, in the fourth yeere of his Popedome, and the yeere of our Lord 1588. and consecrating it to the Crosse, set a guilded crosse upon the top of it. This Obeliske, if it were of one stone, were to be preferred to that of Saint Peter, neere the Popes Pallace, for otherwise it is higher and more curiously carv’d. I have spoken before of the Church (D) S. Croce in Gierusalem, being one of the seven Churches, seated neere the gate Maggiore. At the
gate of this Church they shew a place where the whores keepe a feast upon the twenty of August, and there of old was the Temple of Venus. The Theater of bricke which is in this Church, they say was built by Statilius Taurus. Hence returning into the City, we passed by a place, where of old was a monument called Trofei di Mario, erected to Caius Marius, triumphing upon Jugurtha and the Cymbri, and they say that the ruins thereof were admirable, but now it is all defaced. Neere the staires of the Capitoll, they shew a ruinous heape, which some say, was this monument of Marius. Passing towards the Capitoll, we did see a Triumphall Arch erected to Galienus, which of the Church adjoining is called the Arch of Saint Vito, and it is little perished with age.

Concerning the Churches lying from the Capitoll to the south parts of Rome: The Church of Saint Anastatia, that of Saint Mary In portico (of old dedicated by the Heathens to Pudicitia), that of Saint John, that of Saint Paul upon mount Celius, that of Saint Mary In Dominica, that of Saint Sistus, that of Saint Sabina upon Mount Aventine (in which they shew a stone cast by the Divell at the head of Saint Dominicke, and broken by miracle,) that of Saint Prisca (of old dedicated to Hercules) that of Saint Balbina upon Mount Aventine, that of Saint John at the gate Latina (where it is said Domitian cast Saint John into boyling oyle, but he escaped without hurt), that of Saint Mary in Via, without the gate of Saint Paul, towards Ostia, all these Churches give titles to Cardinals. Neere the Church of Saint Alexius, is a palme tree, whereof I remember not to have seene any other at Rome. In the Church of Saint Sava the Abbot, neere the other upon Mount Aventine, be the sepulchers of the Emperours Vespasian and Titus his son, of white marble, and the Altar hath two pillars of porphery.

The third day we began our view of Rome, at the (10) pillar of the Emperor Trajan, erected to him making warre against the Parthians, which he never saw, dying in his returne. It is seated in a little market place, and
was consecrated by Pope Sixtus the fifth to Saint Peter, whose Image of brasse gilded over, is set upon the top thereof, with this inscription in Latin; Sixtus the fifth dedicated it to Saint Peter, the third yeere of his Pope-dome. The victories and actions of Trajan are ingraven upon it, and his ashes were of old placed in the top, and here also was the horse of Trajan. This pillar is said to be one hundred twenty three foote high, and it hath within, two hundred twenty three staires to the top, and forty foure windowes to let in light. Hence we turned towards the City, and came to (ii) Campus Martius, neere the hill Citorius, which now is called piazza Colonna, of the pillar of Antoninus Pius there erected, which Pope Sixtus the fifth dedicated to Saint Paul, setting his Image on the top, and it hath about one hundred and seventy staires to ascend, and fifty sixe windowes, and the outside is curiously engraven with the actions of Antoninus. The foresaid Campus Martius was the field of Tarquin the proud, which the people of Rome dedicated to Mars, for military exercises. Neere the Church of Saint Mary liberatrice dalle pene d' Inferno, seated in Forum Romanum, and neere the (23) Arch of Settimius was of old the Temple of Vesta, where her Virgines kept the sacred fier, and the Image of Minerva, and being convicted of unchastity, were led out of the gate Salaria with silence, and were buried alive, in a place there called Campus Sceleratus, being left or buried in a cave with a candle lighted, and water and milke. Neere this Church are most high pillars of the ruines of a marble gallery, which Caligula built from the Capitoll to the Mount Palatine. The (12) Church of S. Mary Sopra la Minerva, is so called, for being of old consecrated to Minerva, and it gives the title of a Cardinall. Behind the Altar, is the statua of Pope Leo the tenth, and neere it another of Clement the seventh, both of white marble; and another of Paul the fourth of brasse. In this Church I did see the most proud procession of the Pope, and there was such a presse to kisse his feet, as I had almost
beene carried by force to kisse them, or undergoe capittall
danger by refusall. The Church of (13) Saint Mary
Rotonda, was of old called Pantheon, and the building
is most ancient and magnificent, being round in forme,
& having no window, but all the light comming from
the open rooffe, whence the water falling is conveyed under
the pavement, and it is about seventy walking paces large
every way. The porch is borne up with fiftene marble
pillars, each pillar being of one stone, and all of admirable
beauty and bignes. The doore is of brasse, the walls of
brick, with the inside covered with precious stones, and
the pavement is of marble and porphery. Marcus
Agrippa sonne in law to Augustus built this Church, and
dedicated it to Jupiter the Revenger, and to Ceres, and
to all the gods, whereupon it was called Pantheon. Not
farre thence are the ruines of the Bath of Agrippa, in a
place called Ciambella, and neere the Church of Saint
Eustace, great ruines of the Baths of Nero are yet remain-
ing. The place of old called (14) Circus Agonius, is now
called la piazza Navona, and it is the largest market place
of Rome, wherein markets are kept every wednesday.
The Romans used it to see plaies and games of old, being
a large place, yet of greater length then bredth. Here
lies the Spaniards Church Saint Jacobo, and many of that
Nation dwell there; who upon Easter even, and upon
festival times of their owne Nation, use to make fier-
workes there, with many other solemne games. It hath
three fountaines, but the building is poore. At one end
of this market place, in a corner of a street opposite to
a publike Pallace, is the statua of Pasquin, upon a wall
of a private house, which hath neither armes nor feet, they
being cut off by passengers in the night. For all libels,
even against the Pope himselfe, use to be made in forme
of a dialogue, and fastened upon this statua of Pasquine,
and another of Marforio (whereof I shall speake after)
they two bearing the persons one of the question maker,
the other of the answerer. Neere the Church of (15)
Saint Mary de la Consolatione, as we came backe into
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the City, our guide shewed us a place, where the house of Ovid did stand. Concerning the Churches lying about the Mount Capitoline; that of Saint Mary In Acquiro, seated in the market place vulgarly piazza Crapanella, gives the title of a Cardinall. In the same market place is the monastery and Church of the Jesuites. The Church of Saint Mauro hath a little Obelisk erected. That of Saint Eustace gives the title to a Cardinall. Neere it lies the Church of Saint Lewis proper to the French, (for all Kingdomes and Provinces have their peculiar Churches at Rome.) The Church of Saint Apollinaris, and that of Saint Thomas In parione, and that of Saint Laurence In Damaso and that of Saint Angelo In piscaria (which of old was consecrated to Juno) and that of Saint Nicholas In Carcere, doe all give the titles of Cardinals. The Church and Hospital called Saint Mary del' Anima, is proper to the Dutch Nation. The Church and Hospital of Saint Thomas, vulgarly di S. Tomaso, is built for the English, and is seated neere the (25) Pallace of Farnesi.

The fourth day we began the view of Rome at the Market-place, called (16) la piazza di Fiori, lying in the way from the Iland of Tyber, as you goe to the Bridge of S. Angelo. Here was the house of the harlot Flora, who made the people of Rome her heire, whereupon the Romans to cover her shame, made her the goddesse of flowers, and yeerely kept her birth day upon the third of April, of which feast I shal speak after. This Market-place is seated in the most inhabited place of Rome, among all the chiefe shops of Merchants. And therein the family of Orsini have a Pallace, and neere the same was the Theater of Pompey, & his court or publike house, pulled down because Caesar was therin killed. And from this Market place towards the Iland of Tyber, Iyes the streete of the Jewes. In the way from the Church of the Trinitie, to the Mount Quirinalis, vulgarly called (17) Monte Cavallo, were the famous Gardens of Salustius, and neere that Church was the Naumachia (that is the place to represent Navall fights) called of Augustus. Neere to
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**FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY**

the Church Saint Rocco, lies the (18) Sepulcher of Augustus called Mausoleum, the ruines whereof yet remaine. He built it for himselfe and other Emperours, of a round forme, and adorned it with stones of Marble and Porphery, and like pillers and Obeliskes, placing his owne statua of brasse upon the top, so as they daily dig up goodly Images out of the Cave and Garden neere it. The Pinacle of this Monument Pope Sixtus the fifth removed to the Church Saint Marie Maggiore, and this monument with the Grove planted about it, reached from the Church Saint Rocco, to Saint Marie delpopolo. Neere to the Gate (III) del Popolo lies the said Church of that name, under the Altar whereof the bones of Nero were laid, which, they say, were kept by spirits, till Pope Pascall by revelation from the blessed Virgin had warning to cast the bones into Tiber. Whenssoever the Plague is in Rome, this Church is made one of the seven in the place of Saint Sebastian, with all the indulgences to it belonging, and it alwaies carries that title. Heere bee two faire Sepulchers, whereof one is for a Chauncelor of Millan, the other for Pope Sixtus the fifth sisters sonne, both the worke of Andrew Sansovine. The yard of this Church hath an Obeliske, almost as faire as that neere Saint John Lateran, which Pope Sixtus the fifth also erected. Concerning the Churches from this Gate del popolo, to the (XXII) Mount Capitolino, the Church of Saint Laurence in Lucinia, that of Saint Silvester, that of the holy Apostles, that of Saint Marcello, and that of Saint Marke, doe all give titles to Cardinals. Neere the Church Saint Silvester is the Monastery delle Convertite, that is, of Harlots repenting, and becomming Nunnes. The Church S. Mary de Rione della pigna, is a Monastery di Sante Donne miserabili, that is, of holy miserable women, and neere that is another Monastery delle mal' Maritate, that is, of women unfortunately married and left in want by their husbands. Theforesaid Gate del popolo, was repaired and beautified by Pope Pius the fourth. Neere it lies the most sweete Vineyard
of Pope Julius the third, and his pleasant Fountaine, casting up water two elles high. Not farre thence is a triumphal Arch erected to Domitian, vulgarly called Portogallo. From this gate Del popolo, towards the (V) gate Pinciana, and neere the (17) Church della Trinita, we did see the Pallace of the Florentine Cardinall de Medicis (who from a Cardinal became the Duke of Florence by right of succession). And this Pallace was rich & stately, the staires winding so artificially, as it was a beautiful sight to look in a perpendicular line from the top to the foot, and upon the staires was a faire statua of Apollo. Hence there was a Gallery open on the sides towards the Garden, full of beautifull Images, of Lions, a shee-Wolfe, a Ramme, all of white Marble, with other Images, and very faire pillars. And the first Garden had only flowers; the second in the upper part, had a sweete Grove, and the lower part was full of fruit trees. There was a Fountaine with a brasen Image of Mercurie upon it. Upon a Mount called Pernasso, were many Images of white Marble, of Pegasus, of the Muses, and one of Cleopatra, fairer then that I saw in the Popes Garden, with two Images of Cerberus, and another monster. There were two large Cesternes of Porphery. And in a Chamber were the Images, of a Satyr, a Nimph, and a Gryphon. Lastly, in the Grove were staires paved with carved Marble, with figures of fishes, and there was a most faire statua of Europa sitting upon a Bulles backe. The outside of the Grove was all of Firre trees, which are greene in winter, but the inside had most pleasant walkes among rowes of many other kindes of trees. In this Grove was a most sweete Arbour, having foure roofes, and as it were chambers, one above the other, the first whereof is twenty staires from the ground, whence lay a most large and most faire Gallery of stone, under which was a most pleasant solitarie walke, betweene two Walles, all set with Orange trees, and like fruit.

The large way leading to the Cities Gate Pia, was paved by Pope Pius the fourth, and hath on each side
a pleasant walke, and is also called Pia of the same Pope, as the (VII) Gate is which hee built. Betweene this Gate and the next of (VIII) Saint Laurence was of olde a large Park, in which the people of Rome kept beasts to be hunted. Hence we went towards the Mount Quirinalis, vulgarly (XXVIII) Monte Cavallo, and under the most pleasant Vineyard of the Cardinall of Ferraria, were many Caves and old ruines, and there is a field, where in honour of (16) Flora (as I said formerly describing that Marketplace) the harlots of Rome kept a yeerely feast, and dwelling in the foresaid Caves, used to runne from thence naked into this field, with unspeakable libertie of speech and gesture.

From hence passing a little lane, we ascended to (XXVIII) Monte Cavallo which is so called of two Horses of Marble set there, which they write to have been given to Nero by Mithridates King of Armenia, the one wrought by Phydias, the other by Praxitiles. The common people holdes one of them for Bucephalus, and thinkes that Alexander holdes his bridle, and that they were wrought by the foresaid engravers in emulation one of the other. But the farre different age of Alexander, and the said engravers makes this opinion unprobable. Two men are ingraven, who holde the bridles of the horses, as if they should leade them, and some thinke that they were made for two horses of Diomedes, which did eate mans flesh, and were tamed by Hercules. The Pallace of Nero was neere this Mount, and from thence they shew some ruines thereof. This Pallace (as histories doe witnesse) did reach from Mount Celius to Mount Palatine, and to the furthest part of Mount Esquiline, and it was compassed with a lake, having within the circuit thereof, Meadowes, Vineyards, Woods, and Parkes, and all the house was guilded, and thereupon was called golden; it shined with Ivory, and preitious stones, and the great Hall thereof did move round like the World, casting out flowers and odors. From hence Nero saw Rome burnt with joy, and all this building was burnt in the time of Trajan the Emperour;
and when Nero had finished this house, he said, that he began then first to dwell like a man. Upon this said Mountaine of the Horses, the Pope hath a stately Pallace, which a Cardinall of Ferrara built, and he being dead, Pope Gregorie the thirteenth seased upon it. The staires are very faire, each having his pillar, and the ascent is most easie. I think a fairer Gallerie can hardly be scene, being one hundred and twentie walking paces long. There is a Chamber wherein Pope Sixtus the fifth died. A second wherein Ambassadours are heard. A third in which Cardinals are chosen. The Popes study is very pleasant, and so is the Garden, having many Fountaines, Groves, Labyrinthes, a Rocke artificially distilling water, and many most sweet Arbours. Moreover, on this Mount is the most faire Fountaine of Pope Sixtus the fifth, called the Happie; for hither is the water brought from the stately Conduit without the Gate Maggiore, in the way (IX) Prænestina, reaching many miles, which was built by Pope Sixtus the fifth, with Imperiall magnificence, in the yeere 1587. And this Fountaine casteth out waters from the mouthes of foure Lions of white Marble. Likewise upon the same is the Image of Moses, striking the Rocke with his Rod; and there be two other mouthes lower to cast out water, and it is all engraven with the said historie of Moses.

Descending from this Mount, we did see in a private Gentlemans house an Horse of brasse, esteemed at twenty five thousand pounds sterling, which Henrie the second had placed at Paris (as they said), if death had not prevented him. Hence towards the East we went forward towards the Bathes of Dioclesian, and by the way at the foote of the Mount of the Horses, we did see the Bathes of Constantine. A man cannot sufficiently wonder at the ruins of Dioclesians Bathes, by which it seemes they were of incredible greatnesse; and they report, that this Emperour compelled many thousands of Christians to worke upon this building for many yeeres. Under the earth are gates and divers passages of unknowne extent.
Upon these Bathes Pope Pius the fourth in the yeere 1561 built the Church Saint Mary of the Angels, and with the consent of the people of Rome gave it to the Carthusian Friers. In the roomes of this Bath Pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the yeere 1575 built a Granary for Corne, and the said Church of Saint Marie is beautified with faire pillars thirtie spannes compasse, and with exquisite pictures, especially those two neere the Altar, of the Emperor Maximilian and his Empresse. Hence we went to the Church of Saint (C) Marie Maggiore, being one of the seven Churches, and under this Church, upon a Hill neere Saint Potentiana (which gives the title to a Cardinall) of old were the Novatian Bathes. And upon Mount (XXVI) Esquiline, neere the Church Saint Laurence In Palesperna, (giving title to a Cardinall) were of old the Olimpike Bathes. And the said Church of Saint Marie is built, where the Temple of Isis stoode, highly honoured of the old Romans. Pope Sixtus the fifth brought hither in the yeere 1587 the foresaid Obeliske, from the Sepulcher of Augustus neere (18) Saint Rocco and it is the lowest and the least of all the Obeliskes. Upon this Mount Esquiline was a place for burning dead bodies, but the Romans being offended with the smoke, Augustus gave that field to Maecenas, who made most famous Gardens there. Hereabouts lies the Chappell of Saint Luke, peculiar to the Painters, and there was a grove consecrated to Juno. The Church of Saint Anthony is little, but full of faire pictures, and in the Vineyard of the Hospitall, was the stately Church of Diana. And the famous Church of Mars was built, where that of Saint Martin now stands (which gives the title to a Cardinall). As we went from Mount Esquiline to the Theater of Vespasian, we saw by the way a rare Monument, built by the said Emperour, or his sonne Titus upon Mount Esquiline. It hath nine Cesternes under the ground, and is vulgarly called Sette sale, of seven several chambers, whereof each is seventene foote broad, twelve foote high, and one hundred thirtie seven
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foote long, and hath foure doores, which so answere one another, as a man may see all the roomes at once. Neere the Church of Saint Clement is the wonderfull Theater of Vespasian, vulgarly called Il Coliseo, in which the people were wont to see the fighting of Fencers, the hunting of wilde beasts, and like games, and it received one hundred and nintie (others say eightie five) thousand persons, and the outside was of old round, but the inside of Oval forme, and as high as the top of Mount Celius. I observed the building now to be of bricke, and the foundation to be sixtie walking paces broad, and to have foure rowes of seates one above the other, and the inside from the foundation of the seates to bee eight walking paces broad, and one hundred thirtie and five paces long. The ruines of the like Theater, but lesse, built by Statilius, lie neere the Church (D) San’ Croec.

The foresaid Church of Saint Clement gives the title to a Cardinall, but the wals are all ruined, and this part is not inhabited, neither is the streete paved from thence to the Church (D) S. Croce, in memory (as they say) of Pope Joane, which being great with childe, and having gone a solemne Procession from (A) Saint John Lateran, to the said Church of the (D) holy Crosse, as she returned this way, amidst her pompe was delivered of a Childe.

Neere to the said Theater of Vespasian lies the Triumphall Arch erected to Constantine the great, when he had overcome Maxentius, and it is most faire and curiously carved. Neere that is the Church of Saint Marie the new, which gives the title to a Cardinal, and in the Garden is a monument of the idoll Serapis. The (22) Triumphal Arch erected to Vespasian, and Titus when hee came from the destruction of Jerusalem, hath but one Arch, and is lesse then the former erected to Constantine, but it is no lesse adorned with their actions engraven. Neere the said Church of Saint Marie the new, lie the vast ruines of the famous Temple of Peace, the roofe whereof is richly engraven. Neere this is a kind of Gibet, which they called of old Tygillum
Sororium, that is, the sisters rafter, because when the Horatii three brothers had killed the Curiatii three brothers, yet onely one of the Horatii remaining alive, he returning into the Citie, and finding his sister weepe for her private losse in a day of publique joy, killed her with his owne handes, and for shew of justice, was condemned to passe under this rafter, without further punishment, in respect of his desert in that battell. Upon mount Palatine of old was a Pallace, now called vulgarly (XXIII) Il palazzo Maggiore, in which most of the Emperours did dwell, and upon the ruines thereof the deceased Cardinall Farnese had a pleasant Vineyard. And at the foote of this Mountaine, neere the Chappell of Saint Theodor, they say that Romulus and Remus were cast forth and nourished by a shee-Wolfe: for they say, that Tyber of old did runne this way, though now it hath changed the bed. The Church of Saint Cosmo gives the title of a Cardinall, and there the Temple of Romulus was of old seated. Also the Temple and Pallace of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, and his Empresse Faustina, daughter to Antoninus Pius, were in this place. In the same field of old called the (11) Roman Market-place. I said before, that the Temple of the Vestall Virgins was seated, neere the Church Saint Marie Liberatrice, which was also consecrated to Venus. There also in the field called Vaccino, three pillars are yet remaining of the ruines of the Marble Gallerie which Caligula built, and those pillars are very high, and not farre from them was the Lake or Gulfe, into which Curtius cast himselfe for his Countries sake. The Triumphall Arch erected to L. Septimius Severus, for his victory against the Parthians, is curiously engraven with that warre, and it is the fairest Arch, next that of Constantine, and it is seated at the foote of the Mount Capitoline, in the Market place, called of old Forum Romanum (for it began at the foote of the (XXII) Mount Capitoline, and reached to the foote of (XXIII) Mount Palatine, where now is the Church of Saint Cosmo.) And therein was a Monument erected,
called la Ringhiera, from whence Orations were made to the people, and it is probable, that this was the place called Rostra, where Cicero made his Orations to the people, for Antiquaries agree that it was in this Market-place. In which also at the foot of the Capitol, of old was a Pillar, called Milliare Aureum, which shewed the way to all the Gates, and whether soever a man would goe. There also at this day is a Church with a brasen dore, where was the Treasurie of the people of Rome, the gates whereof Julius Cæsar broke, and tooke from thence infinite treasure. Neere this place is the statua of Jupiter Panarius (others say of the River Rheine) upon the head whereof stood one of the feete of Domitians Horse of brasse, and this statua is now called Marforio, and it is of Marble, lying at length as upon a Tombe, as that (14) of Pasquin stands upright against a wall, and upon these two Images are fastened all the libels of Rome, framed in manner of dialogue. This statua of Marforio was of late taken up by Pope Clement the eighth out of the valley, and placed upon this Mount before the Capitoll, as appeareth by the inscription, besides that the place was to be seene whence it was taken.

Upon this Mount (XXII) Capitoline, of old was seated the famous Capitoll, and now there is the Senate house, the building whereof hath no magnificence. Betweene two Senate houses is a yard, in which lies the Rock Tarpeia; from the top whereof condemned men were cast of old. In the fore-yard of the Capitoll, is a horsemans statua of brasse, guilded, which was erected to the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, and for the engravers art is held of inestimable price. From this place great part of Rome lies open to the eye in a sweete prospect. The foresaid statua was set in this place by Pope Paul the 3 in the yere 1538. Therby lies a foot statua of white Marble, & the fore said monument, (9) which Pope Sixtus the fifth, in the yeere 1590 removed to this place from the old monument erected to Caius Marius. There also is the foresaid statua of (23) Marforio which was taken
away by the Consuls of Rome from the first place, and placed here by Pope Clement the eight. Here also is the pillar of Combat, and a most pleasant fountaine built by Pope Sixtus the fourth, where lie two ancient Images of white marble of two rivers Tygris and Nylus. There be also three pillars brought from the Temple of Concord (where the old Senators of Rome did meeete.) Within the Capitoll or Senate house it selfe, we did see many most faire antiquities, namely, statuaes erected to Julius Cæsar, to Octavius, to Augustus, and to Marius seven times Consull; the Image of Hercules of brasse guilded over, which was digged out of the ruines of the Temple of Hercules, in the time of Pope Sixtus the fourth, also the Images of Hercules his sonne, of Jupiter, of Minerva, and of Ceres, all of marble, a head of brasse upon which was engraven Junius M. Brutus; two statuaes of yong men, whereof one standeth upright in the habite of a servant, the other being naked, hath one foot above the other knee, with a needle in his hand to pull a thorne out of it, and both are of brasse guilded over, and of admirable beauty. The Image of Aventine digged out of Mount Aventine, a brasen image of a shee-wolfe which gave sucke to Romulus and Remus, and it was made of fines imposed upon usurers, a brazen statua of Æneas, a brasen statua erected to Pope Sixtus the fifth, for repressing the banished men, another of marble erected to Pope Leo the tenth. We did see in the hall of Judgement within this Capitoll, the statuaes of marble erected to Pope Gregory the thirteenth, to Pope Paul the third, and to King Charles made a Senator of Rome. Upon the sight of these, a Gentleman told us, that by a Law he was made infamous, who should make mention of erecting a statua to any Pope while he lived. In the foreyard of the Capitoll, we did see the fragments of an huge Colossus, and upon the wall neere the staires, the Triumphs of Marcus Aurelius, engraven in square marble stones. There we did also see marble fragments digged up under the Arch of Settimius, upon which were
engraven the names of Consuls, Dictators, and Censors, and under the very porch, the head of an Emperour, the pillar of Navall fights, the sepulcher of Settimius Alexander Severus, and of his mother Julia Mammea, brought hither from the field of Fabricius; the image of Minerva, certaine images of brasse of the Monster Sphynx; the bones intombed of Agrippina néece to Augustus, and wife to Germanicus; the Image of a Lyon devouring another beast, and certaine ancient vessels to keepe wine. Upon this Mountaine, of old were sixty Temples; but of all other the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus built by Tarquine the proud, was most esteemed by the old Romans. From this Mountaine we ascended by 128. broad staires of marble (brought hither from the Temple of Quirinus upon Monte Cavallo) to the Church of Saint Maria Ara Cæli, built upon the ruines of the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, and of the Pallace of the Emperour Augustus. And upon these staires were two statuaes erected to the Emperour Constantine, and the Church it selfe is adorned with many marble pillers and stones, and a Pulpit of porphery, and it hath the name of an Altar, which they shew there erected to the Son of the Virgin, by Augustus, who they say had read in the Oracles of Sybilla, that a Virgin should bring forth a sonne. The arched roofe of the Church is richly guilded, and here Pope Pius the fourth consecrated the spoiles taken from the Turkes in the navall victory of him and his con federates, the memory whereof is there kept by an inscription upon a pillar. Also the Senate and people of Rome, have here erected a table to Pope Paul the third, upon which is written in golden letters, that while he was Cardinall, he erected here many antient monuments digged up in Rome at his owne charge. On the other side of the Mount Capitoline, (towards the West as I remember) at the very foot of the mountaine, is the Tullian prison, appointed for that use by the old Kings Ancus Martius and Tullus, in which they say the holy Apostles Peter and Paul were imprisoned; and at this day
there is a Church under the earth, called Saint Peter In Carcere.

The (24) Theater of Marcellus sonne to the sister of Augustus, is neere the Pallace of the Family Savilla. Not farre thence towards the fish market, was the Porticus of Octavia, sister to Augustus, but no ruines now remaine thereof. The (25) pallace of the Cardinal Farnese is seated in a plain, being one of the fairest in Rome, which for the dignity of such a City, hath very few stately Pallaces. Here I did see an admirable statua, cut out in one stone, of a Bull treading a woman under his feete, with the Images of two brothers standing upright, and of a hunting dogge, with the figure of a high Rocke. Concerning the Churches which we did see in this daies journey. The (23) Church of Saint Adrian in the market place called Romanum, or Bojarium. The Church of Saint Peter and Marcellanus (betweene the (20) Theater of Vespasian and the Church (A) S. Giovanni in Laterano, the Church of Saint Matthew, in the way towards (C) Saint Mary Maggiore the Church of Saint Pietro in vincula) upon (XXVI) Mount Esquiline, (where is a sepulcher of white marble of Pope Julius the second, adorned with faire statuaes, namely, one of Moyses of the rare worke of Michael Angelo,) the Church of Agata, upon the same mountaine, the Church of Saint Vito In Macello, the Church of Saint Eusebius (neere the monu- ment called (9) Trofei di Mario the Church of Saint Prasside, seated neere (C) S. Maria Maggiore whose chappell called Horto del Paradiso, no woman may enter), the Church of Saint Quirico, the Church Saint Susanna upon (XXVIII) Monte Cavallo, the Church Saint Vitallis: Al these Churches give the titles of Cardinals. The Church Saint Costanza, is a long mile out of the (VII) gate Pia and was of old dedicated to Bacchus, where is a most faire sepulcher and large, of porphry, ten ordinary spannes deepe, and fifeene long, curiously engraven with boyes quaffing, and bearing cups of wine, as in a Feast of Bacchus, which some thinke to be the sepulcher of
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Constantia a Virgine, daughter to Constantine, but the engraving like a Feast of Bacchus seemes more ancient, and to be wrought by the Heathen Romans, and it is vulgarly called the sepulcher of Bacchus. This Church is of a round forme and little, but very faire, and borne up with twelve rowes of marble pillars, set in a round compasse. Neere this lies the Church of Saint Agnese, having doores of brasse, where the Lambs are kept, whereof the Pals of Arch-bishops are made, which the Pope so dearly sels.

At my first comming to Rome I lodged in a publike Inne, and paid three giulii each meale, then as I have written, I hasted my journey to Naples, and after returning to Rome, I hired a chamber by the day, and bought my owne meat, but my haste to be gone, made me not to note my particular expences. Onely I remember that they who sold any thing in the market, used to look into the hands of the buyers to see whether they brought silver or brasse coyne, and thereafter made their price; whereupon many shewed silver, till they had bought, and then paid in copper, which the people durst not refuse. And from hence it was, that in a solemne pompe, when the people fell on their knees before the Pope, and I thought they onely expected his blessing, they all cried out; Holy Father command that we may have white bread, and that the Gentlemen may be forced to take our brasse quatrines: so as it seemes they refused to receive them. I scarce bought my meat one or two daies in Rome: For after I had beene with Cardinall Allen, I formerly said, that to shun the company of his Englishmen, I changed my lodging, and my selfe and two Dutch Gentlemen my consorts, tooke a chamber in a victualling house, close under the Popes Pallace; and each of us paid for our bed each night one or two baocci, and bought our meat in that house, agreeing for the price before we did eat it, and so being ready upon all events of danger, and having no carriage to trouble us, we hoped if need were to escape; yet still I rested much upon the Cardinals
promise, and being free from Englishmens company, and having two honest Dutch Gentlemen for my consorts, both borne in the Palatinate of Rheine, where they professe the same religion as in England, I did with more security set my selfe freely to satisfie my curiosity in the view of Rome.

After being desirous to see the mouth of Tyber, where it falls into the sea, I went out of the gate of Saint Paul, and having the narrow bed of Tyber on my right hand, passed twelve miles to Ostia, through fruitfull hils of corne, and a vast wood at my journies end. Here is a strong Castle seated in Latium, and belonging to the Popes of Rome, which Pope Martin the fifth built, and Pope Julius the second did more strongly fortifie, but nothing remains of the stately buildings of that City, but some poore houses. Strabo writes, that King Ancus Martius first built this City, in a soile to which the River brought much dirt. It is certaine that of old the ships did cast Anchor without the Haven of the City, and sent their goods to Rome in Gallies and Barkes drawne up by a rope, the Haven being not so deepe to beare them. The Citizens were free from Tribute, to make them dwell there, the aire being then (as also at this time) very unwholsome. Now the Tyber seems to end here in a Lake, and the waters runne in little channels under the paved high waies. The Haven of Trajan is a mile and a halfe from the Towne, being broad enough, but so barred with sand and like matter, as no ships can come to it; and onely small Barkes sometimes passe from Naples and neere places to Rome, and that very seldome. The foresaid Haven was first built by Claudius, then repaired by Trajan, and called of his name, of which Suetonius writes thus in the life of Claudius; He made the Haven of Hostia, drawing an arme on the right and left side, and making a barre at the entery, where it was deepe, which barre, that he might make more stable, by Art, he sunke the ship wherein the great Obeliske was brought from Ægypt, and upon piles heaped up, placed
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a most high Tower, like to the Pharo of Alexandria, out of which light was hung out by night, to direct the ships, &c.

When Trajan repaired this Haven, the Citie Portuensis was built on the other side of Tyber, towards the South-East, in the soile of Toscany, the Bishop whereof is one of the seven Cardinals assistant to the Pope. The branch of Tyber falling from Hostia and dividing it selfe, maketh an Iland compassed with the sea, on the other side, in which are many ruines of stately houses and great stones of Marble. This Haven seeming of no use, and barred up for the securitie of Rome from any Navall siege, the onely Port that Rome hath, is called Citta' vecchia, seated upon the shoare of Tuscany betweene the foresaid Hostia and Ligorno, the chief Haven of the Duke of Florence. In this haven of Rome, of old called Centum Cellae, and after ruined by the Saracens, and after built againe, the Popes of Rome (possessing many places in the neighbour soile of Toscany) did build a strong Castle, and called it Citta Vecchia. I returned from Ostia to Rome the same day, and paid five giulii for my Mule, and two for my dinner.

I had purposed to see the famous Garden of the Cardinall of Ferraria at Tivoli, (whereof I spake in my journey to Naples:) but Easter was now at hand, and the Priests came to take our names in our lodging, and when wee demaunded the cause, they told us, that it was to no other end, but to know if any received not the Communion at that holy time, which when we heard, wee needed no spurres to make haste from Rome into the state of Florence.

Onely I had an obstinate purpose to see Bellarmine. [I. ii. 142.] To which end having first hired a horse, and provided all things necessary for my journey to Sienna; and having sent away my consorts to stay for me, with my horse and boots at an Inne in the Suburbs, that I might more speedily escape, if my purpose succeeded not: I boldly went to the Jesuites Colledge, and Bellermine then
walking in the fields, I expected his returne at the gate, the Students telling me that he would presently come backe, which falling out as they said; I followed him into the Colledge (being attired like an Italian, and carefull not to use any strange gestures; yea, forbearing to view the Colledge, or to looke upon any man fully, lest I should draw his eyes upon me). Thus I came into Bellermines chamber, that I might see this man so famous for his learning, and so great a Champion of the Popes: who seemed to me not above forty yeeres old, being leane of body, and something low of stature, with a long visage and a little sharpe beard upon the chin, of a browne colour, and a countenance not very grave, and for his middle age, wanting the authority of grey heires. Being come into his chamber, and having made profession of my great respect to him, I told him that I was a French man, and came to Rome for performance of some religious vowes, and to see the monuments, especially those which were living, and among them himselfe most especially, earnestly intreating, to the end I might from his side returne better instructed into my Countrey, that he would admit me at vacant houres to enjoy his grave conversation. He gently answering, and with gravity not so much swallowing the praises I gave him, as shewing that my company should be most pleasing to him, commanded his Novice, that he should presently bring me in, when I should come to visit him, and so after some speeches of curtesie, he dismissed me, who meant nothing lesse then to come againe to him.

The very same hower at ten in the morning, upon the Tuesday before Easter, I came to my consorts in the Suburbes, and presently we tooke horse after a short breakesfast. The way from Rome to Sienna is thus vulgarly noted: A Borgetto, sixe miles, a l' Isola, one; a Bacchano, sixe; a Monterose, five; a Sutri, foure; a Roncignone, three; a lago di vigo, one; a viterbo, seven; a Monte fiaschoni, seven; a Bolsena, seven; a San' Lorenzo, foure; a Acquapendente, sixe; a Recorseto a
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la Paglia, twelve; a Scanciericho, foure; a Buon' Convento, seven; a Saravalle, foure; a San' Michaele de la Scala, sixe; a Sienna, sixe; In all from Rome to Sienna ninetie sixe miles. I will follow my Italian consorts in describing this journey, who doe not much differ from this vulgar number of miles, each of us paid fifteene paoli for his horse from Rome to Sciena, and we had but one Vetturine, who went with us on foote, for the Italians use to ride a slow pace, and he was to bring back our horses, and to pay for their meat and for his owne. The first day after breakfast we rode twentie two miles to Monterose, through fruitfull hilles of Corne, and some wilde barren fields, and Woods at our journeys ende. After wee had rode five miles, we came to a monument lying upon the high way, and called the Sepulcher of Nero, in the place where hee killed himselfe, when the Senate had condemned him. And when we came to the little Towne Bachano, I observed the moun-

taines to compasse it in the forme of a Theater with a Lake in the midst, like the mountaine Astrumo neere Naples. Out of this Lake comes a Brooke called Cremera, upon the banke whereof three hundred Fabii with five thousand of their followers, of old were killed in one day. Bacchano of old called Campagnano, hath the name of Bacchus. And it gives the name to the Territory, and to the Wood neere it, which is infamous for roberies. Monterose is subject to Pope Clement the eighth (then living) his Nephew (so they call their bastards;) and though it be seated within the old confines of Hetruria, yet now it is under the Popes dominion. Here we supped at an Ordinarie (vulgarly Al pasto) and each man paied foure giulii, and all the company complaining that so much was demaunded for our supper, the Hoste so thundred among us like the bragging souldier, as he soone made both strangers and Italians glad to be quiet. The second day in the morning we rode eight miles to Lago di Vigo, where we broke our fast, upon reckoning (vulgarly al conto) and each man paied eight
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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

baocchi. After breakfast wee rode foureteene miles to a little Citie Montefiaschoni, having passed by the way the Citie Viterbo, where Pope Cælestone the third placed a Bishop, and made it a Citie. Of old it was governed by Princes borne in the Towne, till upon civill dissention betweene the Family of Gatti (aided by the Roman Family Colonna) and the Family Magancesi (aided by the Roman Family Orsini), the Pope brought the Citie into his subjection, about the yeere 1446. A most high Mountaine lies neere Viterbo, bearing Chesnuts, and a great Wood of Oaks, infamous for robberies, where we did see many quarters of theeves hanging upon the trees.

Theeves Quartered.

The way to Viterbo was through a fruitfull Plaine of corne, and beyond this Mountaine were store of Olive trees & Vines. Viterbo was of old called Faliscum, and it hath 3 Cities within the wals: but we passing suddenly through it, I observed nothing markeable but a faire Fountaine in the Market-place. The way from thence was through a fruitfull Plaine of Corne to the said little Citie Montefiaschoni, seated upon a high Hill, at the foote whereof begins the Lake of Bolsena, and it is subject to the Pope, having no singular thing in it, but the white and red Muskedine, one of the most famous Wines in Italy. Here we three Consorts had two beds for ten baocchi, and we supped upon reckoning, and each man paid two giulii. The third day in the morning we rode eight miles by the Lake Bolsena, through a Plaine of Corne having woody Hilles of Oakes, not farre distant, with store of Chessenut and Olive trees. In this Lake there is an Iland, which the Queene Amalasuenta, famous for her wisdome, was killed by the commaund of the King of the Ostrogothes. And in the Castle of Balsena they shew a piece of bread consecrated for the Lords Supper, which being in the hand of a Priest not beleeving that it was the very body of Christ, did shed bloud, (as they say, who have many such lying Miracles). Then we rode sixe miles to the Castle Acquapendente, through a plaine of Corne, where each man paid one giulio for
his dinner upon reckoning. After dinner we rode through
wilde Mountaines bearing little Corne, twelve miles to
the Brooke Paglia, running under the Castle Redicofani,
and dividing the States of the Pope, and the Duke of
Florence, and we rode further in the State of Florence
four miles to a Country Inne, (as I thinke called
Scancicricho) where each man paiied three paoli and a half
for his supper at an Ordinarie (vulgarly Al pasto), having
almost nothing but red Herrings and Sallets to supper.
The fourth day in the morning, upon the last day of Aprill
after the new stile, in the yeere 1594, wee rode thirteene
miles to a Countray Inne, through high Hilles of Corne,
and for the greater part very firtile, where each man paiied
seven baochi for his breakefast.
The same day we rode eightene miles to Sienna,
through most pleasant Hilles, and a firtile Plaine of Corne,
with store of Vines on each side, and many Pallaces of
Gentlemen, (so they call their houses, built of Free-stone,
with a low rooffe, and small magnificence), and most
frequent dwellings of husbandmen. We came to Sienna
the Friday before Easter day, and in a publike Inne each
man paiied three reali for his Supper.
The next day I went to Fiorenza for money, and rode
through Woods and fruitful Hils to the Castle Poggio
(walled townes being called Castles) and after through
stony Mountaines bearing Corne and Olives, till I came
to the Village Tavernelle, being seventene miles from
Sienna, where I paiied two reali for my dinner upon
reckoning. After dinner I rode fiftene miles to Fiorenza,
through stony little Mountaines, bearing great store of
Olives, Almonds, and Chessenuts, and many Poplar trees,
and towards our journeys end, store of Cedar trees; and
wee passed by innumerable Pallaces of Gentlemen, and
a most faire Monastery called la Certosa, and a desert
Rocke, upon the top whereof an Heremite dwelt all
alone. This Territorie yeeldes great store of Pine–trees,
the boughes whereof are thicke and round at the top, but
the rest of the tree hath neither boughes nor leaves, and
it yeelds a very great Nut, with very many kernels in one shell, which are pleasant in taste, and much used here in Banquets. By the way I did meete a Dutch Lady, with her Gentlewomen, and men-servants all in the habit of Franciscan Friers, and not onely going on foote, but also bare-footed, through these stonie waies; and because they were all (aswell men as women) in Friers weeds, though I looked on them with some suspicion, yet I knew not their sexe or qualitie, till upon inquirie at Florence, I understood that the Dutchesse of Fiorenza (or Florence) hearing that some women were passed by in Friers apparrell, and thinking they were Nunnes stolne out of their Cloisters, did cause them to bee brought backe unto her, and so understood that upon pennance imposed on them by their Confessour for the satisfaction of their sinnes, they were enjoyned to goe in that Friers habit bare-footed to Rome; whereupon she dismissed them with honour.

