A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of Me Thomas Hoby, with Diverse Thinges Woorth the Notinge, 1547-1564: A Modern Edition with Introduction and Notes

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"A BOOK OF THE TRAVAILE AND LIEF OF ME THOMAS HOBY, WITH
DIVERSE THINGS WORTH THE NOTINGE, 1547-1564:
A MODERN EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES."

by
Steve Masello

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of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
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With this modern edition of Thomas Hoby's journal, *A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of Me Thomas Hoby, with Diverse Thinges Woorth the Notinge, 1547-1564*, I hope to introduce this highly regarded young courtier to the modern reader in a vivid and entertaining way, and to provide an understandable first-hand account of a sixteenth century Englishman's encounter with continental cultures.

Hoby is well known to Renaissance scholars for his translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano (The Courtier)* in 1561. However, the only previous edition of his splendid Renaissance journal was published in the *Camden Miscellany*, vol. x, 1902, by Edgar Powell. Powell's edition is incomplete; he has included only a brief preface, listing his textual omissions, briefly discussing his problems in editing the original manuscript, and presenting a short history of the Hoby family. Moreover, he adds only scattered annotations to a complicated text. In short, his work was not intended to meet the demands of modern scholarship.

I have included in this edition, first of all, a lengthy introduction placing the journal in its literary and historical contexts. It is divided into four sections; 1) the principal English attitudes regarding the "Italianate Englishman," 2) a detailed discussion of Hoby's journal, introducing the reader to the conditions of its composition, to travel in Europe, and to the political and social affairs noted by Hoby, 3) contemporary Italian portraits of the Renaissance, including a discussion of Castiglione's ideal conception of the courtier as it compares to the most famous of the Italian
autobiographical journals, Cellini's *La Vita*, and finally, 4) a detailed description of the only surviving manuscript.

A carefully annotated text follows. I have defined obscure Renaissance terminology in the martial arts, in medicine, and in social etiquette and have noted figures of importance, both historical and literary, throughout. Latin quotations and inscriptions that constitute part of Hoby's narrative have been translated for the reader.

I hope my edition will throw new light on the interplay between the Continent, especially Italy, and England in the sixteenth century. Although other scholars have studied aspects of this interaction, Hoby's journal remains a rich source of information yet unmined.
VITA

Steven J. Masello was born in Chicago on October 31, 1948. He is the eldest son of Sonia and Thomas Masello.

He attended elementary schools in Chicago and Evanston. After graduating from Evanston Township High School in 1966, he attended Loyola University of Chicago, receiving his B.A. in English in February of 1971. He entered the graduate school full time as a teaching assistant in the fall of 1971 and in August of 1972 he completed his M.A. in English.

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Mr. Masello has just completed a year as a University Fellow at Loyola. He also served this past year as a student representative to the Ph.D. Program Council.

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CHAPTER I

THE ITALIANATE ENGLISHMAN

Sir Thomas Hoby was an "Italianate Englishman." In most English circles this nomenclature carried with it pejorative connotations. According to Roger Ascham, "Inglese Italianato e un diabolo incarnato," yet even he admits that Italy had an enormous influence upon England at this time. In fact, a curious dichotomy existed in the Englishman's mind with regard to Italy, its people, and its culture. On the one hand, there was a profound admiration for the land of Cicero, Vergil, and the later great humanists such as Petrarch and Castiglione. On the other hand, the Englishman feared the insidious influence of the "Machiavellian" and, above all, the papist.

Ascham, in strident voice, warns of the seductive dangers of "Circe's Court." He recalls with horror his short time in Italy:

I was once in Italy myself; but I thank God my abode there was but nine days; and yet I saw in that little time...more liberty to sin, than ever I heard tell of in our noble city of London in nine year....And good cause why; for being unlike in truth of religion, they must needs be unlike in honesty of living.\(^1\)

The idea of travel to Italy no doubt bothered Ascham for political as well as moral reasons. The Anglican Church had not been in the ascendancy long, and stout young followers need not have their faith


\(^2\) Ibid., p. 163.
tampered with abroad. The unwary traveler might well become an
"Englishman Italianated." Ascham explains his term: "He that by
living and travelling in Italy, bringeth home into England out of
Italy, the religion, the learning, the policy, the experience, the
manners of Italy."\(^1\)

Much of the Italian literature only serves Satan: "More papists
be made by your merry books of Italy, than by your earnest books of
Louvain."\(^2\) Ascham recalls that in his "forefathers' time, when
papistry, as a standing pool, covered and overflowed all England,"
wanton books of chivalry, such as Morte Arthur were "received into
the prince's chamber" when God's Bible had been banished from the
court. "And yet," writes Ascham, "ten Morte Arthurs do not the tenth
part so much harm, as one of these books made in Italy and translated
in England."\(^3\)

Nevertheless, even such a Protestant moralist as Ascham had
genuine praise for The Courtier, the foremost courtesy book of the
Renaissance. As an educator, he was especially sensitive to the
course of study outlined in The Courtier. Castiglione educates the
courtier for service to his prince; likewise, Ascham in The Schoolmaster,
educates the young Englishman for service to the Commonwealth. Also,
the uncompromisingly high moral tone of Castiglione must certainly

---
\(^1\)Ibid., p. 157
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 158.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 159.
have appealed to the Puritan mind. ¹

To join learning with comely exercises, Conte Baldesar Castiglione, in his book Cortegiane, doth trimly teach; which book advisedly read and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wiss, than three years' travel abroad spent in Italy. And I marvel this book is no more read in the court than it is, seeing it is so well translated into English by a worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Hobby, who was many ways well furnished with learning, and very expert in knowledge of divers tongues. ²

One might have reminded Ascham that the young translator Thomas Hoby was "very expert in knowledge of divers tongues" because of his travels abroad.

James Cleland, writing 37 years after the publication of The Schoolmaster, offers an interesting contrast to the vitriolic Ascham. Cleland bases much of his philosophy of education on Castiglione's Il Cortegiano. In fact, Cleland, although a staunch Protestant, enjoins his young would-be-gentleman to read The Courtier before heading toward court.

In his Institution of a Young Nobleman (1607), Cleland encourages wide travel after completion of the general education at home.

Travailing hath ever been esteemed and used, as the principal & best meanes, whereby a young Noble man, or


²Ascham, p. 141.
anie other maie profit his Prince, his Countrie, and himselfe. It is the true Science of Pollicie, and the good Schoole of al governmet. There are no rules of Moral Philosophy so sure and certaine as those, which wee learne by other mens examples.

One should, like Ulysses, travel to learn and to grow wise: to know well other nations, their customs, their histories, and their people. Upon his return to Great Britain, the young nobleman may then incorporate this knowledge in serving his prince through wise counsel.

When the young traveler reaches Italy, Cleland adds a cautionary note. One must be wary of sin in this papist nation:

Nor that you should fixe your eies to admire the fine marble in Italy, to look upon the Cardinals faire pallaces: to read al the Buls pardons, and pasquils in Rome: to tire your feete in running from one Embassadours house to anothers; to go from Rome to Venice, and there to be rowed in the Godels from one Curtizan to another, to swagger & fight al the night long in Padua: and so to spend your time, and monie badlie in base and common things, without respect of al danger, either of bodie or soule.

Although Cleland recognizes the cultural importance of a trip to Italy, he cannot avoid appending further warning, much as an overly worrisome father might to his son:

...before you visite the Duke of Savoy at Thurin: of whö you shall have a faire cheereful countenance, and gracious enough entertainment: and I dare assure you of noe lesse curtesie, at the great Duke of Florenes his court, whose

---


2 Ibid., pp. 261-62.
vertues you wil admire; nether Doubt I of anie Princes Curtesie in Italie, if you goe to thè; but I wil not councel you to staie anie long time there, after you have gone fro Rome to Venice. That Countrie is so dangerous, that albeit you could be no more wouden then Achilles, yet the pleasures and diverse allurements to sinne are so frequent, that you cannot escape the poisoned darts of Paris Alexander,

Barbatoe licet admaneeas mille inde magistres.¹

Cleland's advice is certainly more temperate than Ascham's. As a Protestant, he naturally objects to the power and wealth of the Roman Church. Even more so, it is the many "pleasures and diverse allurements" of Italy that frighten and disturb Cleland. He shows, however, a genuine sympathy for the charm, the grace and especially the courtesy that often marks the Italian prince. In fact, a young Protestant might benefit from his example. Cleland's closing remarks indicate a kind and eminently reasonable man:

This should be one of your best lessons, which you have learned in Travelling, to judge and esteeme of a man by his wit, discourses, and integritie of life; and not by his habit, the forme of his hat or by the fashion of his breeches.²

H. C. Porter characterizes the pre-eminent Northern humanist, Desiderius Erasmus, as an "Italianate Dutch Anglophile."³ Erasmus always equated learning with Italy. In a letter to William Latimer, he remarks that "To me anyone who is excellently learned is an Italian,

¹Ibid., p. 266.
²Ibid., p. 270.
even though he should be Irish-born."¹ In 1499, several years before Erasmus was able to visit Italy himself, he wrote to his former pupil, John Fisher, then visiting Italy, that "you are in a country where the very walls are more scholarly and articulate than human beings are with us, so that things which men in these parts regard as beautifully finished, elegant and charming, in Italy cannot escape seeming crude, vulgar, and lacking in wit."²

A northern scholar according to R. B. Drummond, desired nothing more than to be recognized by the Italians, and after studying in their schools, discoursing with their learned men, he might then return to the North with "something of their Ciceronian elegance and Greek learning" and "venture to look upon himself as better than a barbarian."³ Already, such great scholars as Agricola, Reuchlin, Linacre, Grocyn, and Colet had preceded Erasmus to Italy.