I forgot to note what I paid for my horse from Sienna to Florence, whether we came upon Easter day, and there I lodged in the Dutch Inne, and paid three reali each meale. But I did not at this time view the Citie, deferring it till my returne.

The next morning I tooke my journey to Pisa, that by often removing, I might shun all question of my religion, into which they use more strictly to inquiere at this time of the yeere, when they use to observe who receives not the Sacrament: for howsoever there be lesse danger of the Inquisition in this State, yet the Duke using not, and scarce being able to protect those that rashly give open offence, I thought good thus warily to avoide these snares. I went this journey on foot, meaning leisurely to see the next Cities, so little distant one from the other, as they were pleasant journeys on foot, especially in so pleasant a Countrie. The first day in the morning I walked ten miles to the Castle Prato, through the pleasant Valley of the River Arno. This pleasant Castle (or walled Towne) is of a round forme, having (at the
very enterance) a large Market place, wherein stands a faire Cathedrall Church, adorned with many stones of marble: and here I paied twelve creitzers for my dinner.

In the afternoone I walked ten Italian short miles to the City Pistoia, through a most pleasant plaine called the Valley of Arno, tilled after the manner of Lombardy, bearing Corne and Wine in the same field, all the Furrowes being planted with Elmes, upon which the Vines grow. This Citie is seated in a Plaine, and compassed with Mountaines, which on other sides are somewhat distant, but on the North-side hang over the same, and here (as likewise at Prato and Florence) the streetes are paved with broad free stone, most easie to walke upon. And the Cathedrall Church is stately built, and the pavement is of Marble curiously wrought, like the Church of Sienna. The Citie hath the name (in the Latin tongue, as also in the Italian) of a plague which invaded the Citie, when the Troopes of the Rebell Catilina being overcome, fled thither, whose posteritie being seated there, hath nourished a greater plague by perpetual factions, shewing thereby of what race they came. Desiderius King of Lombardy compassed the Citie with a wall. After the Florentines about the yeere 1150 subdued this chiefe Citie of Hetruria, under whose governement, first the faction of the Neri and the Bianchi brake out, and defiled the Citie with murthers, which being extinct, the faction of the Cancellieri and the Panzadici began, which lasted almost to our time, with incredible hatred and murther. But of late times, the Duke of Florence published an Edict, that upon great penaltie, no man should weare any Roses, or other signes of faction, which till that time they did beare upon the parts of their body, where they might most easily be scene. From hence I walked three miles through little Mountaines to Saravale, and two miles to Povanni, where the Plaine begins to open; and three miles to the Brooke Pescha, where I paied a Creitzer for my passage by boate, and five miles to Borgo nuovo, through Mountaines full
of Chess-nuts and other nut trees, and eight miles in the territorie of Lucca, through a large plaine, to a solitarie Inne, called La Moretta. By the way I paid (upon reckoning) one reale and a halfe for my breakefast, and in this Inne I lodged, and paied (at an ordinarie) three reali for my Supper.

The next morning I walked one mile to Lucca; the Emperour Charles the fourth made this Citie free, which hath kept the Libertie to this day, governed by Senators, but lives in parpetuall feare of practises against this libertie from the great Duke of Florence. It is seated in a plaine, and strongly fortified, and compassed with Mountaines on all sides, but somewhat distant, and onely lies open on the side towards Pistoia, being two miles in compasse, and having about thirtie foure thousand Inhabitants. The streetes are narrow, and paved with broad free stone, most easie to walke upon. The Pallaces of the chiefe Gentlemen are built of free stone, with a low rooife after the Italian fashion, and they have many pleasant Gardens within the walles. In the corner towards North-west by North is a strong castle, neere which lies the Cathedrall Church, stately paved with Marble, but very darke, as most of the Papists Churches are built, either because they think darkenesse increaseth Religion, or to make it an excuse for their burning candles in the day. There also lies the Senate house; and al the Innes are in one street, that they may more easily look into strangers, for any practise against their liberty; for which cause no man may weare any weapons in the city, nor so much as a knife, except the point be blunt. These Citizens first spread through Italy the Art of making silke, and weaving it into clothes, and by this traficke they have very rich families. Here I paid (at an Ordinarie) 6 reali for my dinner and supper. From Lucca I walked 5 miles through a pleasant Plaine, to the Mountaine of Pisa, which divides the Territories of those two Cities, and it is very high & stoney, yet is full of Rosemary, Time, and sweet smelling hearbs, & the passage of it is
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2 miles long. After I went 3 miles through fenny ground, often overflowed with the River Arno, and came to Pisa. Arno is a little River falling from the Apenine Mountaines neere Florence, through which City it runs, and so passeth through a most pleasant and fruitful Plaine to Pisa, through which Citie it also runs; and by reason of the narrow bed, and the neere Mountaine of Pisa, is subject to overflow upon any great raine, so as with great hurt it drowneth the fields of Pisa, and those that lie from thence to the Sea. Pisa of old famous for navigation, was made free by the Emperor Charles the fourth, about the yeere 1369. But long after it was the second time sold to the Florentines by Galeacius Vicount of Millan. Then they practised with the French to recover their liberty, when Charles the eight passed that way to conquer Naples, til they were the third time subdued by the Florentines; since which time the family of Medici invaded the liberty of Florence, together with that of Pisa, under the title of Great Duke of Florence, which they hold to this day. But when Pisa was thus brought in subjection to Florence, many of the chiefe Citizens chose rather to live at Venice, and other places, in perpetual banishment with their posterity, then to be subject to the Florentines. Pisa was of old called Alpheo, of the builders comming from their dwellings neere Alpheus a River in Greece. The brook Arno runs from the East to the west through Pisa, seated in a Plaine, and towards the North-West by North is a Gate, and a most faire Cathedral Church, paved with Marble curiously wrought, & having a most faire pulpit. In which Church, neere the high Alter, is the Sepulcher of the Emperor Henrie the seventh, whom Platina and many German Writers affirme, to have been poisoned by a wicked Monk of the Order of the Predicants, at the Communion of our blessed Lords Supper. Upon this monument these words are written in Latin.

In this tombe not to be dispised, are contained the bones of Henry the seventh, Count of Luceburg, and after
the seventh Emperour of that name, which the second yeere after his death; namely 1315. the twenty five day of the Sextiles, &c. were brought to Pisa, and with great honour of funerall laid in this Church, where they remaine to this day.

The leaning steeple. The steeple is neere the Church but severed from it, which seems to threaten the falling from the top to the bottome, but that is done by the great Art of the workemen, deceiving the eye; for it is as strongly built as the Church. I ascended the same by two hundred and forty staires of marble, in which ascent it hath seven galleries on the out side. Not farre thence is a yard used for common buriall, called the holy field, vulgarly Campo Santo. In which the Emperour Fredericke Barbarossa, returning from Hierusalem, did lay great store of that earth, which he had used for ballast of his ships; and they say, that dead bodies laid there, doe consume in a most short time. This yard is compassed with a building all of Marble, which lies open like a Cloyster, (we call it a terras) and the same is covered with lead very sumptiously, having in bredth 56 pillars, and in length 189. each distant from the other thirteene walking paces. So as (in my opinion) this yard for buriall is much more stately, then that most faire yard for the same purpose, which I formerly discribed at Leipzig in Germany, called in Dutch Gotsaker. In this place is a sepulcher stately built of marble of divers colors, with this inscription in Latin;

Pope Gregory the thirteenth, borne at Bologna, commanded this to be made, to the most worthy civill Lawyer John Buon’ Campagno, his brother by the Fathers side, deceased in the yeere 1544. at Pisa, where he was chiefe Professour of that Law.

[1. ii. 146.] Here I did see another sepulcher with this inscription in Latin; To Mathew Curtius Physitian. Duke Cosmo made this at his owne charge, in the yeere 1544.

At the West corner of the City, is the Armory, vulgarly called L’ Arsenalo, where they build and keepe the Dukes
COMMENTS UPON PISA

Gallies, which were there at this time no more then seven in number; for the Duke used to send out in summer time some two or three Gallies, (and seldom any more) to spoile the Turkes, which he might doe more boldly, because the Florentines have no cause to feare the Turkes, since they use no traffick by sea, but send out their silkes and other commodities by strange ships, and onely take care to entertaine those Merchants well, who bring them corne and victuals by sea. At the same West corner of the City, is a bridge of bricke over the River Arno, built high in the midst, with three Arches, under which the boates passe. And towards the East there be three other like bridges. Neere the first bridge is another gate of the City, leading towards the sea, and neere the same, is the most sweete walke, that ever I beheld. It hath in breadth some five rowes of trees, on each side, and a like distance of greene grasse betweene those trees, but it reacheth in length many miles; and out of the River Arno are drawne two ditches, which runne all the length of it, one upon each side: so as the Citizens in summer time, use to take boat in Arno, at their doores, with a basket of victuals; and so many Families of them, passing by the ditches on both sides the walke, sit downe a good distance the one from the other, and there sup and converse with great pleasure. On the South side of the City a strong Fort lies neere the wall, and there is the third gate of the City. In the midst of the City upon the banke of Arno, is the Pallace of the Duke of Florence, and there is a statua erected to Ferdinando the Duke then living, who much favoured this City, in which he was borne. Not farre thence is a little, but most faire Chappell, all of marble, built in the forme of a Thorne, vulgarly called La Capella Jesu di Spina. The pleasant seat of the City, the curtesie of the Citizens, and my desire to converse with the Professors of the University, made me spend some daies in this City, where I paid by the day for my chamber and bed three creitzers, and my Host was tied to buy and dresse such meat for me.
as I desired, wherein I spent some three Giulii by the
day, and if I had purposed to stay long, I might have
lived well at a more easie rate.

Chap. III.

Of my journey to Ligorno, my returne to Florence,
and to Sienna, and the description of these
Cities. Of my journey by Land to Lirigi (in
which againe I passed by Lucca and Pisa,) and
by sea to Genoa, with the discription of that
City, and my journey by Land to Pavia, to
Milano, to Cremona, and to Mantoua, with the
discription of the Cities, and of my returne
to Padoua.

Hired a horse for three Giulii from Pisa
to Ligorna, an Haven of this state, which
Ptolomy of old called Liburnum, (of
which name there is another Haven
betweene Istria and Dalmatia), and Cicero
called Labro. Not farre from Pisa I
passed by boat the brooke Serpe, running
from Lucca; and paid two creitzers for passing my horse,
and one for my selfe. Then for three miles I rode upon
a paved way, and thirteene miles more through a plaine
of pasture, full of many woods and Lakes, which lakes
and fenny grounds, lying neere Pisa, make the aire
unwholsome some moneths of the yeere, and the Citizens
much subject to sickenes.

So after sixteene miles riding, I came to Ligorno, which
was of old fortified by the Pisans, and those fortifications
were demolished by the Genoesi, in the yeere 1297. but
peace being made betweene them, this place returned
under the command of the Pisans, and they being after
subdued by the Florentines, this place came also into their
hands; and when the French King Charles the eight,
in the yeere 1494. restored the Pisans to liberty, this
place followed their fortune; till the Pisans againe being subdued by the Florentines in the yeere 1509. this place also returned to their subjection. It is said to have the name of Ligornus sonne to Phaeton. Cosmo de Medicis, Duke of Florence, began to fortifie againe this ancient Towne, and to measure out the circuit and the streetes thereof. And Duke Francis tooke upon him to goe forward with this unperfected worke; and he being dead, Duke Ferdinand his brother, at that time living, brought it to the forme of a most strong Fort, and faire City. And at this time the streetes began to be replenished with houses, for the Duke made this place as it were a sanctuary to offenders, upon whom he used to impose for punishment, either to dwell there for ever, or at least for some yeeres, and to adde one or more houses to the building: so as the City was now faire and populous, but it was filled with Citizens guilty of crimes, and of no civill conversation. My selfe hearing that they were such men, perhaps out of prejudicate opinion, did thinke their lookes barbarous, which made me looke more warily to my selfe, and to those things I had with me. The City is seated in a plaine, somewhat longer from the North to the South, then it is broad from the East to the West; and the sea lies upon it, partly on the North, and partly on the South, and altogether on the West side. And it hath one Tower on the North side and another one the South side, reaching into the sea, out of which they hang lights by night to direct saylers: and betweene these Towers, full on the West side, there is a Haven for great ships further out into the sea, and also neere the City and compassed with the wals thereof, are two Havens for Gallies and small Barkes. The River Arno running from the East to the West, passeth by the City on the North side, and there falls into the sea, and at the corner on the North side is a strong Fort. Here I paid (upon reckoning) two giulii for my supper, and as much next day for my dinner; and returning to Pisa by water, I paid seven creitzers for my passage.
Two weekes being thus spent, I thought good to returne to Florence, that I might receive my money, which I had not received before, because for feare of the inquisition, I onely staied there Easter day in the Dutch Inne. Therefore hiring a horse for foure giulii, I rode forty miles to Florence, through the pleasant valley of Arno, partly tilled after the manner of Lombardy, where the same field yeelds corne, wine, & wood, partly divided into sweet pastures. By the way it hapened that I brake a bough of a mulbery tree, to shade me from the sunne, trees and falling into the company of an honest Gentleman, he told me I seemed a stranger, because I carried that bough, since those trees planted in the high waies, belonged to the Duke, who preserved them for silke-wormes, and had imposed a great penalty upon any that should breake a bough thereof; so as if I passed with this bough through any village, I should be sure to be taken & kept prisoner, till I should pay a great fine: whereupon I presently cast away this bough, with many thanks to him for his gentle warning.

How Florence came to be subject to the House of Medici, with the title of Great Duke, I must hereafter shew in the discourse of the Florentine Common-wealth. At this time I will set downe (as briefly as I can) the discription of the City, and fields adjoining. It is a most sweet City, and abounding with wealth, the Citizens are much commended for their curtesie, modesty, gravity, purity of language, and many virtues. The City is innobled with the Dukes Court, and with stately Pallaces, built within and without the wals, and for the stately buildings & sweet situation, it is worthily called Florence the beautifull, vulgarly Fiorenza la bella. It is said to have had the name Florentia in Latin, either of the Fluentini, (a neighbour people of whom they come) or of the perpetuall happines into which it grew like a flower, or of the Citizens wealth, and the Cities beauty flourishing like a flower. The pavement of the City is not of flint (as at Rome) nor of bricke (as at Sienna)
COMMENTS UPON FLORENCE

but of very broad and faire free stone. The houses after
the manner of Italy, are built with a low rooфе, excepting
the Pallaces, which are stately built of free stone engraven.
The windowes (as in all the Cities of Italy excepting
Venice alone) are not glased, but either lie altogether
open, to take aire, or are covered with oyled paper and
linnen cloth. The streetes are most broad, and have an
open aire. In discribing the Citie, I will begin without
the walles. And first towards the North and East, it
is compassed with pleasant Hills, planted with excellent
fruit trees, and lying in the forme of an Amphitheater,
and behind them the high Mountaines of the Apenine,
somewhat removed, are in stead of strong walles to the
Citie. Also on the South side, it hath like Hilles, and
distant Mountaines, but towards the West it lies open
to the most pleasant Valy of Arno, which Valy continueth
as farre as Pisa, and to the sea-side. On all sides without
the walles, Pallaces of Gentlemen are most frequent, and
houses of Citizens, not distant above three or foure closes
one from the other, whereupon the Emperour Charles the
fifth beholding the Citie and the Countrey from a high
steeple, affirmed, that Florence was the greatest Citie in
the whole world; and when hee perceived that the standers
by were doubtfull of his meaning, he added, that in good
earnest he reputed all the Pallaces without the walles,
compassed with Hilles and Mountaines as with walles,
to bee within the circuit of the Citie. It is seated (as
it were) in the Center of Italy, betwene the aire of
Arezzo, producing quick wits (where Peter Aretine the
Poet was borne, of a sharp wit, though hee abused it
wantonly), and the aire of Pisa lesse pure, and yeelding
men of strong memory, so as it hath had by this tempera-
ture of aire, many Citizens aswell sharpe to learne
sciences, as strong to retaine them. The River Arno
running from East to West divides the Citie, but into
unequall parts, the farre greater part lying on the North-
side, and the lesse on the South-side; and the bridge
to passe from one to the other, is almost in the very
middest of the City, which is fairely built, yet is more
magnified by strangers then it deserves. It hath little
houses upon it, wherewith it is covered, and upon each
side are Gold-smiths shops, which make small or no shew
at ordinarie times: but when the Duke Ferdinando
brought his Dutchesse (the Daughter of the Duke of
Loraine) to the Citie, at her enterance, those shops were
furnished with vessels of silver, and many rich Jewels,
yet borowed of the Citizens to that purpose. And how-
soever some strangers may wonder at it, yet they who
compare that bridge with the bridge of London, or those
Gold-smiths shops with the daily shew of the Gold-smiths
in Cheape side, shall finde no cause to wonder thereat.
The bridge hath two hundred twentie eight walking paces
in length, and is built upon seven Arches. There bee
three other bridges over Arno, but farre lesse in bignesse
and magnificence then the former; for the River is
shallow, scarce covering the sand or stones, though beyond
the Citie it be increased with other waters, and is subject
to over-flowing upon any great raine. The Citie is of
a round forme, and upon the walles thereof lie eight
Fortes, whereof the greatest and strongest lies towards
the South. And the farre greater part of the Citie on
the North-side of the River, lies in a Plaine, but in the
lesse part on the South side of the River, the houses
towards the North-East are built upon the sides of
Mountaines, and the dwellings are more scattered, having
many and large Gardens; and in that part there is a
place vulgarly called le Ruinate, that is, the ruinous,
because the houses have been often ruined by Earthquakes,
and there you shall find this inscription in Latin: Duke
Cosmo in the yeere 1533 forbad the houses of this
Mountaine to be rebuilt, which thrice fell by the fault
of the soyle. Neere that place lies a lane unpaved, in
memory of a Virgin that dwelt there, whom a yong man
loved, who was borne of a Family of a contrarie faction
to hers, betweene whom many cruelties had been exercised,
and they mutually loving each other, & despairing to
get their friends consent for mariage, and at last being impatient of delay, resolved with what danger soever to meet together. But it happened, that the yong man being to ascend into the Virgins Chamber by a ladder, was surprised, who to save the reputation of the Virgin, confessed, that he came to rob the house, whereupon he was condemned to die, and being led to execution by the house where the Virgin dwelt, she laying aside all shame, came running out, with her loose hair about her eares, and embracing him, confessed the truth publikly, with which accident both their parents were so moved, as laying aside all former malice, they contracted affinity, and the young man delivered from the bonds of the hangman, was tied to her in the sweet bond of marriage. And of this wonderfull event, the Florentines thought good to keepe this memorie for posteritie. The Duke hath two Pallaces within the City, wherof one is called Pallazzo di Pitti, seated in this part of the City, which a Gentleman of Florence by name Lucca della Casa de Pitti, began to build, but falling into poverty, and not able to finish it, was forced to sel the same to Cosmo de Medicis, being Great Duke of Florence, and shortly after convicted of treason, was beheaded. This is the most stately Pallace in the Citie, in the Garden whereof, called Belveder, are many most sweete shades among pleasant Groves, together with a pleasant Cave and Fountaine. They say, that one Mule did bring all the matter to this building, in memorie whereof, these verses are written upon the picture of the said Mule:

Lecticam, lapides, & marmora, ligna, Columnas
Vexit, conduxit, traxit, & ista tuit.

The Litter, these stones, marbles, pillers, wood,
Did carry, leade, draw, beare, this Mule so good.
The outward side of the Pallace is of Free-stone engraven, and the Ornaments within are Regall. Betweene the two Chambers, wherein the Duke and the Dutchesse lie apart, is a very faire Gallery, and in the chamber of the
Dutchesse, is a second bed most like her owne for the Duke when he pleaseth to lie there, and there is a Table wrought with silver and pretious stones, valued at 3000 Crownes. In the dining roome are many faire statuaes, and the figure of thirty Cardinals chosen at one time by Pope Leo the tenth, being of the house of Medici. In the very Court are two great loadstones. The strong Fort called Saint Meniato, lies over this Pallace, and indeede over all the Citie, which was built by Alexander de Medicis, nephew to Pope Clement the seventh, and had lately been kept by a Garison of two thousand Spaniards, as likewise another Fort on the other side of Arno, built in the time of the free State, was likewise kept by a Garison of 100 Spaniards: For the Dukes of Medici advanced to their Dukedome by the Emperor Charles the fifth, did at first admit these Garisons of Spaniards under an Italian Captaine, either to shew their confidence in Spaine, or to fortifie themselves against the Citizens, whose libertie they had invaded; but Duke Ferdinand then living (the Families of Citizens being now extinct or suppressed, who had lived in the free state, and could not indure subjection) being now confirmed in his Dukedome had lately effected, that these Spaniards should yeeld the Fortes to him, and depart the Countrey. Upon the North-side of the River Arno, and upon the banke thereof, is a monument of a horse buried in the high way, with this inscription in Latin: The bones of the horse of Charles Capelli Venetian Ambassador, when the Citie was besieged in the yeere 1533. And these verses were added:

Non ingratus herus, Sonopes memorande, sepulchrum
Hoc tibi pro meritis hæc monumenta dedit.

Praise worthy horse of warre thy thankfull Lord
Thee for thy merits doth this Tombe afford.

The Citie hath divers Market-places, 1. Mercato Vecchio; 2. S. Spirito; 3. Santa Croce; 4. S. Maria Novella; 5. Piazza della Signoria, which is the fairest and largest of
COMMENTS UPON FLORENCE

all the rest, and therein is the Senators Pallace, and many stately statuas, one of a virgin taken by force, and of the ravisher beating her keeper, & treading him under his feet; another of Hercules, treading Cacus under his feet (for the Florentines beare Hercules in their great Seale); the third of David, all which are of white Marble; the fourth of Perseus, carrying in one hand the head of Medusa upon his Shield, and treading the bulk of her body under his feet, curiously wrought in brasse. In the same Market-place is a most faire Fountaine set round about with faire statuaes of brasse, and in the midst thereof, the statuaes of a Giant, and of three horses, almost covered with water, all wrought in white marble, do power the waters out of their mouthes into the Cesterne. In the corner of this market place is the Senators Pallace, so called, because the Senate was wont to meete there in time of the free State, but now it is the Dukes pallace, & the second that he hath within the Citie. Therein I saw a Cat of the Mountaine, not unlike to a dog, with the head of a black colour, and the back like an hedghog, a light touch wherof gave a very sweet sent to my gloves. Here they shewed us (as they use to shew to curious strangers) the Dukes Treasure (as they cal it) namely, vessels of gold and silver, Roses hallowed by the Pope (which these Princes hold for rich presents); many chambers and galleries, having a sweet prospect upon the Arno, and adorned with pictures and statuaes, notable for the matter, art, and price; a most faire looking glasse; a Theater for Comedies; one table of Porphery valued at five hundred Crownes; another of Jasper stone, valued at four hundred Crownes, a table then in the workmans hands unperfected, the Jewels wherof they valued at fiftie thousand Crownes, and the workmanship at twelve thousand Crownes. Moreover, they shewed us the pictures of the Popes of the house of Medici; rich swords and hats, and a lather of silver to mount into the Coach; and many notable antiquities; and certaine birds of India, with many other beautifull things,
which they use to shew to curious strangers, and for the
same expect some reward of them in curtesie. Among
other things, I wondered to see there the picture of
Elizabeth our famous Queene: but the Duke of Florence
much esteemed her picture, for the admiration of her
virtues, howsoever the malitious Papists had long
devoured to obscure her fame, especially in those remote
parts, whose slaunderes God turned to her greater glory.
Here they did shew us the great Dukes study, called Il
studiol' del gran Duca, in which wee did see most faire
pictures; two chests of Christall gilded over; divers
statuae, not of brasse, but of mixt mettals, shining here
like silver, there like gold; a cup of Amber, a little
Mountaine of pearles, wrought together by the hands of
Duke Francis; a Pyramis of Pearles as they grow in
oyster-shels; two knives set with Jewels, and a third
Indian knife; a naile halfe turned into gold by Torneser
an Alchumist, the other part still remaining Iron; a piece
of gold unpolished, as it was digged out of the Mines;
two pictures of Flemings, whereof one was valued at five
hundred, the other at eight hundred Crownes; a clock
of Amber; a piece of Amber falling upon a Lizard, and
retaining the lively forme thereof; a stone called Vergoara
that cureth poyson; the head of a Turke all of pure
gold; a most beautifull head of a Turkish woman; a
Table of gold, and of Jasper stone, and other Jewells,
among which one Emerald of a perfect greene colour,
was highly valued, being round, and almost as big as
an egge, for they that kept it, reputed it worth one
hundred thousand Crownes.

Not farre thence is a Pallace of the noble Family of
Strozzi, and another of Alexander great Duke of Florence,
wherein is a ruined chamber, in which certaine conspirators
killed him. In the stately Church of S. Maria del
Fiorem, are many most faire statuae, and the pavement
and outward parts of the walles, aswell of the Church,
as of the steeple, are of carved Marble. And here are
kept three triple Crownes of three Popes of the Family
COMMENTS UPON FLORENCE

of Medici. The tower or steeple is very high, & in the ascent are 3 galleries round about the outside, and it is all stately built of Marble, having foure hundred fortie and nine staires to the first gallerie. In which being most faire, and all of Marble, the Emperor Charles the fifth supped, when hee came to Florence. And from this gallery to the second are fifty nine staires, and from thence to the third sixty eight staires, where at the very top is a wonderfull hollow Globe of Brasse, wherein 30 men may stand together, and upright; for it is higher then any man, and is vulgarly called la Cupula. Another most ancient Church lieth close to this, which was of old dedicated to Mars, and now is dedicated to S. John Baptist, and it is of a round forme, and hath a most stately Font, with the dores of mixt mettall, much richer then Brasse, and curiously carved, the like whereof, they say, the World yeeldeth not. And therein are to be seene the monument of Pope John the twenty three, deposed at the Councell of Constantia, who before his Popedome was named Balthassar Cossa: the Statua of the same Pope of mixt mettall; and divers other statuæs of the same mettall shining like gold. To conclude, in this little, but most faire Church, are kept the monuments of the Piscanes subdued, namely, a Pillar, a Basket, and a chaine, and other notable things. Not farre thence is the faire Church, called S. Maria Novella, upon the wall whereof this verse is written;

Sacrum pingue dabo, non macrum sacrificabo,
I will give Fatlings, not leane Sacrifice.
Which verse they observe may, by beginning with the words backward, bee a true verse, and of direct contrary sense, in this manner;

Sacrificabo macrum, non dabo pingue Sacrum:
Sacrifice leane, not Fatlings give will I.

But the Monkes will not have it understood in the last [I. ii. 151.]
sense, unprofitable to their profession, but rather in the first, as if men were bound now to give the Clergy their best goods, as they were of old to give the fattest sacrifice to God. In the Church called L' Annonciata of the Angels Annuntiation to the Virgin, the walls are round about hung with Images of men, and of mens feet and Armes, some of wood, some of mettals, which were offered to our Lady upon vow, by those that had recovered health of body, or had beene cured of diseases in those parts. And as it cannot be expressed how much the Italians do attribute to the virgin, so there is more course to this Church, then to any other. In the Church of Saint Laurence, they keepe many relics, with uncredible reverence; and shew them to the people to be adored. In a Chappell of this Church are many faire statuaes of Marble, and one most faire erected to Duke Alexander killed by treason, by which he is made sitting with a sad countenance, his right hand laid to his mouth, and his left hand resting upon his knee. And there be two statuaes of Giuliano Angelo, and Michaele Angelo, two famous Painters and Engravers. In another Chappell are low monuments erected to Duke Cosmo of Medici, and to Laurence his sonne, who built this Church; and to the Dutchesse of Cosmo, and to Duke Francis, and to his lawfull sonne deceased (for he had a base sonne yet living after his brother Ferdinando had succeeded him) and also to Paulus Jovius, the Historian dying in the yeere 1574. (as I remember.) The Monument of Cosmo had this inscription in Latin; By publike consent to the Father of his Countrey. In a stately Chappell of this Church is the Library of Pope Clement the seventh de Medici, ful of rare greeke and latin bookes, but especially they shew the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar, a written bible, Maps of Ptolomy drawne with lines of gold, the Hierogliphica (an old manner of writing) of the Ἑgyptians, and the Pandects in written hand, brought from Pisa subdued. I dare not say that this is the same Library, which was gathered by Lorenzo of Medici, in
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A.D. 1594.

the yeere 1484. but I am most sure that I did see these bookes in one of them. In this Church & the foresaid Chappell, was also a monument erected to Duke Ferdinand then living. Neer that is a garden, in which we did see two Ostrages, & flax of India, making most strong thread, and the hearbe that yeeldeth this flax, much like an Artichoke, but farre greater. In the monastery of Saint Marke, which Duke Cosmo built for Dominican Friars, is a Chappell proper to the Family Salviati for buriall, which is very rich with divers coloured marbles, images of brasse, and pictures, especially one rare picture of a red vale, which seemed two fingers distant from the wall: And in this monastery is another Library of rare Bookes. The Hospitall of S. Maria Nova, is said to passe all others in Italy, for all necessaries to cure and nourish the sicke, and for orderly attendance, where to that purpose are ninety six beds in one roome. Not farre thence are two stables of the Dukes, and in both of them were some thirty two horses of price.

The Duke kept fierce wilde beasts in a little round house, namely, five Lyons, five Wolves, three Eagles, three Tygers (of black and gray colour, not unlike Cats, but much greater) one wilde Cat (like a Tyger) Beares, Leopards (spotted with white, black and red, and used sometimes for hunting), an Indian Mouse (with a head like our Mise, but a long hairie taile, so fierce and big, that it would easily kill one of our Cats), and wilde Boares. And the Keeper told us, that the Duke and Dutchesse, with many Gentlemen, came lately to behold them, (sitting in a gallery built round about the yard) at which time certaine men were put into little frames of wood, running upon wheeles, to provoke these beasts to anger; which being let loose in the Court-yard, walked without offending one the other, and to this ende these men had many fire-workes, from which the most fierce of them did runne away, onely the wilde Boare rushed upon one of these frames wheeling towards him, and not only turned it over, but rent 'out a board with his Tuske, so
as all the company were afraid lest the man who lay therein should perish.

Upon the wals of the Church S. Croce, is a monument of Arno overflowing, with this inscription in the Italian tongue: In the yeere 1333, the water of Arno overflowed to this height, and in the yeere 1557, to this, yet higher. In this Church is the sepulcher of Michaele Angelo Bonoritio, a most famous Engraver, Painter, and Builder, whose bones were brought from Rome, at the instance of Duke Cosmo, in the yeere 1570, and laid here. It is most certaine that he was most skilfull in those Arts, and of him the Italians greatly boast, and with all tell much of his fantasticke humours: namely, that when he painted the Popes Chappell, (whereof I spake in describing the Popes Pallace) that he first obtained the Popes promise, that no man should come in, till the worke were finished; and understanding that the Pope had broken this promise, comming in himselfe with some Cardinals at the backe doore of the vestery, that he being then to paint the last Judgement, did so lively figure the Pope and the Cardinall (that tempted him) amongst the Divels, as every man might easily know them. But that is abominable, which the Romans of the better sort seriously tell of him, that he being to paint a crucifix for the Pope, when he came to expresse the lively actions of the passion, hired a Porter to be fastned upon a Crosse, and at that very time stabbed him with a penknife, and while he was dying, made a rare pce of worke for the Art, but infamous for the murther: and that hereupon he was banished Rome, and went to the Court of the Duke of Urbino, where he was entertained with much honour. And they report also that when he was recalled to Rome with pardon of that fault, the Dutchesse of Urbino being bold upon her former acquaintance, should entreat him at his leasure to paint all the Saints for her: and that he to shew that so great a taske should not be imposed upon a workman of his sort, should satisifie this request, or rather put it off with a rude & uncivill jest, sending her the picture.
of a mans privy part, most artificially painted, and praying
her to take in good part the Father of all the Saints, till
he could at leasure send their pictures.
In the house of John Bolena a Flemming, and an
excellent engraver, I did see yet unperfected a horse-
mans statua of brasse, fifteen els high, the belly of the
horse being capable of 24 men, whereof foure might lie
in the throat; and this horse was made as going in the
high way, putting forward the neere foot before, & the
farre foot behind, & standing upon the other two, which
statua was to be erected to Duke Cosmo, being valued
at 18. thousand crownes. Also another foot statua of
white marble, which was to be erected to Duke Ferdinand
then living. When I had scene these things within the
wals, & about the same, I went out to neere places, to
view other rarities; and I and my two Dutch consorts,
each of us hired a horse for a giulio & a halfe by the
day. Early in the morning we went out by the plaine
lying on the west side, & came to Pratoline, the Dukes
famous garden, seven miles from the City, the conduits
whereof for water if a man well consider, he may justly
say of the gardens of Italy, as Mounster saith of the
Towns of Valesia, that their water costs them more then
their wine. This garden is divided into two inclosures,
compassed with stone wals. In the upper inclosure is
a statua of a Giant, with a curled beard, like a Monster,
some forty sixe els high, whose great belly will receive
many men at once, and by the same are the Images of
many Nimphes, all which cast out water abundantly.
Neere the same are many pleasant fish-ponds, and there
is a Cave under the earth leading three miles to the
Fountaine of water, from whence by many pipes the
waters are brought to serve the workes of these Gardens.
There is a Fountaine which hath the name of a Laberinth
close by it. And a Fountaine of Jupiter & Iris distilling
water; the Fountaine of the Beare; the Fountaine of
Æsculapius; and the Fountaine of Bersia. I call these
by the name of Fountaines, vulgarly called Fontana,
which are buildings of stone, adorned with many carved Images distilling water, and such are placed in most parts of Italy in the marketplaces, open and uncovered: but in this and like Gardens, these Fountains are wrought within little houses, which house is vulgarly called grotta, that is, Cave (or Den), yet are they not built under the earth but above in the manner of a Cave. It remaines I should speak of the lower Garden, which is much more beautiful than the upper: for at the first entrance, there is a Pallace of little compass, but stately building, being of a round forme, the midst whereof containeth the great chamber, larger then the other rooms, which round about the same are little, but beautifull, and richly furnish'd for private retreit. From under all the staires of the Pallace, and the pavements round about, with the turning of a cocke, spoutes of water rise up in great force. For in respect of the heat of the Country, they take great pleasure to wet the passengers in this sort. Under the Pallace there is a Cave, vulgarly called la grotta Maggiore, (which and like Conduits made as is abovesaid, I will hereafter call fountaines, because they are so vulgarly called.) In the said Cave, a head of marble distilleth water; and two trees by the turning of a cocke shed waters abundantly, and a little globe is turned about by Cupid, where the Images of Duckes dabble in the water, and then looke round about them; and in the midst of a marble table is an instrument, which with great art and force, driveth water into any furthest part of the Cave. So many and so divers are the castings of the water, as the most wary man cannot escape wetting, where they make sport to betray all lookers on in that kind. Neere this, and under the Pallace is a Bath, the wals whereof shine with glistering stones, and therein is a table of Alablaster. Neere this is a cave strongly built, yet by Art so made, as you would feare to enter it, lest great stones should fall upon your head: and here by the turning of a pipe, certaine images of Nimphes are carried by the water out of the
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Cave, and in againe, as if they had life, no water being seen: and in this Cave seeming ruinous, are the most curious Images of many beasts that ever I did see. In the next fountaine, with the turning of a Cocke, the unseeene waters cause a noise like thunder, and presently a great shower of raine fALS. But among all the Caves or Fountaines under the Pallace, one is most faire and large, at the one end whereof, upon the turning of a cocke, by the same motion of water unseeene, the Image of Fame doth loudly sound a Trumpet, while the image of a Clowne putteth a dish into the water, and taking up water, presents it to the Image of a Tyger, which drinketh the same up, and then moves his head, and lookes round about with his eyes, which is as often done as they please, who have the skill to order the Cocke. At the other end of that Cave, is the Image of Syrinx with her fingers halfe turned into reedes; and right against that, is the Image of Pan sitting upon a stoole, with a wreathed pipe in his hand, and Syrinx beckening to Pan, to play upon the pipe, Pan puts away his stoole with one hand, then standing on foot, plaies upon his pipe, and this done, lookes upon his mistresse, as if he desired thanks or a kisse for his paines: and then takes his stoole againe, and sits downe with a sad countenance. I know not that any place in the World affords such rare sights in this kind; but lest I should be tedious, it shall suffice onely to name the other Images and Caves. As you goe downe from the Pallace, you shall first see the Cave of Æolus, another of Parnassus, where, with the turning of a cocke, a paire of Organs doth make sweet musicke; and there is a head which together with the eyes is moved to and fro by the unseeene water, and there is a pleasant shade with many statuaes (or Images) curiously carved, and there the Duke doth many times eat. The third fountaine is called Il villano, that is, the Clowne. The fourth la pescaria, that is, the fish-pond, where a Ducke of India having foure wings, did swimme in the water. The fifth La lauandara, the
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Laundresse, where the statua of a woman with the turning of a Cocke, beats a bucke, turning the clothes up and downe with her hand and the battledor, wherewith shee beateth them in the water. The sixth vulgarly Caccioli, contains vessels to keepe the water cold. The seventh Del Rosso. The eight Grotta Copito, and in this Cave on all sides are marble chaires, whereupon passengers willingly sit after their walking: but assoone as they lightly presse some of the seats, a paile of water falls upon his head that sits upon it; besides the pavement is of marble, and therein many stones are so placed, as lightly touched with a man’s foot, they cast up water into his very face and eies. There be also well wrought Images, of a Serpent biting the finger of a Man, and of a Toade creeping to and fro, and of a Dragons head bowing downe to drinke water, which presently it vomits up againe. The ninth Il satiro, the Satire. The tenth La mascara, a woman with a vizard. To conclude, there is a large cage of birds, made of wier, and open to the aire, in which are birds of all kindes and many Countries, not onely singing to delight the eare, but of most pleasant and divers colours to delight the eye.