It was only after years of anticipation that Erasmus finally departed from England for Italy in 1506. He was to tutor the sons of Giovanni Battista Boerio, physician of Henry VII. Later that year, Erasmus received his doctorate in theology at the University of Turin. Surprisingly, he does not seem very proud of this but

¹Ibid., p. 15.


rather dismisses it as something he did to please others who deemed the degree necessary. The University of Bologna was more prestigious. Wallace K. Ferguson conjectures that greater expense or more numerous requirements at Bologna deterred Erasmus from attending this more famous university as he had earlier planned.¹

While in Rome, Erasmus had a memorable interview with the learned Cardinal Domenico Grimani, an influential patron of the arts. Grimani had asked Erasmus to stay in Rome, "a place where men of genius were sure to find encouragement."² But Mountjoy's lavish promises of wealth and favor under the reign of the young King Henry VIII drew Erasmus back to England in 1508.

In a nostalgic letter to Grimani several years later, Erasmus fondly recalls his Roman sojourn: "First of all, the bright light, the noble setting of the most famous city in the world, the delightful freedom, the many richly furnished libraries, the sweet society of all those great scholars, all the literary conversations, all the monuments of antiquity, and not least so many leading lights of the world gathered together in one place."³

Naturally, as a Catholic, Erasmus was better disposed to enjoy Italy than were his Protestant contemporaries. He was, however, a critic never blind to the frequent foolishness and hypocrisy within

¹Erasmus, The Correspondence, I: 123.
²Drummond, I: 178.
³Erasmus, The Correspondence, I: 94.
the Renaissance church. And yet always, Italy offered to him his sweetest recollections.

In the sixteenth century the first generation of predominantly Protestant scholars came to Italy in order to perfect their knowledge of Greek and Latin. This accomplished, they turned their backs on Italy and promptly returned to England. And yet, observes Walter Raleigh, Italy offered so much more: "Italy was not only the headquarters of the renewed study of the classics; in those vivacious city communities material and intellectual civilisation had been so perfected that London in comparison might well seem a Gothic settlement, dark and barbarous."¹

The Italian aristocrat lived a life of refinement in sharp contrast to that of the Englishman. Tom Coryat indicates his surprise at the fastidious dining habits of the Italians; the use of the fork he finds quite remarkable: "This form of feeding I understand is generally used in all places of Italy....The reason of this their curiosity is because the Italian cannot by any means endure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing all men's fingers are not alike clean."²

In 1568 Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, explains in a letter to the Lords of the Privy Council his great inconvenience when called

²Ibid., p. xlviii.
upon to entertain the Cardinal de Chatillon at Shene. When the Queen's officers arrived to make arrangements, the bother began:

Where they required plate of me I told them, as troth is, I had no plate at all. Suche glasse vessell as I had I offered them, which they thought to base; for naperie I cold not satisfie their turne, for they desired damaske worke for a long table, and I had none other but plain linnen for a square table....One onlie tester and bedsted not occupied I had, and thos I delivered for the Cardinal himself, and when we cold not by any menes in so shorte a time procure another bedsted for the bushop, I assihgned them the bedsted on which my wiefes waiting wemen did lie, and laid them on the ground.

Walter Raleigh, in his edition of Hoby's Courtier, was the first to compare this to Hoby's account of his stay with the Marquis of Capistrano:

When suppar was done everie mann was browght to his rest: Whitehorn and I were had into a chamber hanged with clothe of gold and vellett, wherin were two beddes, th'on of silver worke and the other of vellett, with pillowes bolsters and the shetes curiouslie wrought with neelde [needle] worke." (fol. 82v-83r)

At the age of fifteen, Thomas Hoby enrolled at St. John's College, Cambridge University. It was in his day the "glory of the University, a chief stronghold of scholarship and Protestant theology."  


2. Thomas Hoby, A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of Me Thomas Hoby, with Diverse Thinges Woorth the Notinge, 1547-1564, Egerton Ms. #2148; The British Library fol. 82v-83r. All folio page numbers are to this manuscript. Hereafter cited in the text.

Two of the sixteenth century's greatest scholars were then in residence at the University. Roger Ascham was Public Orator and Sir John Cheeke, Exchequer of Eloquence. Electing to pursue a career in diplomacy (Thomas' older brother, Philip, was, at the time, the English ambassador to the Court of the Emperor), Thomas remained only two years at Cambridge before traveling to the Continent in order to perfect his knowledge of foreign languages and to study European affairs at first hand.

Quite likely at the behest of his older brother and his stern schoolmasters, Hoby spent a year in Strasbourg with Martin Bucer reading classics and theology before entering "Circe's Court." His earliest journal entries date from this year in Strasburg, 1547. Thus morally and spiritually fortified, Hoby began his first tour of Italy in the spring of 1548.

A diligent scholar, Hoby first resided a year in Padua where he gained proficiency in Italian and studied Latin under the noted scholar and teacher Lazzaro Bonamico. It is clear from the first, that Hoby was in Italy to learn the language and thus to further his career. He saw the sites of antiquity and recorded numerous Latin inscriptions all too carefully.

Hoby describes events of great color and historical significance in the Renaissance. The journal affords the modern reader a rare glimpse of Renaissance Italy surpassed only by a Cellini. And yet Hoby's tone remains throughout objective and journalistic. His remarks, though often richly detailed, lack enthusiasm or personality.
They are almost always statesmanlike in fashion, presented without any emotional commentary. Here, for example, is Hoby's eyewitness account of a murder at a Venetian masquerade:

At Shroftide after there came to Venice to see the citie the lustie yong Duke of Ferrandin, well accompanied with noble menn and gentlemen, where he with his companions in Campo di San Stefano shewed great sport and much pastime to the gentlemen & gentlwomen of Venice, bothe on horsback in running at the ring with faire Turks and Cowrsars, being in a maskerie after the Turkishe maner, and on foote casting of eggs into the wyndowes among the ladies full of sweete waters and damaske poulders. At night after all this triumphe in a bankett, made purposlie at Mowrano, a little owt of Venice, by the Seniorye, to honor him withall, he was slaine by a varlett belonging to a gentleman of the citie. The occasion was this: the Duke cuming in a brave maskereye with his companions went (as the manner is) to a gentlewoman whom he most fansied among all the rest (being assembled there a 1 or lx). This gentlwoman was wyff to an M. Michael Venier. There cam in another comapnye of gentlemen Venetiens in an other maskereye: and on of them went in like maner to the same gentlwoman that the Duke was entreating to daunse with him and somwhat shuldredd the Duke, which was a great injurie. Upon that the Duke thrust him from him. The gentleman owt with his dagger and gave him a strooke abowt the short ribbes with the point, but it did him no hurt, because he had on a iacke of maile. The Duke ymmediatlie feeling the point of his dagger, drue his rapire, whereupon the gentlem man fledd into a chambre there at hand and shutt the dore to him. And as the Duke was shovinge to gete the dore open, a varlett of the gentlmanne's cam behinde him and with a pistolese gave him his deathe's wounde, and clove his head in such sort as the on side honge over his shuldre by a little skynn. He lyved abowt two dayes after this stroke. There was no justice had against this gentleman, but after he had a while absented himself from the citie the matter was forgotten. The varlett fledd, and was no more hard of. This gentleman was of the house of Giustiniani in Venice.(fol. 17v-18v)

Ascham's fears have been fully realized shortly after Hoby's arrival in Italy!
Episodes such as this admittedly fostered an English attitude of contempt for the Italians. J. R. Hale observes that "distrust of the Italian character, fear of Italy's Church and contempt for her political disintegration prevented the Englishman from seeing how great a debt his culture owed to her."¹ With the death of Paul III in November of 1549, Hoby repaired to Rome "to beholde the maner of the obsequies and the fasshion how they elect an other." (fol. 28r) Growing impatient with no decision by the cardinals, Hoby and his fellow travelers departed from Rome. Hoby's journal indicates little concern on the part of the English for cultivating close ties with many Italians and little appreciation for their contemporary culture or society.

After Mr. Barker, Mr. Parker, Whitehorn and I had throwghlie searched owt such antiquities as were here to bee seene from place to place, having bestowed all this time of owr being here about the same, we thought it but losse of time to make anie longer abode here. (fol. 38r)

Yet as a gentleman, Hoby is always polite and gracious with his continental peers: "During the time of mine abode in Roome Don Diego and the Marquis Capistrano shewed me great entertainment and muche gentlnes." (fol. 31v) Hoby later salutes the warmth and hospitality of Capistrano again while the guest of the Marquis in Naples.

There are moments in the journal where Hoby's Protestant bias

¹J. R. Hale, England and the Italian Renaissance (London: Faber and Faber Ltd.), p. 34.
intrudes upon the evenness of the tone. The religious superstitions of the Italian lower classes he finds particularly foolish. Sicilians explained to Hoby that Mt. Aetna could be held in abeyance by bringing forth from the Church of St. Agatha the preserved body of the saint. Still today, traditions exist that Hoby found amusing and questionable.

In Amalfi in the great Church called San Andrea there are the bones of Saint Androwe, by the which is a vessell which (they say) is alwaies full, and distilleth owt of those bones a certain oyl, called by th'inhabitants manna (as they say), which is given to pilgrumes and straungers by a preest appointed therto, and yet the vessell is alwaies full nobodie adding anie thing to it. (fol. 83v)

Puritan editorializing is most evident when Hoby relates what occurred during the Jubilee celebration of Pope Julius in 1550. Hoby explains how the Catholic Church benefits from the Jubilee:

Whosoever will receive the full indulgence of this Jubilee must visit the vii principall churches of Roome all in on daie (which he shall have inough to do) a foote. With these and like fond traditions is the papall seate cheefflie maintained, to call menn owt of all places of christendome to lighten their purses here, at pardons, indulgencs, and jubileis to stocks and stones. But suche fond foolishnes was never better spied owt then it is now, nor less observed in all places, thowghe manie perforce bee kept blinde still. (fol. 91z-91v)

Although Hoby rarely speaks emotionally in his journal, the unique beauties of Italy obviously moved him. Some attractions of Italy arouse particular joyment: the splendid color and festivity of the Sensa, a great Venetian festival when the city is wedded to the sea in "a wonderous great ceremonie"; the "faire antiquities," especially those in Rome—the Pantheon was to his eyes the "fayrest and perfectest antiquitie abowt Roome." Surprisingly, though fond
of antiquities, he lavishes praise upon the work of a contemporary Florentine artist, Giovanni Agnolo Montorsoli: "I saw a fountaine of verie white marble graven with the storie of Acteon and such other...which to my eyes is one of the fairest peece of worke that ever I sawe." (fol. 69v-70r) Finally, it seems to be the natural beauty and charm of the South of Italy that most impresses Hoby. He describes the Neapolitan countryside:

It is named of Pliny Campania foelix, bicause of the frutefull feeldes within yt whiche are large and pleasant, and the hilles are abundant with all kinde of delicate frutes, and especiallie that whiche in times past was called Pausilipium, where the precious wines growe. It hath also delectable wooddes within yt, sweete fountaynes and verie helthsom springs, as well for sundrie infirmities of the bodie as for pleasure and disport. And the fertilitie of the countrey is suche that yt dothe not onlie bring furthe necessarie things for the sustinance of the lyff of man with suche abundance, but also for deliciousnes and for sensuall pleasure in great quantitie. (fol. 51r)

He finds the Amalfi coast remarkable:

...we entred into a bote to go a long the faire coost of Amalfi, which is praysed to be on of the pleasantest pieces of ground in all Italie. This coost is xx miles in lengthe, which is all of sharpe and hige hills, on the side wherof such plentie of townes, villages and howses of pleasure are planted so thicke together, that a man wold judge them, passing along by them on the seea, to be all together but on citie. These plesant places are marvelouslie inhabited, where a mann shall see all kindes of frutes in great perfection, as arange, limones, citrons, cedar trees, olives, plumes, poungarnetts,cheries, and such other, which shuld be long to repete. Besides these, vines of great estimation and such abundance of savorous flowres that it is no less pleasure to behold them then to smell to them. The aere is verie temperat, and is open on the seea almost on everie side. (fol. 81r-81v)

The color and vitality of Italy must have dazzled the young Englishman. Imagine Hoby passing from "the sober community at
Strasburg into the midst of this carnival of the senses and the blood" that was Venice. ¹ Although Hoby is reluctant to praise the Italians overmuch, with the notable exceptions of such men as the learned Bonamico and the gracious Capistrano, the rich and pains-taking details of his adventures in this land and the lovely descriptions of its natural beauty bespeak a special fascination on his part. His travels and study in Italy enabled him to bring back to England, through his translation of The Book of the Courtier, the charm, the elegance, the eloquence and the wisdom that marked the learning of the Italian high Renaissance.

CHAPTER II

AN ENGLISHMAN IN ITALY

Hoby was not the only young Englishman to travel to the Continent, and most especially Italy, in the sixteenth century. Travel was a risky business four-and-a-half centuries ago. Plagues swept across different countries intermittently, travel by sea was always perilous, and the rugged land routes offered little comfort. Italy and particularly Rome were now headquarters for the forces of the Counter-Reformation: the Inquisition and the Jesuits. All these posed a serious threat to the well-being of the Protestant traveller. Ben Jonson's Sir Politick-Would-be offers sound advice to the traveler, Peregrine: "And then, for your religion, profess none, but wonder at the diversity of all." (Volpone: or The Fox, Act II, Sc.1) Justus Lipsius offers three golden rules to the traveler: "Frons aperta, Lingua parca, Mens clausa. [Keep an open mind, speak sparingly, keep your thoughts to yourself] Be friendlie to al, familiar to a few, and speake but sildome."1 Caution was the keynote.

Yet Englishmen in large numbers ventured abroad for different reasons. Some were pious pilgrims to the Holy Land, some wanted adventure with which to entertain later at the dinner table, and

1Justus Lipsius, A Direction for Travailers...trans. Sir John Stradling (London, 1592).
others, like Hoby, sought to become diplomats in the service of the Crown. These set their sights on Italy. It was here, after all, that classical learning had been reborn and the elegance of language and manners flourished in the person of the courtier. Also, it had become necessary for the aspiring young English courtier to study modern languages. The vernacular was rapidly replacing Latin for serious works and knowledge of Italian and other European tongues was growing increasingly important. The "vernacular had been elevated to the dignity of the classical tongues by being made the literary vehicle of such poets as Politian and Bembo, Ronsard and Du Bellay."  

Of the English, one might add Sir Thomas Elyot and Sir John Cheke.

Thomas Elyot defended the use of the mother tongue in his prefatory remarks to The Castell of Health (1534): "If physicians be angry that I have written physicke in Englishe, let them remember that the Grekes writte in Greke, the Remains in Latin, Avicenna and the other in Arabike, which were their own proper and maternall tongues."  

Again, he wrote The Boke Named the Governour (1531), "the English counter-part of the Cortegiano," in the vernacular rather than the accustomed

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1 Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London: John Lane, 1914), pp. 115-16. Ms. Howard has supplied me with some of the most appropriate passages from Jonson and Shakespeare to illustrate this chapter.


Latin. It subsequently went through eight editions within the next fifty years. Sir John Cheke was another great champion of the English mother tongue. He wrote to the young translator Hoby that "I am of this opinion, that our own tongue should be written clean and pure, unmixt and unmangleed with borrowing of other tongues...."\(^1\) In fact, Hoby's rough-hewn Anglo-Saxon translation of the *Courtier* is a far cry from the subtle and elegant Italian of Castiglione; Hoby's is a distinctly English work on its own merits.

Hoby was particularly earnest as a linguist. After his year with Bucer in Strasburg, he traveled immediately to Venice and then Padua, where he "obtayned some understanding in the tung...." (fol. 22\(^v\)) He then headed into Tuscany because he "thought yt behouffull to travaile into the middes of Italye,...to have a better knowleg in the tung...." (fol. 22\(^v\)) Later Hoby journeyed through Calabria and all the way down to Sicily, no task for a timid man, "both to have a sight of the countrey and also to absent my self for a while out of Englishemenne's companie for the tung's sake." (fol. 61\(^r\))

Travel could well be dangerous. Aside from over-zealous Catholics, there were highwaymen, in the south of Italy especially, who presented a real threat to the foreign adventurer. En route by sea from Rome to Naples, Hoby observes that "In a little port under the hill lye manie times Moores and Turks with their foistes and

\(^{1}\)John Cheke, "A Letter of Syr J. Cheekes to his loving frind Mayster Thomas Hoby." This letter, dated July 16, 1557, was inserted by Hoby in his first edition of The Courtier published in 1561. Raleigh also includes this letter in his edition.
other vessels to take the passenger vessels that go betwixt Roome and Naples." (fol. 39v) He coolly remarks later that "we were afterward enformed that this time there laye ix, so that yf we had cum bye yt by daye as we did by night, we had bine all taken slaves." (fol. 39v) Heading from Cosenza to Ajello, Hoby passed along a highway with the woods burned to the ground on either side. This was done so that the traveler might proceed without fear of surprise attack by highwaymen. He describes carefully these sinister woods:

Before we cum to St. Biasi wee ride throwghe a woode verie thick and jeopardous to passe called Bosco di Santo Mazzio, which hathe bine most famous for robberies and murtheres committed in yt, of all the rest within the realm. For the theves did not onlie robb in great companies within yt, but also yf they sawe a number ride so stronglie together that they thought not themselves able to mak their part in good, they had emong the trees certain pieces of artillarie to discharg at them, which were the death of manie a man. (fol. 67r)

Hoby's personal testimony is a telling one. In fact, back in England, travel became a matter to wager about: "Lycus, which lately is to Venice gone,/Shall if he doe returne, gaine three for one."¹

Nevertheless, many learned men exhorted those who would someday be leaders to travel abroad. Ascham's fears might, in part, be well-founded. But even the threat of moral and physical harm did not out-weight the benefits to be derived from careful observation and study in foreign lands. Thomas Coryat includes in his Crudities "An Oration in Praise of Travel in Generall" by the German scholar, Hermannus Kircherus, who had no doubt of the virtue of travel. In his opinion,

the world in all of its apparent diversity presented really two
sorts of men: the uncouth stay-at-homes and the wise and sophisticated
travelers.