Returning from this garden, we rode to the Dukes Pallace, called La Petraia, where at that time he held his Court, (such as I shall in due place relate) and there we did see Duke Ferdinando, and his Dutchesse, daughter to the Duke of Loraine, and the young Princes and Princesses of the house of Medici walking into the Garden.

Thence we rode in our returne to Florence, to another Pallace of the Dukes, called Il Castello, being two miles distant from Florence: in the Garden whereof wee did see a faire Oke, called la Quercetta, to the top whereof we ascended by staires, and there with the turning of a cock, the water sprung up on all sides. There is a Fountaine, or a statua of a woman, made of mixt mettall (richer then brasse, called vulgarly di Bronzo,) and this statua shed water from all the haires of the head, and
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there be seates which cast out water when they are set upon. Here in another Cave are divers Images of beasts of Marble, curiously wrought, namely, of Elephants, Camels, Sheepe, Harts, Wolves, and many other beasts, admirable for the engravers worke. Here our guide slipped into a corner, which was only free from the fall of waters, and presently turning a cock powred upon us a shower of raine, and therewith did wet those that had most warily kept themselves from wetting at all the other fountaines. This Garden was full of pleasant hills and shades of Cipresse trees, and had three Cesternes of Marble to keepe water. Having now spoken of all the Dukes Pallaces within and neere the Citie, give me leave to relate by others report, that the Duke hath another Pallace ten miles distant from Florence, called Il Poggio, which he built for the pleasure of hunting.

This day being thus spent, we returned to Florence; and the next day wee went out on foote by the South Gate, to the stately Monastery of the Carthusians, called la Certosa, having in our company Italian Gentlemen, who caused us to bee well entertained there, and invited to dinner in their publique Refectory, where we had great cheare of fish, Pastry, and Sallats, but no flesh, which those Friers never eate, at least not publike. I made mention of this Monastery in my journey from Sienna to Florence, at which time those that did penance about Easter, flocked thither in great troopes, and now our Italian Consorts gave us the meanes to view the same. The Church is stately built, and the seates of the Chauncell are of Nut-tree. They did shew us the statua of Saint Chrisostome to the middle of silver, whose relieks also they keepe, and they shewed us one of the pots in which they said Christ turned water into Wine in Cana of Galily, (whereof the Papists shew many.) Also a statua of Saint Dennis Arcopagita, of silver, and like relieks kept there. These Friers professe great austeritie in Religion, and are tied to keepe silence, not Pithagoricall for some yeeres, but perpetuall, the lay-

The Friers tied to perpetuall silence.
brethren excepted, who doe the manuall workes of the house. They never eate flesh, for such is their rule, which if they breake, yet they doe it not in the publike place of eating. The Priest having sung Masse, doth after it many times bow downe his head, and then falles prostrate on his face, praying. Each Frier hath foure cells or chambers, and his private Garden planted with fruit trees, and therein a private well. They have no beds, but sleep upon straw, and eat privately in their owne Celles, only eating together in the publique roomes on the feast dayes, so as they may easily in private breake this vow of not eating flesh, if they list. To conclude, they give large almes to the poore, and thus by shew of holines, getting great riches from Lay-mens gift, they think to deserve heaven, by giving them (as the proverb is) a pig of their owne sow. The seate of this Monastery is very pleasant, upon a Hill or little Mountaine. Hence wee returned to Florence.

All the Cities of Italy have many houses wherein strangers may hire Chambers, called Camere locanti; and in Florence there be only three or foure publique Innes, all in one streete for daily passengers, and three houses like Colledges, called Albergi, for those that make long stay in the Citie, wherein they may hire Chambers for ten guilii the month, the host being tied, after the manner of Italy, besides their Chamber and bed, to dresse their meate, and finde them linnen. I living after this fashion, remember these rates of things bought: for a pound of Almons vulgarly una lira di Mandole, one giulio: a pound of great grapes dried, and called Susini, sixe creitzers, two pigeons one giulio, that is eight creitzers; two Apricotts a quatrine, a pound of Mutton, foureteene fifteene or sixeene quatrines; a pound of Lambe twelve quatrines; two egges five or sixe quatrines; a pound of Raisons or lesse grapes dried two baelli; and of another kinde, called Passere, sixe baelli; two Hennes fortie or fiftie sols; two Capons sextie sols; two Apples one quatrine, and seven Apples, one baello;
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an Orangetwo quatrines; two Citronesone baello; a
pound of drie figges sevenor tennequatrines; a pound

of the greatestreasons,or dried GrapescalledSebibi,
twelvequatrines,andthe bestkindeeighteene
quatrines;
a pound of Rice foureteeneor fifteene quatrines; a
vessel,called boccale,of Oyle, twelve creitzer or baelli

(being all one); a poundof butter, containingtwelve
ounces,two giulii, each ounce being seven quatrines;
two ouncesand a halfe of sugarfive baelli; an ounceof
Nutmegs sixe baelli; a pound of Walnuts twelve
quatrines; two little fresh cheeses,called Recotti,
thirteene quatrines; a fit proportion of any herbe for
sallatsone quatrine; and little proportionsof any spice
one quatrine, which proportion you may increaseas you
list. And I being lodged in the Albergo of the golden
keyes,called Alle chiavi d' oro nel' chiassodi Mestier
Bevigliano, paied for my chamberby the month twelve
giulii or reali; and moreover for salt at table five
Crietzeri or baelli. And in theseAlbergi, he that desires
to live at an ordinary, without trouble to buy his meate,
vulgarly In dozina, shall pay for eachmealetwo giulii,
and if he stay long, shall pay no more for two meales.
And they were wont to give a strangerhis chamberand
diet in these houses for tenne Crownes the moneth, each

Crownebeing ten giulii.
I being purposedto live in the Stateof Florencethis
Summer,especiallydesiredto spendmy time in learning
the Italian tongue,reputed the most pure in thoseparts;
to which end I resolved to returne to Sienna, and live

in that University: but becausemany Dutch and
English Gentlemen lived there, which were of my
acquaintance,and solitarie conversingwith the Italians
bestfitted my purpose,I rather choseto live at the Castle
S. Casciano,being a pleasantseate,and lying eight miles SanCasciano
from Florence, in the way to Sienna. And because I

lived in a publique Inne, and in a great high-way, and
was shortly to passethrough the Dutchie of Millan,
subject to the Spaniards,who then had warre with
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England, I did, for the avoiding of danger in that journey, give out that I was a Dutchman: but I staid here much longer then I purposed, for it happened at this time, that the Roman Inquisitors pursuing an English Gentleman, who had escaped their hands at Rome, did in stead of him cast another English Gentleman into prison, who then lay at Sienna, and was not much unlike him. And howsoever the first Gentleman escaping, the second was shortly set free, yet this chance made mee make lesse haste to Sienna; besides that I had my diet here at an easie rate, spending not above one Giulio each meale, and yet having such meate as I most desired, neatly dressed, and being diligently attended: but especially the most pleasing conversation of a Gentleman dwelling there, called Nicolao della Rocca, made me most unwilling to leave that Castle, and the rather because he had made me acquainted with a learned Kinsman of his Raphaele Columbano a Florentine. And I freely confesse, that the curtesie and manifold vertues of this Gentleman Nicolao della Rocca, then tooke such impression in me, as I shall not onely so long as I live dearly love him, and his memory, but bee glad to doe any pleasure to his least friend, or any Florentine, aswell for their generall good desert, as for his sake more specially. He was my companion in viewing the pleasures of this Territory, where among other things I did see many delightfull Groves (vulgarly Boschetti), Nets to catch birds (Ragnaii), Gardens for that purpose (Uccellari), al belonging to the Noble Florentine Families of Buondelmonte, and Guicciardini, having Pallaces neere adjoyning (of which sports I shall more largely speake in the due place, treating of the Italian exercises.) And to make the delights of my stay in this place more particularly justified, and to explane some events therein mentioned, I will adde two Epistles, which I then writ of this subject, the first from this place, the second from Florence, after I was departed from this Castle, and these being written in Italian, I will also turne into English.

Mandato ch’ io hebbi le meie lettere a la vulta di vos’ Signoria, stetti di lane fin’ hora sempre in su’ occhi & l’ orecchie (non senza rincrescimento della tardanza) badando le suoe. Queste benedette lettere tanto badate & hormai capitate, spieghai con tanta furia, non che frettà, che piu non hebbe mai l’ affamato di mettersi a tavola. E lodatosia Iddio, poi che s’ e indugiato un’ pezzo, finalmente il parto s’ e fatto maschio, che tanti & cosi vari sono i soggetti proposti da lei, che paiano rechiedere risposta distesa. Onde io che son’ scarico d’ ogni impedimento, & sto sfacendato nella villa, come un’ Romito nel deserto, mi stenderò (con sopportatione però delle suoe orecchie) nel rispondere a tutti i particolari d’ esse. E prima le darò raguaglio più minutamente del caso Siennese. Sappia dun que che pochi giorni fa, il Sig⁴. G.M. con tutto che se fosse publicamente impacciato in fatti di Stato, nondimeno per cavarsi il capriccio, travestito da Suizzero, & par troppo (come mi pareva) contrafatto, volse arrischirarsi d’ andar’ da Fiorenza a Roma. Il viaggio gli riusci commodamente, però non s’ era più presto tornato a Sienna, & di la (con sua buona ventura) senza punto di tardanza messosi in cammino la voltadi Fiorenza, che da l’ Inquisitori Romani sopragiunse un’ mandato al Podestà di Sienna di farlo prigione. Hora avenne ch’ il Sig⁴ G.L. stando a Sienna & essendo (come sa lei) grandone, d’ aere allegro, & havendo altri contrasegni della sua barba & cera, fu preso da i Sbirri, & per l’ Inquisitori messo in prigione. Dove sepe con tal’ discrezione portarsi, che loro avvedutosi d’ haverlo pigliato così in escambio, gli resero la libertà, laquale gode stando a Sienna fin’ hora. Ma quel mandato passando oltre, arrivò fin’ a Fiorenza, dove il Sig⁴ G.M. per via d’ un’ amico in Corte (non dico gia ch’ il gran Ducane fosse consapevole) essendone
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informato disera in su l' Ave-Maria, diede subito a le gambe, tenendo la volta di Paduoa, in tal fretta che pareva proprio volar di là dell' Apennino senza ale. Ringratia to sia il cielo che sia fugito a salvamento, che con tutto che a noi altri Todeschi rileva nulla, pure anch' io come un' forestiero, m' attristo & ho viveri sentimento delle disgrazie d' altri, che da suoi amici & dalla patria sono lontani. Non posso tenir le risa, quando m' imagino gli fieri salti che egli fa sopra le montose scoglie. I contadini devono pensare che egli vada a la caccia d' i Caprioli, che forse non s' accorgeranno quante fiate egli rivolge gli occhi sopra le spalle, & ad ogni passa gata, di puar a che qualche Veltro Romano non se gli aventasse a dosso. L' importanza e, ch' egli non se faccia secco sotto qualche frasca, dove per ogni picciol' vento che soffia, prodrà essere tradito: che non fermandosi per strada vil' do salvo, inteso che gli bracchi Romani per tracciare in Stato d' i Veneti, poco, di la dell' Alpi, nulla vagliano. Hora che vada egli a buon' viaggio, & vi dirò fuora di burla, ch' io a la prima senti gran' dispiacere di questa percossa, finche intese le dette nuove, mi son' rihavuto. Del resto, buon' per loro, che questo gli sia accaduto nel' Stato Fiorentino, che altramente i Preti l' arebbino fatto un' mal' scherzo. Tal sia di questo. Hora per ristorarcì, ragionamo un' poco d' Orlando. E' quanto a la vostra gran' buona lingua Toscana (respondendovoi capo per capo), vedete come non è melsenza Mosche ne vostra lettera (per gratiosa che sia,) senza suoe punture & fianchate. Può far il cielo, come si puo capitar' male per essere franteso. Ch' io burla di voi? Dio non voglia ch' io burla d' amici miei mai mai mai: Mi rallegrò ben' con essi tal' volta, & che volete ch' io faccia poi? non conoscendo altro soggetto delle lette di trattenemento, che Cortiganie O bajè. S' io pensassi che l' areste scritto da buon' senno, mi verrebbe talmente la Senapa al naso, che sarei per cozzar' col capo contra il muro. Ma son' chiarissimo, che conquista brigha m' habbitate volsuto dar' la baja, per farmi montar'
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in bestia contra mi stesso. Dunque vi replica, che malgrado vostro mi stupisco ancora d' i vostri Toscanismi, non ch' io pensi ch' abbiaie avanzato Petrarcha Dante, Boccacio, con quelli altri maestri della' favella volgare, ma che d' un Novizc siate riuscito un' gran' Dottore, havendovi fatto gran' profitto senza ch' io me n' avedesesse, si non in quel tratto che me ne deste saggio per le vostre tanto garbate & gentile lettere. Talmene ch' il torto e vostro, d' esservi apigliato alle parole non al senso mio. Doglietevi poi di voi stesso per quel' disagio ch' il scrivere nella lingua Toscana vi possa recare, ch' io in Sul' ragionar' ho cavato da vastra bocca propria, che questo vi sarebbe caro, & da parte mia spero coglierne frutto, dandovi occasione di segnar' le meie scorrettioni, & di farmi parte de quei vostri belli passi di Lasco. Il che vi suplico far' meco a la libera, & in cito mostrarmi quanto mi vogliate bene. Con questa risposta state cheto, si non, fò giuro d' assissino, che vi loderò tanto in sul' viso, che vi ne verrà rossore. Passo inanzi, dove mi motteggiate, d' haver messo quel' Oime a bella posta per far mostra d' eloquenza, & fatte professione d' essere schifo de lo scriveri per vergogna del vostro rozzo stilo. Buon a fe: Riconosco l' Ironia. Contentatevi & godetevi nel' seno senza trionfarvine, ch' io vi cedo volentieri in ogni fatto d' ingegno, pure che mi sia lecito di parreggiarvi d' amore. Ma per vindicarmi di vostre sferzate, & accioche non cediate ch' io cagliassì affatto per vostre braverie Toscanesche, m' ingregnerò di rivolgere la colpa che m' imputate in su le spalle vostre. Et penso durarci poca fatica, poiché voi sopra quella medesima parolina, Oime, havete fatto un' si bel' discorso, che vi debbano haver' una dolce invidia gli valentc Teologi, i quali però hanno il grido, poter' d' ogni poco di soggetto ragionar' dalla levata inin' al tramontar' del sole. Mi pare poi ch' andate troppo animosamente a la volta d' i Ciarletani, non curando di farvi nemice queste gentaccie, a che se si dia nell' unghie senza essere ben' provisto di Copia verborum, mi racomando, che in quanto al' menar' la

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lingua, non hanno pari. Davanzo la confidenza della lingua, scioltà, & della prontozza d' ingegno, vi trasporta a dir1 molto male contra la cosa più garbata che altra che si sia nel mondo, cioè lettere di trattenimento. Per levarvi questo errore, succintamente dirò. Le cose che più s' adoperano ci devono essere più care. L' aere che ci nodrisce, sopra ogni cosa si pregia. Il pan' & il vino, senza chi non si può essere, più si procacciano, che fasiani, tordi, O quaglie! Tali sono le lettere sopradette, ch' in ogni gentil2 brigata più si ragiona di cortesia, d' Amore, di ciance, che del piattire, o maneggiar' il stato. Et per non fastidirvi con infiniti argomenti; 1' Arte & 1' ingegno del' Oratare, si mostrano nella rarità & sterilità della materia che si tratta, come nel' loddar3 l' Asino, nel' dispregar' le scientie, è cose simile. Ora per lettere di facende, non è huomo di si grossa pasta, che non le spedisca destramente: la narratione del' bisogno, un Miracomando, & bello finito. Ma quelle altre, se non siano abellite con l' invenzione, & quasi lisciate con certe stravaganze, riesconofracide & di poca lode al scrittore. E' vero, ch' i Secretarii, Notaii, & tali gente facendate, scorticandosi (per modo di dire) ne lo scrivere, & impazzandone gli cervelli, hanno qualche pretesto di ragione, a lamentarsi d' i complementi amorevoli. Ma voi scio perati, stando nelle città, & che più importa nelli studi Toscani, doueste hor mai gridare: vivano le lettere di trattenimento, piene di parole gratiose. Hora fatte voi, andate, e si non vi pare ch' io v' habbia ben' acciocciato, pigliatevi spasso dell' eloquenza contadinesca. In su' l' stringere, mi date delle Signorie per farmi piacere, & me n' avertite ancora. O questo si. M' havete tocco a punto dove mi duole. Et non vedete ch' in Italia c' ha carestia d' ogni cosa delle Signorie in fuora, che si danno a buona rata insino a i fachini. Tanto che si ben' io ne fosse ambitioso, tuttavia per il soverchio godere, ne restaria svogliato. Datemi allegramente del voi, senza parlar' in astratto con l' Idei, che non mi terrò per affronto, anzi per Arra
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d'Amore. Io per me, vedendo che le Signorie non vi sono a grado non vi ne darò mai al' avvenire, si non in escambio di quelle, che mi mandarete a me, & in quel caso vile ronderò con l' interesse. Quanto a le vostre offerte si calde d' amistà, non mi basta l' animo spieghare, quanto mi son' ite a sangue. Ma forza m' e risponderèvi in presente con l' animo, fino che m' occorre farlo con l' opere: pure in quel mentre mivi impegno, & mivi dono per tutto quel che porta il mio valsente. Fatte di me ciò che volete, tenetemivi per schiavo, & si bisognasse, vendetemi a Turchi: che volete altro? Direte poi che son' baje anche queste, & non sapete ch' il Poeta sotto parole finte adombra il vero? Credetimi, se non volete ch' io usa di furiosi protestationi, perchè in ogni modo voglio che mi si creda. Parlo da senno, commandatomi a fidanza, dove posso essere buono per vostro servitio, come io mi servirò liberamento di voi, il che vedrete in effetto per la brigha che vi da l' inclusa. Et con questo vi bacio le mani, & anche le guanci (a la venetiana). Da San' Casciano a li vinti tre di Luglio. 1594.

Desso in guisa di fratello,
Fines Morysoni.


Che possano essere confinate nelli studioli d' i Mercatanti queste facende, (per non dir' peggio); poi che m' hanno fatto, non dismenticarmi di V.S. (che questo non farebbono giamai), ma ben' d' indugiar' troppo a farle fede della mia dolce rimembranza di lei. Hora essendo io in su la partenza per andar' la volta di Paduoa, mi son' mosso a scriverle queste poche righe, con patto che non le manda a l' Academia della Crusca per essere censurate, poiche essendo io (per dire) a Cavallo, forza e, che loro participano della confusione & del' scompiglio in che io mi truvo. E pure possibile
ch' un' galant' huomo suo pare manca della promessa? Io stava a vedere con che sicurtà lei procedesse meco, per pigliarne qualche saggio di suo amore, & l' aspettava parecchi giorni (dirò liberamente non senza mio sconcio) per darle l' ultimi Idii. Ma poiche, o per ismemoragine, o altra cagione che si sia, questo aboccamento non c' è riuscito, ne manco ci resta mezo a revederci per aconciar' a bocca questa brigha. Non c' ha altro remedio si non di far' pace a bell' agio per lettere. A che debito io mentre che starò a Paduoa non mancarò da parte mia, & tornato che sarà in paese mio, secondo l' occorrenze, raffazzonorò quel' poco della favella Toscana, che d' un' viaggio fra tante confusione di lingue m' avanzerà, & le chiarirò, ch' il suo amore mi sarà assai più cresciuto, che questa non mi sarà scemata. Duee cose mi premano. La prima e quel' carico delle suoe cortesie usate verso di me, che m' ha messo in su' l' dosso, di tanto peso quanto lei sa: loquale il Sig' Raphaele Colombani di qua anche più m' aggrava, chi m' ha invitato amorevolmente a casa sua, m' ha menato a la Certosa, & in somma trattomi con tanta amorevolezza quanta non si può dire. Io lo recevo come fatto per amor' di V.S. (che non m' inganno delle miei pochi meriti) & tuttavia non lene ringratio altramente, perché in questi simili fatti non c' ha pagha di parole. Il secondo martello che lavora nel' mio cervello s' e, ch' essendo io talmente tenuto a V.S. misento gravata la conscienza, d' haverla ingannata in un' certo particolare. Il che tanto piu mi pesa, quanto più per quel' inganno mi si toglie affatto ogni speranza, di poter' mostrarlene gratitudine, se per caso mi se presentasse l' occasione, (dellaquale quanto io sia bramoso, Dio vel' dica.) Hora per sgrafar' l' una & sgannar l' altra a un' tratto, per questa charta (privilegiata come le maschere, di non arrossire per grande che sia la vergogna del' Patron) le fo fede, ch' io son Inghlese, e non mica Todesco, come l' ho dato ad intendere fin' hora. Et accioche non ne ritragga d' essere abbatuto in qualche Juntatore, o personaggio indegno di quella suoa acco-
LETTER TO SIGNOR DELLA ROCCA

A.D. 1594.

glienza che m' ha fatta sopra modo gentile, sappia che per rispetti honorevoli io m' habbia in tal' guisa mas-
carato. Non dubito punto, che l' e gia hormai chiara l' inimicitia ch' abbiano i nostri con i spagnuoli, tanto che si l' un' capissate in man' dell' altro, di fatto restaria prigione infino che fosse riscattato. Hora havendo Io da passare fra pochi giorni pel' Ducato di Milano, mi pareva cosa sciocca di darmi a conoscere, specialmente stando io in un' hosteria nella strada maestra, per dove tutti di quelle bande giornalmente passano. Ho firma speranza, che lei sia per farmi buona l' iscusa, o vero al manco per perdonarmi l' errore. Si ricorda che le son' servitore piu che mai, ne posso essere piu suo che mi sono, & mantenga l' Inghlese nella sua buona gratia, per quella sua gentilezza propria, per laquale e stata acquistata al Todesco: che degnandosi di commandarmi in persona d' Inghlese, mi rincuoro far' ogni gran' cosa per amor suo, che potrebbe far' qual si voglia Todesco. Et con questo, abbracciandola cosi da lontano, mi l' offero & racomando una volta per sempre. Et di nuovo le bacio le mani. Da Fiorenza a li dieci d' Augsto, l' An' 1594.

Di V.S. affettmo. servitore,
F.M.

To the noble Gentleman M. T. H. a Gentleman [I. ii. 159.]
of England my most respected, at Pisa in the
house of Master T. A.

After I had sent mine unto you, mine eyes and eares
were ever attentive to receive your answere, not
without some griefe that it was so long delaied. These
blessed letters so much expected, are at last arrived,
which I opened in as great haste, as hungry men set
downe to table. And faire is our fortune, after patient
expecting, at last wee have got a man-childe: for so
many and so divers are the subjects you propound, as
they seeme to require a large answere. And therefore I
that am as much at leasure in the Countrey, as an Hermit in the Desart, will enlarge my selfe (with your patience) to answere all the particulars. And first I will give you an account of the chaunce at Sienna. Know then that of late Master W. M. howsoever hee had publikely imploied himselfe here in matters of State, yet to satisfe his owne humour, would needes venter to goe from Florence to Rome, appareled like a Switzer, and (as it seemed to me) too much disguised. His journey fell out well, yet hee was no sooner returned to Sienna, & from thence (by good adventure) gone towards Florence, but a Mandate came from the Inquisitors of Rome to put him in prison at Sienna. Now it happened, that Master W. L. lying then at Sienna, and being (as you know) high of stature, and of chearefull countenance, and having other markes of his beard and face, was taken by the Sergiants, and imprisoned by the Inquisitors of Sienna. Where hee carried himselfe with that discretion, as they perceiving they had mistaken him, set him at libertie, which hee now enjoyes at Sienna. But the Mandate passing forward came to Florence, where Master W. M. having notice thereof in the evening about Ave Marie time, by a friend in Court (I say not with the Dukes privitie,) presently tooke him to his heeles towards Paduoa, in such haste, as hee seemed to flye over the Apennine without wings. And now (God be praised) hee is in safetie. For howsoever this chance importeth not us that are Dutchmen, yet my selfe as a stranger, am sorrie for any disadventures happening to others, who are farre from their friends and Countrey. I cannot hold from laughing, when I imagin with my selfe, what large steppes hee makes over the rockey Mountaines. The Countrey people will thinke that hee hunts for Kiddes, not marking how often hee lookes backe, for feare least some Roman Greyhound should lay hold on him behind. The maine doubt is, that hee thinke not himselfe safe, where hee may bee betraied; for if hee stay not by the way, I dare assure you of his safetie;
the Roman Hounds having little skill to hunt in the State of Venice, and none at all beyond the Alpes. Now let him goe on his happie voyage, and I will tell you without jest, that I was much astonished at this accident, till I was restored by understanding this happie event. It was well for them that this happened in the State of Florence, for otherwise the Priests would have sifted them like bran. So much for them. Now for pastime, let us talke a little of Orlando. And that I may answere you from point to point, first, concerning your excellent Tuscan language; see how there in never hony without stinging Bees, neither are your loving letters without their exceptions. How soone a man may be blamed, being misunderstood. Should I jest at you? sure I never jest at my friends, sometimes I am merry with them, and what would you have mee doe, knowing no other subject of idle letters, but complement and mirth. If I thought you had written this in earnest, I should take such pepper in the nose, as I should bee readie to run my head against the wall: but I am most certaine you have picked this quarrell with mee, to make mee angrie with my selfe. Therefore I replie howsoever you take it, that I am still amased at your Tuscan eloquence, not that I think you passe Petrarch Dante, and Baccaceo, and the other great Masters of that language, but that of a novice, you are become a Doctor, before I could perceive it, had you not given mee this taste thereof by your gentle letters. So as you are in the wrong, taking my words and not my meaning; and blame your selfe for the trouble you have in answering mee in the Italian Tongue, since I understood from your owne mouth that you would willingly exchange such letters, which for my part will bee profitable to me, giving you occasion to correct my errours, and to impart unto mee the eloquent phrases of Lasco. And this I pray you doe freely with me, and therein shew me how much you love me. Be content with this answere, otherwise (I sweare by no beggars) I will praise you so much to your face,
as I will make you blush. I goe forward, and come to your quip, that I began my letters with the word (Alas) to shew my eloquence, and that you were ashamed to write to mee for your rude stile. Very good, I finde the Irony: content your selfe that I gladly yeelde to you in all points of wit, so it may bee lawfull for me to equall you in love. Yet to revenge this frump, and that you may not thinke I am daunted with your Toscan bravery, I will attempt to cast that upon your owne shoulders, which you impute to me, and this I thinke to doe with ease, since upon this one little word (Alas) you have made so faire a discourse, as you may justly bee envied by our great Divines, who upon the least subject are held able to discourse from morning till night. Againe, me thinkes you are somewhat too bold with the Mountibankes, not caring to make them your enemies, into whose hands if you fall, without being well stored with Copia verborum, woe be to you, for you know they are most skilfull Fencers with the tongue. Moreover, the confidence of your skill in this tongue, transports you to speake ill of the most gentle and delightfull thing in the world, namely, of complement- ing letters. And to cure you of this error, I will briefely remember you. That the things of greatest use, are most deare unto us. The aire that nouriseth us, is most of all deare. All men seeke more for bread and wine, without which they cannot live, then for Phesants, Black-birds or Quailes: such are letters of complement: for in every gentle company, there is more discourse of courtesie, love, and toies, then of Law or State matters. And not to be tedious with many arguments. The art and wit of the Orator is most shewed in the barrennesse of the subject whereof he speaks, as in praising the Asse, dispraising liberall sciences, and in like subjects. Now for letters of busines, no man is so blockish that cannot easily dispatch them; when he hath told the businesse, and bid farewell, all is done. But if letters of complement bee not beautified with invention, they
LETTER TO AN ENGLISHMAN

A.D. 1594.

Letter to T. H. in English.

are dull, and the writer deserves small praise. It is true, that Secretaries, and Scriveners, tyred with writing of businesse, have some reason to declame against letters of complement, but you being at leasure, and living in a Citie, yea, in an Universitie of Toscany, should say with me, well fare letters of complement, full of gratious words. Goe too now, and if you thinke I have not wel fitted you, hereafter make your selfe sport with our Country eloquence. Towards the conclusion, you give me many Master-ships (or worships) to doe mee pleasure, and you remember me of it, least I should not see it. Indeed you have now hit me just where my paine lies, yet you know nothing is so cheape in Italy as master-ships, which are plentifully given to very Porters, so as if I loved them well, yet the very plenty of them, would make them irkesome. Write you to me without any speaking of Masterships in the third person, which I wil take for no disgrace, but rather for a pledge of your love. And for my part, since these titles are unpleasing to you, I will hence forward send you no more of them, except it be in exchange of those you shall send me, in which case I will pay you with usurie. Touching your affectionate offers of love to me, I cannot expresse how I take them to heart, but for the present I can returne you nothing but words, till occasion serves to witnesse my love in action, and in the meane time I leave my selfe at the stake with you, yea, I give my selfe to you, all that little I am worth, doe with me what you please, keepe me for your servant, and if neede bee, sell me to the Turkes: what would you have more? You will say also that this is written in jeast, yet you know that Poets under fained words shadow the truth. Beleeve me, except you will have me use furious protestations, for I will and must be beleived. I speake in good earnest, commaund me with securitie, where I am good for your service, for my selfe will freely make bold with you, as in effect you may see in the trouble I give you by the inclosed. And so I kisse your hands, and also
A.D.
1594.
Letter to T. H. in English.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

To the noble Sigr. the Sigr. Nicolao della Rocca
my most respected, at his house in Saint Casciano; or to his hands.

Letter to Signor Della Rocca in English.

your cheekes after the manner of Venice. From Saint Casciano this 23 of July, 1594.

The same, as your brother,

F. M.

Et this foolish businesse (not to say worse) bee confined to Merchants counting-houses, since it hath made me, not forget you (which it can never doe,) but to use too great delay in giving you testimony of my kind remembrance of you. Now being ready to take horse for my journey to Paduoa, I thought good to write these few lines unto you, with condition that you send them not to be censured in the Academy della Crusca, for my selfe being thus removing, they must needes participate the confusion in which I am for the present. Is it possible that a brave Gentleman like your selfe should faile of his promise? I stood looking with what securitie you would procede with mee, to take it for an evidence of your love, and expected many daies (I will say freely not without some inconvenience) to have the happinesse to see you ere I went. But since either by your forgetfulness, or other reason best knowne to you, this our meeting hath not succeeded, and there is no more hope that wee should meete to reconcile this quarrell, there is no other remedie but to make our peace at pleasure by exchange of letters. In which dutie (for my part) I will not faile, so long as I shall stay at Paduoa. And when I shall bee returned to my Country, I will upon all occasions, scour up that little Toscan language, which after my long journey through confusion of tongues shall be remaining unto me, to make it appeare to you, that howsoever my language be decreased, yet my heartie love towards you shall evermore increase. Two things lie heavie upon me; first, the burthen of your curtesies, wherewith you have loded me, as you best know, and

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LETTER TO SIGNOR DELLA ROCCA

wherewith Sig' Raphaele Columbani hath newly charged me here, by inviting me friendly to his house, by leading me to the Monastery Certosa, and by entartaining me with unspeakable kindnes, which I take as done for your sake, (knowing my owne small desert), and yet I doe not so much as thanke you for it, because I know such favours can not bee repaied with words. The second thing which lies heavie upon me, is that being thus bound unto you, I am ashamed to have deceived you in one point, which so much the more grieves mee, because this deceit hath utterly taken from me all hope, to expresse my love to you hereafter upon any happie occasion, then which nothing should be more pleasing to me. Now at once to disburden my selfe, and to cleare you for being any longer deceived, by this paper (having the priviledge of Maskers vizards, which never blush, howsoever their Masters have cause to bee ashamed), I let you know, that I am an Englishman, and not a Dutchman, as I have hitherto caused my selfe to bee reputed. And lest you should thereby doubt, that you have cast your love upon an Jugler, or a man unworthy your so great favours; know that for honourable respects I have thus concealed my Countrey. I am sure you know, that the English have warre with the Spaniardes, so as either falling into the hands of the other, should bee lawfull prisoners upon Ransome, and I being within few dayes to passe through the Dutche of Milan, did therefore thinke it no wisedome to make my selfe knowne, especially lying in a publique Inne, upon the beaten high-way, which all men of those parts daily passe. I am confident that you will make good my excuse, or at least pardon my errour; remember that I am your servant more then ever, neither can bee more yours then I am; & maintaine the Englishman in your good favour, by the same gentlenesse, in which you vouchsafed it to me as a Dutch-man: for in whatsoever you shall commaund me as an English-man, my heart serves mee to doe you as faithfull service, as any Dutch-man whatsoever. And so imbracing you thus
farre off, I offer and recommend my selfe to you once for all. And againe I kisse your hands. From Florence this tenth of August, 1594.

Your affectionate servant, F. M.

I had taken my journey from Saint Casciano to Florence, that I might receive money, and now upon a sudden occasion being to returne to Sienna, and from thence to Padoua, I hired a horse to Sienna, but have omitted what I paiied for the same, and so I returned to Sienna by the same way I came, namely, to Travernelle fittenee miles, and to Sienna seventenee, which journey for others instruction I will particularly set downe.

To Saint Casciano eight miles; to Colmo four; to Barbarino six; to Puodibonzo six; to Sienna five, being in all thirtie two miles.

The situation of Sienna is most pleasant, upon a high hill, and the forme not unlike to an earthen vessell, broad in the bottom, and narrow at the mouth, which narrow part lies towards the West, where comming from Florence, you enter by the Gate Camolea. Neere the same is a Fort, wherein the great Duke keepes souldiers, and there without the gate is the Church of Saint Marie, whether was great concourse of people for devotion. From hence to the East gate, leading towards Rome, the streetes lie even and plaine, though the Citie be seated upon a mount; and in this part toward the East, the City is broadest, and from this gate a man may see the Castle Redicofini, forty miles distant, upon the confines of the States of the Pope and the great Duke. Betweene the said gates, as it were in the center of the City, lies a most faire Marketplace, in the forme of an Oyster, and lying hollow as the shell thereof is. And there is a stately Pallace of the Senate, built when the Citie was free; in the front whereof is a statua of mixt mettall, vulgarly called di bronzo, which seems to bee appareled, having on the head a broad hat and this statua strikes the houre of the clock. On the South-East side within the
walles lies a large field, which was then sowed with corne, yet the Citie hath few or no Gardens within the wall.

Not farre from the walles on the South-side, lies the Cathedrall Church vulgarly called Il Domo, and howsoever it be little, it seemed to me the fairest Church in Italy. It hath but one dore, to which you ascend by long and broad Marble staieres. All the pavement is most beautifull of ingraven Marble, adorned with Images of the five Sybills; and there be in this Church some twentie Images of mixt mettall, besides many other of Marble. The seates of the Chauncell are of Walnut-tree, curiously carved; and all the rooffe of the Church is painted of skie colour, and all set with starres. Upon the inside, and in the upper part of the Church, are the Images of the Popes, wrought in stone to the shoulders, set round about, where betweene Gregorie the fourth, and Adrian the second, I wondred to see the head of Pope Joane, with the inscription naming her, especially in a Citie so neere Rome. Having noted this at Sienna, and after my comming into England reading the same, I searched Histories to see how they agreed in this matter, which the Papists cannot heare with patience. And I found in approved Authors, that after the said Gregory the fourth, succeeded Sergius the second (confirmed by the Emperour Lotharius, in the yeere 844); then Leo the fourth (dying in the yeere 854); then Pope Joane (setting two yeeres and few moneths, and dying in the yeere 856); then Benedict the third, then Nicholas the Great (in the yeere 858); then the foresaid Adrian the second (in the yeere 867.) And if any man aske, why the heads of Sergius the second, Leo the fourth, Benedict the third, and Nicholas the great being omitted, the head of Pope Joane should stand betweene the heads of Gregorie the fourth, and Adrian the second, I leaving the curious search thereof to them that list dispute it, as a matter nothing to my purpose, can suddenly give no other reason thereof, then that I conjecture the said heads were set on the other side of the Church: for at
that time I was content to note the same, without casting
this doubt, and so not searching to satisfie my selfe
therein. But I dare boldly affirme, that my selfe and the
two Dutch-gentlemen my consorts, did see this monu-
ment in this Church neere the doore on the right hand
as we came in. And since that time, I have conferred
with divers worthy English Gentlemen, who affirmed
that they did see the same. In this Church are two
sepulchers, one of Pope Alexander the third, the other
of Pope Pius the second. And in a Chappell of this
Church, is a most faire Font.

From this Church descending by slope and steepe
streetes towards the South-west wall, you shall come to
a most pleasant Fountaine, called Fonte Branda, without
the South gate, of which the Citizens proverbially say,
that if a stranger drinke thereof, he shall so love Sienna,
as he shall very unwillingly and scarce at all depart from
the City. But the Florentines in scorne of the Siennesi,
have a proverbe, Chi de fonte Branda beve, diventa
pazzo; He that drinkes of the fountaine Branda,
becomes a foole. It casts out water by nine mouths of
stone, and there be three places where Laundresses wash,
and neere the same is a pleasant grove. On the same
South side towards the Sea, some few miles from the
Towne, lies a fenny plaine called La Maremma, most
fruitfull in corne, but infamous for ill aire; so as the
place being forsaken by all Italians, is tilled by the
Grisons, comming downe from the Alpes to this place
in winter time, when the Alpes are all covered with snow,
and in the spring time returning backe into their owne
Countrey. Sienna it selfe is much subject to raine, so
as a Spaniard comming often thither in rainy weather,
did write, or is said to have written to his friend, for a
wonder, that it alwaies rained at Sienna. On the North-
east side of the City, two large fields within the wals,
are sowed with corne: All the pavement of the streets
is of bricke, which lasteth the longer, because there be
neither carts nor coaches, but all burthens are carried
COMMENTS UPON SIENNA

Upon the backes of Asses. There is a stately Pallace which Pope Pius the second built, who was a Citizen of Sienna, of the Family of Picciolomini, and there in the Mount Olivet the passion of Christ is curiously graven. It is vulgarly and truely said, that Sienna abounds with Fountaines, Towers, and faire Weomen: There is no better place to live in through all Italy, then the state of Florence, and more specially the most sweet City of Sienna. The Citizens whereof are most curteous, and they have many publike meetings of the young weomen & Virgines to dance, where the doore is open for any Citizen or stranger.

Besides Sienna is commended for the best language, and in the same, and in all the state of Florence, men live safe from robberies, and from the murthers, which are frequent in Lombardy. Adde that they have delicate diet, at Florence at a reasonable rate, and in the rest of the territory at a very cheape rate. Our Hostesse at Sienna gave us cleane linnen often changed both at bed and boord, a large chamber, a good bed, a linnen canopy oft changed, and did provide our meat very cleanly; for which each man paid no more then ten giulii by the moneth. We bought our owne meat, and I remember that the price of oyle was twenty five lires the barrell, that I paid for as much wood as an Asse would beare four baelli. They have butter, but not so good as in the valley of Arno, and they sell it twenty two sols the ounce. The Magistrate sets a price upon every thing to be sold in the market, neither dare any man sell ought, before his price be set; and upon the Butchers stals, a bill is set of the prices at which they must sell their meat, so as a stranger cannot be deceived. The price of wheat was 120. lires the Moggio, containing forty eight English peckes, and each lire is a giulio and a halfe. The Toscanes hold Rammes stones fried for a great daintie, which they call La Granella, and sell it after a giulio the pound, at Sienna commonly they eat Kids flesh for three baeli the pound, and a whole Kidde for four giullii and
a halfe, Mutton two baeli and a halfe the pound, a Kiddes head three baeli, Bacon eighteene quatrines the pound, Cheese a giulio the pound, little birds a quatrine a piece, a vessell of wine containing thirty two boccali and a halfe for ten giulii and two baeli.

The eighteenth of November in the yeere 1594, I rode forty miles to Lucca, and ten to Pisa. If any man desire to know the right way from Sienna to Pisa, I will set it downe by relation of a friend, who rode the same in a day and night, without intermission, being fifty miles, the first seven through mountaines, thirteene miles through pleasant hils, and thirty miles in a plaine, tilled after the Lombard fashion, with corne, and vines growing upon Elmes, and he reported the way to be most safe by night as well as day, though a man were knowne to carry money. But I returne to my owne journey from Sienna, where I hired a horse to Lucca for foureteene giulii; and the first day in the morning I rode twenty two miles to Castell Fiorentino, in a narrow plaine, betweene fruitfull hils of pasture and corne. By the way I lighted at Castell Certaldo, seated upon a mount, that I might see the sepulcher of John Boccacio, upon which these verses (of his owne invention while he lived) were engraven:

Hac sub Mole jacent cineres ac ossa Johannis, 
Mens sedet ante Deum meritis ornata laboris; 
Mortalis vitae genitor Boccarius illi: 
Patria Certald, studium fuit alma Poesis.

Under this Pile Johns bones and ashes lie, 
His soule at rest enjoieth his labours hire; 
Borne at Certald, he studied Poesie, 
Boccacio was the sirname of his Syre.

Collucius Pierius hath added more in old Lombard letters, in the yeere 1375, and upon the very sepulcher other writings are raced out, under which this is written in Latine: Lactantius Theobaldus when he was Podesta (or Governour) at Certaldo for the people of Florence,
admiring his pleasant wit and quicke invention, did for
the renewing of his memory, erect this monument to him
at his owne charge, and that by fines imposed in the yeere
1500. Also his statua without a beard carved in marble,
was set upon his Toome. At Castell Fiorentino I paid
three giulii and a halfe for my dinner, and one guilio for
my horse-meate.

After dinner I rode fiftene miles to Ponte Capiano,
where every horse of Carriers laded, and of Vetturines
hired, paieth two giulii to the Duke, which taxe they
say the Duke imposed, to withdraw Merchants from
trading that way, leading to Lucca. All the way the
fields were tilled on the Lombard fashion, with corne,
and vines growing upon Elmes. Before we had rode
two miles, I passed the River Arno, and paid halfe a
giulio for my passage. At Ponte Capiano I paid ten
baeli for my supper upon reckoning, and twelve baeli for
oates for my horse, and eight baeli for hay, straw, and
stable roome. The second day in the morning I
rode through the like way, (having mountaines on
my right hand towards the North) seven miles in
the state of Florence, and six miles to Lucca in
that free state. This City I have discribed before; and
here I paid for my dinner upon reckoning two giulii and
a halfe. After dinner I hired a horse for two giulii,
and rode through like way, in a fruitfull plaine, five miles
in the state of Lucca, and then five miles more to Pisa,
passing into that state over a high mountaine, and the
rest of the way lying through fenny grounds. This
City I have discribed before, and here I paid for my
supper three giulii or reali.

And because the passage by sea was more dangerous
from Ligorno to Genoa, I hired a horse to Lirigi for one
piastro or silver crowne. The first day I rode twelve
miles, through an open plaine, to Via Regia, and there
passing out of the state of Florence into that of Lucca,
I rode eight miles through a thicke wood, where the
quarters of theeves were newly hung up, who few daies

FROM SIENNA TO LUCCA

A.D. 1594.
A.D. 1594.

FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

before had robbed and almost killed a Frenchman; and then entering againe the state of Florence, I rode one mile to Pietra Santa, and five miles more in the same state of Florence, and one mile and a halfe in the state of Lucca, and halfe a mile to Masso in the state of the Prince of Masso, who is a Marquesse of the Family of Malaspina. All this way being through a plaine, tilled after the manner of Lombardy, with mountaines of Chesse-nuts on the right hand, having in all rode this day twenty eight miles.

In this Citty of Masso the Post-master staied us from going any further, pretending to give us new horses, because those we had were hired of his man at Pisa: but the true cause was, that we might lodge in his house that night, to which my companions agreed, but my selfe being desirous to see the quarries of marble at Carrara, tooke of him halfe the piastro I had paid at Pisa, and so I left my horse. Then turning out of the way, I went on foot three miles to Carara, through woody mountaines abounding with Chesse-nuts. This Towne is subject to the Prince of Masso, and is famous for the marble, which is much preferred before other, as well for the exceeding whitenes of some stones, as for the length of pillars and tables digged thence, which made it much esteemed at Rome in the time of the free state, and of the Empire; and by reason it lies neere the sea, the stones are more easily conveyed to Rome, or els where. In one of the quarries called Pianella, I did see many stones digged out, which were as white as snow, and other quarries have veines of all colours: and they sell as much marble as an Oxe will draw for twenty sols; but if it be carved there, the price is greater, according to the workmanship. Each quarry is proper to some private man, and if any man digge in another mans querry, they fine him at twenty crownes, or more according to the dammage.

When I beheld the beauty of Men and Weomen in these parts, which seemed to me greater then in any other part of Italy, I remembred the Patriarke Jacob, who laid
FROM PISA TO GENOA

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party coloured rods in the watring troughes, when the Ewes were in heat, to make them bring party coloured lambes: and I thought by the same reason and force of nature, that they who digged these white marbles, might have a more beautifull race. The Innes of this Towne were base, and onely fit to entertaine Artificers: and here I paid for a poore supper of herbes, egges, and chessenuts, ten baei.

The second day in the morning, I went forward in my journey on foot, and that alone, first three miles to the confines of the Marquesate of Masso, then foure miles in the Territory of Genoa, to a strong Fort belonging to that State, and seated in a plaine; and I paid for my passage over the River Magra two baei: and after I went three miles over mountaines, abounding with Olive trees, and the tree Lecha yeelding a fruit like the Olive, and so I came to Lirigi, a Haven Towne upon the Tirrhene sea, whence we were to sayle by the shore to Genoa.

There we expected passengers and a good wind for some few daies. And at the same time there was the French Cardinall of Joyeuse, who was to saile into France. I paid each night foure bolinei for my bed, and eating upon reckoning, I spent lesse then two giulii by the day. They use to make this voyage to Genoa in little Barkes called Fregate, and a lesse kind of boates called Feluce, and each night to strike into some Port upon the Coast. I passed in a Feluca, and paid three reali for my passage.

The first day we sayled in a short space from Lirigi to Wien, a Haven not farre distant, under a promontory, at the enterance into this sea, but the wind being high, and our boat little, and somewhat over loaded, and the marriners themselves shewing no great confidence, we durst not put forth to sayle any further. I paid a cavelotto, that is foure bolinei for my bed with a companion, and six bolinei for my supper. The second day the wind being somewhat calmed, we sailed not without danger thirty miles, to Sestri another Haven. This day
was the day of Saint Katherine, the Patronesse of Marriners, who thinke that no man was ever drowned that day, but they observe that after that day the winds use to grow boisterous. I would willingly have gone by land, but this Coast being all of high Rockes, there was no good high way over them, nor commodity for passage. Yet you cannot imagine a more fruitfull and pleasant place, then the narrow vallies and hills lying upon the sea side: onely this coast lying upon the south sunne, breathing fier out of Affricke, is subject to great heat in summer time. This Territory doth so abound with fruitfull trees and flowers, as the markets are furnished with them in the very moneth of December. It yeeldeth noble wines; namely, La vernazza, and in villages called Cinqueterre, the wine called Le lagrime di Christo, that is, the teares of Christ, which is so pleasant, as the Italians say, that a Dutchman tasting it, did greatly lament that Christ had not wept in his Countrey. At Sestri we had delicate white bread and excellent wine, (as likewise in all this journey) and all things at a cheape rate, and each man spent there nine bolinei.

The third day we sailed ten miles over an arme of the sea, to Porto Fino, called of old the Haven Delfinus, now they call it Fino for the goodnes thereof. On the East side of this Promontory the sea was most calme, but when we passed to the West side, the winds were so high, and the waves so troubled, as we had almost beene cast away, and were by force driven upon the side of a Rocke, where my consorts trusted to their crucifixes, vowes, and beades, (upon which they number their praiers), and my selfe creeping upon hands and knees, with great difficulty first got to the top of the rocke, where being in safety, the name of the Haven came in my mind, which answereth to my Christian name, and thanking God for my deliverance from this danger, I was glad that I escaped christening in this Haven of my owne name. After my other consorts climbed to me, and thence we went on foot ten miles by the twilight of the
evening and Moone light, to a village, where each man upon reckoning paid sixe bolinei for his supper.

The next morning early before day breake, we went forward on foot, our consorts of Genoa often warning us to be silent for feare of theeves, and after we had gone sixe miles, we came by the breaking of the day to Genoa. By the way we did see a Village all ruined, and they told us that Turkish Pirates landing suddenly, had spoiled the same and burnt it, and had pulled downe the Churches and Altars, and among other Prisoners, had taken away a most faire Virgine from her bridegromes side, who had married her the day before.

The description of Genoa.

(A) The Fort of the sea banke, (B) Statuaes erected to the builders thereof, (C) the Pallace of Andreetta D' Auria, without the wals upon the sea, (D) the statua of Andrea d' Auria upon the wall, (E) the new Fort, (F) the new streete most stately built, (G) the Cathedrall Church, (K) Saint Mathewes Church, (L) the Dukes Pallace, (M) the inner Haven, (N) the Tower Faro, and the ruines of the Fort called La Briglia, that is, the bridle, (PPPP) three gates of the City, and the fourth leading to the Haven. On the North-east side where the sea lies (P) upon the City we entered, and at the very enterance, we did see two stately Pallaces of Georgio d' Auria, and a Gentleman called Seba, and sixe other Pallaces, but lesse stately. Genoa is seated upon the sides of mountaines and hils, declining from the highest mountaine on the West side, towards the East, and to the sea side. Upon the foresaid North, and North-east side, were long suburbs, and two gates, and without the wals a River fals from the Westerne mountaines towards the East, and so into the Sea. On the South-side is the outward Haven, in the forme of a halfe moone, upon the horne whereof towards the East, lies the sea banke, called La Mola, about 600. paces long, which keepeth off the waves of the sea that beat upon the City on the
East side. And in the middest of this bank is a (A) Fort built to defend the Navy. There also are certaine statuaes (B) erected to the founders of the building. And in the furthest corner of this haven towards the City, is an (M) inner haven, compassed with wals, where the gallies lie under a covered building. Neer that is the Armory of the City, & the chief gally in the Port called, La Reale, the Regal, was about seventy five walking paces long, and they sayd that foure hundred Rowers belonged to the same. At the other horne of the outward Port towards the south-west, is the (N) tower Faro upon firme land, kept by certaine watchmen, who by night hang out lights to direct the marriners at sea. Neere that lies the Fort La briglia, that is, the bridle, which the French King Lewis the twelfth fortified: but the Citizens expelling the French out of the City, demolished the same. Thence as you walke towards the City, and before you enter into the gates, lies (C) the stately Pallace of Andreetta D' Auria, (or Doria) the building whereof, the garden, the staires to descend to the sea, the banqueting house, and divers open galleries, are of Kingly magnificence. Not farre thence upon the wall is a (D) statua erected to Andrea d' Auria, late Admirall to the Spanish Fleete. Then you come to the (P) gate of the City, and not far thence within the wals, is (P) another gate leading to the inner Haven, where the Gallies lie. Not farre thence is the most faire Cathedrall (G) Church, in which is an ancient monument of mettall, digged out of the adjoyning valley, which hath an old inscription, shewing the antiquity of the City. Not farre thence is the (K) Church Saint Matthew, wherein the Princes of the Family of d' Auria have long had their monuments. Neere that lies the (L) Dukes Pallace, not his private Pallace, but publike, which is kept by a guard of Dutchmen, who also have the keeping of two of the strongest gates of the City. In the Court yard of this Pallace, is a foot statua, armed, and of white marble, erected to the foresaid Andrea d' Auria, by the Senate with the title of Father
COMMENTS UPON GENOA

of his Country, because he had lately restored the Citizens to their liberty. And in an upper chamber called Sala brutta, are divers statuaes in the habits of Senators, erected to Paulo Spinola, to Battista Grimaldo, and Ansidio Gri. S. C. On the West side without the walls are Palaces of Gentlemen, almost innumerable and in the highest part of the City, was the new Castle (E) most strongly fortified, which the Citizens demolished to preserve their liberty. A little lower and within the walls, is the new streete, vulgarly (F) La strada Nuova, lying from the West to the North-east, each house whereof is built with Kingly magnificence, neither do I think that any City in the world hath so faire a streete. These houses or rather Palaces may be seen by strangers, for the Gentlemens servants keeping them, willingly shew them to any desiring that favour; aswell in expectance of reward, as for the honour of their Master and Country. My selfe did see the Palace of Giovan Battista d' Auria, the building whereof was very stately, and the garden not onely most pleasant, but adorned with statuaes and fountaines. And in one of the chambers were the Gentlemens Armes, whereof some were of pure silver guilded over. The City hath certaine inner gates, which alwaies stand open, and shew that the circuit of the City is now much increased; and upon these gates are chaines of iron, for remembrance (as they say) of their liberty once lost.

The whole circuit of the City, excepting the Mola, is five miles; and save that the inner Haven strikes somewhat into the City, it seemeth almost of a round forme. No doubt the City is of great antiquity, which some say was built by Gianus King of Italic, and of him had the name; and that the Promontory Calignano, was of old called the vineyard of Gianus. The monument in the Cathedrall Church witnesseth that this City flourished among the old Cities of Italy, about 300. yeeres before Christs incarnation. Others will have the City named of a Latin word, as the gate of Italy. It is fortified toward

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The description of Genoa.

The Palace of Giovan d'Auria.

Genoa of great antiquity.

[I. ii. 168.]
the sea with all art, and towards the land aswell by nature as art, there being but one way to come to it, and that over high and steepe rockes. The streets are narrow, the Pallaces are stately built of marble, and the other houses of free stone, five or sise stories high, and the windowes are glased, which is rare in Italy. The streetes are paved with flint, and the houses of the suburbs are almost as faire as within the City. Corals are fished in this sea towards Sardinia and Corsica Islands, not farre distant, and the ounce thereof is here sold for three lires.

Now in the very moneth of December, the markets were full of summer flowers, herbes, and fruits, whereof I shall speake more in the due place. It is proverbially said of this City; Montagne senza legni, Mar’ senza pesci, huomini senza fede, donne senza vergogna, Mori bianchi, Genoa superba: That is, Mountaines without wood, Sea without fish, Men without faith, Weomen without shame, white Moores, Genoa the proud. In good earnest, they report that the Merchants being not bound by writing, make little accompt to breake their promise, and the French liberty of the Weomen makes the Italians judge them without shame, and as Florence is called the faire for the building, so I thinke Genoa is called the proud.

The chaires called Seggioli, whereof I spake in the discription of Naples, are also in use here, in which the Citizens of both sexes are carried upon two Porters shoulders, through the streetes lying upon the sides of hils, the chaires being covered with a curtaine drawne, and having glasse windowes, so as they may see all men, and themselves be unseene. Besides, in regard of the narrow streetes, and the steepe mountaines on all sides, they use horse litters here in stead of Coaches. The men in their feasting, dancing, and free conversation, and the weomen in their apparell, come neerer to the French then any other Italians. Here I paid one reale by the day for my chamber, and dressing my meat, which I bought my selfe, all things being at good rate in the City, as in
The description of Genoa
the Countrey. There is such store of fruits, as they give a citron for a quatrine, and two Oranges for a quatrine; and to end in a word, my diet here was for the manner and price not much differing from the same at Pisa.

They accompt ninety miles from Genoa to Milan, which journey I went on foot, willingly exposing my selfe to this trouble, partly to spare my purse in the bottome, partly to passe more safely in this disguise through the Dutchy of Milan, subject to the Spaniards, who then had warres with the English. The first day after dinner, I walked all alone, seven miles to Ponte Decimo, by the banke of a river betweene stony mountaines, but frequently inhabited. And I paid eight soldi for my supper on reckoning, and a cavellotto (that is foure bolinei) for my bed. The second day I went on foot eleven miles, ascending all the way high mountaines, and tired with the difficulty of the journey, onely refreshed with the hope of an easie discent from the mountaines: and being very hungry by the way, I chanced to meet with a begging Friar of the Order of Saint Francis, who having victuals in his bag, gave me to eat, but would receive no money for it; saying, it was against their rule to handle any money. Thence I walked seven miles downe those mountaines, in the territory of Genoa to Gavidon, and foure miles more through a plaine and dirty way, in the Dutchy of Milan to Seravalle, where I paid foure cavellotti (that is sixteene bolinei) for my supper and my bed. The third day in the morning, I walked foureteene miles in a dirty way to Tortona, where I paid one soldo for tribute (as all passengers pay) and seven soldi for my dinner upon reckoning. Thence I walked after dinner in a dirty way five miles to Ponte Curon, and further in a way somewhat fairer five miles to Voghera. All this way in the Dutchy of Milan, was in a most fruitfull plaine of corne, with Elmes planted in the furrowes, and vines growing upon them, and such is the way in all Lombardy, and to the very City of Paduoa. At Voghera I paid three reali for my supper and bed.
And here by chance I found an English Merchant in the Inne, who talking rashly, did voluntarily (without being examined whence he was) profess himselfe to be a Dutchman, and my selfe in disguised poore habit, sitting at the lower end of the table, and speaking to him in the Dutch language, he was forced for want of the language, to say that he was a Dutch-man, but borne upon the confines of France; and knowing no other language but the French, whereupon I speaking to him in the French tongue, he had as little skill in that, as in the Dutch; so as I might perceive that he dissembled his Countrey, and being not willing to presse him, as having beene my selfe often forced in like sort to dissemble my Countrey, did forbeare to speake any more to him in the Dutch or French tongue, & we began to discourse in Italian, wherein he had spoken little before he uttered these words, Io me ne repentiva, that is, I repented my selfe therof, whereas an Italian would have said, Io me ne pentiva, by which sillable added by him, I presently knew he was an English man. Supper being ended, he perceiving himselfe to have beene thus pressed by a poore fellow, sitting at the lower end of the table, tooke me for a spie, and feared I should betray him, and presently went into the stable, where he commanded his servant to saddle their horses, that they might ride all night towards Genoa. But I following him, and boldly speaking English to him, he was soone content to stay all night, and to take me in my homely apparell for his bedfellow.

Having passed this night merrily, I hired a horse the fourth day for foure cavellotti, and rode eleven miles to Bastia, then I walked on foot seven miles to Pavia, and being a foote-man, I paid five soldi for my passage over the River Po. This journey hitherto was in a dirty way, having plaine fields on both sides, filled after the foresaid manner of Lombardy, and many rich pastures, which are rare in all other parts of Italy. Entering Pavia I passed a stately bridge, built over the River Ticinum, which
runnes from the West to the East, and after sixe miles falleth into the River Po. This bridge was two hundred walking paces long, and so broad as two carts might passe together and was built of stone, and covered over the head with a roofe, with open aire on the sides, & supported with pillars. The City lies in length from the East to the West, and a new faire street divides it in the middest, by the breth from the South to the North. On the West side of this street are two market places, one greater then the other. In the lesse is a statua called Regia Sole, of mixt mettall, (vulgarly Di bronzo) which some write to have beene made with art magicke, by the Emperor Anastasius, for his own image, and to have beene placed by him upon the pillar of the soouldiers at Ravenna, where he kept his Court, and after Ravenna was taken by Charles the great, that this Image being to be carried into France, was by the way left here. Others will have it the statua of the Emperor Antoninus Pius: for they are deceived who thinke it the statua of Odoacer King of the Lombards, who hath another statua in this market place. On the same West side of the foresaid new street towards the North-side, is the Castle which John Galiacius first Duke of Milan built, and the same Dukes Library, but almost voide of Bookes, and in this Castle lies a Garison of Spaniards. Neere that is the Church of Saint Austine, in a Chappell whereof, is a stately Sepulcher, in which they say the bones of that Saint were laid, being brought thither out of the Iland Sardinia. And this sepulcher is of marble curiously engraven, and worthy to be sought out and beheld. There I did reade this inscription written in Latin upon another sepulcher: The French King Francis the first being taken by Caesars Army neere Pavia, the foureteenth of February in the yeere 1525, among other Lords these were slaine: Francis Duke of Lorayne, Richard de la Poole Englishman, and Duke of Suffolke, banished by his tyrant King Henry the eight. At last Charles Parker of Morley, kinseman of the said Richard,
FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

bananaed out of England for the Catholike Faith by Queene Elizabeth, and made Bishop here by the bounty of Phillip King of Spaine, did out of his small meanes erect this Monument to him, &c. In a Cloyster of the same Church, is a Sepulcher of this Charles Parker Bishop, deceased in the yeere 1591. There is another Monument of Luitprandus, King of Lombardy; and another of the Bishop Severinus Boetius, with this inscription in Latin; Most skilfull in the Greeke and Latin tongues, who being Consull, was sent hither into banishment. And with these verses;

[I. ii. 170.] Ecquid mors rapuit: probitas me vexit ad auras,
Et nunc fama viget maxima, vivit opus.

Hath Death snatcht ought? my goodnes mounts the Skies, Great is my fame, my worke lives in mens eyes.

On the East-side of the saide new streete, and towards the North, lies the Church of Saint Francis, where is a monument of Baldus the Civill Lawyer, and they shew his head of an extraordinarie bignesse. Without the walles of the Citie on the North side, is a piece of ground of some twentie miles circuit, compassed with a wall in many places broken downe, vulgarly called Il Barco, that is, the Park which John Galiacius Duke of Milan walled in to keepe fallow Deare, Hares, and Conies: but at this day it is divided into Pastures and plowed fieldes. On the furthest side of this Parke from the City, is the place where the French King, Francis the first, was taken prisoner by the Army of the Emperour Charles the fifth. Not farre thence is the Monastery of the Carthusians, called la Certosa, where the building of the Church, the stones of Marble, the engraving, the top covered with Leade, part of the great Altar of Alablaster (highly valued), the Sepulcher of John Galiacius first Duke of Millan, and the revenew of the Church exceeding three hundred thousand Crownes by the yeere, deserve admiration. The buildings of the Citie are of bricke, and seeme to be of great antiquitie. The Emperour
COMMENTS UPON PAVIA

Charles the fourth in the yeere 1361, at the instance of Galiacius the second, gave this Citie the priviledges of an Universitie. The King of Spaine permits Jewes to dwell here: but they may not stay in Milan above twentie foure houres. This Citie was the seate of the Kings of Lombardy, whose old Castle is to bee seene neere the Church of Saint Michael. After it was subject to the Kings of Italy, and the Berengarii being overcome, it was subject to the Emperour Otho the first, by right of his wife, and successively to the Emperours, with some shew of a free Citie, which freedome that they might more fully attaine, they willingly yeelded themselves in the yeere 1254 to the Archbishop of Ravenna. After they were subject to usurping Citizens, whom the Vicounts of Milan expelled, and so joyned this Citie to their State, which together with the Dukedome of Milan came to the Spaniards hands, in the time of the Emperour Charles the fifth. I lodged here in a faire Inne, but common to the baser sort, the Hostesse whereof was a Masculine woman, and by the night letting in Ruffines to drinke, I was not a little afraid of some violence to bee offered mee in my chamber; whereupon I firmly resolved with my selfe, to lodge ever after in the best Inne, and of best fame, especially in Lombardy, infamous for murthers; and here I paid for my supper and my bed three reali.

I went on foote from Pavia, going forth at the North-west Gate twenty miles through rich Pastures, to Milan, called la grande, that is, The great, of the large circuit thereof. The Citie hath the name of Olanus, a Tuscane Captaine; or the Latin word media lana, that is, Halfe wooll, of those kinde of stuffes made in the Citie. It is large, populous, and very rich, seated in a Plaine (as all Lombardy lies) and that most firtile, and by the commoditie of a little River brought to the Citie by the French, and almost compassing the same, it aboundeth also with forraine Merchandise. Of old it was the seate of many Roman Emperours: but the Historie of the
Citie being contained in the Historie of Italy, I will onely remember, that the Archbishop thereof long time challenged the Primacie in the Italian Church, never acknowledging the Bishop of Rome for superiour; and that he crowned the Emperour with a Crowne of Iron, after the people of Milan had approved him: That the King of the Ostrogothes had the same Crowne set upon his head after his victorie, which Crowne (they say) was given, in signe that the Empire and the command of Milan were to be won by Iron. That the Citizens of Milan were often Rebels to the Emperours. That the Vicounts made vicarii of the Citie, did by little and little subject the Territorie, and the Citie with title of Duke of Milan. That the Family of Vicounts being extinct in Duke Philip about the yeere 1447, the Dukes of Orleance by right of their Mother, and Francis Sforza by the right of his wife, challenged the inheritance of the Dukedom: but the Emperour thought the same to bee fallen backe to his right. That Francis Sforza was by the people first made Captaine of their forces, & then chosen Duke. That the French King Francis the first, defending the right of the Dukes of Orleans, cast Sforza out of the Dukedom in the yeere 1449. That the Emperor Charles the fift, casting out the French in the yere 1521, first restored Sforza to the Dukedom, with some restraint of his power; but he being dead, invaded the Dukedom himself, wherupon after many contentions & battels, it came to his successours the Kings of Spaine, of the family of Austria, to whom at this day it is subject.

The Citie is of a round forme, and hath nine gates, the building shewes antiquitie, and the houses are of bricke and low built, excepting some stately Pallaces (such as is that of the Duke of Terra Nova) the streetes are broad, and the pavement of bricke, raised in the midst with broad stones.

When I came to the Citie on foote, I made offer to enter at the Gate called Genese on the South side: but
the Guard refused me as a foot-man to passe into the Citie; and lest by my importunitie I should have made them looke more narrowly into my qualitie, (they being commonly expert men, to find out any disguised person), I went backe into the Suburbes, as if I would lodge there; but as soone as I was out of sight, I walked further towards the East, compassing a great Fen, and so joyning my selfe to some Citizens, returning from walking in the fieldes, I entered with them into the Citie, by the next Gate on the same South side, which Gate is called Lodovico, and was only kept by one souldier. A little Brooke within the walles compasseth the very center of the Citie circularly; beyond which Brooke, on the North-side within the walles, not farre from the Gate Zobia, is a large Meadow, wherein are no houses: for there is the most strong Castle seated in a Plaine, and kept by a Spanish Garrison, into which no Frenchman may enter. Therefore I having gotten so diffitultly into the City, restrained my curiositie from attempting to view this Castle, lest I should rashly expose my selfe to great danger. Further towards the North without the Gate Renza, is a large Hospitall for those that are sicke of the plague, having more chimnies (as they say) then the yeere hath dayes. Not farre from the Gate Genese, is the Church of S. Laurence, which of old was dedicated to Hercules by the Emperour Maximinianus Erculeus buried in the same; and it hath a rare Image of the Virgin Marie, and 16 stately Marble Pillars, and the building is Magnificent. The Emperour Theodosias is said to have given to S. Ambrose Archbishop of Milan, one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the Crosse, and the brasen Serpent that Moses lift up in the Desert (the Image of which Serpent was of mixt mettall, vulgarly called di bronzo), and they say, that S. Ambrose left these reliques in the Churches of S. Tecla and of S. Ambrose; and the Altar under which the body of S. Ambrose lies, is valued at 28000 Crownes. In the Church Delle Gratie, belonging to the Benedictine Friers,
not farre from the Gate Zobia, is a stately Throne, and under it an unperfected monument, which Duke Lodovico Sforza purposed to have built for himselfe: but the French cast him out of his Dukedome, and he died in France. And in this Monastery is a notable Library, and in the place where the Friers eate, the supper of our Lord is painted with wonderfull art. In the little Chappell of S. Gottard, is the sepulcher of that Saint, whose name the mountaine of the Alpes doth beare, which is most famous for the difficult passage. The great & stately Cathedrall Church called Il Domo, is built all of white marble, and supported with some 100, marble pillars, in which at this day they sing the masse of S. Ambrose, differing from the Roman Masse, and onely agreeing therewith in the words of consecration.

From Milan to Cremona are accounted 52 miles, and I making short stay at Milan, for the danger of my abode there, hired a horse to Cremona for a Crowne of gold wanting 8 soldi, and riding out at the Roman Gate, and bearing the Carrier company, of whom I hired my horse, rode 12 miles the first day after dinner to Marignano, through a plaine Country of rich pastures, where I paied 3 reali for my supper. The second day I rode 30 miles to the Castle Pizighitone, through like rich Pastures, having by the way paid 24 soldi for my dinner, and neere my journies end 3 soldi for my passage over the River Adda, and at this Castle I paied 30 soldi for my Supper. The French King Francis the first, taken prisoner by the Emperour, in the yeere 1525, was for a good space kept with much honour in the tower of this Castle. The third day in the morning I rode ten miles to Cremona. The Family Pallavicini (at this day chiefe in the City) when the Empire of Rome decaied, made themselves Lords of this Citie, whom Galeatius Vicount of Milan subdued, and united the City to the State of Milan, and so by the said Dukedome subdued by the Spaniards, it came into their subjection. The Cardinall Francis Sfondrato, and Eusebius the writer of the Ecclesiasticall Historie,
were borne in this Citie. The forme of the City seemes very like to a Cardinals Hat with broad brimes, and it is seated in a Plaine, one mile distant from the River Po. Wee entred this Citie by the narrow part lying towards Milan, and there is a most strong Fort built to keepe the Citizens in awe, and kept by a Spanish Garison, and seated in a plaine field, wherein are no other buildings but the Fort it selfe. From hence going to the opposite & broader part of the Citie, is a large and very faire Market place, near which is a Tower or Steeple, of such height and beautie, as the Italians proverbially say, One Peter at Rome; one Haven at Ancona; one Tower at Cremona; thereby noting the excellencie. This Tower is built of bricke, and hath foure hundred ninety and two staires in the ascent. Neere the same is a statua of a Giant, who, they say, was overcome by Hercules, the founder of the Citie; and the Citizens keepe a feast once a yeere, at which time with many ceremonies they adorne this statua with rich robes. Neere this Tower and Market place, lies the stately Cathedral Church, and the fairest and richest Monastery is that of Saint Dominick. This Citie hath many stately Pallaces, and the streetes thereof are broad and very pleasant. Here I payed thirtie three soldi (that is the fourth part of a Ducaton) for my supper.

From hence to Mantua are fortie five miles, whether I hired a horse for five lires. The first day we rode twenty two miles, where going out of the Dutchie of Milan, and passing the River Oye, wee entered the Dutchie of Mantua, and then rode nine miles to Mercaria. And by the way we passed the pleasant Castle, or rather Citie called Bozilia, belonging to Julius Gonzaga, being of the Family of the Dukes of Mantua; which Castle was built with open cloisters or arches toward the streete, under which the passengers walke drie in the greatest raine, and such are the buildings of the Cities in this Dukedome, and in many neighbour places. By the way also in a solitary Inne I paid fiftene soldi for my dinner, and at Mercaria I payed thirtie foure soldi for my supper.
The second day we rode fourteene miles to Mantua through most fruitfull fieldes, tilled after the manner of Lombardy, and in a most durtie highway. The Histories report, that this Citie had the name of Manto, the daughter of Tyresias. It is seated in the middest of Fennes or Lakes, made by the River Mencius. The buildings are partly of Brick, partly of Free stone, and the streetes are large and cleane. The forme of this Citie is round, save that the foresaid Lakes on the North and East-sides enter into the Citie, in the forme of an halfe Moone. Comming from Cremona I entred Mantua on the West side, by the Gate Prædella, where is a faire streete called Il Borgo. On the same side towards the South, is the Gate Pistrella, which leads to the Dukes stately Pallace called Teye, seated some mile out of the Citie, and compassed with water, where in the Giants Chamber I did see most faire pictures, and it is built in a quadrangle onely two stories high, with a low roofe, after the manner of the building of Italy. On the South-side is the Gate of Sircese, whence the way lies by the banke of the Lake to a Village called Petula, two miles distant from the Citie, in which, they say, that the famous Poet Virgil was borne, and shew the house where his parents dwelt. Partly on the North, and partly on the East side, the Citie is compassed with Lakes, which usually are covered with infinite number of water-foule; and from these Lakes there is a passage into the River Po, and so by water to Venice. On the North-East side is the Gate of S. George, whence betweene the two Lakes is a causey two hundred walking paces long, and beyond it a bridge of stone five hundred paces long, like to a faire gallery, covered over the head, and supported with bricke pillars, having open windowes, two paces distant one from the other, then passing a draw-bridge, you come to another causey betweene the said two Lakes, which causey is two hundred forty walking paces long, before you come to firme land. On the East side of the said bridge, and within the Citie, the Dukes stately Pallace
COMMENTS UPON MANTUA

lies upon the Lake, and to this Palace joyneth the Cathedrall Church of Saint Peter, where also is a pleasant Market-place. There lie the Dukes stables, and in one of them were some hundred horses for the saddle, and in the other as many for the Coach, and he hath a third stable without the Gates, wherein is the like number of young Colts. On the North-side, at the furthest banke of the Lake, is one onely Gate, and a like bridge to passe into the Suburbes, and there lies the way to the chiefe Pallace of the Duke, some few miles distant from the Citie, called Mirmirollo, the building whereof is onely two stories hie, with a low roofe, and the chiefe chambers were hung with guilded leather, after the Italian maner, three skins whereof were commonly sold for a Crowne, and the Gardens of this Pallace were exceeding pleasant. In the midst of the Citie Mantua is a large Market place, wherein the Jewes have their shops, and sell all manner of wares, for all trafficke is in their hands, growing rich by the povertie of the Citizens; and being so much favoured by the Duke, as they dwell not in any several part of the Citie, but where they list, and in the very Market-place; neither are they forced (as in other parts of Italy) to weare yellow or red caps, whereby they may bee knowne, but onely a little piece of yellow cloth on the left side of their cloakes, so as they can hardly be distinguished from Christians, especially in their shops, where they weare no cloakes. Such be the priviledges which the Jewes have gotten by bribing (especially in the Dutche of Savoy) through the unsatiable avarice of our Christian Princes. Neere this Market place is the large Church of Saint Andrew, and the Senate-house, in which they shew two statuaes of Cupid (whereof one is ancient, and of much greater value then the other), and a very long Unicornes horne, and a paire of Organs of Aliblaster, besides Jewels, and vessels of gold and silver. Not farre thence is the third Market-place of Justice. To conclude, at the gate of Saint Francis Church is the head of Virgil, which the Neapolitans say (as in
the description of that Citie I formerly said) was stolne from the Sepulcher of Virgil, upon the Mount Pausilip. In the Pallace called della ragione, is another statua of Virgil, sitting at a Table of brasse, as if hee were writing, and crowned with Laurell. I said formerly, that there is a passage from the Lakes into the River Po, and so by water to Venice, and the Duke, to take his pleasure upon the water, hath a boat called Bucentoro, because like a Jf wju beare some two hundred, and it is built in the upper part like a banqueting house, having five roomes (with glazed windowes) wherein the Duke and his Traine doe sit; and these roomes are supported upon a boat, the Mariners that row the same, sitting under the said roomes, the first and largest roome whereof was fifteene walking paces long, with benches on both sides; the second was eight paces long, the third five, and the fourth likewise five paces long; the fifth was a Gallerie over the other roomes fortie paces long, and open, to which they mounted by staires out of the first roome. And this boate doth not onely much differ from our Kings barges, aswell for the bignesse as the rich furniture, but also is flat in the bottome, the waters being still and calme on which it passeth. These roomes according to occasions have more or lesse rich hangings, when the Duke either goeth out to disport himself, or when he takes any journy therin, (as oft he doth.)

It is unlawfull to weare a sword without licence of the Magistrate, either at Milan, Cremona, Mantua, or almost in any Citie of Italy; onely at Venice and Paduoa, and the Cities of that State, strangers may weare Swords, and onely the wearing of Pistols or short gunnes is forbidden. At Mantua I paied three reali each meale, and being to depart thence, I was forced to take a Bill of the Customers, by which they signifie to the Guard at the gate, whether the passenger be to goe on horseback, on foote, or by coach, and what tribute he is to pay; for which Bill a footeman paies 3. soldi, another passenger six. Thus the Princes of Italy having small Territories,
FROM MANTUA TO PADUA

A.D. 1594.

doe not onely burthen their subjects with taxes, but all strangers, & strictly take account from the exacters thereof.

Being to goe from hence to Paduoa, we went out of the gate Saint George, and I hired a horse from Mantua to the Castle Este for eleven lires. The first day wee passed by a Forte of the Venetians most strongly fortified upon the confines of that State, which Fort lies upon the River Athesis, and is called Lignaco, and rode some twenty miles through a Plaine tilled after the manner of Lombardy to Monteguiara, where I paied forty soldi, (that is two lires) for my supper. The next morning I rode nine miles to the Castle Este, whence is the Family of the Dukes of Ferraria, long flourishing, but now extinct. From thence I passed by boate 15 miles to Paduoa, and paied 22 soldi for my passage. This day when I returned to Paduoa, was the 14 of December, after the new stile, in the yeere 1594, which city & the rate of vittles there, I have formerly described.

Chap. IIII.

Of the Sepulcher of Petrarch at Arqua. Of my journey to Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo (in Italy), then passing the Alpes, to Chur, Zurech, Solothurn, Geneva, and (in my returne thence) to Berna (in Sweitzerland), thence to Strasburg (in Germany), and to Chalon, to Paris, to Roan, and to Diepe (in France), and finally of my passage by Sea and Land, to London (in England).

Hilest I expected the commoditie of the Spring for my journey home-wards, I went to Venice to receive money there, and retaining a sufficient proportion in my hands, I thought to make over the rest to Paris by bills of exchange, but France having been now long wasted with civill war, I could not finde one Merchant of Venice, who had
any the least Traffick at Paris. Therefore persisting still in my obstinate purpose to returne by France, I thought at least to procure the change of this money to Geneva. And so only out of my desire to see the Citie of Geneva, I resolved againe to passe over the Alpes into Sweitzerland, though I had formerly seeone those Townes. Then I bought an Hungarian horse for twentie Crownes of a Dutch Gentleman newly arived in these parts. And while I prepared all things necessary for my journey, and expected a fit season of the yeere, it came in my minde to see the Monument not farre distant of the famous Poet Francis Petrarch, and being willing to give my horse rest, I went on foot with certaine Dutch Gentlemen thirteene miles to Arqua. By the way we did see a most faire Monastery Praia, and the Baths of Abano, the water wherof doth boile with such heate, as it would fetch off the skinne being touched.