...surely we shall finde those people to be rude, slouthfull,
incivill, rough, outrageous, foolish, barbarous, voyde of all
humanity, civility, and courteous entertainment, proude, arrogant,
puffed up with a self-love and admiration of themselves; also
effeminate, wanton, given to sleepe, banqueting, dice and idle-
nes, corrupted with the allurements of all concupiscences...
which have not exercised any commerce or intercourse with other
Nations. Againe we shall perceive those to be of a facill nature,
modest, courteous, loving, gentle, kind in entertainment, and by
the very bent of vertue inclined to good discipline, whose wits
the heat of divers travels hath ripened, the performance of many
journeys hath mollified, and the knowen manners and discipline
of other men have instructed.

One must, according to Kirchnerus, imitate Ulysses,
that most worthy example of travelling....For no man can be
fitter and with greater praise advanced to the sterne of a
common-weal, no man more worthily and with greater profite
of the citizens, promoted to those glorious honours of pub-
lique affairs, then he that having before travelled much and
long with Ulysses, hath seene the divers manners and rites,
and the beautiful Cities of many people....

To pursue the greater wisdom acquired by travel it is well worth "con-
temning all difficulties and dangers." Only a servile soul would not
accept the challenge of travel in order to witness fully the "admirable
workmanship of nature in the heaven, earth and sea." It is,

1 Thomas Coryat, Coryat's Crudities: Reprinted from the Edition
of 1611: with His Letters from India . . . . , 3 vols. (London, 1776).
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
indeed, a curse to be fettered at home and thus deprived of such inspiring sights.

It is no wonder, then, that Sir John Stradling in his version of Justus Lipsius' *A Direction for Travailers* (1592), so enthusiastically praises the young Lord Edward, Earl of Bedford, as he prepares for his first sojourn abroad. The words of Lipsius apply perfectly: "For this brave and heroicall disposition, I know is onely in noble and vertuous natures."¹ Unlike those "base" spirits who remain forever at home, "the haught and heavenlie spirited men, (men indeed) are never well but when they imitate the heavens, which are in perpetuall motion; yea God him selfe, which governes the heavens, to whose nature nothing is more repugnant, then any time to be idle or ill occupied."²

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the prime motive for travel was, as I stated earlier, to gain experience, to enrich oneself culturally and intellectually in order to serve better one's country. It is "experience added to learning [that] makes a perfect man."³ Lipsius consels the traveler to be aware of three special things, "three the godliest, most pretious pearles in the world. They are: Wisedome, or Pollicie. Knowledge, or learning. Manners,

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¹Lipsius, *Direction for Travailers*.
²Ibid.
or behavior." In Profitable Instructions, a work addressed to the young traveler, the several authors echo these sentiments: "For your better information in the state of any Prince, or Country, it shall bee necessary for you to observe 1 The Country 2 The People 3 The policy and government." And again, the study of language was most important. Thomas Coryat maintains that "the knowledge of forraine languages...acquired by industrious travell, yeeldeth an ornament beyond all comparison the most precious and excellent that can be incident to a gentleman." And it was especially Italian that the Englishman should know. William Thomas, author of the first English book exclusively on Italy (The History of Italy 1549; reprinted 1561), writes in his dedication to his Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar (1550; reprinted 1562 and 1567) that "You shall almost find no part of the sciences, no part of any worthy history, no part of eloquence, nor any part of fine poesy, that ye have not in the Italian tongue." Thus, for the man of letters as well as for the diplomat, Italian was essential.

Hoby, then, ventured to Italy to prepare himself for a career in public life for, again, as William Thomas writes in his dedication

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1Lipsius, Direction for Travailers.  
2Essex, Profitable Instructions.  
3Coryat, Crudities.  
to The History of Italy, "the Italian nation...seemeth to flourish in civility most of all other at this day...." 1

After finishing his education at Cambridge, Hoby could find no better place to learn the art of diplomacy and to exercise his knowledge of the ancient cultures than in Italy. This country, above all others, abounded in antiquities. In fact, historian Lewis Einstein cites Hoby's journal (then unpublished) as evidence for the great zeal with which sixteenth-century travelers examined the Roman inscriptions and monuments. Furthermore, it was only the antiquities that Hoby took time to carefully detail in his journal. Little other art is mentioned save what remained of the ancient. Hoby paused briefly to praise the beauty of the Florentine Duomo, Santa Maria del Fiore, surmounted by its lovely cupola by Brunelleschi and the adjacent Baptistery (oddly enough, he makes no mention of Ghiberti's Bronze Doors). In all his travels in Italy, however, it seems that the contemporary fountain sculpture by Giovanni Agnolo Montorsoli in Messina most captured his fancy. But Hoby never once describes a beautiful church mosaic or fresco, or, to any appreciable extent, the splendid architectural design of a contemporary building. Most striking of all, however, is that no mention whatsoever is made of perhaps the greatest of Italian art forms in the Renaissance, namely painting. Such men as Michelangelo, Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese,

to name only a few, were still painting while Hoby traveled through Italy. But Hoby's ancillary interest in travel, after learning the language and observing political affairs, was to note assiduously the antiquities. His nature was of an antiquarian historical bent.

Indeed, Lipsius counsels the traveler to observe carefully the antiquities of the ancient Roman Empire and while he does so, to recall passages from the great historians: Livy, Sallust, Polybius, Pliny, Tacitus, Dion, and Dionysius. Man's spirit is revived and uplifted at the very sight of the "great, and glorious monumentes of antiquitie: neither can the remembrance of the valour, prowess, and vertue of former men and ages, but ingender brave and worthie thoughtes, in every gentle heart, and noble bloud."¹

Naturally, in order to retain and carry back to England much of the wisdom and knowledge he garnered from travel, the traveler kept a journal. James Cleland strongly advises this practice.

Wherefore I recommend, onlie unto you a Journey booke, wherin you should write in good order everie night at your going to bed al that you have seene & heard worthie of particular observation, that day.... 

...have ever your Ephemeries in readines to write everie night, what you have observed that daie: and so with Gods grace; you shal returne home againe sufficientlie instructed in al things pertaining to the good government of the state.

Half a century earlier, Thomas Hoby had already done as Cleland

¹Lipsius, Direction for Travailers.

advised. Hoby scrupulously copied down pages of inscriptions and graffiti he found throughout Italy, much of which is hardly worth the labor. He was certainly industrious in "considering...Monuments, Images, and faire Tombes...and Pillars."¹ Thomas Nashe, Renaissance pamphleteer and satirist, pokes fun at the earnest traveler who enters so faithfully in his journal each "important" antiquity he encounters. The squire hero of The Unfortunate Traveller (1594), Jack Wilton, pauses to take a note: "I was at Pontius Pilate's house, and pissed against it."²

Hoby does, however, also include detailed accounts of society and political affairs abroad, especially in Italy. It is this aspect of the journal, I think, that most excites the modern imagination through Hoby's eye-witness accounts of the Italian Renaissance world. After all, the Renaissance had not really penetrated much of Northern Europe at this time. Italians, in fact, still considered the English rude barbarians. Hoby's Italian episodes have a unique and vital flavor. For these reasons, I have concentrated my efforts in this introductory essay on those portions of the journal that pertain to a study of the Englishman in Italy. Hoby spent time elsewhere, but his remarks on other places are, on the whole, far less captivating than those that pertain to Italy.

There are some significant exceptions, however. In France,
Henry II, recipient of the Order of the Garter, entered Nantes with his queen in glittering majesty. Hoboy was present for this investiture as a commissioner of Lord Northampton's train in 1551. Under the year 1552, he recounts, at considerable length the events in Germany that led up to the near capture of Charles V at Innsbruck by Maurice of Saxony, then champion of the Protestant princes. Soon after, we have a pitiful, yet fascinating, glimpse of the beleaguered and ailing Holy Roman Emperor in Brussels.

Back in England, Hoboy's entries for 1554, a bloody year indeed, include the moving discourse ("written and penned with her owne hand") between Lady Jane Dudley and Queen Mary's private confessor, John De Feckenham. The monk is unable to sway Lady Jane and she goes to the block.