At Arqua is the sepulcher of Petrarch, of red marble spotted, and it hath this inscription in Latin:

To the worthy man F. P. a Laureat Poet, his sonne in Law Francis Lus-debro Savo of Milan, for their inward conversation, love, affinitie and his succession, left this memory.

Under that followed these verses:

Frigida Francisci lapis hic tegit ossa Petrarchæ, 
Suscie virgo pares animam, sate virgine parce, 
Fessaque iam terris, caeli requiescat in Arce. 
This stone doth Francis Petrarches bones inclose, 
Take my soule Virgin, spare it Virgins sonne, 
Tired on earth, in heaven let it repose.

Then followed letters raced out.

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Then followed the third inscription in Latin, with his Image.

To Francis Petrarch, Paulus Valdezucus admiring his Poems, and succeeding him in the possession of his
house and fields, made this Image in the yeere MDXCVII. the Ides of September.

There is also a Fountaine, vulgarly called the Fountaine of Petrarch, upon which these verses are written.

Fonti numen inest, hospes venerare liquorem,
Unde bibens cecinit digna Petrarcha Deis.

Some god dwells here, worship the sacred Spring,
Whence Petrarch drinking, heavenly Rimes did sing.

Petrarch dwelt at Arqua, and here in the same house wherein they say he dwelt, the historie of Petrarches life is painted, where the owner of the house shewed us some household stuffe belonging to him, and the very skinne of a Cat he loved, which they have dried, and still keepe. Here I did see his Studie, (a pleasant roome, especially for the sweet prospect) and likewise a faire picture of Lucretia ready to die. No situation can be imagined more pleasant, then that of Arqua, lying in the mouth of Mountaines abounding with Olive trees, and opening themselves upon a fruitfull plaine on the East and North sides. This plaine yeeldeth nothing in pleasantnes, or in fruitfulnes to that of Capua, famous for the corrupting of Hannibals Army. But it is a needles worke to praise the Euganian hils, which so many Poets and Writers have magnified.

Upon Friday the third day of March (after the new stile) in the beginning of the yeere 1595, according to the Italians (beginning the yeere the first of January) or the end of the yeere 1594, according to the English (beginning the yeere upon the twenty five of March) I turned my face to journey towards my deere Countrey. And the first day I rode eighteene miles to Vicenza, through a most pleasant plaine tilled after the manner of Lombardy (where one and the same field yeelds plenty of corne, and hath Elme trees growing in the furrowes, which support the vines; so that one field gives bread, wine, and wood for to burne.) By the way my
FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

curiositie made me turne aside two miles out of the way, that I might see a wonderfull Cave, and a most pleasant parlor at Costoza, in the house of Cesario Trento a Gentleman of Vicenza. The Cave was large, and fit to receive divers bands of soouldiers. The Parlor was called the prison of Æolus god of the Windes; because there were certaine mils, which in summer time draw much wind out of hollow Caves, and disperse the same through all the chambers of the Pallace, refreshing all that dwell there, with a most pleasant coole aire. And upon this Parlor this verse of Virgill was written:

Æolus hic clauso ventorum carcere regnat.
Æolus here in the winds prison raignes:

Vicenza. The City of Vicenza is a faire City, compassed with a wall of bricke: but the building howsoever it be very stately, is not like to that of other Cities in these parts, in this one point, namely, that the second story of the houses hangeth over the streetes, and being supported with arches, giveth the passengers shelter from raine. Here I did see a Theater for Playes, which was little, but very faire and pleasant. In the market place there is a stately Pallace, and the monastery of Saint Corona belonging to the preaching Friars, is fairely built, and hath a rich Library; and the Friars keepe for a holy relike the Thorne wherewith Christ was crowned. The Citie is subject to the Venetians, and is seated in a plaine, having mountaines somewhat distant on the North and South sides. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper, and eighteen soldi for three measures of oates, called quarterolli, and for the stable (so they call hay straw, and the stable roome, and so I will hereafter call it) I paid twenty soldi. Here I hired a horse for fiftie six soldi, for a foote-man that had attended me hither, and was to returne to Paduoa.

Verona. From Vicenza I rode thirty miles to Verona, in a most pleasant plaine (tilled after the manner of Lombardy) lying on my left hand towards Italy, farther then I could see,
and having fruitfull hils on my right hand towards the Alpes, abounding with vines, growing low upon short stakes, and yeelding rich wines. I entered Verona on the East side, by the Bishops gate called Porta del'vescovo. They write that the City was of old called Berona, by the name of the Founder thereof; but the Friar Leander of Bologna writes that the City was built by the Tuscons, and had the name of the Family Vera, and was after rebuilt by the Galli Cenomani. This most faire City is built in the forme of a Lute, the necke whereof lies towards the West, on which side the River Athesis (running towards the East) doth not only compasse the City, but runs almost through the center of the body of this Lute, so as the lesse part of the body lies on the North side of the River. The bankes of Athesis (vulgarly called L' Adice) are joined together with three bridges of stone, and one of marble, and are adorned on both sides with many ruines of an old Theater, and old triumphall arches. The City is compassed with a wall of bricke, and is seated towards the South upon the end of a large stony plaine, and towards the other sides upon pleasant hils, rising towards the distant mountaines. It is not built with the houses cast out towards the streetes, and supported with Arches to avoid raine, as other Cities are in those parts: but the building of the houses is stately, and the Cathedrall Church is remarkeable for the antiquity, as likewise the Church of Saint Anastacius for the great beauty thereof; and towards the wals the ground lies void of houses, as the manner is in strong Townes. It hath a pure aire, and is ennobled by the civility and auncient Nobility of the Citizens, who are indued with a chearefull countenance, magnificent mindes, and much inclined to all good literature.

Verona was a free City under the Empire, about the yeere 1155, till the Family of the Scaligeri growing great in the City, about the yeere 1259, did by little and little invade the freedome of the City, and made themselves Lords over it. At last Anthony Scaliger killing his
brother Barthomew (partner with him of that Lordship) about the yeere 1381, was driven out of the City by Vicount John Galeatius, the first Duke of Milan, and he being dead, William Scaliger, helped by Francis Carrariensis, drove the Garrison of Milan out of the City, in the yeere 1404. But the said Francis killing the said William by poison, and the Family of the Scaligers being then so wasted, as scarcely any one was to be found of that name; the Venetians tooke occasion by this detestable treason of the said Francis, to make the City subject to them: but their Army being defeated by the French in the yeere, 1509, by a composition made betweene the French King and the Emperour Maximilian, the City became subject to the said Emperour, till the Venetians recovered the same out of his hands in the yeere 1517, under whose subjection the City to this day flourisheth, in great aboundance of all things.

On the North-side of the City without the wals, is the mountaine Baldo, hanging over the City, and famous for the great plenty of medicinable herbes, and upon the side of this mountaine, within the wals, are no buildings, but onely a strong Fort.

On the south side lies the way to Mantua (23 miles distant,) and upon the same side lies the foresaid stony plaine, five miles long, and ennobled with many skirmishes, battels, and victories. In this plaine the Consull Caius Marius defeated the Cimbri, and Odoacer King of the Heruli (who destroied the Westerne Empire) was defeated by Theodoricus King of the Ostrogothes, and the Dutch Emperour Arnolpheus Duke of Bavaria, was defeated by Hugh of Burgundy, then possessing Italy. Upon the same South side within the wals, is a faire market place, and the Pallace of the Venetian Governour (which Governour in Italy is vulgarly called II Podesta.) And neere the wals on this side, lies a stately Monument of an old Ampitheater, at this day little ruined, vulgarly called Harena, and built by Luc: Flaminius, (though others say it was built by the
COMMENTS UPON VERONA

Emperour Octavius.) It passeth in bignesse all the old Amphitheaters in Italy, and the outside thereof is of Marble, and the inner side with all the seates, is of bricke. It is of an ovall forme, and the inner yard is sixety three walking paces long, and forty eight broade, where the lowest seates are most narrow, whence the seates arise in forty foure staires or degrees (howsoever others write that there be onely forty two degrees), and they so arise, as the upper is still of greater circuit then the lower. And the shoppes of the Citizens built on the outside, under the said increase of the inner circuit, have about fifty two walking paces in bredth, which is to be added to make the full breadth of the inside. It hath eighteene gates, and betweene every Arch are very faire statuaes, and the seates within the same, are said to bee capable of twentie three thousand one hundred eightie and foure beholders, each one having a foote and a halfe allowed for his seate. Each one of us gave two gagetti to the keeper of this monument. Alboinus King of the Lombards, was killed by his wife at Verona. In the Monastery of Saint Zeno is a Monument erected to Pipin, sonne to Charles the Great, and betweene this Monastery and the next Church, in a Church yard under the ground, is the Monument of Queene Amalasuenta.

Berengarius King of Italy, was killed at Verona; and this City braggeth of two famous Citizens, namely, the old Poet Catullus, and Guarinus, a late writer. The territorie of this Citie is most fruitfull, abounding with all necessaries for life, and more specially with rich Wines, particularly the Retian wine, (much praised by Pliny, and preferred to the Wine of Falernum by Virgill), which the Kings of the Gothes were wont to carrie with them as farre as Roma. It is of a red colour and sweet, and howsoever it seemes thicke, more fit to be eaten then drunke, yet it is of a most pleasant taste. The Lake Bennacus is much commended for the store of good Carpes, and other good fish: besides this territory yeelds very good marble. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper,
and sixteene soldi for the stable, (that is for hay and straw) and eighteene soldi for three measures of Oates. Certaine Gentlemen bearing me company from Paduoa to this City, and being to returne thither, did here each of them hire a horse, for three lires and a halfe to Vicenza, where they were to pay for their horse meat.

From hence I rode fifteene miles to the Castle Peschiera, built by the old Lords of Verona, and seated upon the Lake Bennacus, vulgarly called Il Lago di Gardo, where they demanded of me two quatrines for the passage of a bridge: but when I shewed them my Matricula, that is, a paper, witnessing that I was a scholler of Paduoa, they dismissed me as free of all Tributes. And in like sort by the same writing, I was freed at Paduoa from paying six soldi, and at Verona from paying eight soldi. I rode from this Castle seven miles to a Village, seated upon the same Lake, famous for the pleasant territory, and the abundance of good fish: and here I paid twenty soldi for my dinner, and eight soldi for my horse meat. All my journey this day was in a most sweet plaine, rising still higher with faire distances, so as the ascent could hardly be seen.

After dinner I rode eighteene miles to Brescia, which City flourished under the old Emperours of Italy, then was subject to the Lombards and tyrant Kings of Italy, and they being overcome, to Charles the Great and French Governours; then to the Westerne Emperours of Germany, and to the Italian family of the Berengarii. And it obtained of the Emperour Otho the priviledge to be a free City of the Empire, till being wasted by the factions of the Guelphi and Gibellini, the Scaligeri, a family of the same City, made themselves Lords thereof, whom the Vicounts of Milan cast out of the Citie: and when Phillip Maria Duke of Milan oppressed the City, and would not be induced to ease the same of his great impositions, they yeelded themselves in the yeere 1509, to the French King, who had defeated the Venetian Army. Then by the French Kings agreement with the
Emperour Maximilian, the Citie was given into the Emperours hands; whose Nephew the Emperour Charles the fifth, restored the same to the French King Francis the first, who likewise in the yeere 1517, gave the same into the hands of the Venetians. The most fruitfull territorie of Brescia, hath mines of Iron and brasse, and I thinke so many Castles, Villages, and Houses, so little distant the one from the other, can hardly be found else where. The Brooke Garza runs through the City, which is of a round forme, and is seated for the most part in a plaine, and towards the North upon the side of a mountaine, where a Tower is built, which hath many houses adjoining, and in this Tower or Castle the Venetian Governour dwells, who takes an oath that he will never goe out of the same, till a new Governour be sent from Venice. The Cities building is of bricke, the streetes are large, and are paved with flint. Boniface Bembus, was a Citizen of Brescia, and the Brescians; as also the Citizens of Bergamo, are in manners and customes more like the French their old Lords, then the other Italians farther distant from France, and the very weomen receive and give salutations, and converse with the French liberty, without any offence to their husbands, which other Italians would never indure. Here I paid forty soldi for my supper, and forty soldi for four measures of oates and for the stable.

From hence I rode thirty two miles to Bergamo: and as the territories in this part of Italy (lying upon the South sunne, which beats upon the sides of the hills and mountaines, with great reflection of heat, and upon the other side defended from the cold windes of the North and East, by the interposition of the Alpes) are singularly fruitfull and pleasant; so for the first twenty miles of this daies journey, they seemed to me more pleasant then the very plaine of Capua, yeelding plenty of corne, and of vines growing upon Elmes in the furrowes of the lands, which Elmes are planted in such artificiall rowes, as the prospect thereof much delighteth the eye. And
the other twelve miles were yet more pleasant, being tilled in like sort; and towards my journeys end, yeelding most large and rich pastures. The City Bergamo after the Roman Empire was extinct, first obeyed the Lombards, then the French; and following the fortune of Brescia, was sometimes subject to the Viccounts of Milan, and other Princes (invading their liberty which they had under the Empire) and other times was subdued by divers of their owne Citizens, and being oppressed by the Dukes of Milan, they yeelded themselves in the yeere 1428, to the Venetians, whose Army being defeated the next yeere by the French, this City likewise submitted it selfe to them, and they being cast out of Italy, it was subjected to the Sortian family, Dukes of Milan, and they being extinct, and the Emperour and French King making warre for the Dukedome of Milan, this City in the yeere 1516, returned under the power of the Venetians, who at this day enjoy the same in peace.

The City is seated upon a mountaine, upon the south-side whereof a Fort is built, and under the mountaine towards the East, are two large suburbs, full of faire houses and Churches. Neere the market place in the Church of Saint Mary, is a stately sepulcher of marble, and in the monastery of the preaching Friars, is a rich Library. These Citizens speake the Italian tongue, but more rudely then any other of Italy. Here I paid foure lires for my supper and horse-meat, and twelve soldi for my breakefast.

From hence I tooke not the right way to Geneva, but declined to the way of Chur, aswell because it was more safe from robbery, as to be freed from all dangers, by ventering againe to passe through the state of Milan. When I came from Paduoa, I was not curious to find out companions for this my long journey, aswell because I hoped to find some by the way, as for that I being now used to converse with any Christian strangers, little cared to be solitary by the way: but deceived of this my hope to find company, I passed all alone, not so much as
FROM BERGAMO TO GENEVA

A.D. 1595.

accompanied with a footman, over the high Alpes, which I think very few have done besides myself.

From Bergamo I rode nine miles to Trescher, where I first entered the mouth of the Alpes, and thence I rode nineteen miles to Louer, passing by many very pleasant lakes, and by the way I paid sixene gagetti, that is, thirty two soldi for four horse shoes. Being to passe from hence over the steepe and snowy Alpes, I cause my horse to bee shod with eight sharpe and three blunt nailes, for which I paid sixe soldi, and for my supper twenty eight, and for three measures of oates twenty four, and for the stable eightene soldi. The second day I rode thirty two miles to the village Edoll, through high mountaines, and there I paid three lires for my supper and horse-meat. The third day in the morning I rode ten miles to a village Auryga, over a most high and steepe mountaine of the same name; and now I beganne to freeze, for cold, though before I entered the Alpes, I could hardly indure the heat of the Clime.

Hence I went forward one mile to a little Brooke, which divideth the territory of the Venetians, and the Grysons (which are a free people confederate with the Cantons of Sweitzerland), and five miles further to Villa, where I paid twenty sixe soldi of Venice for my dinner and horse-meat; and it being now the time of Lent, they gave us flesh to eat, whereof I was glad as of a dainty I could not get in Italy, neither would they gratifie the Italians their neighbours, in providing any thing else for them; so as they were forced to eat flesh without any scruple of conscience, which this people of the reformed religion would little have regarded. After dinner I rode ten miles to Poschiano, through a most pleasant valley, compassed on all sides with mountaines, where I paid two berlinghotti (or two lyres of Venice) for my supper and breakefast, (for all passengers use to breake their fast in going over the Alpes) and one Berlinghotto for five measures of oates, and for the stable. The fourth day in the morning for twelve miles
I ascended the mountaine Berlina, & after rode thirteen miles to Lasagna, through a vally covered with snow; where I paid foure batzen for my supper, and as much for my breakefast, and six batzen for two measures of oates, and two batzen for hay, straw, and stable roome.

I formerly said that I bought a horse at Paduoa, and he being a stoned horse, & those of the territory of Venice and all Lombardy using to ride upon Mares, which they put in the same stable with horses, it hapened at Verona, that the Hostler let my horse loose, that the rascall might make himselfe sport with his covering of the mares, which for that time I knew not, but after manifestly found, since ever after hee was (contrary to custome) very troublesome to mee, with neighing and corvetting, when soever he passed by any mares. And in this daies journy (as when soever I passed the narrow waies of steepe mountaines) he was most troublesome to me: so as this people of the Alpes commonly using Mares for their carriages, whensoever I met them, I was forced not without danger to light from my horse, and though I held him by the bridle, yet he was so fierce, as I could hardly keepe him from falling down most steepe mountaines, or from being drowned in the snow, which made me repent the buying of him, though otherwise he was richly worth my money.

The buildings of the Grisons are of free stone, but low; and for three parts of the yeere, the houses are covered with snow, and the windowes thereof are glased & large, and for three parts of the yeere they onely open a little quarry of glasse, and presently shut it againe: and all the windowes for the most part are continually covered with windowes of wood, lest the heat of the stoave should goe out, or any cold enter into the same.

The fifth day in the morning I rode twenty foure Italian miles, (which the Grisons accompt foure miles) to the Towne Lanzi, and having passed three high mountaines, and after entering into a plaine, upon the next ascent of the mountaines, I might first discerne the
FROM BERGAMO TO GENEVA

A.D.
1595.

opening of them towards the North, and then began to descend the Alpes into Germany. In this passage of the Alpes, I did many times observe mountaines of snow to fall from the high mountaines into the vallies, with such noise as if it had thundered: and this noise many times preserves passengers from being overwhelmed with the same, falling many times into the very high waiies.

Out of the wood neere Lanzi, in the twilight of the evening; I did heare more then a hundred Woolves howling, and because it was towards night, I had hired a Countrie Churle to guide me unto the Towne, who trembled for feare, and desired me to make ready my Carbinder to shoot at them: for hee said nothing terrified them more then the smell of powder; I wished him to be of good cheare, because the Woolves seemed busie about a prey, and the Towne was neere at hand, promising that I would not forsake him, but if need were, let him ride behind me: but feare giving him wings, so as he went as fast as my horse could trot; within short space we came to Lanzi, where I paid sixteene batzen for my supper, breakefast, and horse-meat.

The sixth day in the morning I rode fifteene Italian miles, (which the Grysons call two miles) to Chur (a City, and the seat of a Bishop) through little mountaines covered with snow. The head of the River Rheine is distant from this City as farre as a footman may goe in halfe an houre; and it lies towards the south. The City lieth in length from the Church on the North-side, towards the South, and having spent an houre in viewing the same, I rode further foure miles of Sweitzerland, through mountaines covered with snow, to Walstat; where I paid five batzen for my supper, and (to gratifie my Dutch consorts) foure batzen for drinke after supper, vulgarly called Schlaffdrunke, that is, the sleeping cup, and three batzen for my horse-meat. The seventh day in the morning I passed two miles, (I meane alwaies the miles of the Countrey) by boat upon the Lake Walsea (that is the walled sea, because it is compassed with
mountaines) and I rode two most long miles more, over hils to the little City Rabesuele, and for the passage of my selfe and my horse over the Lake, I paid seven batzen, and for oates for my horse (while I expected consorts) I paid three creitzers. The foresaid little City, is confederate with the Sweitzer Cantons; and here I paid eighteene batzen for my supper, with extraordinary fare, and my breakfast and horse-meat. The eight day in the morning, after I had ridden foure houres space (for the Long Miles. Sweitzers miles are so long, and of so uncertaine measure, as they use to measure their journies by houres riding, not by miles); I wondered to heare that we had ridden but one mile. Our way was through pleasant hils planted with vines, growing upon short stakes, as the Dutch use to plant them. Here we dined in a village, and throughout all this territory I paied about seven batzen a meale. After dinner having in three houres ridden three miles, my horse weary of this long journey without so much as a daies rest, beganne to faint, so I was forced in a village to give him some two houres rest, and some provender; and my way hitherto was through pleasant hils, in like sort planted with vines on my right hand towards the East, and by the side of the Lake Zurechzea, on the left hand towards the West. And the pleasantnesse of this Village seated among hilles planted with Vines on the East side of the said Lake, made me as willing as my horse to rest there. The same evening I rode further one mile to Zurech, which city I formerly described in my former passage through Sweitzerland.

I formerly said, that for the unpossibilitie to exchange my money from Venice to Paris, I was forced to exchange the same to Geneva. For which cause, and out of my desire to view that Citie, famous for reformation of Religion, after some few daies I took my journey thither, turning out of my high way. The first day in the morning, through a way most pleasant for the variety of Plaines, Hilles, Orchards, Woods, and Gardens, (wherein I passed by an ancient Castle of the Counts of Habs-
purg), I rode in eight howers space to a Village, where I lodged, and payed a franke and a halfe (French money) for my supper and horse-meate. The second day in the morning, through a plaine Heath, Woods, and hilly ground for pasture, I rode in foure howers space to a Village, and there (as in the rest of this journey), I payed about seven batzen of Dutch money for a meale.

After dinner through like way, I rode in three howers space to Solothurn an ancient Citie, and one of the Sweitzers Cantons, called in Latin Solidurum, and it hath the name in both tongues, as the Tower of the Sunne, or as consisting onely of Towers, whereof there be many. One Tower thereof is of great antiquitie, and upon it these verses in Latin are written:

Ex Celtis nihil est Soliduro antiquius uno,
Exceptis Treueris, quaram ego dicta soror.

What's older mongst the Celts then Solidure?
Nothing but Treir: whose sister I am sure.

They will have this Citie built in the time of the Patriarke Abraham.

The third day in the morning I rode in foure howers space to Arberg, by the side of a great River called Ar, passing twice over it by two bridges. After dinner I rode in foure howers space to Morion, through pleasant hilles of Corne and Woods, and Pastures, and by the side of the Lake Morionzea. Not farre hence Charles Duke of Burgundy was defeated by the Sweitzers in the yeere 1476, and there in a field lie the bones of the souldiers there killed. The Burgundians were thrice beaten in one day, and here in the last battell Duke Charles also was killed. The fourth day in the morning I rode in three howers to Bitterline, through fruitfull Corne fieldes and pastures, and after dinner in foure howers space I rode to Milden, and about the midst of the way did see the ruines of the ancient Citie Avenza, or Aventicum, which Julius Cæsar utterly raced, and Corne was now sowed within the old circuit of the Citie, whereof no
memory remained, but one ruinous tower and a statua; but they say, that the Husbandmen tilling the ground, doe many times dig up old Roman coins of silver and gold. Not farre thence towards the West, lie the snowy Mountaines, which divide the Territories of Burgundy and Sweitzerland.

The fifth day in five houres space I rode to Losanna, through Mountaines covered with Snow and thicke Woods. This Citie is subject to Berna (being one of the Sweitzers Cantons), but the Citizens speake French. It is seated on the North side of the Lake of Losanna (of old called Lacus Lemanus), which is compassed with Mountaines continually covered with snow, which open themselves on the East side towards Italy. On the East side of the Citie is the head of the River Rhodanus, which falles into this Lake, having so cleare a colour, as it seems not at all to mingle with the standing water of the Lake. From hence I rode by the West side of this Lake, and in two houers space came to Morgen, which Towne is also subject to Berna.

Then I rode foure miles in foure houres space to Geneva, having the sandy banke of the said Lake on my left hand towards the East, and most pleasant Hilles planted with Vines on my right hand towards the West; and by the way I did see a Village ruined in time of warre, nothing there standing but a pillar erected in honour of the Papists Masse. Geneva is seated on the South side of the Lake, right opposite to Losanna, seated at the North end thereof. The East side of the Lake lies towards Savoy and Italy; and the West side towards France, on which side also the high way lies into Sweitzerland. The lower part of which Citie, vulgarly la bas rue, is seated in a plaine, and the rest upon a Hill. The buildings are faire, and of free-stone. This Citie being confederate with some of the Sweitzer Cantones, and more strictly with Berna, hath defended the freedome of the Citizens, and the profession of Reformed Religion for many yeeres with great courage and pietie, and
through many miseries and practises to subdue them, against the pretended rightes of the Bishop, and the Duke of Savoyes ambition, and hatred he beares to the Reformed Religion. The lower part thereof on the North side, lies close to the South side of the Lake, where is a little haven for Gallies, which they have built to keepe free the passage of the Lake. And on the same side is a strong Fort, and there the river Rhodanus, comming out of the Lake enters the Citie, and runnes through the lower part thereof, having two bridges for passage. The Duke of Savoy, who hath long watched to surprize this Citie, possesseth the East side of the Lake: but the Citie is carefull not to suffer him to build any Gallies thereupon; and upon the least rumour of building them, armeth their Gallies to burne the same. Therefore the way into Savoy lying upon the East South East side of the Citie, in a plaine betweene Hilles and Mountaines, the Citie hath built a Fort of little circuit, but great strength, with fortifications of earth, some Musket shot without the walles upon that way, and therein continually keepes a Garrison. Not farre thence the River Arba, flowing from the Easternne Mountaines, doth beyond the Citie fall into Rhodanus. At the South Gate is a publike Church-yard for buriall, and an Hospitall or Pest house, which are both without the walles. On the same side within the walles, is a pleasant walke upon Hilles, where of old a pillar was erected, with this inscription:

To the Emperour Cæsar M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius, by Felix Aug. greatest Bishop with Tribunall power, Consull, &c.

On the West side of the Citie without the walles, little Mountaines lying not farre distant, might seeme dangerous for the encamping of enemies, save that on the one side they are compassed with the Territorie of Berne, confederate with the Citie, and on the other side with the River Rhodanus, so as the enemies passage to
them is very difficult. This Citie was of old repaired
by the Emperour Aurelius, and Julius Cæsar makes
mention of this Citie in his first booke of the
Gaules warre, so as the antiquitie thereof cannot be
doubted.

Here I had great contentment to speake and converse
with the reverent Father Theodore Beza, who was of
stature something tall, and corpulent, or big boned, and
had a long thicke beard as white as snow. He had a
grave Senatours countenance, and was broad faced, but
not fat, and in generall by his comely person, sweete
affabilitie and gravitie, he would have extorted reverence
from those that least loved him. I walked with him to
the Church, and giving attention to his speech, it
happened that in the Church porch, I touched the poore
mans box with my fingers, and this reverend man soone
perceived my errour, who having used in Italy to dip
my fingers towards the holy water (according to the
manner of the Papists, lest the omitting of so small a
matter generally used, might make me suspected of my
Religion, and bring me into dangers of greater conse-
quence), did now in like sort touch this poore mans box,
mistaking it for the Font of holy water. I say, hee did
soone perceive my errour, and taking me by the hand,
advised me hereafter to eschew these ill customes, which
were so hardly forgotten.

When I had taken counsell with my friends, if it were
safe for mee to goe the right way from Geneva to Paris,
they being of great experience, dissuaded me from that
journey, which could not but be dangerous, the Peace
being scarcely concluded, and the Countrey being full of
bands of Souldiers returning to their owne home, which
councell after I found good by Experience, the mother
of fooles. And when they perceived that I was obstin-
ately purposed to passe through France into England,
they advised mee rather to passe into France by the
Dukedome of Loraine, which for the time, was more
free from the tumults of warre, whose counsell I thought
good to follow, so as I was now to returne to Strasburg in Germany, almost the same way I came.

Thus after noone I left Geneva, and rode that day foure miles to Morgen. The second day in the morning I rode in two houres space to Losanna, and in five houres space to Milden, where I payed eight batzen for my dinner and horse-meate. After dinner in foure houres space I rode to Bitterline, and payed fourteene batzen for my supper and horse-meate. The third day in the morning I rode one mile (as they call it) in foure houres space to Morton, & in three houres space to Berne, one of the Sweitzers Cantons, through sandy fieldes of Corne, and many Woods. At Geneva many French Gentlemen and Students comming thither for the libertie of their religion, did speake pure French, and from that Citie all the people spake a barbarous French till I came neere Berne, where they first began to speake the Sweitzers language.

Being to describe Berne, give me leave first for Travellers sake to mention what I have read in some Authors; that in the Territorie of Lucerna (which I never viewed, and who are earnest Papists, and so may justly bee suspected in like reports) there is a wonderfull Lake, upon the banke whereof they say Pilate doth once in a yeere walke, attired in Judges robes, and that whosoever then sees him, doth die the same yeere. The most faire Citie Berne hath the name of Beares in the Dutch tongue, because Berthold Duke of Zeringen, being to build the Citie, and going fourth to hunt, thought good to give it the name of the first beast he should meete and kill. And there being a Wood of Oakes in the very place where the Citie was to be built, the workemen cutting the same for the building of the Citie, did sing this Rime in Dutch:

Holtz lass dich hawen gern: Die stat muss heissen Bern.

Wood let us willingly cut thee: this Citie must Bern named be.
They write, that the ground whereupon the Citie is built, was of old called the Sacke and that the Citie thereupon was built in forme of a sacke. This most faire City is not of any great antiquitie; for Berthold the founder thereof died in the yeere 1175. It is built upon a little Mountaine, yet seems to be seated in a Valley because it is compassed with greater Mountaines. The little Mountaine whereupon it is seated, is narrow, and the full bredth thereof is within the walles, neither is it much longer then the Citie, lying in length from the West to the East, in which length it hath three faire and broad streetes, and is fortified round about with the Valleys of this little Mountaine. The houses are uniformly, and very fairely built of free-stone, having the first upper rooms of the houses cast out towards the streetes, and supported with arches, under which they walke drie in the greatest raine. Round about this little Mountaine the Citizens have their gardens from the fall of the same to the lowest Valleys, and upon the South-East by South, is a most faire Church, and very pleasant for the lightsomnesse thereof, and on every side there is a pleasant place for walking. On the South side without the walles the River Arba runnes from the West to the East, and is passed by a bridge at the East ende of the Citie, whence it turneth towards the North, and so makes the Citie almost an Iland. Here I paied fourteene batzen for my supper and horsemeate. The fourth day in the morning, I rode three miles in sixe hours space (through fruitfull fieldes of Corne and pasture) to Solothurn. And by the way I observed a monument of the English defeated by the Sweitzers, with this inscription in Dutch;

Ritterlich erschlagen die English guckler Anno 1425, arme Jucke.

That is;

The English Juglers Knightly beaten in the yeere 1425, poore Knaves.
The English Histories make no mention of any warre with the Sweitzers. Semler a Sweitzer Historian, in his first booke fifty fourth leafe writes, that Leopold Duke of Austria, drew the English against the Sweitzers, and that they did much hurt by wasting the Territories, aswell of Austria as of Sweitzerland, but that they being overcome in some battels, did after the wasting of these Countries returne home in the yeere 1376, and this he calles the first English warre. Also Semler in his first booke the leafe 273 writes, that the English (as it seems called from the French warre) did at the instance of Duke Leopold besiege Strassburg in the yeere 1365: but the Emperor Charles the fourth comming with an armie against them, that they retired. But neither doe the words of Semler agree, since he calles the first attempt the first English warre, and after mentions another of former time, neither doe the yeeres set downe by Semler agree with the yeeres of this monument, neither seems it by the French Histories, that the English had any leasure to make warre upon the Sweitzers in the yeere 1365, and lesse in the yeere 1376. To conclude, it appeares aswell by the English as French Histories, that the English Conquerours in France, had so weightie a warre lying there upon them in the yeere 1425, set downe in this monument, as it is not credible they could at that time turne their forces any other way. Only the most approved French Writers witnes, that the English and French having made a truce for eightene moneths in the yeere 1443, it seemed good to the leaders on both sides, that the souldiers hating rest and peace, should be drawne out to some forraine warre, and that the English serving under Lewis the Dolphin of France, the said Lewis in the yeere 1444 making warre upon the Sweitzers, killed therein 4000 of them: but the victorie was so bloudy of this battell, fought in the territorie of Bazel, as he that had the victorie, lost some 5000 men of his owne, and that the Emperour Frederick the third comming against him, he drew his men backe. For my
part I leave the credit of this monument to be tried by
the consent of Historians, and returne to my journey.

The fifth day in the morning, I rode foure miles to
the Towne Ottmersea, and in the afternoone, through
a stony Plaine of Corne and some Woods, I rode foure
miles to Besa. The sixth day in the morning I rode
five miles, through the like Plaine, to Gerzen, and in
the after-noone, through a woody heath Plaine, and
towards my journeys end through fruitfull fields of Corne,
I rode foure miles to Strassburg. And in all this journey
I payed about seven batzen for each meale. From
Solothurne to Strassburg some reckon seventene miles,
others twenty two miles; for the Dutch reckon the miles
diversly, according to the length of them in their owne
Countrey, and in these parts they use to distinguish their
journies by howers riding, not by miles. Not farre from
the foresaid Towne Besa, lies the Citie Bazell, which I
have described in my former journey through these parts.
But to gratifie those who love to search antiquities, give
me leave to say, that Augusta Rauracorum (so called for
distinction from Augusta Vindelicorum) a Citie of great
antiquitie, and at this day become a poore Village, lies
distant from Bazell some mile towards the Mountaine
Jura, and that neere this ancient Citie are many old
monuments of the Romans, and many buildings under
the earth, which my selfe being lesse curious, did not
see; and that the Husbandmen there, digged up lately
a coyne of gold, and sold it for copper, which was after
valued at nine Crownes of the old Romans.

I say nothing of Strassburg, which I have in the foresaid
place formerly described, onely I will say, that I had the
good fortune there, to find a French Gentleman, the
Governour of Monwick with his traine, in whose company
I rode thither. The first day in the morning, I rode
through a fruitfull Plaine of Corne foure miles to
Saverne, in which Citie the Papistical Chanons of Strass-
burg have long fortified themselves under the protection
of the Duke of Loraine, against their Lords the
FROM STRASSBURG TO NANCY

Senators of Strassburg, and have appropriated to themselves great part of the revenewes of that Bishoppricke, lying under their power. After dinner I rode three miles through Hilles yet covered with snow, to Villa Nova. Concerning my expences, I spent each day little lesse then a French Crowne, namely, two franckes for my supper, and commonly three French soulz for my breake-fast, and one franck for my horsemeate.

The second day I rode one mile to the confines of the Empire, and the Dukedome of Loraine, and some three miles further to Monwick, where so much salt is made, as the Duke of Loraine yeerely receives sixty thousand French Crownes for the same. The third day through a dyrtie way and fruitfull fieldes of Corne, I rode five miles to the Citie Nanzi, where the Duke of Loraine keepes his Court, and when I was entring the Gate, the Captaine of the Guard drew towards mee, to know my name and Countrie. I not ignorant that the Family of Loraine (usurping great power in France, under the pretence to defend the Roman Religion) bare no good will to the English at that time, answered, that I was a Polonian, hee inquired many things of the Kingdome, King and Queene of Poland, and perceiving that I answered him directly, hee whispered something with some chiefes men of the Guard about my confidence, and so turning againe to me, bad me lift up my hand, (for so the French use to take othes.) I was much afraid lest I should bee forced upon this oath to confesse my Countrey which I had dissembled: but when I demaunded the cause; hee told mee, that many places being infected by the Plague, I was to sweare, that I came not from any of them, which (to be freed from my former feare) I did gladly assure him upon my oath. The Citie is strongly fortied, save that the South side, where the circuit of the Citie was inlarged, was not yet compassed with wallles, neither were the houses on that side yet built. The houses are fairely built of free stone.
Dukes Pallace was built foure square, with a large inner Court all of free stone, and with a high Gallerie towards the said Court-yard, and there I had the opportunitie to see the Duke, and the Princes and the Princesses his children.

Finding not heere any companie for my journey into France, which I hoped to finde at Metz, and thinking it not convenient to stay longer then I must needes, in a place for the time ill affected to the English, I rode the fourth day eight French miles to Metz. In the time of the Emperour Charles the fifth, the French tooke this Citie from the Empire, and at this day it was held for Henrie the fourth King of France by a Garrison of his men, and every one now talking of Peace made in France, yet it was not then proclaimed in these parts, nor upon any of the confines of France. My selfe after few dayes stay, finding no consorts for my journey into France, was admonished by some honest Gentlemen in this Citie, that this journey would bee very dangerous to mee, in respect that the armie being broken up, all France would bee full through all parts of scattering troopes of Souldiers, returning to their owne homes. But when they perceived that I was obstinate in my purpose to passe through France into England, they perswaded mee at least to sell my Horse, and goe on foote; for they said, the bootie of a good Horse would surely cause mee to bee robbed by those, who might perhaps let me passe quietly on foot, disguised in poore apparell; for they seeing mee well mounted, would surely set upon me, and twenty to one kill me aswel because they that rob in France do commonly kill them they rob, as because they would imagine mee to bee a souldier, either on the Kings, or on the Leagers side, and in that case, if I were on their owne side, would kill me, for feare of being forced to restitution; and if I were on the adverse part, would thinke mee well killed as an enemie. Besides that, the Marshals of the Kingdome at the ende of a Civill warre, used such severitie of justice
to supresse all disorders, as they would surely kill mee, lest I should complaine of them. Whereas if I passed on foote, they were like either to let mee goe in peace, or at least to bee content with my money, without offering further violence to mee, whom they would judge to bee of some base condition. This their counsell I approved, and (howsoever unwillingly) sold my Horse for sixteene French Crownes. In this Citie I payed a franck each meale. It is a faire Citie and well fortified, and it is seated upon a Hill, in a fat soile fruitfull of Corne, and the River Mosella running from Nancey in a Plaine, passeth close by the West Gate of the Citie, where it is to bee passed by a covered bridge.

Being to take my journey towards Paris on foote, I hired a poore man to guide me to Chalons, and to carry my cloake, and my little baggage. The first day after dinner wee went two French miles, by the banke of the said River, through a dyrtie way, and a Countrie fruitfull of Corne, but having no Woods, not so much as a tree, and came to a poore Village. By the way I passed by Pontmolin, where of old was a faire bridge to passe over Mosella, the ruines whereof at this day are called Arches de Joye. In this my journey to Paris, I spent each day for my dyet about twentie foure soulz. The second day we went two miles to Pont, and five miles to Toul, where I payed two testoones and a halfe for a paire of shooes. Our way was very dyrtie, through fruitfull fields of Corne, and we often heard the cries of the Country people, driving their cattell to fortified places, upon the seeing of some scattered troopes of Souldiers, which made us much affraid, and that not without just cause: but God delivered us from this danger. The third day I being so wearie as I could not goe on foot, hired for one Frank two post horses (returning homeward) for me & my guide to ride 2 miles, & after 2 horses for three frankes for us to ride three miles to Saint Aubine. The fourth day I hired two horses for us for a French Crowne, and we rode five miles to Bar in a faire way, through
Pastures, and Hilles planted with Vines yeelding a rich Wine, and fruitfull fields of Corne. And this day we passed by the Village Longeville, which the Countrey people had fortified in this civill warre, to defend themselves from being spoiled by sudden invasions, though otherwise they were each night forced to lodge some Troope or other. Having dined plentifully at Bar, and being refreshed with excellent wine, in the after noone we went foure miles through the like way to the Village Ampton Cour, where a French Gentleman dwelt, who the same day had there proclaimed the Peace. For now wee had passed the confines of Loraine, and this was the first Village of France, in the Province of Champagne. The fifth day being (after the new stile) the first of May, in the yeere 1595, wee went on foote nine long French miles to Chalons. At the end of the first two miles, wee came to the first house, standing alone, and called la rouge maison, that is, the red house, inhabited onely by an old woman, who would give us nothing to eate or drinke, and in all the rest of the way we did neither see Village, nor house, nor so much as a tree. The fields were plaine, and all the Province (according to the name) was a Champion Countrey and seemed apt to beare great store of Corne, but now in the time of Civill warre, they lay unploughed, and the Husbandmens houses were fallen to the ground. Yea, wee could not finde so much as water to quench our thirst, so as my guide was forced to drinke the standing water lying in the cartruts of the high way, and my selfe to quench my thirst, did chew the crust of a browne loafe which he had given me, whereby I kept my mouth moist, casting the crust away when I had chewed it.

We had now scarce entred France, when suddenly the mischiefe fell upon me, which my friends at Metz had foretold me. When I had passed halfe this dayes journey, I met with some dozen horsemen, whose Captaine demaunded of me my name and Countrey. I answered, that I was a Dutch man, and the servant of a Dutch
Merchant, who staied for me at Chalons, whether I was then going. He (as it seemed to me) thinking it dishonourable to him, if he should himselfe assault a poore fellow, and a stranger, did let me passe, but before I came to the bottome of the hill, I might see him send two horsemen after me, who wheeling about the moutaines, that I might not know they were of his company, suddenly rushed upon me, and with fierce countenance threatning death, presented their Carbines to my brest. I having no abilitie to defend mee, thought good not to make any the least shew of resistance, so they tooke my sword from my guide, and were content onely to rob me of my mony. I formerly said, that I could not finde at Venice any meanes to exchange my money to Paris, the long Civill warre having barred the Parisians from any traffique in forraine parts, and that I was forced to exchange my money to Geneva. This money there received, I had quilted within my doublet, and when I resolved to goe on foote to Paris, I made me a base cover for my apparel, which when they perceived, they tooke from me the inward doublet wherein I had quilted the gold, and though they perceived that under my base cover, I had a Jerkin and hose laide with gold lace, yet they were content to take onely the inner dublet, and to leave me all the rest of my apparrell, wherein I doe acknowledge their courtesie, since theeves give all they doe not take. Besides, they tooke not onely my Crownes but my sword, cloake, and shirtes, and made a very unequall exchange with me for my hat, giving me another deepe greasie French hat for it.

One thing in this miserie made me glad. I formerly said, that I sold my horse for 16. French Crownes at Metz, which Crownes I put in the bottome of a wooden box, and covered them with a stinking ointment for scabs. [I. ii. 186.] Sixe other French Crownes, for the worst event, I lapped in cloth, and thereupon did wind divers colored threads, wherein I stucked needles, as if I had been so good a husband, as to mend my own clothes. This box and this
ball of thread, I had put in my hose, as things of no worth; and when in spoyling me they had searched my pockets, they first tooke the boxe, and smelling the stinke of the ointment, they cast it away on the ground; neither were they so frugall to take my bal of thread to mend their hose, but did tread it likewise under their feet. Then they rode swiftly to their companions, and I with some sparke of joy in my greater losse, tooke up the box and ball of thread, thinking my selfe lesse miserable, that by the Grace of God I had some money left, to keepe me from begging in a strange Countrey.

This Tragedie thus acted, I and my guide (very sad because he despaired of my abilitie to pay him his hire) went forward our journey, hee wondering that I was no more dejected in the danger I had passed, and for my miserable want of mony, thinking that I had never a penny left, whom he did see so narrowly searched, and yet perceived that I was in some sort merry. At last we did see the City of Chalons not farre distant, and upon our left hand was a faire spring, which had seven heads, to which wee went to drinke, being both very thirstie. Here I put into the water the hat which the theees had given me, by unequall exchange for mine, being greasie to the very top, and deepe according to the French fashion, and filling it with water thrice, drunke it up greedily. Then I filled it the fourth time, and broke into it the crummes of the browne loafe, the crust whereof had to that time kept my mouth with some moisture, which I devoured, and thought I had never eaten better brewesse; but three daies sickness of vomiting and loosenesse made me repent this intemperance.

Thence wee went to Chalons, where my guide brought mee to a poore Ale-house, and when I expostulated the wrong he did me; he replied, That stately Innes were not for men who had never a penny in their purses: but I told him, that I looked for comfort in that case rather from Gentlemen then Clownes. Whereupon hee willingly
FROM CHALONS TO PARIS

A.D. 1595.

A Servant Confounded.

The building of Chalons was low and base, being of Timber and Clay, and this Citie hath no beauty but in the large Market-place and strong Fort. On the West side without the walles, are pleasant Ilands, whether the Citizens use to passe by boat, and to walke there for recreation. I formerly said, that I spent in this journey some twentie foure soulz by the day for my diet, after which rate I payed here, and if extraordinarily I called for wine, I payed two soulz and a halfe for a measure little bigger then our English pint.

From hence to Paris I passed in a long wagon of Paris, and payed two French Crownes for my place therein. The first day we passed in like way to the former, and in the same Province of Champaigne, foureteene miles to Sizan, and did scarce see two poore Villages by the way; but I was told, that some halfe a mile out of the high way, was the castle Chastilion, whereof the Admiral of France killed in the Massacre of Paris, and the Gentle-men of his Family have their name. The second day we were carried 12 miles to Nangi, being as yet not freed from the cries of poore people, driving their cattell from Troopes of Souldiers, but for my part I made the proverbe
true, that the passenger having nothing, sings before the thiefe. Yet was I not without feare of a greater mischiefe then robbing, by the losse of my life, having no mony to redeeme it from the cut-throat souldiers.

The third day we were carried ten miles in Champaigne, through a Champion Country lying wast, & 4 miles more to Paris, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, & pleasant hils planted with vines. This Country wherein Paris is seated, is compassed with the rivers of Seyne, & Matrona, & Oysa, & is properly called the Iland of France. The Parisians have their name either from Paris of Troy, or of the Parrhasii, a people of Asia, which did accompany Hercules, or of the Temple of Isis neere them (according to the Greeke language), for the statua of Isis was at Saint Germain, till it was taken away in the yeere 1514, and a Crosse was set up in the place thereof by the Bishop of Molun. The City hath the name of Lutetia in Latin, either of dirt, for the Fens adjoining, or in the Greeke tongue of Morter there digged out, because all the flores are of plaster, and the houses plastered over. And some say that it was of old called the City of Julius Caesar, who built great part thereof. It lies in the elevation of the Pole forty eight degrees, and the chiefe part thereof, namely, the Iland & greater City, is seated in a fenny ground. For the River Seyne hath often overflowed Paris, and broken downe the bridges. In the time of King Phillip Augustus, the waters rose to the statues without the Cathedrall Church of Saint Mary, on the North-side thereof, as appeares by an inscription. Also in the yeere 1373, for two moneths space, they so overflowed the City, as they passed in boates the streetes of Saint Denis and S. Antoine. To conclude, omitting many overflowings mentioned in Histories, it appeares by an inscription in the vally of Misery, that in the yeere 1496, there was a great inundation. The City of old was all in the Iland, and when it could not receive the multitude increased, the City was inlarged to both sides of the continent, and first that part of the City called La ville,
then the third part called the University, were esteemed suburbs, till after they were joined to the City. For the Kings Court and the City still increased with buildings, so as the Suburbes were greater then the City; whereupon King Charles the fifth gave them the same priviledges which the City had, and compassed them with wals, whereof the ruines yet appeare. And new Suburbes being afterwards built, King Henry the second in the yeere 1548, made an Edict, that the houses unperfected should be pulled down, and that no more should afterwards be built. The River Seyne running from the South, and entering at the South-side, divides the City into two parts, the greater part whereof towards the East and North, lies low in a plaine, and is vulgarly called La ville. The lesse lying towards the South and West, upon a higher ground, is seated betweene hils, and is called the University. Betweene those two parts lies the third, namely the Iland, called the City, which is seated in a plaine, and compassed on all sides with the River Seyne, running betweene the Ville and the University. And this part was of old joined to the University, with two bridges, and to the Ville with three bridges: but now a sixth called the new bridge, doth moreover joine the Iland aswell to the Ville as to the University. The part of the City called the Ville, is compassed on the south and west sides with the River Seyne, and upon the East and North sides with wals, rampiers, and ditches, in the forme of halfe a circle. The second part of the City called the University, is compassed on the East and North sides with the River Seyne, and upon the South and West sides with wals, which they write to have the forme of a hat, save that the long suburbs somewhat alter this forme. For my part it seemed to me, that joined with the Iland, it had also the forme of another halfe circle, though somewhat lesse then the former. The third part called the Iland or City, is compassed round about with the River Seyne, and upon the South-east side is defended from the floods of the
A.D. 1595.

River by foure little Ilands, which are marked in the map with blacke lines, and lie like Rampiers diverting the streame from beating on the City. To this Iland they passe on both sides by bridges, and in respect of the Bishops Pallace, & the Kings greater Pallace, it may be called the heart of the City. The old wals of the Ville, were first of lesse circuit then now they are; for new wals were built, which also included the Suburbes, and the inner wall is of unpolished stone, the outer wall is of earth, compassed round about with ditches, which neere the River are broad and full of water, but further off towards the North and East, are narrow and altogether drie. But the old wals are either demolished, or converted to the supporting of private houses. The University is compassed with like wals, and because it is seated upon high ground, the ditches are altogether drie. And the wals of earth aswell of the Ville as the University, are so broad as three or foure may walke together upon them. And round about the City (I meane the Ville and University compassing the Iland) are many rampiers uppon the wall like so many Forts. The Iland or City was of old compassed with wals, wherewith the greater Pallace lying towards the North, at this day is compassed. Paris in generall is subject to the King, so as it hath under him a peculiar jurisdiction, and in spirituall matters it is subject to the Bishop. In the time of King Lewis the eleventh, one hundred and foure thousand Citizens were numbered able to beare armes in the yeere 1466, and King Charles the fifth in the yeere 1371, gave the Citizens the rights and priviledges of Gentlemen. King Phillip Augustus in the yeere 1090, made Shiriffes to governe the City with consular authority; and he gave the City for Armes a ship adorned with Lillies, he paved the streetes with flint, and compassed the City with wals. The Parisians have raised many seditions: The first in the yeere 1306, against rich men raising the rents of houses. The second with the King of Navar and the English, against the Dolphin. The
COMMENTS UPON PARIS

third in the yeere 1383, against the Kings Treasurers, which Charles the sixth (returning with his Army out of Flanders) did severely punish. The fourth betwenee the factions of Orleans and Burgundy. The fifth most pestilent and longest, with the Guisians against the last King of Valois.

The building of the City is for the most part stately, of unpolished stone, with the outside plastered, and rough cast, and the houses for the most part are four stories high, and sometimes sixe, besides the roofe which also hath glasse windowes. The streetes are somewhat large, and among them the fairest is that of Saint Dennis, the second Saint Honore, the third Saint Antoine, and the fourth Saint Martine. And in the Iland the waies to these streetes are fairest. The pavement is of little, but thicke and somewhat broade stones. But in the meane time the streetes of the Ville, either for the low situation, or by the negligence of the Citizens, are continually dirty and full of filth. The three parts of the City, namely, the Ville, the Iland, and the University, being joined together, are of a round forme, (which of all others is most capable) save that the halfe circle of the Ville, is greater then the other halfe circle, which is compassed as it were with the two hornes of the former. And the whole circuit of the City without the walls (excluding the suburbes) is said to be of sixe miles. The market places which are in the streetes, are vulgarly called, Carrefours, as being fouresquare, and having passage to them on all sides, and they are eleven in number, namely, foure of the Butchers, (which upon a sedition raised by them, were divided into foure tribes), the fifth the shambles upon the mount Saint Genovesa, the sixth built for the poore which have no shops, and for the weomen which sell linnen, which is vulgarly called, La lingeria, well knowne for the cosinages of these linnen sellers; the seventh of the brokers, vulgarly called, La Fripperie, the eight and chiefe, is in the Iland, called Marshes, because of the Fenny soyle: the ninth is for fishes of
the River, seated neere the tenth, being the little bridge of Saint German of the University: the eleventh is without the gate for hoggges. There be foureteene fountaines, besides the fountaine of the Queene, and that of the Innocents, built of stone. The Ville hath eight Hospitals, the University foure, and the Iland two.

[I. ii. 189.]

The description of Paris.

(A) the Gate Saint Antoine, (B) the Bastile, (C) the gate of the Temple, (D) gate of Saint Martin, (E) gate of Saint Denys, (F) gate Mont-martre, (G) gate Saint Honore, (H) New gate, (I) Le L'ouvre, (K) gate Saint Victoire, (L) gate Marcell, (M) gate of Saint James, (N) gate Saint Michall, (O) gate Saint Germain, (P) gate Bussia, (Q) gate Nella, (R) Cathedrall Church, (S) Church Saint Bartholmew, (T) the greater Pallace, (V) Pont de nostre dame, (W) Pont Au change, (X) Pont aux musniers, (Y) Petit pont, (Z) Pont Saint Michael, (XX) Pont neuf.

I will begin the description of the City, with the first part thereof, called La ville, which hath seven gates from the South east to the North-west. I will not speake of the old or inner gates of the old City, which gates since the building of the new wals are called false gates, as serving for no use: Onely I will say that they were of the same number, and so called, as these new gates are; and that King Francis the first for comelinesse sake caused them to be demolished. The first of these seven gates, lies towards the South-east, and is called (A) Saint Antoine. By this gate I entered the City, when I came from Chalons, and without this gate I did then see the Kings Pallace, not farre distant from Paris, and most sweet for the seat and building, called Bois du' Sainct vincent, and then I passed the bridge called Calantoin, being without this gate, where the River Matrona falls into the Seyne, and so entered Paris, by the gate, and the Church and faire streete of Saint Antoin. Neere this
gate, Francis the first built a fort. As I came in, on the left hand, was the Tower (B) called the Bastile, well knowne by that name, which was begun to be built in the yeere 1369, by Hugho Ambriet Provost of Paris; and he being condemned to perpetuall prison for imputed heresie, it came to the Kings hand. On the same side is the Kings store-house for brasse Ordinance, neere the Monastery of the Celestines, in whose Church there be many marble sepulchers: and among the rest, one erected to Lewis of Orleans, (slaine by the Duke of Burgondy) and to his Dutchesse Valentina, (daughter to the Duke of Milan) by King Lewis the twelfth, with learned Epitaphs. On the same side is the Church of Saint Paul, the House of the Queene, the house of the Provost of Paris, the publike Senate-house, and the place called the Greve, famous by the capitall punishment of offenders. For in this part of the City called Ville, there be three places for the execution of Justice, (the other two parts having not one place) namely this of the Greve, and that of the Temple, lying on the left hand of the gate, called Temple, next adjoyning to this, and the third called Luparia, lying on the left hand of the seventh gate, called the new gate. And from these three places the dead bodies are carried out of the gate of Saint Martin, to be buried upon Mont-falcon. And give me leave out of order to remember you, that Pierre Remy, Treasurer and governour of France, under King Charles the faire, repaired this Mont-Falcon, and that his enemies then wrote upon the Gallowes standing there, this rime in French;

En ce gibet icy, sera pendu Pierre Remy.

Upon this gybet here you see, Peter Remy hanged shall be.

And that according to the same hee was in the time of Phillip of Valois hanged there, for the ill administration of his office. On the right hand as you come in by the same gate of Saint Anthony, is a place for Tylting, called
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Tournelles. Not far thence at Saint Catherines Church in the Schollers valley, is an inscription, witnessing that a house was pulled downe to the ground, for an arrow shot into the Church, when the Rector of the University was there at Masse, in the yeere 1404, there being at that time a great sedition raised betwixt the City and the University, about a scholler defiled with dirt, and that this house by permission of the University was build againe in the yeere 1516. Also as you come into this gate, on the right hand, in the Monastery Saint Anthony, a dried Crocodill is hung up, which a French Ambassador at Venice, left there for a monument in the yeere 1515. And there is a sepulcher of the daughters of King Charles, being of blacke marble, with their statuaes of white marble. Neere that lies the Church yard of Saint John for publike buriall, made in the yard of the house of Peter Craon, which was pulled downe to the ground in the yeere 1392, because the Constable of France was wounded from thence. The second gate towards the East, is the gate of the (C) Temple, neere which is the fort called Le Bastillon, on your right hand as you come in, and this fort, or some other in this place, was built by Francis the first. On the left hand as you come in, is the house of the Templary Knights, like a little City for the compasse, and from it this gate hath the name. And when this order of Knighthood was extinguished, their goods were given to the Order of Saint John. The Church of this house is said to be built like that of Jerusalem, and there be the monuments of Bertrand & Peter, (Priors of France,) & the Table of the Altar is curiously painted; and here Phillip Villerius, Master of the Knights of Saint John, was buried in the yeere 1532, to whom a statua of white marble is erected. The third gate is called (D) Saint Martine, and it lieth towards the North-east, without which gate is the Suburb of Saint Laurence, so called of the Church of Saint Laurence. The fourth gate is called (E) Saint Denis, and without the same is the Hospitall of Saint Lazarus, and the fore-
said Mount Falcon; and when King Henry the fourth besieged this City, he did much harme to the same, from some high places without this gate. On the left hand as you come into the broad and faire street of Saint Denys, lies a Castle which they say Julius Cæsar built, and the same Castle was of old the chiefe gate of Paris, whereupon Marcellinus cals the whole City the Castle of the Parisians. And upon the right hand is the Nunnery of the daughters of God, which use to give three morsels of bread and a cup of wine to condemned men going to execution. Not farre thence is the large Church yard of the Holy Innocents, which King Phillip Augustus compassed with wals; and there be many faire sepulchers: and they say that bodies buried there are consumed in nine daies. The fifth (F) gate lies toward the North, and is called Mont-Martre, so called of a mountaine of the same name, lying without that gate, and having the name of Martyres there executed. And Henry the fourth besieging the City, mounted his great Ordinance in this place. The sixth (G) gate Saint Honore, hath a suburbe, in which is the market place for swines flesh, and upon the right hand as you come in, hard by the gate, is an Hospitall for three hundred blind men.

The seventh (H) and last gate, lies upon the Seyne towards the North-west, and is called the new gate: and within the same about a musket shot distance, is the (I) Kings Pallace, which may be called the lesse Pallace, in respect of the greater, seated in the Iland, and this little Pallace is vulgarly called, Le' louvre. This Pallace hath onely one Court yard, and is of a quadrangle forme, save that the length somewhat passeth the bredth, and the building being of free stone, seemeth partly old, partly new, and towards one of the corners, the Kings chambers (vulgarly called Il Pavillon) are more fairely built then the rest. Without the said new gate, some halfe musket shot distance, is the Kings garden with the banquetting house (vulgarly called Les Tuilleries). And now the civill warres being ended, the King beganne to build a
A stately gallery, which should joine together this garden and the foresaid Pallace of the King, and I heare that this Gallery is since finished. And the hall joining this gallery with the Pallace, doth passe the stately building of the rest of the Pallace, being beautified with many stones of marble and of porphery. I say that this Gallery leads from the Pallace over the wals of the City, and the ditch thereof (being neere the river and so full of water), and after being supported with two or three Arches, reacheth to the same garden; and all the way without the wals, from the Pallace to the said Garden, being compassed with wals on both sides this gallery, the Garden seemes to be so much increased. On the left hand, as you come into the foresaid new Gate, lies the Tower Luparia, & Alencon house, & Burbon house, & the Coyning house, and upon the right hand the chiefe Coyning house, lying upon the River Seyne. To conclude, of the streetes of this part of the Citie called Ville, the chiefe is S. Antoine; the second of the Temple; the third S. Martine; the fourth S. Denys; the fifth Mont Martre; the sixth S. Honore; (all so named of their Gates) and the seventh Luparia, upon the banke of the River Seyne. And amongst all these, the most faire are that of S. Antoine, S. Denis, S. Honorè, and S. Martine, so called of their Gates. A.E.G.D.

The streets of the Ville.

The second part of the Citie called the Universitie.

The second part of the Citie called the Universitie, hath the River Seyne on the East and North-sides, and is compassed with walses on the South and West sides, and hath seven Gates. The first (K) Gate S. Victoire, lies on the South side upon the River, and hath his Suburbe, with a stately Monastery. And from the Hill adjoyning to this Gate, the Army of King Henrie the fourth besieging the Citie, much pressed the same, having their Cannon planted neere the Gallowes. On the right hand as you come in, towards the River, lie the Tower Nella, the upper, the Colledge of the Cardinall, the Colledge of the good boyes, the Colledge and the Church of the Bernardines, which Pope Benedict the twelfth built,
and the Cardinall of Tolouse increased with a Library, and with maintenance for sixtene Scholers to studie Divinitie. Also there lie the house of Lorayne, the great Schooles of foure Nations, the Market place for River fish, and the Castle, and the little bridge which the Provost of Paris built, to restraine the Schollers walking by night, in the time of King Charles the fifth. The second gate is called (L) the Porte of Marcellus, or of the Stewes, and it hath a Suburbe, where in the Church of Saint Marcellus, Bishop of Paris, and canonized for a Saint, (which Rowland Count of Blois, nephew to Charles the Great, did build); Peter Lombardus Bishop of Paris was buried, in the yeere 1164; and behinde the great Altar, in a window, is the Image of Charles the Great. On the right hand as you enter the said Port, by the Mount of S. Genovefa, lie the Colledge Turnonium, the Colledge Bonæ Curiae, the Colledge of the Dutch, the Colledge of Navarra, & the Colledge Marchicum, and the Colledge Laudunense, and on the left hand the Colledge of the Lombards, the Colledge Prellæum, famous for Peter Ramus, who was Master of that Colledge, & was there killed in the massacre. The third Gate of (M) S. James, lyes on the South-west side, where King Francis the first built a fort; & without this Gate is a suburb, in which is a Church yard of the Monastery of Saint Marie, at the very entrie whereof, is a most ancient Image of the Virgin, painted with gold and silver, with an inscription upon it. In the streeete of Saint James, the Jesuites had their Colledges, till for their wicked acts they were banished the Citie and Kingdome. And since their restitution I thinte they now enjoy the same. On the right hand as you enter this Gate, lie the Colledge Lexoviense, the Colledge of Saint Michael, or Cenale, the Colledge Montis Acuti, (which built in the yeere 1490, maintains certaine poore Scholers, called Capeti), the Colledge of S. Barbera, the Colledge of Rheines, [I. ii. 192.] the schoole of Decrees, the Colledge Bellovacense, the Colledge Triqueticum, the Colledge Cameracense, and
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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY  

the Colledge Carnovallense. On the left hand lie the Colledge of the bald men, the Colledge of Sorbona, (which Robert of Sorbona a Divine, and familiar with King Saint Lewis, did institute, and the same in process of time became of great authority in determining questions of Divinity), the Colledge of Master Gervasius a Christian, the Colledge Plexoviense, and the Colledge Marmontense. The fourth (N) Gate of the university is called Port Michael, where Francis the first built a Fort, and before the gate is a Monastery of the Carthusians, where a statua of blacke marble is erected to Peter Navareus, and there be two statuaes of white marble, without any inscription. On the right hand as you enter this gate, lie the Colledge Cluniacense, the Pallace of the Baths, (which they say was built by Julius Cæsar, and is so called either of the bounds of the Tributes, or of the Baths of Julian the Apostata, the waters whereof are drawne from a Village adjoining), and the Colledge of eighteene, and upon the left hand the Colledge of Hericuria, the Colledge of Justice, the Colledge of the Treasurers, the Colledge Bajonium, the Colledge Scensa, and the Colledge Turonense. The fifth Gate on the West side is called (O) Saint Germain, and without the gate is a suburbe, (all suburbes are vulgarly called Faulxbourg), which is large, and was pulled downe to the ground in the civill war. And there King Henry the fourth lay encamped, when he besieged the City. In this suburbe is the monastery of Saint Germain, not inferiour to any in wealth, and indowed with great priviledges and jurisdiction, where the old Kings Childe-bert the second, and Chilperic the fourth, and Clotharius the second, lie buried; and there is a chest of silver, the gift of King Eudo. On the right hand as you come into this Gate, in the Minorites Cloyster, are the sepulchers of the Queenes and Princes, whereof one being of blacke marble, with white statuaes, is the fairest: (my memory herein may faile me, that there is another Cloyster of Minorites without the gate of Saint Mar-
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A.D. 1595.

Other Colleges.
cellus). Also there lie the Colledge Brissiacum, and upon the left hand the house Rothomagensis, the Colledge of Burgondy, the house of Rhemes, the Colledge Mignonium, the Colledge Præmonstratense, and the Colledge Dinvellium. The sixth Gate is called (P) Bussia, and upon the right hand as you come in, lies the Colledge Anthunense, and upon the left hand lies the house Nivernensis. The seventh and last Gate of the University, lies towards the north-west, & is called (Q) Nella, and without the same is the meadow of the Clerkes. On the right hand as you come in this gate, lie the house Nella, the Colledge of Saint Denis, and the house of the Augustines, wherein is the sepulcher and lively Image of Phillip Comineus. And upon the left hand, lie the lower Tower Nella, and the Westernne bank of the River Seyne.

These are the fairest streetes of the University, the first of Saint Victoire, the second of Saint Marcellus, the third of Saint James, the fourth of Saint Germain, the fifth of the Celestines, upon the banke of the River, the sixth of the mountaine of Saint Genovefa, the seventh of Saint Michaell, and the eight of the Augustines, upon the banke of the river Seyne.

The third part of the City is the Iland, compassed round about with the River Seyn. It had of old four Gates, upon the four bridges, but seemes to have had no gate upon the fifth bridge, called Pont aux musniers, (which in this description I reckon to be the third gate). In the upper part of the Iland towards the South-east, is a fenny market place, called the Marsh, that is, the Fen. Neer that lies (R) the Cathedrall Church of the blessed Virgin, which King Phillip Augustus began to build in the yeere 1257, the foundations being before laid by an uncertaine founder, and it is reputed the chiefe among the miracles of France. It is supported with one hundred and twenty pillars, whereof one hundred and eight are lesse, and twelve very great, being all of free stone. The Chauncell is in the middest of the Church,
which hath 174 walking paces in length, and sixty paces in breadth, and all the Chauncell is compassed with stone, wherein the Histories of the old and new testament are engraven. It hath forty five Chappels in the circuit thereof, which are shut up with grates of Iron. In the Front it hath two double doores, with faire statuaes of twenty eight Kings. Upon the sides are foure Towers or belfreyes, thirtie foure Cubits high. The greatest bell called Marie, requires twentie foure men to ring it, and the sound thereof in faire weather may bee heard seven leagues of. In a Chappell towards the South, are the statuaes of King Lewis the fat, and of his son Phillip, with the Image of a hog, because he died with a fal from his horse stumbling upon a hog. On the North side is a mark, that the overflowing of the River Seyne passed the outward statuaes from that of Phillip Augustus. King Phillip of Valois having gotten a victory against the Flemings in the yeere 1328, offered his Horse and armour to the blessed Virgin, and gave the Chanons an hundred pounds yeerely rent, to whom for that cause a Horse-mans statua is there erected. Also there is a Giantlike statua, erected to Saint Christofer, in the yeere 1413, by Antony Dessars Knight.

In the lower part of the Iland towards the North-West, the Church of (S) Saint Bartholomew is seated, which was built by King Phillip the faire, and after was turned from the Kings Chappell to a Monastery by King Lotharius, in the yeere 973, and then became a parish Church, whereof the King (in respect of the old Pallace) was the chiefe Parishioner, and I thinke is so still. It became most famous, in that the bell of that Church was sounded upon the verie day of Saint Bartholomew, in the yeere 1572, to give a signe to the Regalists and Guisians, that they should kill those of the reformed Religion, whom they had drawne to the Citie under pretence of love, and could not otherwise have overcome, as they found by experience of their valour.

Neere that, lyes the Kings greater (T) Pallace, wherein
the old Kings kept their Court; but it hath since been used for the Courts of justice, and pleading of Lawyers. In the great Hall hanges up a dried Crocodil, or a Serpent like a Crocodil. There bee the painted Images of all the French Kings from Pharamund. There is a statua of a Hart, with the head and necke of Gold, set there in memory of the Treasurers, who in the time of King Charles the sixth, turned the money in the Exchequer into that forme, lest it should be wasted.

Here was painted upon the wall neere the Tower, upon the top of the staires of the great Hall, the Image of Engueranus Morignon, Earle of Longaville, and overseer of the building of this Pallace, under King Phillip the faire, with this inscription:

Chascun’ soit content de ses biens,
Qui n’ a suffisance il n’ a riens.

Be thou content with the goods thee befall,
Who hath not enough, hath nothing at all.

This was spoken like a Philosopher: but the same man under Lewis Hutinus was hanged for deceiving the King, and this his Image was broken and kicked downe the staires.

In the Hall of the Pallace is a Marble Table, at which Kings and Emperours were wont to bee feasted. The Chamber of the Pallace where verball appeals are decided, is called, The golden Chamber; and it is adorned with stately and faire arched roofes carved, and pictures, and there the Image of a Lyon, with the Head dejected, and the Tayle drawne in, remembers the Pleaders of their dutie.

Lewis the twelfth did build with Regall expence this Chamber, and another called the Chamber of Accounts (vulgarly la chambre des comptes.) In this Pallace the Chappell built by Saint Lewis, lyes upon an arched Chappell, which hath no pillars in the middest, but onely on the sides; and they say, that the true Images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, are upon the lower dore.
in this Chappell, the reliques are kept, which Balduinus the Emperor of Constantinople engag'd to the Venetians, and the King of France redeem'd out of their hands.

[I. ii. 194.] In the very Hall of the Pallace, round about the pillars, are shops of small wares or trifles.

Right against the Gate of the Pallace, stood the house of John Chastell, which was pull'd downe in memorie of a young man his sonne, brought up among the Jesuites, and a practiser of their wicked doctrine, who attempting the death of King Henrie the fourth, did strike out one of his teeth.

I have said formerly, that this Iland was joyned to the Ville by three Bridges, and to the Universitie by two Bridges, and at this time is joyned to them both, by the sixth Bridge. The first (V) Bridge towards South-East, leads to the streete of Saint Martin, and is called pont de nostre Dame, that is the Bridge of our Lady, and it was built of wood in the yeere 1417, having threescore walking paces in length, and eighteene in breadth, and threescore houses of bricke on each side built upon it. But this bridge in the time of Lewis the twelfth falling with his owne weight, was rebuil'd upon sise Arches of stone, with threescore eight houses all of like bignesse built upon it, and was paved with stone, so that any that passed it, could hardly discerne it to bee a Bridge. The second Bridge of the Broakers (vulgarly (W) Pont au Change) is supported with pillars of wood. The third Bridge of the Millers (vulgarly called (X) Pont aux Musniers) lies towards the North-West, and leads to the streete of Saint Denis, which they say did fall, and was rebuil'd within three yeeres then past. By these three Bridges the Iland was of old joyned to the Ville. The fourth Bridge lying on the other side of the Iland towards the South, leads into the streete of Saint James, and is called (Y) le petit pont, that is, The little Bridge, being rebuil'd or repaired of stone, by King Charles the sixth. The fifth Bridge is called (Z) Saint Michell, and lying towards the South-West side, leads into the streete of
Saint Michell, and hath a pleasant walke towards the foresaid Bridge of the millers, on the other side of the Iland, and built upon pillars of wood, was repaired in the yeere 1547, and adorned with bricke houses. By these two Bridges the Iland was of old joyned to the Universitie. Since that time after the ende of the Civill warre, a new Bridge hath been lately built on that side of the Iland, which lyes towards the North-West, and it is called (XX) pont neuf, that is, The new Bridge, joyning the Iland both to the Ville, and to the Universitie. The chiefe streetes of the Iland are the very Bridges, and the two waies leading to the Cathedrall Church, and to the greater Pallace.

The Church (or the little Citie compassed with walles in respect of the Church) of Saint Denis (the Protecting Saint of the French) is two little miles distant from Paris. Hither I went passing by the Gate of Saint Denis, lying towards the North-East.

Thence I passed upon a way paved with Flint, in a large Plaine towards the East, having Mount Falcon on my right hand, whether I said, that they use to draw the dead bodies of those that are beheaded in the Ville, and the next way to this mount is to goe out by the Gate of Saint Martin. And upon my left hand I had the Mountaine of the Martirs vulgarly called Mont Martre, and the next way from the Citie to this Mountaine is to goe out by the Gate Mont Martre.

Upon this Mountaine they say, that the Martyrs Dennis Areopagita, and Rusticus, and Eleutherius, were beheaded in the time of Domitian, because they would not offer sacrifice to Mercurie. And they constantly beleeeve this miracle, that all these three Martyrs carried each one his head to the Village Catula, which now is called Saint Dennis. And I observed by the way many pillars with Altars, set up in the places where they say the Martyrs rested (forsooth) with their heads in their hand, and at last fell downe at Catula, where this Church was built over them, and likewise a Monastery, by King
Dagobertus, who also lyes there buried, and hath a statua
in the Cloister of the Monastery.

Here are the Sepulchers of the Kings, among which
that of King Francis the first is somewhat more stately
then the other, being of white Marble, with the statuaes
of that King and his Queene Claudia there buried with
him. That of Lewis the twelfth and his Queene, is of
white Marble, but lesse faire; and the third erected to
Charles the eight, in a Chappell of the Church, is of
blacke Marble, with some statuaes of the Kings.

To conclude, to every three or foure of the rest of the
Kings, one poore monument is erected. Neither are these
sepulchers of the Kings (in my opinion) any thing stately
or answerable to the fame. But at the entrance of the
Chauncell, the representation of Christ buried, and of
the three Kings or Wisemen, and of the shepheards, and
others there engraven, seemed to me (who have no skill
in that Art) to bee of much Art and beautie. I have
read other Itineraries, which relate, that here are bells
of most pure Mettal, that the dores are of Brasse guilded
over, that the Table of the high Altar is of Gold, that
here is a Crosse of Gold, offered by King Dagobert, that
the bodies of the Martyrs are laid in a coffin of Gold,
that the roofe of the Church is partly of silver, and that
there is a Crucifix of Gold before the Altar. But I
should thinke, that these old ornaments are taken away,
and not to bee seene at this day.

Having viewed Paris, I desired to see the French King
Henrie the fourth, and his Court; and because I lately
had been robbed aswell of my cloake as of my Crownes,
here I bought for some two French Crownes an old
cloake, among the Brokers in the Market-place, called
the Fripperie. So I tooke my journey towards the Court,
and went by boate upon the Seyne (which boat daily
passeth from Paris towards the South) nine leagues to
Corbevile, and foure leagues to Melune, having on both
sides pleasant Hilles planted with Vines, and I payed
seven soulz for my passage. Then I went on foote foure
miles over a Mountaine paved with Flint to the Kings Pallace, called Fontain-bleau, that is, the Fountaine of faire water. Beyond the same Mountaine this Pallace of the King is seated in a Plaine compassed with Rockes. And it is built (with Kingly Magnificence) of Free-stone, divided into four Court-yards, with a large Garden, which was then somewhat wild and unmanured. At this time the Civill warre being ended, the King began to build a Gallerie, the beginning of which worke was very magnificent.

The next day after I had scene the King, I returned on foote eight leagues to Sone. Heere I found post-Horses returning to Paris, and hiring one of them for twentie soulz, I rode eight miles through fruitfull fieldes of Corne, and pleasant Hilles planted with Vines; and so returned to Paris, entring by the Gate of Saint Victoire in the Universitie.

Now my Crownes which I had saved from the foresaid theeves, were by little and little spent, and I, who in my long journey had never wanted money, but had rather furnished others that wanted with no small sums, was forced to treat with unknowne Merchants, for taking money upon exchange. But howsoever I had in other places dealt with noble Merchants, yet here I found my selfe to bee fallen into the hands of base and costive Merchants, who perhaps having been deceived by English Gentlemen, driven by want to serve in the warres of France, had not the least respect of mee for my misfortune among Theeves, nor yet for our common Countrey. It happened, that at this time there were in Paris two English Knights brethren, namely, Sir Charles and Sir Henry Davers, who for an ill accident lived then as banished men. And to them I made my misfortune knowne, who like Gentlemen of their qualitie, had a just feeling thereof, especially for that they were acquainted with Sir Richard Morison my brother, and they would willingly have lent mee money.

But I will tell a truth well knowne. These brothers
upon good bonds were to have received some thousands of Crownes a few moneths past in the Temple Hall (which is one of the Innes of Court of London, for those that profess the English Law). This being made knowne by one of the debtors, the Queene confiscated those Crownes, as belonging to banished men. Whereupon these Knightes being to attend the French King to Lyons in his warre upon Savoy, were much driven to their shiftes, to get money for that journey. Yet did they not cast off all care to provide for me, but with great importunitie perswaded a starveling Merchant, to furnish me with ten French Crownes. When I had received them, I spent some few daies in refreshing my selfe at Paris.

From Paris to Roane.

They account fortie eight miles from Paris to Roane, whether I went by boat, and payed a French Crowne for my passage. The first day we passed eighteene miles to Poissy, a most faire and famous Nunnerie, and towards the evening wee passed by the Kings Pallace S. Germain. The next day we passed twentie leagues to Andale, and by the way passed by a bridge, dividing the County of France from the Dutchy of Normandy, and did see the Pallace Galeon, and a most faire Monastery. Then we passed foure miles by water to Port S. Antoine, and one mile by land. Then wee hired another boat, in which we passed five leagues to Roane, and I payed for this passage three soulz. This our way was by pleasant Ilands, having on both sides pleasant Hilles planted with Vines and fruit-trees.

Roane.

The Citi of Roane is seated on the North side of the River Seyne, partly in a Plaine, partly upon sides of Hilles. The building is for the most part of Freestone, brought from the Citi Cane; and upon a Hill towards the North without the walles, the Fort S. Cateline was seated, when King Henrie the fourth besieged Roane, and then the Fort much anoyed the quarter of the English auxiliarie forces: but now this Fort was altogether demolished.
FROM ROUEN TO DIEPPE

Concerning expences of diet in these parts, I spent at Paris in the Innes fifteene soulz each meale, and at Roane twelve soulz, and at some Innes by the way fifteene soulz: but whosoever payes for his supper, hath nothing to pay for his bed. But before the late Civill warre, they payed no more at Roane then eight soulz for a meale. Passengers, who stay long in the Citie, use to hire a chamber, which at Paris is given for two French Crownes by the moneth, if it be well furnished, and otherwise for lesse. They that at Paris hier a chamber in this sort, use to buy their meate in Cookes shops, and having agreed for it, the Cookes bring it to their chamber warme, and with pleasant sauce.

And surely all things for diet were cheaper at Paris, then they use to be at London, and since they use to buy small peeces of meate, a solitarie passenger shall in that respect spend the lesse. Other passengers agree with some Citizen for diet and chamber, which may bee had at Paris in convenient sort for one hundred and fiftie French Crownes by the yeere; and at Roane for one hundred and twenty: but before the last Civill warre, it might have been had for one hundred, or eightie, and sometimes for sixtie French Crownes. At Roane I now payed for my supper twelve soulz, and the next day eleven soulz for my dinner.