Hoby visited Italy a second time while accompanying his ailing brother Philip to the healthful baths at Caldiero. They left England late in 1554 and Thomas did not return until the close of 1555. His entries regarding this stay in Italy are brief. Also, folios 162v-169v have been omitted in my edition since they are the original works of other authors. Hoboy inserts in the journal an analysis of the waters written in Italian by Maestro Gerardo di Soldieri da Verona in 1473. He includes too an Italian translation of a Latin medical treatise on the baths and their salutary effects by one Alcardo di Pedemonte da Verona, a physician. Both are written by Hoboy in an
uncommonly neat hand. He remarks at the conclusion of these entries:
"Thus much I found written of these baynes in an old booke that con­tained the origin of the familie of Bandi of Verona." (fol 169v)

Finally, the closing journal entries from 1556 to 1564 are scanty. They report briefly the events in England, Hoby's domestic affairs, and notes pertaining to the Bisham estate. The remaining two years of his life can be pieced together from the State Papers.

Of the travel adventures related in his journal, well over half concern the years spent in Italy. This fact alone indicates that Hoby's fondest recollections were of Italy. His adventures there were particularly vivid and exciting: the pomp and circumstance of Philip of Spain's state entry into Mantua; the vicious murder of a nobleman at a Venetian masquerade; the bloody vendetta between the Soveragnani and Della Turre families; the splendor and beauty of the Sensa ceremony, when the doge weds the city of Venice to the sea by casting a ring into the waves; the careful description of the papal election with all the accompanying political intrigue; the gracious hospitality extended to the Englishmen by the Marquis of Capistrano in Amalfi; the sinister threat to travelers by pirates and highwaymen in the south of Italy and finally, the great Jubilee celebration in Rome which so bemused the young Protestant. These episodes have a special excitement and charm which I find particularly enjoyable.

In the Elizabethan Age, writes Einstein, "Italy was always the final goal in the grand tour....The other countries traversed on the journey were of secondary consideration, if not in importance, at
least in attraction.”

"To Italy all nations of christendom do flock.”

Thus travel became the great passion of young Englishmen in the sixteenth century. The greatest playwrights of the age, Shakespeare and Jonson, both reflected this particular enthusiasm in their writings. In fact, Jonson chides Coryat, one of the era's most long-legged sojourners, in his introductory remarks, "A Character of the Author," included in the 1611 edition of Coryat's Crudities.

A Carrier will carry him from any company that hath not been abroad, because he is a Species of a Traveller. But a Dutch-Post doth ravish him. The mere superscription of a letter from Zurich sets him up like a top. Basil or Heidelberg makes him spinne. And at seeing the word Frankford or Venice, tho but on the title of a Booke, he is readie to breake doublet, cracke elbowes, and overfloue the roome with his murmure.

In Shakespeare's The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Antonio and Panthino discuss the importance of travel in nurturing perfection in a young man.

ANT. Tell me, Panthino, what sad talk was that Wherewith my brother held you in the cloister?

PAN. 'Twas of his nephew Proteus, your son.

ANT. Why, what of him?

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3 Coryat, Crudities.
PAN. He wond'red that your lordship
Would suffer him to spend his youth at home
While other men, of slender reputation,
Put forth their sons to seek preferment out:
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some to discover islands far away;
Some to the studious universities.
For any or for all these exercises
He said that Proteus your son was meet;
And did request me to importune you
To let him spend his time no more at home,
Which would be great impeachment to his age,
In having known no travel in his youth.

ANT. Nor need'st thou much importune me to that
Whereon this month I have been hammering.
I have consider'd well his loss of time,
And how he cannot be a perfect man,
Not being tried and tutor'd in the world.
Experience is by industry achiev'd
And perfected by the swift course of time. (Act I, Sc. iii)

It was hoped that through judicious travel, the young Englishman, far
from assuming the character of Ascham's "diabolo," might instead
develop into the ideal that inspired Shakespeare's Ophelia:

The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword,
Th'expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion, and the mould of form,
Th'observed of all observers....(Act III, Sc. i)

As a courtier, Thomas Hoby had been a man of devout faith, keen
intellect, stout courage, and great energy. Shortly after he was
knighted by Queen Elizabeth, he was sent as her ambassador to France
in March of 1566. It was believed, I am sure, that Thomas would
follow in the footsteps of his deceased elder brother Philip, who had
been a distinguished diplomat. Sadly, Thomas was to die suddenly
in Paris, July 13, 1566, aged only 36. His career as a diplomat,
for which he had so carefully trained in his travels, had lasted but
a few months.

He and his brother are both kindly remembered in their epitaph:
Two worthy Knightes, and Hobies bothe by name, 
Enclosed within this marble stone do rest. 
Philip, the fyrst, in Caesar's Court hathe fame 
Such as tofore fewe legates like possesst, 
A diepe discoursing head, a noble brest, 
A Courtier passing and a curteis Knight, 
Zelous to God whose gospel he profest 
When gretest stormes gan dym the sacred light, 
A happie man whom death hathe now redeemed 
From care to joye that cannot be esteemed. 
Thomas in Fraunce possesst the legate's place, 
And with such wisdom grew to guide the same 
As had increst great honour to his race 
Yf sodein fate had not envied his fame. 
Firm in God's truth, gentle, a faithful frend, 
Wel lerned and languaged; nature besyde 
Gave comely shape, which made ruful his end, 
Sins in his floure in Paris towne he died, 
Leaving with child behind his woful wief, 
In forein land opprest with heapes of grief; 
From part of which when she descharged was 
By fall of teares which faithful wiefes do shead, 
The corps with honour brought she to this place, 
Perfourming here all due unto the dead. 
That doon this noble tomb she caused to make 
And both these brethern closed within the same, 
A memory left here for vertue's sake, 
In spite of death to honour them with fame. 
Thus live they dead, and we lerne wel therby 
That ye and we and all the world must dye. 

T.B.
CHAPTER III

CONTEMPORARY ITALIAN PORTRAITS OF THE RENAISSANCE:

THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

Hoby's is not the only contemporary picture we have of Renaissance Italy. Castiglione's Cortegiano, for example, which Hoby chose to translate, offers us another side of Italian culture: Italian humanism as it flourished in the aristocratic circles of the court. And yet another superb account of the Italian Renaissance world, and perhaps the most exciting and colorful of all, is Cellini's Vita. This autobiography presents an interesting contrast to Hoby's and Castiglione's. In Hoby we experience the Italian Renaissance through the eyes of a young English aristocrat. Castiglione, also an aristocrat and diplomat, offers an Italian's ideal conception of what Renaissance society should be. Cellini, on the other hand, affords us a marvelous foil to both Hoby and Castiglione, for he was not an aristocrat, but an artisan. He was a man of fierce passion and many weaknesses; yet he was very much a Renaissance man, multi-talented and a genius in his chosen craft.

Through Hoby's translation "Baldessare Castiglione became the arbiter of taste for the western world."¹ I would like now to examine more carefully Castiglione's work, his warm and elegant


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portrait of the Urbino court and contrast this representation of the Renaissance "ideal" to Cellini's "real" autobiographical account of his tumultuous existence at the height of the Italian Renaissance. Further, how does Cellini's Vita then relate to Castiglione's concept of the ideal courtier as emblematic of the Renaissance man?

Since Castiglione chose Urbino as the setting for his Cortegiano, its cultural importance must be fully understood.

The small duchy of Urbino stretched from the environs of San Marino in the north to just beyond Gubbio in the South. It was about 60 miles each way at its longest and broadest and included approximately 400 villages and 150,000 inhabitants. A "pigmy"\(^1\) among the Italian city states of the Renaissance, Urbino maintained its independence by playing off one potential enemy against another—Rome against Venice or Florence against Rome. The duchy's comparative safety was also ensured by its location in the Romagna. Two of the largest and most powerful states, Milan and Naples, were distant enough and sufficiently threatened by Rome or Venice to remain friendly.\(^2\)

Urbino's fame as a great and illustrious Renaissance court rests chiefly upon the shoulders of its most famous condottiere, Duke Federigo da Montefeltro (1422-1482). Although Castiglione lived at


\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 321-22.
court when Guidobaldo ruled, it was his father, Federigo, who established the fame of Urbino and secured its place in history as the Italian court that best embodied the ideals of the Renaissance. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the life and rule of Federigo carefully.

His reputation as a man-of-arms was fully appreciated in his day. He was made Duke of Urbino and also Captain-General of the Church in 1474 by Sixtus IV and was awarded the Order of the Garter by Edward IV the same year. Fighting was Federigo's occupation; as a professional condottiere he prospered, and thus, so did Urbino. His employers included two kings of Naples, two dukes of Milan and three popes. Even in the winter while not on a campaign, he insisted on and received substantial retainer fees from his employers. ¹

Federigo was an outstanding example of the virtuous and intellectually cultivated condottiere. His actions both on the field of battle and at home were ever guided by prudence. Renaissance educators such as Thomas Elyot in The Boke Named the Governour (1531) hoped to fuse in one man the Platonic ideal of the "vita activa" and the "vita contemplativa." Federigo was such a man.

As a boy, Federigo studied in Mantua under the tutelage of the great humanist and teacher, Vittorino da Feltre. Later, as ruler of Urbino, he proved himself to be as enthusiastic a humanist as he was a general. Federigo's friend and biographer, Vespasiano da Bisticci,

¹Ibid., p. 323.
a Florentine bookseller and humanist, observes of the Duke that "no other united as he did, in his own person the soldier and the man of letters, or knew how to make intellect augment the force of battalions."¹

Federigo was a man unlike others of his profession: "Indeed, it may be said of him that he was the first of the Signori who took up philosophy and had knowledge of the same. He was ever careful to keep intellect and virtue to the front, and to learn some new thing every day."²

The Duke was accomplished in many and diverse fields of knowledge. His interests included philosophy, theology, mathematics, music and sculpture. Above all, architecture captured his imagination. In fact, observes Vespasiano, "As to architecture it may be said that no one of his age, high or low, knew it so thoroughly."³ His magnificent palace at Urbino still bears testimony to Vespasiano's praise. Although Federigo employed two architects, it was he who first realized its design and proportions. In addition to the ducal palace, fortresses within the Romagna were frequently modeled after Federigo's impenetrable construction.

Federigo's greatest joy, however, was his splendid library. A man's library is a reflection of his mind and his personality; Federigo

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²Ibid., p. 99.
³Ibid., p. 100.
intended to create the finest library since ancient times.

He spared neither cost nor labour, and when he knew of a fine book, whether in Italy or not, he would send for it...he always employed, in Urbino, in Florence and in other places, thirty or forty scribes in his service. He took the only way to make a fine library like this: by beginning with the Latin poets, with any comments on the same which might seem merited; next the orators, with the works of Tully and all Latin writers and grammarians of merit; so that not one of the leading writers in this faculty should be wanted. He sought also all the known works on history in Latin, and not only those, but likewise this histories of Greek writers done into Latin, and the orators as well. The Duke also desired to have every work on moral and natural philosophy in Latin, or in Latin translations from Greek...Finding that he lacked a vast number of Greek books by various writers, he sent to seek them so that nothing in that tongue which could be found should be lacking; also whatever books which were to be had in Hebrew, beginning with the Bible and all those dealt with by the Rabbi Moses and other commentators... He had an edition of the Bible made in two most beautiful volumes, illustrated in the finest possible manner and bound in gold brocade with rich silver fittings. It was given this rich form as the chief of all writings... The Duke, having completed this noble work at the great cost of thirty thousand ducats, beside the many other excellent provisions that he made, determined to give every writer a worthy finish by binding his work in scarlet and silver.

The Duke lavished time and great expense on his library, so highly did he prize the wisdom of the ancients and "moderns." Moreover, all the books were manuscripts: "In this library all the books are superlatively good, and written with the pen, and had there been one printed volume it would have been ashamed in such company. They were beautifully illuminated and written on parchment...there will

1Ibid., pp. 102-3.
be found not a single imperfect folio.\textsuperscript{1} Vespasiano even goes so far as to praise the Duke's library as superior to the papal library, San Marco at Florence, Pavia and even Oxford's, for "they possessed the same work in many examples, but lacked the other writings of the author; nor had they writers in all the faculties like this library."\textsuperscript{2}

The ducal staff was a large one. The household numbered approximately 500. In addition to his knights and men-of-arms, the Duke employed five architects and engineers as palace officers, including Luciano Laurana as chief architect and Francesco di Giorgio, the foremost engineer in Italy; four teachers, an astrologer, five "readers aloud at meals," four men to transcribe manuscripts, two organists, a keeper of the bloodhounds, a keeper of the camel-leopard and two hundred servants.\textsuperscript{3} And yet proper decorum and a gentle demeanor were adhered to by all. Even with five hundred mouths to feed, remarks Vespasiano, "there was nothing of the barrack about his establishment, which was as well ordered as any monastery. Here there was no romping or wrangling, but everyone spoke with becoming modesty."\textsuperscript{4}

The properly educated Renaissance prince or courtier would

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\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 104.

\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., pp. 104-5.


\textsuperscript{4}Vespasiano, Memoirs, p. 106.
naturally turn to the ancient writers for the wisdom by which he was to order his life. Cicero's De Officiis was one of the most influential books in the Renaissance court, both for style and content. Petrarch once exclaimed that "Christ is my God;...Cicero is the prince of the language I use."\(^1\) In De Officiis Cicero defines the four cardinal virtues in the statesman: Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, Wisdom. Now Vespasiano mentions Tully by name in describing Federigo's library, and judging by the Duke's career, he must have indeed modeled himself after Cicero's ideal. A fearsome adversary on the field, the Duke was always a benevolent victor. Only once, after taking Volterra for the Florentines, did his troops sack and plunder. Unable to control his mercenaries, the Duke is said to have wept.\(^2\) Cicero instructed that "It is our duty not only to be merciful to the conquered, but, even though the battering-ram has shattered their walls, to shelter those who lay down their arms and seek the protection of the commander."\(^3\)

Contrary to Machiavelli, Cicero held that "Of all the means of maintaining power, love is the best, the worst fear."\(^4\) Continuing in the same vein, Cicero maintained that "supreme and perfect glory con-

\(^1\)Quoted in Douglas Bush, The Renaissance and English Humanism (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1939), p. 50.

\(^2\)Vespasiano, Memoirs, p. 94.


\(^4\)Ibid., p. 89.
sists of three things: the love, the confidence and the mingled admiration and respect of the people."¹ Federigo's subjects heartily admired their ruler. Vespasiano writes:

His subjects loved him so greatly for the kindness he showed to them that when he went through Urbino they would kneel and say, 'God keep you, my Lord,' and he would often go afoot through his lands, entering now one shop and now another, and asking the workmen what their calling was, and whether they were in need of aught. So kind was he, that they all loved him as children love their parents."²

Federigo died of malarial fever outside Ferrara in 1482. Strangely, his adversary and son-in-law, Roberto Malatesta, leader of the papal forces, died of the fever the same day. Guidobaldo, Federigo's sole legitimate son, succeeded his father. His reign was brief and less illustrious, not for lack of character and intelligence, but because his frame was so wracked with the gout that his wife Elisabetta Gonzaga lived most of her married life as a "widow."³ Nevertheless, for some years he maintained with his lavish patronage the elegance and learning that marked the Urbino court.

Baldessare Castiglione, trained from his early youth as a soldier and diplomat in the Renaissance tradition, transferred his services from the Court of Mantua to that of Urbino in 1504 after meeting the young Duke Guidobaldo in Rome. This change of allegiance

¹Ibid., p. 94.
²Vespasiano, Memoirs, pp. 107-8.
was probably instigated by a genuine liking for Guidobaldo and the desire of Castiglione to abide with his friend and cousin, Cesare Gonzaga, also a resident of Urbino. In addition, Castiglione was a Gonzaga on his mother's side and thus related to the Duchess of Urbino as well. This link of kinship, I am sure, wooed the young courtier from Mantua to Urbino.

He heartily enjoyed life at Urbino for the next five years until the death of Guidobaldo in 1508 at age 36. It had been for Castiglione "the verye mansion place of Myrth and Joye" and it is in D Libro del Cortegiano that he has captured for all time his deep love for the brilliance and gentle refinement that was Urbino. Since Hoby as Castiglione's translator seems to have shared this appreciation, it is now only appropriate to examine in some detail this greatest of Italian courtesy books.

In his introduction to D Cortegiano, Castiglione considers his difficult task: to define perfection in a courtier. The witty and learned guests of the Urbino court then proceed to do so.

In the First Book, Signora Emilia Pia asks for suggestions of what "games" might be played for amusement. After several ideas, Federico Fregoso proposes a topic that immediately delights the reigning ladies, Emilia and the Duchess: "I would have suche a

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pastime for this night, that one of the company myght bee picked out who should take in hand to shape in woordes a good Courtyer, specifying all suche condicions and particulere qualities, as of necessitie must be in hym that deserveth this name." (pp.41-2) The Duchess nods her approval to Emilia Pia and the discussion commences.

To begin with, the courtier must possess a noble pedigree, "a Gentleman borne and of a good house." (p. 44) A young man of noble lineage will from birth be nurtured in a rich cultural envirionment and mix only with the "right people."

The "first impression" is of great importance to the courtier. He should assume "a certain grace, and (as they saie) a hewe, that shal make him at the first sight acceptable and loyng unto who so beholdeth him." (p. 46) Here nature must lend a generous hand in endowing a handsome countenance and graceful form. But Count Ludovico does hold out some hope for those of humble birth and less than the striking beauty hoped for in the ideal courtier: "I saye, that betwene thys excellent grace, and that fonde foolysnesse there is yet a meane, and they that are not by nature so perfectly furnished, with studye and diligence maye polishe and correct a great part of the defaultes of nature." (pp. 45-6)

In all that he does, the courtier must display a nonchalance in his manner. The Italian concept of "sprezzatura" is most important.

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Count Ludovico defines just what characterizes this grace: "Therefore that may be said to be a very art that appeareth not to be art, neyther ought a man to put more diligence in any thing then in covering it: for in case it be open, it loseth credit cleane, and maketh a man little set by." (p. 59) Castiglione, himself, opens *Il Cortegiano* with a splendid dash of sprezzatura. According to the author, his masterpiece was simply tossed together from memory "in a fewe dayes" (p. 14); a remark of questionable veracity but spoken as a true courtier.