The night following wee rode fourteene leagues to Dieppe, in a most pleasant way, divided into inclosed Pastures, yeelding great store of Aple trees, not onely in the hedges, but also in the open fieldes. About midnight we tooke some rest and meate in a poore and solitarie Inne of a Village, but with such feare, as wee were ready to flie upon the least noise. From Roane to Dieppe I hired a horse for thirtie soulz, and in this last Inne I payed twelve soulz for my meate, and five soulz for my horse-meate.

Dieppe is a pleasant Citie, and the greater part thereof (especially la Rue grande, that is the great street) is seated in a plaine upon the Haven, but it is compassed
with Mountaines, and is divided into two parts by an Arme of the Sea. The greatest part of the building, is of Timber and Clay, like our building of England.

I had spent at Paris most part of the ten Crownes I there received, and when I came from Roane, I perceived that I should presently fall into want of money. Being in these straites, I went to the younger Paynter (one of the English Posts passing betweene London and Paris, and now returning in my company to London), and to him in few words I made my case knowne, who willingly yeelded to beare my charges to London, having me still in his company for a pledge.

At Dieppe I payed fiftene soule for each meale, and ten soule for my licence to passe over Sea, and five soule of gift to one of the Officers, and tenne soule for my part of a boat, hired to draw our ship out of the Haven of Dieppe.

After we had sailed fourteene houres, upon Tuesday the thirteenth of May (after the old stile) in the yeere 1595, early in the morning, we landed in England at Dover, and I payed a French Crowne for my passage in the ship, and sixe English pence for my passage in a boate from the ship to that Port of blessed England. But we were scarce landed, when we were cited to appeare before the Maior and his Assistants. Where for my part the more poore I was in apparrell, the more frowardly I behaved my selfe towards them, (as many good mindes are most proud in the lowest fortunes), so as they began to intreate me rudely, as if I were some Popish Priest, till by chance a Gentleman one of the Maiors Assistants asking my name, and being familiarly acquainted with my brother, by privat discourse with me, understood that I had been robbed in France; whereupon hee gave his word for mee unto the Maior, and so walked with mee to our Inne. There he shewed so much respect and love to me, and after my refusall of mony from him, so frankly gave his word for me to the English Post, as he was not only willing to furnish me with what money
I would, but himselfe and the Dutch Gentlemen my Consorts in that journey, much more respected me, though poorely apparellled, then they had formerly done. Assoone as I came to London, I paied the ten French Crownes due by my bill of exchange to the foresaid French Merchant, and not onely payed to the English Post the money hee had disbursed for mee by the way, but gave him sixe French Crownes of free gift, in thankfulnesse for this courtesie. At London it happened, that (in regard of my robbing in France) when I entered my sisters house in poore habit, a servant of the house upon my demaund answered, that my sister was at home: but when he did see me goe up the staire too boldly (as he thought) without a guide, hee not knowing mee, in respect of my long absence, did furiously and with threatening words call me backe, and surely would have beene rude with me, had I not gone up faster then he could follow me, and just as I entred my sisters chamber, he had taken hold on my old cloake, which I willingly flung of, to be rid of him. Then by my sisters imbraces he perceived who I was, and stole backe as if he had trodden upon a Snake.
THE THIRD BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Of my journey to Stoade through the United Provinces of Netherland, and upon the Sea-coast of Germany: then to Brunswick and (the right way) to Nurnburg, Augspurg, and Inspruck (in Germany), and from thence to Venice In Italy, and so (by the Mediterranean Seas, and the Islands thereof) to Jerusalem. In which journey I slightly passe over the places described in my former passage those waies.

From my tender youth I had a great desire to see forraine Countries, not to get libertie (which I had in Cambridge in such measure, as I could not well desire more), but to enable my understanding, which I thought could not be done so well by contemplation as by experience; nor by the eare or any sence so well, as by the eies. And having once begun this course, I could not see any man without emulation, and a kind of vertuous envy, who had seene more Cities, Kingdomes, and Provinces, or more Courts of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, then my selfe. Therefore having now wandred through the greatest part of Europe, and seene the chiefe Kingdomes thereof, I sighed to my selfe in silence, that the Kingdome
of Spaine was shut up from my sight, by the long warre betweene England and Spaine, except I would rashly cast my selfe into danger, which I had already unadvisedly done, when I viewed the Citie and Fort of Naples, and the Citie of Milan. And howsoever now being newly returned home, I thought the going into more remote parts would be of little use to me, yet I had an itching desire to see Jerusalem, the fountaine of Religion, and Constantinople, of old the seate of Christian Emperours, and now the seate of the Turkish Ottoman.

Being of this mind when I returned into England, it happened that my brother Henrie was then begining that voyage, having to that purpose put out some foure hundred pounds, to be repaied twelve hundred pounds upon his returne from those two Cities, and to lose it if he died in the journey. I say he had thus put out the most part of his small estate, which in England is no better with Gentlemens younger sonnes, nor so good, as with bastards in other places, aswelle for the English Law most unmeasurably favouring elder brothers, as (let me boldly say it) for the ignorant pride of fathers, who to advance their eldest sonnes, drive the rest to desperate courses, and make them unable to live, or to spend any money in getting understanding and experience, so as they being in wants, and yet more miserable by their Gentrie and plentifull education, must needes rush into all vices; for all wise men confesse, that nothing is more contrary to goodnesse, then poverty. My brother being partner with other Gentlemen in this fortune, thought this putting out of money, to be an honest meanes of gaining, at least the charges of his journey, and the rather, because it had not then been heard in England, that any man had gone this long journey by land, nor any like it, excepting only Master John Wrath, whom I name for honour, and more specially hee thought this gaine most honest and just; if this journey were compared with other base adventures for gaine, which long before this time had been, & were then in use. And I confesse,
that this his resolution did not at the first sight dislike me. For I remembred, that this manner of gaine, had of old been in use among the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and the Sea-Coasts of Germany (and so it is yet in use with them.) I remembred, that no meane Lords, and Lords sonnes, and Gentlemen in our Court had in like sort put out money upon a horserace, or speedie course of a horse, under themselves, yea upon a journey on foote. I considered, that those kindes of gaining onely required strength of body, whereas this and the like required also vigor of minde, yea, that they often weakened the body, but this and the like alwaies bettered the mind. I passe over infinite examples of the former customes, and will onely adde, that Earles, Lords, Gentlemen, and all sorts of men, have used time out of mind to put out money to bee repaied with advantage upon the birth of their next childe, which kinde of gaine can no way bee compared with the adventures of long journies; yea, I will boldly say, it is a base gaine, where a man is so hired to that dailiance with his wife, and to kill a man, so he may get a boy, as if he were to be incouraged to a game of Olympus.

Being led with these reasons, I liked his counsell, and made my selfe his consort in that journey. And I had now given out upon like condition mony to some few friends, when perceivin the common opinion in this point to be much differing from mine, and thereupon better considering this matter, and observing (as a stranger that had beene long out of my Countrey) that these kind of adventures were growne very frequent, whereof some were undecent, some ridiculous; and that they were in great part undertaken by bankerouts, and men of base condition, I might easily judge that in short time they would become disgracefull, whereupon I changed my mind. For I remembred the Italian Proverbe, La bellezza di putana, la forza del’ fachino, &c. nulla vagliano, that is, the beauty of a Harlot, the strength of the Porter, and (to omit many like) Musicke it selfe, and all vertues,
A JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM

become lesse prized in them, who set them out to sale. Also I remembred the pleasant fable, that Jupiter sent raine upon a Village, wherewith whosoever was wet became a foole, which was the lot of all the Inhabitants, excepting one man, who by chance for dispatching of businesse, kept within doores that day; and that when he came abroad in the evening, all the rest mocked him, as if they had beene wise, and he onely foolish: so as he was forced to pray unto Jupiter for another like shower, wherein he wetted himselfe also, chusing rather to have the love of his foolish neighbours, being a foole, then to be dispiseded of them, because he was onely wise. And no doubt in many things wee must follow the opinion of the common people, with which it is better (regarding onely men) to be foolish, then alone to be wise. I say that I did for the aforesaid causes change my mind; and because I could not make that undone which was done, at least I resolved to desist from that course. Onely I gave out one hundred pound to receive three hundred at my returne among my brethren, and some few kinsmen and dearest friends, of whom I would not shame to confesse that I received so much of gift. And lest by spending upon the stocke, my patrimony should be wasted, I moreover gave out to five friends, one hundred pound, with condition that they should have it if I died, or after three yeeres should repay it with one hundred and fifty pound gaine if I returned; which I hold a disadvantageous adventure to the giver of the money. Neither did I exact this money of any man by sute of Law after my returne, which they willingly and presently paid me, onely some few excepted, who retaining the very money I gave them, deale not therein so gentleman-like with me, as I did with them. And by the great expences of my journey, much increased by the ill accidents of my brothers death, and my owne sickenesse, the three hundred fifty pounds I was to receive of gain after my return; & the one hundred pounds which my brother and I carried in our purses, would not satisfie the five
hundred pound we had spent, (though my brother died within the compass of the first yeere); but I was forced to pay the rest out of my owne patrimony.

Gentle Reader I will no longer trouble thee with these trifles: onely in the behalfe of them, who for a reasonable gaine, and upon long journies, and not upon ridiculous adventures, have put out their mony in this sort. Give leave to me (howsoever I desisted from that course) to adde this; All manners of attire came first into the City and Countrey from the Court, which being once received by the common people, and by very Stage-players themselves, the Courtiers justly cast off, and take new fashions, (though somewhat too curiously); and whosoever weares the old, men looke upon him as upon a picture in Arass hangings. For it is proverbially said, that we may eate according to our owne appetite, but in our apparell must follow the fashion of the multitude, with whom we live. But in the meane time it is no reproch to any, who of old did were those garments, when they were in fashion. In like sort, many daunces and measures are used in Court, but when they come to be vulgar and to be used upon very stages, Courtiers and Gentlemen think them uncomely to be used; yet is it no reproch to any man who formerly had skill therein. To conclude, (that I may not trouble you with like examples, which are infinite), I say that this manner of giving out mony uppon these adventures, was first used in Court, and among the very Noble men; and when any of them shewed thereby extraordinary strength, the most censorious approved it, but when any performed a long journy, with courage and discretion, no man was found who did not more or lesse commend it, according to the condition of the journey performed. Now in this age, if bankerouts, Stage-players, and men of base condition, have drawne this custome into contempt: I grant that Courtiers and Gentlemen have reason to forbeare it, yet know not why they should be blamed, who have thus put out their mony in another age, when this custome was approved. A man may justly
A JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM

say it is great injustice, that our actions should be
measured by opinion, and not by reason; but when a
man leaves any custome that hath beene approved, lest
hee should oppose himself to the common people, a
monster of many heads, the most envious hath nothing
whereat they may justly carpe. And if any measure may
be imposed to detracters, surely they must spare them,
who undertake long voyages, ful of great dangers: who
do not put out their money in Tavernes, or at feasts
to any man without distinction, but dispose of their
money with their friends upon reasonable adventure of
gaine, (which in absence they cannot otherwise dispose
to profit): Finally who being not rich by patrimony,
take these journies onely for experience, and to be inabled
to that expence, doe condition this reasonable gaine. I
say the detracters must spare these, and distinguish them
from others who make cursoie journies, without any
desire to better their understanding thereby, and more
from those, who in these courses rather make triall of
their bodies strength, then of their mindes abilitie. And
most of all from those, who expose themselves to the
scorne of men, by base and ridiculous adventures, or
that little differ from selfe-murtherers, in undertaking
desperate actions for gaine.

In the same yere 1595, wherin (some few months past)
I returned into England from my former journey, I now
set forth againe towards Jerusalem, and upon the twentie
nine of November (after the old stile), I and my brother
consort of my journey, went by water twentie miles
(which are seventene miles by land) from London to
Gravesend, in a boat with two Oares, for which we payed
two shillings sixe Pence. At last the winde serving us,
upon the seventh of December in the evening, we set
saile at an ebbing water, and upon the eighth of December
in the afternoon, having passed the River Thames, wee
cast anchor, upon the shoare of England, right before
the Village Margets.

Then in the twilight of the evening, wee put to Sea,
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Fynes Moryson's Itinerary

and the ninth of December entering the narrow Sea of Zealand, upon our call a boat came out of Vlishing to us, in which we went thither, leaving our ship, which went forward to Middleburg, and each man paying a dollar for his passage. The eleventh of December we walked on foot one mile to Middleborne, where being invited by our friends (as we were at Vlishing) we supped on free cost. The twelfth day wee passed by Sea in two hours space to Armuren, where wee cast anchor not without fear of Spanish Pirats, who coming with small boats out of the Castle Wouda, did then many robberies upon this Sea. The thirteenth day in the morning, wee sailed nine miles to the Iland Plat, where a Man of warre, sent out by the States against these Pirats, did lie at anchor, under the guard whereof we also lay at anchor the night following. The fourteenth day in the morning, having alwaies a faire winde, wee sailed eight miles to Delphs haven in Holland, where we left our Barke, and each man payed twelve stivers for his passage, and my selfe gave three stivers to a Marriner that had attended me. From hence my selfe and three consorts, hired a Wagon for r8 stivers to the Hage, where I payed for my supper a Flemish guilden and seventeene stivers. The fiftenth day of December (which after the new stile was Christmas day, that Feast by the old stile falling on the twentie five of December) my selfe and three consorts hired a Wagon for two guldens, for two long miles to Leyden. From Leyden at a set hower every day, boates passe to all the next Cities, and we entring the boat that went for Amsterdam, payed each of us 6 stivers for our passage. First, wee passed five miles upon the Lake called Harlam Meare, which Lake is much subject to Tempests. Our boate was then drawne by force of hands over a Damme into a Channell of water, in which we passed two miles, and so came to Amsterdam. The boates are thus drawne out of the Lake into the Channell, by a priviledge granted to Harlam, because that Citie had spent much money in the workes for conveyance of
FROM HAARLEM TO FRIESLAND  A.D. 1595.

waters. And this was granted to them, to the ende, that this passage being shut up to Barkes of greater burthen, the Merchants wares passing by land, should be forced to come by Harlam. We lodged in a English Merchants house at Amsterdam, and payed eight stivers for each meale.

The seventeenth of December we entred a little ship, to saile out of Holland into West-Freezeand: but being almost frozen in with yce, after wee had sailed two dayes and a night (with great danger) through huge pieces of yce, and were the second night also compassed therewith, and had been forced to lie at anchor a good space, we hardly arrived the third day at Horne in North-Holland, which Citie is five miles distant from Amsterdam, and each man payed ten stivers for our passage, and two stivers for the use of a little cabbin in the ship. The nineteenth day we would needs go on foot two miles (as long as ten English miles), to Enchusen, because they asked foure guldens and a half for a Wagon. And in the mid way it hapned that we light upon a sledg, which wee 4 consorts hired for 20 stivers, and therin wee were all carried, but for my part I paied 5 stivers more for the careiage of my necessaries. And we could not sufficiently marvell at our first setting forth, that the Villages should be so frequent, in such an obscure Countrey, as wee could hardly see how they were parted one from the other, for halfe the way at least. From hence we sailed with a very faire wind, in three houres space two miles to Stavern, a Village seated in West-Freezland, and each man paid ten stivers for his passage, foure for his supper, and foure for beere.

The next day we passed on foot one mile of Freezland, (which miles are exceeding long) to Warcome, and we hired two Clownes for two guldens, to carry our necessaries, which Clownes drinking stoutly all the night, we were forced beyond our bargaine to pay for their intemperance, which wrong we could not avoid, though we much repined at it. Early in the morning we passed

[II. iii. 207.]
by water one mile over a Lake to Bolsworth, and each man paid two stivers and a halfe for his passage, and eight stivers and a halfe for his dinner. In the afternoone we hired a boat for three miles to Lewerden, and each man paid sixe stivers for his passage, and thirty foure stivers for his supper and breakefast, with wine. The next day in the morning, we might have passed to Groning, in a common boat, each man paying twelve stivers: but because the covetous Marriners had over-loaded it, and the winds were boisterous, we foure consorts hired a private boate for seven guldens and a halfe. The first day we passed by water five miles, to Kaltherberg, that is, the cold Inne, with a very faire wind; but so boysterous, as we were in no small feare. Here each man paid twelve stivers for his supper, and seven stivers for his drinke, while in good fellowship we sate at the fier after supper. The next day we passed in the same boat two miles to Groning, in a great tempest of wind; besides that in the midst of the Lake we lost our Rudder, being thereby in great danger, had not the waves of the water (by Gods mercy) driven it to us. Here we paid eight stivers each man for a plentifull dinner, but without wine. In the afternoone we passed by water two miles to Delphs Ile, and each man paid forty stivers for the hier of the boate, and twenty foure stivers for supper and breakefast, and fire in our private chamber.

From hence we sayled with a most faire wind, in two houres space two miles to Emden, the first City of the German Empire, seated in East-Friezland, and each man paid sixe stivers for his passage, and as much for his dinner. In the afternoone we passed in a boat hired for foure guldens (whereof each man paid ten stivers for his part) three miles to a little City Lyre, and by the way passed by the Fort Nordlire, in which the Earle of Emden held his Court. We rested at Lyre this night and the next day, being Christmas day by the old stile, and each man paid sixeene stivers for each supper, and eight stivers for one dinner. The Spanish Garisons daily sent out
FROM EMDEN TO BREMEN

free-booters into these parts, with the permission of the Earle of Emden, (for his hatred to the Citizens of Emden, who lately had shut him out of their City); and of the Earle of Oldenburge (for his hatred against the Citizens of Breme). Therefore we being here many passengers, did at last obtaine of the Earle of Emden, that we might hier his souldiers to conduct us safely for some few miles. To these souldiers we gave twenty one dollers, yet when at the three miles end we came to the Village Stickhausen, and were now in the greatest danger, they (as hired to goe no further) would needes returne, till each of us gave them a German gulden, to conduct us onely to the next village, being the confines of the Counties of Emden and Oldenburg. To which they were perswaded, not so much by our prayers as by our reward, and once by the way, to make shew of danger (as it seemed to me) lest we should repent us of the money we had given them, they rushed into some old houses, with such a noise, as if they would have killed al they met, but no enemy appeared, & if they had lurked there, I think they would not have fought with the Earles souldiers who favoured them, as on the other side, if they had assaulted them, I doubt whether our mercinary souldiers would have lost one dram of blood for our safety. As long as these souldiers were with us, we partly went by water, (each man paying 3. stivers for his passage) & partly on foot. They being now dismissed, we went on foot a Dutch mile, in the Territory of the Earle of Oldenburg, to the Village Aopen, where each man paid foure stivers for his dinner. In the afternoone, we being many consorts, hired divers waggons, paying for each of them twenty five stivers to Oldenburg, being foure miles, and we came thither by nine of the clock in the night, and there each man paid fifteene groates for his supper and breakefast. The second day in the morning we went foure miles to Dolmenhurst, and each man paid two copstucks for his Waggon. Then sixe of us hired a Waggon one mile to Breme for three copstucks, where
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Fynes Moryson's Itinerary

Each man paid foureteene lubecke shillings for his supper and breakefast.

From hence eleven of us hired two Waggons to Stoade, for which each of us paid thirty lubecke shillings. The first day we went foure miles to a poore Village, where each of us paid five lubecke shillings for our suppers. And having rested here some few hours upon straw, we went before the breake of day three miles to Foard, and making no stay there, passed three miles further to Stoade.

Hence five of us hired a Coach for five dollars, to Luneburg ten miles distant, and the first day in the afternoone we went three miles to Alte-kloster, that is; the old Cloyster, which was seated in the Bishoppricke of Breme, and the next day one mile in the same Bishoppricke, and sixe in the Duke of Luneburgs territory, and so we came to Luneburg; but the horses being weary, and the journey long, we came so late in the night, as we were forced to lodge without the gates, where each man paid five lubecke shillings for his supper, three for his breakefast, and five for beere. The next day we entered Luneburge, where each man paid foure lubecke shillings and a halfe for his dinner.

From hence foure of us hired a Coach for seven dollars to Brunswicke, being sixteen miles distant, the Coach-man paying for his horses meat, and we for his owne meat. The same day in the afternoone, we passed five miles in sixe houres space to Sawerburg, where each of us paid (for our owne supper, with our part of the Coach-mans supper) seven lubecke shillings. The second day in the morning we passed foure miles to Owsen, where each man paid in like sort five lubecke shillings for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed three miles to Gethurne, where the Duke of Luneburg hath a Castle (which the Dutch call Schlosse); where for ours and the Coach-mans supper and breakfast, we foure English consorts paid a doller and twelve stivers. The third day in the morning, we passed foure miles to Brunswicke, where in like sort
we foure paied for our owne and the Coach-mans bever, supper, and dinner, two dollers and a halfe. From hence siche consorts of us hired a Coach for thirty dollers to Nurnberg, forty eight miles distant, and the coach-man paid for his horse-meat, and we for his owne meat, which hereafter divided among us I will reckon in our severall expences. The first day at ten of the clocke beginning our journeie, we passed through fruitfull hils of corne one mile, where we left on our left hand Wolfenbeyten, (a City where the Duke of Brunswicke keepes his Court), with a Village belonging to his brother the Bishop of Ossenbruck. And there we met with certaine of the Dukes hors-men, who kept the waies safe from theves, and at their request we bestowed on them an Ort or fourth part of a doller. Then in the like way we passed two miles and a halfe to Rauchell, where each of us paid for ours and the Coach-mans supper five silver groshen. The second day in the morning we passed three miles and a halfe to Halberstatt, where each man paid in like sort for ours and the Coach-mans dinner halfe a doller. Our journe this day was through fruitfull hils of corne, not inclosed, and groves and woods in a fruitfull and pleasant Country. The Duke of Brunswicke is called the Administrator of the Bishoppricke of Halberstatt, and hath the rents thereof. After dinner we passed one mile to Ermersleben, subject to the Duke of Brunwicke, through a plaine more pleasant then the former, having no inclosures, but being fruitfull in corne, and full of Villages; where wee foure English consorts paid twenty three silver groshen for our owne and the Coach-mans supper. I have omitted the quality of the soyle, in places which I have formerly discribed, which now I mention againe, because this is the first time I passed from Brunwicke to Nurnburg. The third day in the morning we passed in a dirty way (but through most pleasant hils, and fruitfull of corne, but having no woods, nor so much as a tree,) two miles to Mansfield.

The Counts of Mansfield well knowne Captaines in
the warres of the Low-Countries and Hungary, have
their name from this Castle and Village, and this territory,
(having besides some twelve Castles) being not sufficent
to maintaine the great number of them, they were forced
to seeke advancement by the warres. The Citizens of
Mansfield were of old very rich by the Mines of this
territory, but at this time they had scarce bread to eat,
the Counts having ingaged these mines to the Fugari
of Augsburg, and to some Citizens of Nurnburg. Some
of these mines yeeld gold, but so sparingly, as it scarce
quits the cost. Others yeeld silver, and the very mines
of Copper in each hundred yeeld twenty lot (that is halfe
ounces) of silver. Of these mines some are two hundred
Clafters (that is fathoms) deepe under the earth. And
these mines of the mountaine are borne up with pillars
and buildings of wood under the earth, lest it should
fall upon the workmen. They say that these mines yeeld
yearly one hundred & forty thousand dutch guldens,
besides the expences. At this time three officers lived
in the Castle, who received the profits of the mines for
those to whom they were ingaged, whereof one received
five parts, the other three, the third onely one part.
Moreover here be wonderfull stones in the quarries, which
broken into never so many parts, have still the lively
figure of divers things. Our Hoste shewed us some of
them, which had throughout the figures of divers fishes
in a Lake adjoining, this stone of one fish, that of another,
and so of all the kinds. And he shewed us one that
had throughout the figure of Christ crucified, another
that had the figure of the Popes triple Crowne, and
another that had the lively figure of Luther. Surely
the Germans are accounted no juglers, nor liers; and if
they would have deceived us, yet I cannot see how our
eyes should be deceived, seeing many of them broken,
and stil having the same figure. This poore Village (yet
pleasant for the seat) was of old a City, and at this time
the houses were covered (as they be in many parts of
Germany) not with tiles of bricke, but with like peeces

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of wood. Here each of us paid a quarter of a doller for our owne and the Coach-mans dinner.

In the afternoone we passed a dirty way; but through fruitfull corne fields, foure miles to Sangerhausen, where each of us in like sort paid the fourth part of a doller and a gros for our supper. This being the first Village of the Province Thuring, belongs to the Elector of Saxony. The fourth day in the morning wee passed through most pleasant & fruitfull hils of corne, adorned with some pleasant woods, (which in higher Germany are of firre, that is greene all winter,) foure miles in the territory of the Elector of Saxony, to a Countrey Inne; where having nothing but egges for our dinner, we paid jointly ten silver gros. After dinner we passed in the same Electors territory, and through the like soyle (or Countrey) three miles and a halfe to a Countrey Inne, where we had to supper a pudding as big as a mans legge, and grosse meat, and straw for our beds; and jointly paid foureteene gros. The fifth day early in the morning we passed through the like way, but more pleasant for the plenty of Vines, two miles to the City of Erfurt, where we foure English consorts with our Coach-man paiied jointly a doller and twenty one gros for our dinner, with sower wine of the Countrey. This City is seated in a plaine, and is a free City, but not an imperiall City, and paires some tribute to the Bishop of Metz, and to the Saxon Duke of Wineberg. It is large, being a Dutch mile in compasse, but the houses are poorly built of timber and clay, having the roofes covered with tiles of wood, and they seeme to be built of old. It hath forty two Churches, but onely sixeene are used for divine service: namely, eight for the Papists, (among which are the two Cathedrall Churches, under the power of the Archbishop of Metz,) and eight for the Protestants or Lutherans. This is the chiefe City of Thuring, and of old here was an University, but time hath dissolved it. After dinner at the first going out of the City, wee ascended a very high mountaine, where-
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upon is a pleasant wood of firre. Then we passed by the beautifull little City of Armstat, I call it beautifull, for the seate in a firtile soyle, having drie and pleasant walkes, and for the plenty of fountaines and groaves, and for the magnificence of the Castle, wherein the Count of Schwartzburg keepes his Court, finally for the uniforme building of the City, which some fifteene yeeres past was burnt to the ground, and was since rebuilded, and so comming from Erfurt, we passed three long miles to the Village Blaw, subject to the Count of Schwartzburg; where jointly we paid foureteene grosh for our supper.

[I. iii. 204.] The sixth day we passed three miles through woody mountains, to the Village Fraw-im-Wald, (that is, our Lady in the wood), which Village is subject to the said Count; and here we paid jointly thirty seven grosh and a halfe for our dinner. After dinner wee passed three miles through mountains covered with snow, and woods of firre to Eysfield, subject to the Saxon Duke of Coburg.

For this wood of Thuring, (vulgarly called Thuringwald) hath many Lords, namely, the Elector of Saxony, the Saxon Dukes of Wineberg & Coburg, and the Count Schwartzburg. The Duke of Coburg hath in this place a faire Castle, and we paid jointly for us foure and the Coach-man sixty foure grosh for our supper and breake-fast. The seventh day in the morning we passed three miles over dirty mountains, and fruitfull in corne, to Coburg seated in the Province of Franconia. They say this City was of old called Cotburg, that is, the City of dirt, and the dirty streetes well deserve the name. Here one of the Dukes of Saxony called of Coburg kept his Court, and our Host told us that his Dutchesse for adultery was then bricked up in a wall, the place being so narrow, as shee could onely stand, and having no dore, but onely a hole whereat they gave her meat. The building of the City was very base of timber and clay. Here we five paid sixteene grosh for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed two miles, to the Towne Clawsen, through fruitfull hils of corne, and in a most
FROM COBURG TO MANNHEIM

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dirty way, where we five paid forty nine grosh for our supper; and the Towne is subject to the Popish Bishop of Bamberg. The eight day we passed four miles to Bamberg, through a fruitfull plaine of corne, and pleasant hils planted with vines, and in a most dirty way. This City is the seate of the Bishop of Bamberg. By the way we passed by a Ferry the River Mænus, running to Franckfort. Here we five paid thirty seven grosh for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed through a wood of firre in a sandy soyle, and then through fruitfull fields of corne and pleasant hils, three mile unto a Village subject to the Margrave of Anspach, (from which a City subject to the Bishop of Bamberg, is not farre distant, for the Princes dominions in these parts are mingled one with the other); and here we five paid fifty five grosh for our supper. The ninth day we passed three miles through a sandy and barren plaine, and woods of firre alwaies greene, to a Village subject to the said Margrave, where we five paid forty grosh for our dinner. In the afternoone we passed three miles, through the like way, to Nurnburg, and being now free from paying for our Coach-man, each of us paid here six batzen each meale, and foure creitzers each day for our chamber. This City I have formerly discribed, and so passe it over.

Here we hired a Coach, being seven consorts, for twelve Dutch guldens, to Augsburg, being nineteene miles distant. The first day after breakeast we passed through Nurnburg wood two miles, and in the said Margraves territory (who is of the Family of the Electors of Brandenburg,) foure miles to Blinfield; and each of us paid ten batzen for our supper, and foure batzen for a banquet after supper. The second day in the morning we passed foure miles to the City Monheyme, subject to the Phaltz-grave of the Rheine, and here each of us paid halfe a gulden for his dinner. By the way, in this mornings journey, we did see Weyssenburg, a free but not imperiall City, protected by Nurnburg. The Margrave of Anspach, Lord of this territory, hath a Fort
built upon a Mountaine, that hangs over this free City, which when he did build, the Citizens complained to the Emperour; and they say that howsoever they brought the Emperours Mandate to desist from the worke, yet he would not obey the same. The rest of our journey to Monheyme, was in the territory of the Baron of Papenheym, in a dirty way, through many woods. And in a village subject to that Baron, we had a guide and two fresh horses for our Coach, and for them our Coach- man paid sixe batzen. After dinner we passed three miles through a wood, and fruitfull hils of corne, to the City Donwerd, being a faire imperiall City, which I have formerly described, and here each man paid sixe batzen for his supper. Now we were come out of Franconia, and began to enter into Suevia. The third day we passed three miles, through fruitfull fields of corne, and woods of firre, to a Village, where each man paid eight batzen for his dinner. In the afternoone we passed through like way, three miles to Augsburg, where each man paid seven batzen for each meale. I passe over this City, which I have des cribed before.

Heere we agreed with the Carrier of Augsburg, who by course that weeke went to Venice, that each of us should pay him seventeeene Crownes, (each Crowne worth twentie two batzen), and that he not onely should find every man a horse, and pay for the horses meate, but also should pay for our diet. And heere I gained this by my Dutch Language, that making the bargaine with him for one of my Countrimen, who could not speake Dutch, when wee came to Venice, and hee having no mony, could not pay the Carrier, I had no remedie but to pay those Crownes for him, to which the Law would have compelled me, as the maker of the bargaine, if I had not rather chosen willingly to doe it. See how ignorance may sometimes advantage, and skill may prejudice a man.

We began this journey in the afternoone, and the first day through a Heath, and in the Territorie of the Duke of Bavaria from the very Gates of Augsburg, wee rode
FROM AUGSBURG TO INNSPRUCK

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sixe miles to an Inne neere Landsperg. The second day in the morning, through fruitfull Hilles and Woods of Firre, greene at this time of the yeere, we rode foure miles to Schongaw, and after dinner through Mountaines covered with snow, foure miles to Amberg. The third day in the morning we rode two miles to the Village Wartenkerken, and after dinner sixe short miles to Seyfeld, and in the midst of the way a Bridge divides the Dukedome of Bavaria from the County of Tyrall.

At Seyfeld there is a Church built in memory of a Gentleman, swallowed up by the gaping earth (as they say) because being to receive the Sacrament, hee demandd in scoffe a great piece of bread. The fourth day in the morning, wee rode three miles to Inspruck, the chiefe Citie of Tyrall, subject to the Familie of Austria, where being at the top of the Alpes, the Mountaines beganne to open towards the South, and our mornings journey was in a pleasant Plaine betwenee the highest Mountaines. Passing this plaine, they shewed us upon a high Moutaine (so high as we could scarce discerne the things they shewed, though of great bignesse); I say, they shewed us the statua of the Emperour Maximilian, proportionable to his body, and a great Crucifix erected by him upon this occasion. One day when he hunted, and wandring from his company, lost himselfe, so as he had no hope to get out of those most thick woods, and most high Mountaines, there appeared to him a man, or (as they said) his good Angell, who led him through wilde vast Woods, till he came in safetie, and then vanished away, in memorie whereof, they say the Emperour erected these monuments.

In this Citie of Inspruck, and in the Cathedrall Church thereof, is the Sepulcher of the said Emperour, and there be many Images partly of Brasse, partly of Marble erected to the Archdukes of Austria, and eight of Brasse erected to the Arch-Dutchesses. Among them was the sepulcher of Philippina, a Citizens Daughter of Augsburg, whom the Arch-Duke Ferdinand (lately buried, and lying
in a Chappell without any sepulcher as then erected to him) tooke for his Wife, but with a covenant (as they say) that her children should not inherit as Arch-dukes of Austria.

From hence wee rode in the afternoone betweene Mountaines, descending into Italy, and lying towards the South Sunne, foure miles and a halfe of most pleasant way to Lueg. The fifth day we passed the Mountaine Bremer, and rode two miles and a halfe to Sterzen, subject to the Cardinall of Brixia, one of the Family of the Arch-Dukes of Austria at Inspruck. The Mountaine Bremer is more then a Dutch mile high, yet nothing steepe; this way from Augsburg to Venice, being for the most part through pleasant Vallyes, in the middest of Mountaines, and so winding over the Mountaines, as the passage is very easie. Here my brother Henrie falling sicke, I delt with the carrier, that we paying him three guldins and a halfe for the common charge of his companies supper, he would there stay for us till the next morning, and this likewise I obtained of our consorts with more ease, because they were to diet at the Carriers charge. The sixth day we rode three miles to a Village not farre distant from Brixia, where the said Cardinall held his Court, this way being all through woody Mountaines. After dinner we rode three miles in the said Cardinals Territorie, (through Mountaines, and Hilles planted with Vines, and lying towards the South Sunne) to Clausy. The seventh day we rode foure miles (in a straight way betweene Rockes with pleasant Orchards of Pomgranats, and other Italian fruistes, lying on both sides) to Bolzena, which the Dutch call Pozen. And after dinner we began to leave the Alpes on our backe, and rode three miles to Newmart, through Woods of Firre, in a Plaine more and more inlarging it selfe, and planted after the Lombard fashion, with Elme trees set in the furrowes of Corne-fieldes, and Vines growing up high upon the Elmes. The eighth day wee rode by the banke of the River Athesis to Trent, three miles in the
FROM TRENT TO PRIMOLANO

County Tyroll, within the Dutch Empire, and one Dutch mile in Italy.

The Citie Trent is seated in length from a Mountaine on the East side, to another on the West side, and the River Athesis (which the Dutch call Esh) runnes by the City on the North side. The Citie is famous by a late Councell held there, and the Arch-Duke of Austria at Inspruck hath his Officer there, to gather Tributes belonging to him. And the Cardinall Madrucci (lame of an arme and foote, but reputed eloquent) hath some priviledges in this Citie for the administration of Justice, and otherwise: for the command of the Citie belongs to the Family of Madrucci, being Gentlemen. After dinner we entered the Mountaines againe, where wee walked over a way paved with Flint (which the Dutch call Plat) and did leade our horses in our hands, the way being very slipperie, and so we rode one most long Dutch mile to Bersena. The ninth day we rode three most long miles to Borgo, I meane Dutch miles, for I had no other companions but Dutch, who reckon the way after their owne miles. This day wee passed infamous places for robberies, especially one, where 5 waies leade to 5 wooddie Mountaines; and here we did see theeves, being our selves in safetie, they having no meanes to come to us, in a Plaine so covered with snow, that our Horses were up to the saddles therein, and could hardly passe the high way. After dinner we rode two most long Dutch miles to Grigno. The tenth day we rode two Dutch miles to Primolano, the first Village in the State of Venice: but from the foresaid confines of the Empire to this place, all the Territorie belonged to divers Gentlemen, neither subject to the Empire, nor to the State of Venice, but living free, onely acknowledging to hold their land from the Arch-Dukes of Austria. Also beyond Primolane (subject to the State of Venice), there is a Fort built betweene a narrow passage of two Mountaines, which Fort is very little, but hangeth over the high way, being built on the side of a Mountaine, and this Fort is
kept by Dutch Souldiers. It hath no Gate, but they that will goe forth, must be let downe by a rope, and they that will enter it, must in like sort be drawne up. Moreover before dinner we rode from Primolano, one Dutch mile to Carpanella, and at our setting forth from Primolan, wee passed over a Bridge, under which was little water for the present: but when the snow melts from the Mountaines, or any great raine falles, the waters there are high and violent, and some moneth past, when the Carrier of Augspurg and his consorts could no way passe the same, they told us, that an English Gentleman impatient of delay, and trying to passe the same, was drowned, and that his body was found after some few daies, when it had been spoiled of a gold chaine and store of Crownes, they being unknowne who got this bootie, and that he was at first buried in a Chappell, but after taken up by the Priests, and buried in the high way, when they heard he was an Englishman, and thereupon suspected him to be an heritike. For the building of this bridge each of us payed two creitzers in the next Village. In our mornings journey the way was narrow, betweene Mountaines, and we might see and heare Mountaines of dissolved snow, drawing with them huge stones, to fall with great noise into the high way before us, and into other adjoyning Vallyes. After dinner we rode through a plane tilled after the manner of Lombardy, three Dutch miles and a halfe, to the Castle Franco. The twelfth day we rode three Dutch miles to the Citie Trevigi, through a like Plaine. After dinner (for I have formerly described Trevigi) we rode two Dutch miles, or ten Italian miles, through a like Plaine to Mestre. From hence we passed by water to Venice being five miles, first in a Ditch, each man paying one soldo for his passage, then in other boats over the Lakes wherewith Venice is compassed, each man paying three soldi for his passage. I omit to speake any thing of Venice, which I have formerly described.