The principal profession of the ideal courtier is that of arms. As a soldier, he is to serve his prince boldly, vigorously and ever faithfully.

Count Ludovico challenges the French theory that "letters" are detrimental to arms. The courtier is a lettered gentleman and, therefore, one familiar through ancient literature with the great deeds performed by great men, for "he that savoureth not the sweetness of letters, cannot know how much is the greatness of glorye...." (p. 84) This knowledge lends nourishment and courage to the soul of the warrior. A courtier is magnanimous in the Renaissance sense of the word, he is the possessor of a "great soul."

The courtier, then, is to be both a soldier and lettered gentleman. But he must be on his guard. Affectation in all things must be scrupulously avoided by the courtier, whether in speech, writing, or deportment. When imitation, although proper in its place, is mis-handled or ill-appropriated, affectation is the result. Drawing from the growing tradition of Italian humanism fathered by Petrarch, Castiglione emphasizes the importance of elegance in language, an
elegance to be learned through the careful study of the ancients: Vergil, Horace, and Cicero. Both in writing and conversation, elegance is of chief concern—i.e., it makes for that all-important "impression."

Naturally, the courtier must be schooled in the arts as well. He should have a knowledge of music and be able to play a variety of instruments in order to please both himself and, of course, the courtly ladies. Also, the courtier should have a knowledge of drawing and an acquaintance with the art of painting. The importance of a well-trained hand is two-fold. For the soldier, art proves useful "especiallye in warre to draweoute countrys, plattefourmes, ryvers, brydges, castelles, howlde, fortresses, and suche other matters...." (p. 92) In addition, an artist possesses the ability to imitate nature and capture, in part, her splendor. Sculpture, as well as painting and drawing, is an imitation of nature and should, therefore, be appreciated by the courtier, although not necessarily performed. Sculpture was, and still remains, a troublesome and exhausting pursuit.

Accomplished as the ideal courtier may be, he must know how to employ suitably his multifarious talents. Proper decorum in all spheres of life is essential. The courtier must always take care to maintain a proper distance from the vulgar crowd: "the seasoning of the whole muste bee discretion...." (p. 119)

Finally, the ideal courtier is to serve a wise prince. Ideally, the prince should possess all the virtues aforementioned, with prudence as his guide. The courtier is to be unstinting in his duty to his prince but never at the expense of his honor—this remains most sacred. Signor Ottaviano best summarizes in the Fourth Book the ideal relation-
ship between courtier and Renaissance prince: "The ende therfore of
a perfect Courtier...is to purchase him...the good will and favour of
the Prince he is in service withall, that he may breake his minde to
hime, and alwaies enfourme hym francklye of the trueth of everie
matter meete for him to understande, without feare or perill to dis-
please him." (p. 297)

Castiglione has delineated most carefully what one might seek
in the ideal courtier; but perfection exists only in theory.

I now leave the Court of Urbino with its polished and sophisti-
cated courtiers and courtly ladies to examine the life of one man as
he lived it in the mainstream of Renaissance Italy. Benvenuto Cellini
was most certainly not an ideal man, but very real in his great
passion for life. Cellini would serve a prince, any prince, virtuous
or unvirtuous, so long as his (Cellini's) ego and purse were both
well fed.

Benvenuto Cellini was a supreme goldsmith, a respected sculptor,
a fine musician, a passable "sonnetiere," a splendid swordsman, a
courageous man of arms, and a "courtier and companion of princes."¹
He was also a fiery braggart, a bully, an arrogant artisan, a proud
and impatient man, a womanizer and a murderer.

Above all, Cellini was a raconteur extraordinaire. La Vita

¹From John Addington Symonds' Introduction to Benvenuto
Cellini's The Life of Benvenuto Cellini Written By Himself, ed. and
trans. by John Addington Symonds (New York: Tudor Publishing
remains his *magnum opus*, not the *Perseus*. We do not read the autobiography to learn of Cellini the master artist, but rather as a splendid portrayal of the manners, customs, ideas, and mores of the sixteenth century. John Addington Symonds observes that "those who have made themselves thoroughly familiar with Cellini's *Memoirs*, possess the substance of that manysided epoch in the form of an epitome."¹

What makes *La Vita* such a joy to read is the vital energy and *joie de vivre* poured into every page. "No one was less introspective than this child of the Italian Renaissance. No one was less occupied with thoughts or with the presentation of psychological experience... His autobiography is the record of action and passion...the man presents himself dramatically by his deed and spoken words, never by his ponderings or meditative broodings."²

I am convinced that Cellini was, at times, a liar, although a marvellously entertaining and imaginative one. He opens *La Vita* with one enormous fabrication. As should be the case with a courtier, Cellini descends from a noble lineage. Cellini loves to boast. Drawing from a family myth, he maintains that Florence itself derives its name from one of his illustrious ancestors, a soldier of great courage, Fiorino da Cellino, who had served under Julius Caesar!

¹Ibid., p. 41
²Ibid., p. 5.
Now this Fiorino took up his quarters under the hill of Fiesole, on the ground where Florence now stands, in order to be near the river Arno, and for the convenience of the troops. All those soldiers and others who had to do with the captain, used then to say: 'Let us go to Fiorenze;' as well because the said captain was called Fiorino, as also because the place he had chosen for his quarters was by nature very rich in flowers. Upon the foundation of the city, therefore, since this name struck Julius Caesar as being fair and apt, and given by circumstance, and seeing furthermore that flowers themselves bring good augury, he appointed the name of Florence for the town.  

A knowledge of music is required of all courtiers, and Benvenuto was well-qualified, albeit reluctantly. Signor Cellini the elder, a musician, carefully instructed his youngster Benvenuto in the flute. Benvenuto, however, had other plans. He recalls that even though his father "discerned in me such aptitudes that I might become the best man in the world" (I:82) flute playing grew no less than repugnant to the boy. Benvenuto loved to draw and work with his hands; so, at the age of fifteen, against his father's will, he apprenticed himself to a Florentine goldsmith. The young Cellini was all too happy to be done with that "accursed flute"; although, for love of his father, he would, when visiting, serenade the old man.

As Cellini's fame as a goldsmith flourished, so did his notoriety. Never has one innocent and gifted soul been so outrageously bullied. Apparently, Cellini's reputation was drawing patrons away from fellow goldsmiths who belonged to the Florentine guilds and

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1Benvenuto Cellini, The Life of Benvenuto Cellini Written By Himself, 2 vols., ed. and trans. by John Addington Symonds (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1906), I: 73. All quotations are taken from this work and are hereafter cited in the text.
naturally, nasty rivalries grew out of this. Cellini had a sharp
tongue and sharper sword, and knew "not what the colour of fear
was...." (I:106) Perhaps Cellini was a bit irreverent toward tradition
as a young goldsmith, but he was also a bravo not to be challenged.

He tackled all projects with great gusto. The most advanced
and delicate procedures of the goldsmith's art were soon acquired
by his genius. Paying a rare compliment to another artist, Ser
Amerigo, Cellini praised his exquisite and highly difficult method
of enameling jewelry. Undaunted by his critics or his young age,
Cellini undertakes to surpass Amerigo. His words are once again
magnificently colored by his spirit.

To this branch [Amerigo's artistic technique] too I devoted
myself with all my strength, although it is extremely
difficult, chiefly because of the fire, which, after long
time and trouble spent in other processes, has to be applied
at last, and not unfrequently brings the whole to ruin. In
spite of its great difficulties, it gave me so much pleasure
that I looked upon them as recreation; and this came from
the special gift which the God of nature bestowed on me,
that is to say, a temperament so happy and of such excellent
parts that I was freely able to accomplish whatever it
pleased me to take in hand. (I:135)

No, modesty is not one grace Cellini shares in common with the
ideal courtier. Quite contrary to the concept of sprezzatura,
Cellini wants only to exalt the art in his works, not to conceal it.

As stated in II Cortegiano, the chief profession of the courtier
is that of arms. In this respect, Cellini excelled. He is as at home
with the craftsman's tools as he is with poinard, sword, or arquebuse.

With but two relatively uneventful brawls already delineated
in his autobiography, one first encounters Cellini as a man of arms
valiantly defending Rome from the Imperialist army under the Constable of Bourbon. Naturally, it was Cellini who killed the Constable, seriously wounded the Count of Orange, created absolute terror and confusion in the adversary, and all the while melting down the gold settings of the Pope's jewels while stationed high atop the Castel San Angelo! This was no mean feat. Cellini speaks with his accustomed modesty regarding his exploits on behalf of Pope Clement. The Romans were losing courage fast, and then stepped forth Cellini to rally them.