We being now to take our purposed journey into the
FROM VENICE TO JERUSALEM

Turkes Dominions, thought it best, first to goe to Constantinople, where the English Ambassadour giving us a Janizare for our guide, we hoped the rest of our journey would be pleasant, and void of all trouble. For this Janizare, aswell for their wonted faithfulness to those that give them wages, as for the account he was to make of our safetie to the said Ambassadour, no doubt would have been a faithfull guide to us. But when we inquired of the way from Raguzza to Constantinople by land, all the Postes and Messengers passing that way, told us, that the warre of Hungarie made all those parts full of tragedies and miserie. Then we thought to goe by sea to Constantinople: but when wee heard that no ship would be had in three moneths at least, that long delay was hatefull to us. Too late, after my returne, by experience in my journey, and conference, I found a third way, namely by Sea from Venice to Zant, and from that Iland (taking the Councell of the English Merchants there) to Petrasso, (seated upon the Corinthian Creeke of the Sea, in Peloponesus, a Province of Greece, called by the Turkes Morea), then to take a Janizare from the English Consul there residing, and with him to passe by land to Athens, and by Sea in little Barkes from thence to Constantinople. The fourth way was not unknowne to us, namely, to goe by Sea to Cyprus (as wee did), and in the same ship to have passed to Scanderona, and there taking a Janizare from the English Factor, maintained there by our Merchants of Haleppo, to have passed under his conduct by Sea to Jerusalem. Or else to have gone from Scanderona to Haleppo, and there taking a Janizare of the English Consul, and obtaining letters from the Italians, to recommend the care of us and our safetie to the Guardian of the Monastery of the Latin Church in Jerusalem (which our Merchants would easily have obtained for us) to have passed from thence by land to Jerusalem. But when wee imparted at Cyprus this our purpose to the Consorts of our journey from Venice thither, who were then hiring a Barke to passe from
Ciprus to Joppa, whence they had but fortie miles to Jerusalem, they were very desirous of our company, and with great earnestnesse gave us confidence, that they would procure the said Guardian and Fryers at Jerusalem to doe us all courtesie in their power, and so perswaded us to commit our selves to their company and protection. I will adde for the instruction of others, that the said Janizare useth to be hired for eight Aspers a day, and if he take this charge of any mans safetie from an Ambassadour, or any Christian Officer of account, hee will easily save a man more then his wages, in governing his expences, and keeping him from those extortions, which the Turkes use to doe upon Christians, as also from all their injuries. But I returne to the purpose; We lying at Venice, and while our health was yet sound, and our Crownes unspent, desiring with all possible speede to finish our voyage into Turky, did by good hap light upon French consorts for our journey, namely, two Franciscan Friers, one Eremitan Frier, and two honest young Frenchmen, both Citizens of Bloys in France, and one of them a Burgers sonne, the other a Notarie of the Citie, and lastly a Flemming or Dutchman, Citizen of Emden in East Freezeland. This Fleming was a fat man, borne to consume victuals, & he had now spent in his journy to Venice thirty pound sterling, and here for his journey to Jerusalem had already put into the ship full Hogs-heads of Wine, and store of all victuals, when suddenly he changed his minde, for feare of a great Rhume wherewith he was troubled, or being discouraged with the difficulty of the journey, and would needs returne to Emden, with purpose (if hee were to be believed) to returne the next Spring to some place neere Jerusalem, in an English ship, which he thought more commodious. He professed, that he had put much money out upon his returne, and since hee was old, and very sickly, and after so long a journey, and so much money spent, would needes returne home, I cannot thinke that he ever undertooke this journey againe.
FROM VENICE TO JERUSALEM A.D. 1595.

Many Papists thinke they must have the Popes Licence to goe this journey, and Villamont a French Gentlemen writes, that otherwise they incurre the censure of the Church, and affirmes that the Pope writ under his licence these words; Fiat quod petitur, that is, let that be granted which is craved, and under the remission of his sinnes, Fiat Fælix, that is; Let him be made happy: And he addes, that he was forced to take as much paines, and to spend as much, and to use as much helpe of the Popes Officers, for the obtaining of these two sutes, as if he had beene a suter for a Bishoppricke. But I know many Papists, that have gone from Venice to Hierusalem, who either cared not for this licence, or never thought upon it; and howsoever it may give some credulous men hope of fuller indulgence or merit, surely it will serve them for no other use. Among our consorts I never heard any mention thereof, neither did the Friars at Jerusalem inquire after it. When I first began to thinke of undertaking this journey, it was told me that each Ascension day, a Venetian gally was set forth to carry Pilgrimes to Jerusalem. But it seemes that this custome is growne out of use, since few are found in these daies who undertake this journey, in regard of the Turkies imposing great exactions, and doing foule injuries to them. For the very Friars, which every third yeere are sent into those parts, to doe divine duties to the Papist Merchants there abiding; (the Friars formerly sent being recalled), use to passe in no other then common Merchants ships.

In the end of March we had the opportunity of a ship passing into Asia, (which at that time of the yeere is not rare). This ship was called the lesse Lyon, and the Master, (whom the Italians cal Patrono) was Constantine Coluri a Grecian, (as most part of the Marriners are Greekes, the Italians abhorring from being sea men): Concerning diet, some agreed with the Steward of the ship (called Ilscalco) and they paid by the moneth foure silver crownes, (each crowne at seven lyres), and I marked their Table was poorly served. For our part we agreed
with the Master himselfe, who for seven gold crownes by the month paid by each of us, did curteously admit us to his Table, and gave us good diet, serving each man with his knife and spoone, and his forke (to hold the meat whiles he cuts it, for they hold it ill manners that one should touch the meat with his hand), and with a glasse or cup to drinke in peculiar to himselfe. Hee gave us wine mingled with water, and fresh bread for two or three daies after we came out of any harbour, and otherwise bisket, which we made soft by soaking it in wine or water. In like sort, at first setting forth he gave us fresh meates of flesh, and after salted meates, and upon fasting dayes he gave us egges, fishes of divers kinds, dried or pickled, sallets, sod Rice, and pulse of divers kinds; Oyle in stead of butter, Nuts, fruit, Cheese, and like things. Also we agreed that if our journey were ended before the moneth expired, a rateable proportion of our money should be abated to us. Each of us for his passage agreed to pay five silver crownes of Italy. And howsoever, I thinke they would not have denied us wine, or meat betweene meales, if we had beene drie or hungry; yet to avoide troubling of them, my selfe and my brother carried some flaggons of rich wine, some very white bisket, some pruines and raisins, and like things: And to comfort our stomackes in case of weakenesse, we carried ginger, nutmegs, and some like things; and for remedies against agues, we carried some cooling sirops, and some pounds of sugar, and some laxative medicines. Also we carried with us two chests, not onely to lay up these things, but also that we might sleepe and rest upon them at pleasure, and two woollen little mattresses to lie upon, and foure quilts to cover us, and to lay under us, which mattresses and quilts we carried after by land, or else we should have beene farre worse lodged in the houses of Turkes: besides that many times we lay in the field under the starry cannopy. In stead of sheetes we used linnen breeches, which we might change at pleasure. Howsoever all Nations may use their owne apparell in
Turky, yet the clothes of Europe, and especially the short clokes, are most offensive to them, so as the wearer provoketh them thereby to doe him injuries. Therefore my selfe and my brother bought each of us a long coat, of as course stuffe as we could find, & a long gowne of a course and rough frize. Our swords, daggers, and European garments, we left in our chests, with a Flemmish Merchant lying at Venice, to be kept against our returne: and howsoever he falling banckerout, left the City before that time, yet our goods were by the publike Officer laid apart, and readily delivered to us at our returne.

Whereas we left our swords at Venice, know that no Turkes, (and much lesse Christians) carry any Armes, except when they goe some journey, and that we were not ignorant, that howsoever Christians may defend themselves from theeves by the high way, yet it was hard to distinguish betweene the Turkes violent extortions, with the injuries of them, and the Janizares by the high waies, and flat robberies by theeves, and that whosoever should draw a sword or a knife against these men, or any Turke scoffing and despising him, should be sure to die an ill death by publike Justice (which notwithstanding I know not how any man carrying Armes could have the patience to endure). Therefore since the Turkes journeying in great troopes, were sufficiently armed against theeves, and in all events are unfaithfull fellow souldiers to a Christian joining with them, (excepting the Janizares, who howsoever they make a shew of feare of theeves, that they may seeme better to deserve their wages, yet have seldome or never beene assaulted by them). For these and other reasons wee left our swords at Venice, (which reasons it would be tedious to urge), and chose rather unarmed then armed to suffer injuries, which there cannot be avoided.

My selfe and my brother Henry, (who died this yeere in the moneth of July) spent four hundred and eighty pounds sterling, in this journey from England to
Jerusalem, and thence to Haleppo; and in my particular journey (after his death) to Constantinople, and returne into England. If any say we spent lavishly, let him know that my dearest brothers death, and my necessary stay thereupon, and a desperate sickenesse into which I fell upon griefe, very much increased the said expences. Adde that I being pressed with these miseries, had now spent all the money we brought in our purses, and then suffered great losse, by the money taken upon exchange to be paid in England, and being weake after my sickenesse, was forced much to increase my charge, by taking a servant to wait upon me. From which extraordinary mischifes, God deliver all that undertake this journey, and yet I am deceived if the ordinary burthens will not seeme more then enough heavy to them.

But I returne to the relation of my journey. It is the Mariners fashion that being to goe to Sea, they will affirm they set sayle presently, that the Merchants and passengers may bring their goods on board, which done, they will not easily take them out againe, though that ship after long delaies should goe last out of the Haven. Therefore wee kept our goods in our lodging, still inquiring after the Scrivano, who dwelt hard by us; and when he professed seriously, that hee would take shippe the next day, then we presently shipped our provisions. So on Friday the 19 of Aprill (after the new stile) in the yeere 1596, we together with the Patron (our Master) went aboard. And the Patron returned that night to Venice, but we lodged in the ship. The Patron had some moneth past promised me and my brother, that we should set our chests (upon which we were to rest) above the hatches, hard by the sterne, where (the shippe being great) wee had commodity to set them in a place covered over the head, but open on the side towards the prow, and this place was close at the other end, lying at the very doore of the Patrons cabbin, where he slept, and laid his private goods. And this place seemed to me very pleasant, and fit to rest in, since
FROM VENICE TO JERUSALEM

A.D. 1596.

we were covered from raine; and the winds blew commonly upon the sterne, while we were at sea, (for we sayled commonly with a fore wind, the winds being more constant in that sea; at set seasons of the yeere, then in our seas), and for the time of our abiding in Havens, and otherwise in that calme sea, if the winds were contrary, yet in summer time, and in a clime so neere the æquinoctial line, we could receive no hurt, but rather pleasure by their coolenesse. Besides, being thus parted from the Mariners, we were free from lice, and all filthinesse, wherewith the French-men our consorts were much annoied; who slept under the hatches, and that the rather, because they wore woollen stockings, wee silke, (drawne over with linnen); and they slept in their apparell, we only in our doublets, and linnen breeches and stockings; which doublets of ours were lined with taffetie, wherein lice cannot breed or harbour: so as howsoever I wore one and the same doublet till my returne into England, yet I found not the least uncleanliness therein. And give me leave to joy in my good fortune, (as the common sort speake). Namely that the taffety lining of my doublet, being of greene colour, which colour none may weare upon great danger, but onely they who are of the line and stocke of Mahomet, (of whom I could challenge no kindred), yet it hapened that by sleeping in my doubtlet aswell by land as by sea, no Turke ever perceived this my errour. Neither did I understand by any Christian, no not by our English Merchants at Haleppo, in what danger I was for the same, till I came to Constantinople, where our English Ambassadour told mee of the strict Law forbidding the use of this colour; and that a poore Christian some few dayes before had been beaten with cudgels at Constantinople, and was hardly kept from being killed, because ignorantly he wore a paire of green shoo-strings. Whereupon I was yet in feare when all danger was almost past, yet would I not cast off my doublet, but onely more warily kept the lining from sight, till I entred the Greeke
ship wherein I passed thence to Venice, and so was free from all danger.

I returne to my purpose. The Patron of our ship (as I said) returned to Venice; but we staied in the ship, to dispose all our provisions fitly for the journey. The next day, being the twentieth of Aprill (after the new stile), the Patron, Scrivano, and all the Merchants came aboard, and the following night being cleere, our ship was drawne out of Malamocco the Venetian Haven, by little boats fastened to the ship by ropes, and making their way with oares, (for great shippes use no sayles to goe out of this Haven.)

Upon Sunday the 21 of Aprill, in the yeere 1596, being thus put to sea, wee set saile with a faire winde. Then all falling on our knees, we prayed unto God for a happie Voyage, kneeling above the hatches, but praying every man privately and silently to himselfe. Some write, that in the Ships of Venice, they use to pray publikely in Latin every day after the Roman fashion, and some dayes to celebrate Masses: but in this our ship the Patron and most of the Marriners were Greekes, and onely the Scrivano (that is, Scribe) with some Merchants were Italians, and of the Roman Religion. Therefore every day a Bell was rung at prayer time, but each man prayed privately after his owne manner. There were besides in the ship many Eastern Christians, of divers Sects and Nations, and Turkes, and Persians, yea, very Indians worshipping the Sunne, all which, at the ringing of this bell to prayer, went under the hatches. My selfe and my brother willingly prayed with them above the hatches, after the foresaid manner, whereof we thought no scruple of conscience to bee made, since Greekes prayed with us, aswell as Italians and French, whose difference in Religion was well knowne to themselves, so as this our private prayer was voide of all dissimulation. And we were glad that no profession of our Religion was imposed upon us, in regard of our consorts, with whom we were to goe to Jerusalem, and
of the Italians, who after our returne might perhaps meete us in Italy.

Prayers being ended, they used a cerimony, which I liked well: for the sub-Patron giving the signe with his silver whistle, all the Marriners bareheaded, and turning their faces to the East, cryed with a loud voyce Buon' viaggio, Buon' viaggio, (that is, a good voyage), and the same signe given, did cease, and againe cried so three times. Upon Tuesday, the Patron with the Scrivano standing by him, stood upon the Castle of the ship, and made a solemne Oration to the sub-Patron and the Marriners, standing upon the lower hatches, whom he admonished how they should behave themselves, and especially to refraine from swearing, blasphemy, and sodomie, under great penaltie. Then he wrote the names of the Marriners, and gave every man his charge. And lastly turning himselfe to the passengers, exhorted them to behave themselves modestly.

And I must truly witnesse, that the Patron, the Scrivano, and the sub-patron, used all passengers courteously, yet so kept their gravitie, as they had due respect at all times, particularly at the Table, where they did first set downe, others expecting till they came, then the Friers did sit downe, and lastly the Lay-men in due order. Neither doe any sit or walke upon the highest hatches, save onely they who did eate at the Table of the Patron, but the rest and all the Easterne people (whom hee never admits to his Table) were on the middle Hatch, or at the Prow.

Upon Wednesday in the morning, we did see upon the shoare of Italy, the Mountaines of Ancona, which are two hundred Italian miles distant from Venice. Upon Thursday, the five and twentie of Aprill, wee sailed by the Iland or Mountaine Poma (or Pamo), seated in the middest of the Gulfe of Venice, which was a high Rock, rising sharpe at the toppe, and uninhabited, where in the Autum they take Faulcons: and we sailed by the Iland Saint Andrea, (distant one hundred miles from Ancona)
on the North side, and the shoare of Italy on the South side. And the same night wee sayled by the Island Ischa, and the next morning being Friday, by the Islands Buso, Aulto, Catza, and towards the evening, by the Islands Cazola, Augusta, and Palaopa: for in this Gulfe of Venice bee many Islands, whereof the most are subject to Venice, and the rest to Raguza, and other Lords, and some towards the North-shoare to the great Turke.

Heere great store of Dolphines followed our ship; and the voyce of the Marriners (as they use to doe), and they playing about us, did swimme as fast as if they had flowne. Then wee did see the Island Liozena, being all of Mountaines, subject to Venice, and inhabited by Gentlemen, where the Venetians had built a strong Fort upon the Haven for their Gallies. And after five miles wee did see the Island Curzola, subject to Venice, and having a Bishop. And the winde being high, wee cast anchor neere Curzola, but the winde soone falling, we set sayle againe.

From the sixe and twentie of Aprill, to Thurseday the second of May, the South-East winde (which the Italians call Syrocco) did blow very contrary unto us. The third of May being Friday, towards the evening, we were driven upon the Northernne shoare, and did see the Fort Cataro, built on a Mountaine upon the continent, against Turkish Pirats, and distant eighteen miles from Raguza, the chiefe Citie of Sclavonia, which is free, yet payes tribute to the Venetians and Turks, their powerful neighbors. Not farre thence the Turks also had a Fort, built against the Venetians. Raguza is some one hundred miles distant from the Island Andrea, and some four hundred miles from Venice.

Upon Saturday we sayled by the Promontorie of Saint Mary on the North side, and Otranto a Citie of Apulia in Italy on the South side, seeing them both plainly: for now we were passing out of the Gulfe of Venice, into the Mediterranean sea, by this Straight, some sixtie miles broad, and some two hundred miles distant from Raguza.
Here we did overtake a ship of Venice, called Ragazona, and that we might enjoy one another's company, the Sea being calme for the time, our ship being the lesse (yet of some nine hundred Tunnes), was fastned to the Sterne of the other ship by a Cable, and towards the evening upon the Greeke shore towards the North, wee did see Vallona.

Now we were come forth of the Adriatique Sea, otherwise called the Gulfe of Venice, which hath in length some sixe hundred Italian miles, and the breadth is divers, sometimes two hundred miles, sometimes lesse, betweene Ancona and the opposite Haven Valdagosta seventie miles, and in the Straight we now passed sixtie miles broad. On Sunday the fifth of May we did see the Mountaine Fanon, (and as I remember an Iland) three miles distant from the Iland Corfu, and upon the Greeke shore beyond the Iland, we did see the most high Mountaines called Chimerae, inhabited by the Albanesi, who neither subject to the Turkes nor Venetians, nor any other, doe upon occasion rob all; and the Venetians, and the Kings of France, and especially of Spaine, use to hire them in their warres. The sixth of May wee sayled by the Promontory, called the Cape of Corfu (the description of which Iland I will deferre till my returne this way.) On Tuesday the seventh of May, wee sailed by the Iland Paro verie neere us, and the Iland Saint Maura joyned by a bridge to the continent of Epirus, and subject to the Turkes, and the Iland Ithaca (vulgarly called by the Italians Compare) also subject to the Turkes, and famous for their King Ulysses, and some foure miles distant from the Iland Cepholania, which towards evening wee did see, being distant some one hundred miles from Corfu.

On Wednesday early in the morning, wee entered a narrow Sea, some two miles broad, having Cephalonia the lesse on the North side, and the greater Cephalonia on the South side, and wee cast anchor neere a desart Rocke (where of old there was an Universitie), and many of us, in our boat (sent with Mariners to cut wood, and
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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

take fresh water), did go on land in the greater Cepholania, to refresh our selves, and to wash our bodies in the Sea water: but wee durst not goe farre from our Marriners, lest the inhabitants of those woodie Mountaines should offer us violence. Both the Ilands are subject to Venice, and abound with wines and small Currends, and in time of warre the Inhabitants retire to a Fort, built there by the Venetians, to be safe from the Turks. The Venetians every third yeere chuse some of their Gentlemen, to be sent hether for Governour and Officers.

The same Wednesday the eight of May, towards the evening, we set saile, and before darke night passed by the Promontary, called the Cape of Cepholania, and did see on the North side the Ilands Corsolari some ten miles distant, where the Navy of the Pope, King of Spaine, and Venetians confederate, having Don John of Austria, base brother to King Phillip of Spaine for their Generall, obtained a noble Victorie in the yeere 1571 against the Navy of the Turkes, the Christians hiding there many of their Gallies, that the Turkes comming out of the Gulfe of Corinth (now called the Gulfe of Lepanto) might despise their number, and so be more easily drawne to fight. In the mouth of the said Gulfe, upon the West shoare, is the Castle of Toran (or Torneze) seated in Peloponesus, a Province of Greece, which the Turkes call Morea, and in the bottom of the Gulfe, Petrasso is seated in the same Province, and Lepanto in the Province of Achaia, and of these Cities this Gulfe of Corinth, is in these dayes called sometimes the Gulfe of Lepanto, sometimes the Gulfe of Petrasso. In the Citie of Petrasso the English Merchants live, having their Consull, and they trafficke especially for Currands of Corinth. Neere Cepholania great store of Dolphins did againe swimme about our ship (which they say doe foretell, that the winde will blow from that quarter, whether they swimme,) and the same daie in the maine Sea, greater Dolphins, and in greater number, did play about our ship.

On Thursday in the morning we did leave on the
South side the Iland Zante, subject to the Venetians, and seventy miles distant from Cepholania (the description of which Iland I deferre to my returne this way), and so we sailed close by the shoare of Peloponesus (or Morea) on the North side.

Peloponesus is almost an Iland, joyned on the North side to Achaia by a narrow neck of land, which many of old have attempted to cut, and to make that Province an Iland, and it containeth large Counties or Territories of Greece. Wee sayling along the South side of this Province, did see the Cities, Coron, Modon, and Navarin, and somewhat lower towards the South, was a little Iland called Strivalli, which is barren and inhabited by Grecian Monks called Caloiri, who came out to us in a boat to begge almes, and the Patron of our ship in honour of our Lady (or Virgin Marie) of Strivalli, saluted the Iland with some pieces of Ordinance. Upon Friday the tenth of May we sailed by the foresaid City Modon, seated in Greece, and one hundred miles distant from the Iland Zante. The eleventh day in the morning we sailed by the Promontory called the Cape of Modon, and within sixe howers sailing, were out of the sight of any part of Morea.

But in the evening we came to the Cape of S. John the first Promontory of the Iland Candia, distant some one hundred and fifty miles, (I alwaies understand Italian miles, being now amongst the Italians) from Modon, the foresaid Citie of Morea, and these high Mountaines of Candia were yet covered on the top with snow. We sayled on the South side of Candia, and towards evening passed by the middle part of the Iland, and the thirteenth day by nine of the clock in the morning, wee sailed by the Cape of Salomon, being towards the East the furthest part of Candia, (the description of which Iland I deferre to my comming backe that way.)

At this time our Marriners, aswell Greekes as Italians, were greatly offended with one of our French Consorts, a Lay man, because at dinner time, according to the
negligent fashion of the French, he turned the cleane side
of his trencher upward: for of all men the Marriners,
and of all Marriners the Greekes and Italians are most
superstitious; and if any thing in the ship chance to be
turned up-side downe, they take it for an ill signe, as if
the ship should be overwhelmed. Otherwise I never
observed, that either the chiefe or inferiour Mariners ever
used the least disrespect to any passenger, being rather
loving and familiar to them in conversation. And I
remember that my brother Henry using to walke
upon the highest hatches, the Patron, and Scrivano, and others,
did with smiling observe his fast walking and melancholy
humour, yet howsoever it was troublesome to them, did
onely once, and that curteously reprove him, or rather
desire him that he would have respect to the Mariners,
who watched al night for the publike safety, and were
then sleeping under the hatches. Alwaies understand
that a man may not bee so bold in another mans house
as in his owne, and may yet lesse be bold in a ship of
strangers; and that an unknowne passenger must of all
other be most respective. And whereas Mariners are
held by some to be theevish, surely in the Haven at the
journies end, (where theeves easily find receivers), it is
good to be wary in keeping that belongs to you: but at
sea no place is more safe then a shippe, where the things
stolne, are easily found, and the offenders severely
punished.

On Sunday the nineteenth of May, we came to the
first Promontory of the Iland Cyprus, towards the West,
and after eight houres sayling, we came to the old City
Paphos (or Paphia), now called Baffo, and the wind
failing us, and gently breathing upon this Castle of Venus,
we hovering here all the next night, gaining little or
nothing on our way. This place is most pleasant, with
fruitfull hils, and was of old consecrated to the Goddesse
Venus, Queene of this Iland; and they say that Adamants
are found here, which skilfull Jewellers repute almost as
precious as the Orientall. A mile from this place is the
COMMENTS UPON CYPRUS

A.D. 1596.

Cave, wherein they faigne the seven sleepers to have slept, I know not how many hundred yeeres. The twenty one of May towards the evening, we entred the Port of Cyprus, called Le Saline, & the two & twentieth day obtaining licence of the Turkish Cady to goe on land, we lodged in the Village Larnica, within a Monastery of European Friars. Here some of us being to saile to Joppa, and thence to goe by land to Jerusalem, did leave the Venetian ship, which sailed forward to Scanderona. The Turkes did conquer the Iland Ciprus from the Venetians, in the yeere 1570, and to this day possesse it, the chiefe Cities whereof are Nicosia, (seated in the middest of the Iland) and Famogosta (seated in the furthest part of the Iland towards the East). The Turkish Basha, or Governour, useth to chuse Famogosta for his seate, (though Nicosia be the fairer City), because it hath a good Haven, and a most strong Fort, which the Venetians built. The Iland lieth two hundred & forty miles in length from the west to the East, and hath some eighty miles in bredth, & six hundred miles in compasse. This Iland is said to be distant some foure hundred miles from the Iland of Candia, (which is some two hundred and thirty miles long: but I speake of the next Promontories in both of them), and from Venice some two thousand two hundred and twenty miles, from Alexandria in Ægypt, some foure hundred and fifty miles, from Alexandretta (at this day called Scanderona), the Haven of Caramania, eighty miles, from Tripoli of Syria, ninety miles, and from Joppa a Haven in Palestina, about two hundred and fifty miles, speaking of the uttermost Promontories on all sides.

This Iland yeeldeth to no place in fruitfulnesse or pleasure, being inriched with Corne, Oile, Cheese, most sweet Porkes, Sheepe, (having tailes that weigh more then twenty pound) Capers (growing upon pricking bushes) Pomegranats, Oranges, and like fruiites; Canes or Reedes of sugar, (which they beat in mils, drawing out a water which they seeth to make sugar), with rich
wines, (but gnawing or burning the stomacke) odoriferous Cipres trees, (whereof they make fiers,) store of Cotton, and many other blessings of nature. Neere the Promontory Del' Gatto, so called of Cats that use to kill Serpents, they take Falcons, which Hawkes the Governours are commanded to send to Constantinople. They sowe corne in the moneth of October, and reape it in Aprill. I know not how it comes to passe, that in this Hand of Venus, all fruites taste of salt, which Venus loved well. And I thought that this was onely proper to the place at which we landed, where they make salt, till many Ilanders affirmed to me, that the very earth, the sweet hearbs, the beasts feeding there, and the fountaines of waters, had a naturall saltnes. The houses are built after the manner of Asia, of a little stone, one roohe high, and plaine in the top, which is plastered, and there they eate and sleepe in the open aire.

By the assistance of a Venetian Merchant, seven of us hired a ship of a Greeke dwelling in Cyprus, for twenty eight zechines to Joppa (now called Jaffa, or Giaffa), with condition that he should stay at Joppa fiftene dayes to expect our returne from Jerusalem, and should thence carry us to Tripoli in Syria. The most part of these zechines wee left in the hand of the Venetian Merchant, to be delivered to the Master of this ship at his returne, if he brought our testimonie under our hands, that hee had performed all covenants with us: for wee also conditioned with him, that hee should stay longer then fiftene dayes at Joppa (if neede were) for our returne, we paying him a zechine for every day above fiftene, which he should stay there for us. We might have hired a ship or Barke for ten zechines directly to Joppa, without these conditions of staying there, and carrying us to Tripoli. And because the Turkish Governours of Cities use to impose great tributes upon Christians driven into their Havens, & somtimes by tricks of fraude to bring them in danger of life, onely to spoile them of their money, some of our Consorts would
have added another condition, that the Master should not
carrie us to any Port, but that of Joppa, had not the rest
judged it unreasonable, to tie him for performance of
that, which was onely in the power of God, according
to the windes, which might force him to take harbor.
My selfe did familiarly know an English Gentleman, who
shortly after comming to Scanderona, and there taking
ship to passe by this shoare to Joppa, and so to Jerusalem,
if an honest man had not forewarned him, had by the
treason of a Janizare in the way bin sold for a slave to
the inland Turks, whence he was like never to be
redeemed, being farre removed from Christians, who
onely trade upon the Coasts. And he was so terrified
with this danger, as he returned into England without
seeing Jerusalem, to which he had then a short journey,
only carrying with him a counterfet testimonie and scale
that he had been there, because he had put out much
money upon his returne.

I formerly said, that we lodged at Cyprus in a
Monastery, whence being now to depart, the Friers of
our company, and also the Lay-men, gave each of us
eight lires of Venice to the Guardian of the Monastery,
and one lire to the Frier that attended us, in the name
of gift or almes, but indeede for three dayes lodging and
dyet.

Upon Friday the twentie foure of May, we seven
Consorts (namely, two Franciscan Friers, one Erimitane
Frier, and two Lay men, all Frenchmen, and my selfe and
my brother) hired a boat in the Haven for foure lires of
Venice, to carrie us to the Cyprian Barke we had hired,
and we carried with us for our food, a cheese costing
foure Aspers, a Jarre of Oyle costing sixe Aspers, and a
vessell of Wine (called Cuso, somewhat bigger then an
English barrell, and full of rich Wine, but such as fretted
our very intrals) costing one Zechine, and foure soldi of
Venice, and two Turkish aspers; and egges costing twenty
three aspers, beside Bisket which we brought out of the
Greeke ship. In twilight (for the nights use not here
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FYNES MORYSON'S ITINERARY

to be darke) we set saile, and were forced to goe backe towards the West, along the shoare of Cyprus, to the Promontory called Capo di Gatti, that is, the Cape of Cats, that we might from thence (according to the Marriners experience) fetch a faire winde. So we sailed that evening thirtie miles (of Italy I meane) and the next day twentie miles to a Village of Cyprus called Lemisso (where Christians ships use to put in.) Here we cast anchor, & all the six & twentie day of May expected a winde, which we got at midnight following. Joppa is no more then two hundred fiftie miles from Cyprus, and may easily be run in two nights and a daies saile with a faire winde, yet howsoever the wind was most favourable to us, wee could see no land till Wednesday the twenty nine of May, at which time we found our selves by the ignorance of the Marriners to be upon the Coast of Egypt, neere the Citie Damiata, which we might see seated upon the banke of Nilus, and they said it was some sixe miles from the Sea. Now our Marriners seeing the shoare, knew better to direct our sayling, and the night following we lay at anchor neere this shoare. Upon Thursday we coasted the land of the Philistines, and first did plainly see the Citie Gaza, and after thirtie miles sayle the Citie Ascolon, neere which we cast anchor for that night.

Lemisso.

[1. iii. 215.] Upon Friday being the last of May, after two miles saile, we entered the Haven of Joppa. From hence we sent a messenger hired for fourteene meidines, to the Subasha of Ramma, intreating him that he would give us leave to passe to Jerusalem, and send us a sooldier to protect us. The foresaid shore of the Philistines, seemed to be a wild narrow and sandy plaine, neere the sea, with mountaines pleasant and fruitfull, towards the East upon Palestine. The City of Joppa, mentioned in the scriptures, had some ruines of wals standing, which shewed the old circuit thereof, but had not so much as any ruines of houses; onely we did see the exactors of tribute come out of two ruinous Towers, and some ragged Arabians and Turkes, lying (with their goods) within certaine

Ruines of Joppa.

Gaza.

Joppa.
caves, who also slept there, or in the open aire. These goods are daily carried hither and from hence, upon the backs of Cammels, whereof we might see many droves laded both come and goe. For this cause we would not land, but thought better to lie in our shippe, especially since the place afforded no entertainment for strangers, and our Mariners brought us egges and fruites, and we had with us wine and bisket, which notwithstanding we did hide, lest the Arabians or Turkes should take it from us, if they came to our Barke. The Haven is of little compasse, but safe for small Barkes, and was of old compassed with a bricke wall, the ruines whereof still defend it from the waves of the sea. The situation of Joppa is pleasant, upon a hill declining towards the sea, and the fields are fertile, but were then untilled. Here the Prophet Jonas did take ship, as it were to flye from God, and the Machabei (as appeares in the first booke and twelfth chapter) here burnt the ships: and the Apostle Peter lodging in the house of Simon, was taught the conversion of the Gentiles by a vision; and here he raised up Tabitha from death, as the Holy Scriptures witnes.

Upon Munday the third of June, at nine of the clocke in the morning, the Subasha of Ramma sent us a Horseman or Lancyer to guide us, and with him came the Atalla, (that is, interpreter, whom the Italians call Drogonano, who was a Maronite Christian, that used to guide strangers). They brought us Asses to ride upon, (which they use there in stead of Horses, excepting onely the soldiers), and with them came a Muccaro (so they call those that hier out Asses, Mules, or Cammels). We presently landed about noone, and when my brother leaped upon land, and according to the manner, bended downe to kisse it, by chance he fell, and voided much blood at the nose: and howsoever this be a superstitious signe of ill, yet the event was to us tragical, by his death shortly after happening. Here for our carriage (namely our shirts, for the rest we had left in the Barke;) we jointly
paid five meydines for cafar, (that is Tribute) and the Officers of Joppa extorted from each of us for his person, halfé a Spanish Reale, neither would they be pleased, till each of us gave them two meydines in gift. Then we jointly gave sixe meydines to our Muccaro for his dinner, and five of free gift. Our Asses had pannels in stead of saddles, ropes for bridles, and ropes laid crosse the pannels, and knotted at the ends in stead of stirrups. The same Monday in the afternoone, we rode ten miles to Ramma, through a most pleasant plaine, yeelding time and hysope, and other fragrant herbes, without tillage or planting, growing so high, as they came to the knees of our Asses. By the way on our left hand, not farre out of the high way, lay the ruines of the City Lydda, where Saint Peter cured one sicke of the palsie; and Saint George is said to have suffered martyrdom, and that his head is yet kept in a Greeke Church. We also passed by a Village, having a moschee or Turkish Church, and being full of pleasant Orchards of Figge-trees, Olive-trees, Pomegranates, (bearing buds of flesh colour, and being like a Barbery tree, by little and little covered with a greene rinde) and many kinds of fruites; the abundance whereof in these parts, we might easily guesse, when wee bought in the Port of Joppa more then a thousand Abricots for six Aspers, at which time, lest we should surfet on such daintaies, (the untemperate eating whereof we had read to have often killed many Europeans) we durst not eate them raw, but sod the most part of them. Now upon the third of June they had almost gathered in their Harvest, and all the fields were full of Cotten, growing like Cabbage two foote high, and yeelding a round Apple, out of which they gather the Cotten. This Cotten is sowed in Aprill, and gathered in September, and great quantity thereof is carried from hence into Europe. At Ramma we were brought into a house, where Pilgrimes use to be lodged, and it was of old great & strong, but at this time more fit to lodge beasts then men. Some say it was the House of Joseph of Arimathia,
FROM JOPPA TO JERUSALEM

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others say it was Nicodemus his house, and there was a fountaine of water, and a Court yard to walke in, but the roome were full of dust, and we hardly got straw to lie upon. There were yet some marbles and ruins of building, that shewed it to have beene a faire house. The Maronite Christians brought us victuals, and they sold us a pound of bisket for sixe meidines, twelve eggs for one meidine, a Cheese for one, Rice for two, some two English quarts of wine for five, a salet for one, and twelve Cakes, (they having no leavened bread) for four medines. We that were Lay-men gave each of us sixe Zechines, and each of the Friars five, into the hands of our Interpreter, to be given to the Subasha for tribute, or rather for our safe conduct. I know that favour is done to Friars, especially by these Ministers belonging to Monasteries, and we committed the ordering of our expenses to one of the Franciscan Friars, who had best experience, so as it may be the Interpreter restored to the Friars their money, or part of it: but I am sure these my eies did see them pay so much. One in the name of the Subasha, brought us for a present some flaggons of a medicinall drinke, made of cooling hearbes, and sold in the Tavernes, as we sell wine. We jointly gave five meidines to a watch-man, appointed to keepe our doore, and protect us from wrong; who being a man of very great stature, was called Goliah, and he walked all night at our gate, where he did sing or rather houle with his hoarce voice continually. Some write that there is onely due, one Zechine to the Subasha, another to the Captaine of the Arabians, and twenty five medines for Cafar (or Tribute), and halfe a Zechine to the Muccaro, who let out their Asses to Pilgrimes, and that the guide deceives the Christians of all the rest. I am sure that the guide being of experience, delivers the Christians from many injuries offered them by the Arabians and others, for which favour they cannot sufficiently requite him; and if any deale sparingly with him, he complains of them to the Guardian of the Monastery at Jerusalem,
who never suffers him to be sent away discontented, neither wants he power himselfe to deceive the Christians at his pleasure, if he beare that mind. At Ramma we jointly gave one Zechine to our Muccaro, of whom we hired our Asses.

And the fourth of June, having him onely to conduct us, we tooke our journey before day towards Jerusalem, being thirty miles distant, (I meane of Italy). As we rode before day, our Muccaro warned us to be silent, lest we should waken the Arabians, Turkes, or Theeves, who then slept, and were like if they awaked to offer us violence, or at least to extort some money from us. The Arabians are not unlike the wild Irish, for they are subject to the great Turke, yet being poore and farre distant from his imperiall seat, they cannot be brought to due obedience, much lesse to abstaine from robberies. After we had roide ten miles, we did see upon a hill not farre distant, on our right hand, the ruines of the House (or Pallace) of the good Thiefe crucified with our Saviour, which ruines yet remaine, and shew that the house was of old stately built; as if he had beene a man of some dignity, banished for robbing of passengers: and when he was brought to the Magistrates hand, had beene condemned to death for the same. From hence to the very City of Jerusalem, the Mountaines or Rockes doe continually rise higher and higher, till you come to the City, our way hitherto having beene in a pleasant plaine, rich in corne and pasture. These mountaines which we after passed, seemed stony and barren, but yeelded fragrant hearbes, and excellent corne growing betweene the great stones, and some vallies were pleasant, as the vally of Hieromia, (as I thinke the Prophet), where of old was built a stately Church, which as then stood little ruined; and neere it is a pleasant fountaine, where the passangers use to drinke and to water their Asses. They say that the said Prophet was borne there, and that the place was of old called Anatooth. I said that excellent corne growes betweene the great stones of these Moun-
Nearing Jerusalem A.D. 1596.

taines or Rockes, neither are they destitute of Vines, and many fruities. In the said valley of Hieromy, certaine Arabians which seemed to be mowers of corne, flew upon us like fierce dogges, yet our Muccaro sent them away content with the gift of a bisket, and in like sort in another narrow passage of the mountaines, he paid some meidines for cafar, which he never demanded of us, being content with the money we had paied him at Ramma. Upon a high Rocke we did see the ruines of the Castle Modon, where the Machabees were buried. Then we discended into the Valley of Terebintho, (so called of a Tree bearing a black fruit like an Olive, & yeelding a kind of oyle), where we passed over a Torrent by a bridge of stone, and this is the place famous for the victory of David against Goliah.

We had now some two miles to Jerusalem, yet in the very Haven, we wanted little of perishing. For it happened that a Spachi (or Horse-man under the great Turkes pay) riding swiftly, and crossing our way, suddenly turned towards us, and with his speare in his rest, (for these horse-men carry speares & bucklers like Amadis of Gaule) he rushed upon us with all his might, and by the grace of God his speare lighting in the pannell of the Asse, never hurt the French-man his Rider, but he did much astonish both him and us, till our Muccaro enquiring the cause of this violence, he said, why doe not these dogges light on foot to honour mee as I passe; which when we heard, and knew that we must here learne the vertue of the beasts on which we rode, we presently tumbled from our Asses, (for we had no other stirrups then knotted ropes), and bended our bodies to him. Neither did we therein basely, but very wisely: for woe be to that Christian who resists any Turke, especially a Souldier, and who beares not any injury at their hands. We had but one mile to Jerusalem, when we did see large ruines (on this West side of the City) of an old City or Village. Somewhat after noone the fourth of June, we entered Jerusalem upon the West side, at the
Gate of Joppa, (written Jaffa, Giaffa, and Zaffa, by divers Nations). At this gate we staied, till two Friars came out of the Latine Monastery, and likewise the exactors of Tribute came to us, and to them we paied each man two zechines for tribute due to the great Turke, or at least extorted from us, which done, the two Friars being Italians, did lead us to the Monastery of the Latines.