I aimed some swivels and falconets at points where I saw it would be useful, and killed with them a good number of the enemy. Had it not been for this, the troops who poured into Rome that morning, and were marching straight upon the castle, might possibly have entered it with ease, because the artillery was doing them no damage. I went on firing under the eyes of several cardinals and lords, who kept blessing me and giving me the heartiest encouragement. In my enthusiasm I strove to achieve the impossible; let it suffice that it was I who saved the castle that morning, and brought the other bombadiers back to their duty. (I:168-69)

Cellini was a man of arms, indeed. But, unfortunately, his poinard and arquebuse were not always employed in the service of his pope. Cellini was a murderer—and content to be so! Two murders were deliberate; a third was a careless and unintentional homicide, but never regretted. He assassinated two men upon the open streets of Rome. The first was a corporal of the Bargello, who, in self-defense, fatally wounded Cecchino, Cellini's younger brother. The second was perpetrated against a slandering Milanese jeweler, Pompeo. Finally, an unruly, rude, and quarrelsome postmaster in Siena was eternally silenced by a "warning shot" fired by Cellini which chanced
to ricochet with fatal consequences.

I hasten to add, however, that murder in the sixteenth century was by no means regarded as the hideous crime it is considered today. "Murder in that epoch passed for a merely venial error."¹ When one's honor was impugned, it was the duty of the offended party to assert vigorously his honor, often at the expense of a human life. The two murders by Cellini were justifiable, even in the eyes of Pope Paul III, from whom Cellini received full pardon just after Pompeo's death. Although the Pope's motives remain questionable, he defends his decision with a fascinating logic and perfect calm.

A great friend of Pompeo's, who was also intimate with the Pope, happened to be there; he was a Milanese, called Messer Ambrogio. This man said: 'In the first days of your papacy it were not well to grant pardons of this kind.' The Pope turned to him and answered: 'You know less about such matters than I do. Know then that men like Benvenuto, unique in their profession, stand above the law; and how far more he, then, who received the provocation I have heard of?' (I:278)

Cellini was a highly respected goldsmith indeed to warrant such favor from the Pope.

Cellini could never be charged with affectation. He never, at any time, pretended to be what he was not. He was certainly one of the foremost goldsmiths of his age. He esteemed himself the greatest of artisans in gold or bronze. He approached courtier, prince, and pope in like manner: unaffectedly, with polite deference to their wealth and power, but never as a lisping underling. Cellini never

sought compliments but always expected them; he was seldom disappointed in this respect. He was plain-spoken, direct, and totally unaffected in speech. Unlike the ideal courtier's, Cellini's remarks were never couched in elegant language. The goldsmith spoke a colorful and rounded vulgar Tuscan tongue.

I need not discuss at length Cellini's skill as an artist. Courtier, prince, king, and pope alike acknowledge Benvenuto Cellini a master artisan. Pope Paul III remarked of Cellini that "He is the greatest artist who was ever born to his own craft...." (I:236)

Although Cellini was a master goldsmith, he wanted more--fame as a great sculptor, as well. Cellini considered every work he finished a masterpiece. But no single work required such great effort and care as did his bronze Perseus. The statue now stands in the Loggia de' Lanzi, Florence. Upon Cellini's completion of the Perseus, Duke Cosimo balked with his payment. The confrontation was fierce and telling.

Upon the following day, when I paid my respects to the Duke, he beckoned to me. I approached, and he exclaimed in anger: 'Cities and great palaces are built with ten thousands of ducats.' I rejoined: 'Your Excellency can find multitudes of men who are able to build you cities and palaces, but you will not, perhaps, find one man in the world who could make a second Perseus.' (II:304)

Cellini somewhat qualifies his proud words to the Duke, but in his own marvelous fashion.

Michel Agnolo Buonarroti, again, whom I am proud to call my master; he, I admit, could have achieved the same success when he was young, but not with less fatigue and trouble than I endured. But now that he is far advanced in years, he would most certainly be found unequal to the strain. Therefore I think I am justified in saying that no man known upon this earth could have produced my Perseus. (II:309)
Cellini recognized greatness in art without fail and would laud with heartfelt enthusiasm the Renaissance masters. He alludes to Leonardo da Vinci as a "veritable angel incarnate" and to Michelangelo Buonarotti as "that divinest painter." But inferior work was not to be tolerated. His sharp critical eye would note each imperfection in another's work.

Although often less than tactful as a critic, Cellini was exceptionally perceptive. While he was competing for a commission from Duke Cosimo, Cellini's talent as an artist was impugned by an arch rival and fellow sculptor, Signor Bandinello. Prompted by the Duke, Cellini delivered his appraisal of Bandinello's Hercules and Cacus, which still stands in the Piazza Signoria, Florence.

"Well, then, this virtuous school [Florentine Academy] says that if one were to shave the hair of your Hercules, there would not be skull enough to hold his brain; it says that it is impossible to distinguish whether his features are those of a man or...a lion and an ox; the face too is turned away from the action of the figure...his sprawling shoulders are like two pommels of an ass's packsaddle; his breasts and all the muscles of the body are not portrayed from a man, but from a big sack full of melons...The loins seem to be modelled from a bag of lanky pumpkins....It is obvious that the body is leaning forward more than one-third of a cubit, which alone is the greatest and most insupportable fault committed by vulgar commonplace pretenders....They say, too, that Hercules has one of his feet underground, while the other seems to be resting on hot coals." (II:249-50)

Poor Bandinello, so humiliated in the presence of the Medici Court, is too furious to form a reasonable response. But he does respond: "Ch sta cheto, sodomitaccio" (Ch shut up, sodomite).

This is the first and only time such an insult was cast in Cellini's teeth without the adversary suffering at least serious wounds. Were
it not at court and to the great displeasure of the Duke, Bandinello
may well have paid dearly for his words:

I have indicated at length those characteristics, albeit some-
what distorted, that Cellini shares with the ideal courtier as defined
by Castiglione. Cellini professes a noble lineage; he is a fine
musician; he is a proficient man of arms; he is a plain-dealer, for
affectation is alien to his personality; and finally, by profession,
he is a master of the fine arts.

I will now briefly enumerate in what ways this "real man" of
the Renaissance differed from the "ideal man."

The all-important first impression was of little concern to
Cellini. He presented himself to all men alike—with his genius as
a craftsman and arrogance as a man. For example, while serving
Francis I of France, Cellini incurred the wrath of the King's mistress,
Madame d'Etampes, and on no uncertain terms. She had requested the
artist's presence to examine some piece of jewelery and had made the
mistake of treating Cellini as an inferior. This would never do.

...I announced my presence to the nurse...the woman received
me with demonstrations of goodwill, and said that she would speak
a word to Madame, who was still engaged upon her toilette;
I should be admitted on the instant, when she had discharged
her embassy. The nurse made her full report to Madame, who
replied scornfully: 'Tell him to wait.' On hearing this, I
clothed myself with patience, which of all things I find
most difficult. Nevertheless, I kept myself under control
until the hour for dinner was past. Then, seeing that time
dragged on, and being maddened by hunger, I could no longer
hold out, but flung off, sending her most devoutly to the
devil. (II:144-145)

The ideal courtier would have waited for days, if need be, to speak
with Madame; first, in deference to her sex and position, and second,
for his own well-being at court. Cellini's pride caused him a great
deal of trouble; he had created another enemy and a highly influential
one. His days in France were now numbered.

To say that Cellini seldom observed a proper sense of decorum,
would, at this point, be an obvious understatement. Another glaring
example might serve to illustrate Cellini's unparalleled lack of this
attribute. While in the service of Francis I, Cellini was given a
castle by the King to serve as his personal residence and workshops.
A friend of Madame d'Etampes had, prior to Cellini's arrival, taken
quarters in the same building. When Cellini arrived, he kindly asked
him to remove himself. The man obstinately refused, so Cellini
exercised his authority as owner.

...I thought it best to keep my temper for three days. When
the term was over, I said nothing, but took Germans, Italians,
and Frenchmen, bearing arms, and many hand-labourers whom I
had in my employ, and in a short while gutted all his house
and flung his property outside my castle. I resorted to
these rigorous measures because he told me that no Italian
whom he knew of had the power or spirit to remove one ring
of iron from its place in the house. (II:149)

Unfortunately, Cellini must yet be charged with another grievous
fault. Although he cared for and genuinely loved his sister and her
daughters, with other women he was a cad. It was Cellini's custom
to sleep with his female models. If they were unruly, he beat them.
If they were unfaithful, they were lucky to escape his wrath in one
piece. A model named Caterina betrayed her master's trust, and with
an apprentice yet. A furious Cellini forced the lover, at sword's
point, to marry the model. Cellini then cuckolded the husband three
days later! A clever and thoroughly Italian revenge. Later a
Parisian girl of fifteen, Cellini's model for the Fontainebleau Nymph, bore him a daughter: "this was the first child I ever had, so far as I remember. I settled money enough upon the girl for dowry to satisfy an aunt of hers, under whose tutelage I placed her, and from that time forward I had nothing more to do with her." (II:176) Here, for the first time, does Cellini's incredible memory appear to falter. His callous disregard for his natural daughter is shocking.

Well, enough said regarding the vices of Cellini. A man of unlimited fascination to the student of the Renaissance he will remain eternally; an admirable character, never. He is not the ideal courtier as delineated in II Cortegiano. And yet, in many ways, he demonstrated talents and abilities that only a truly Renaissance Man could possess.

Here then is the Italian point of view from two very different men. I think that by contrasting the Italian and English points of view, we might more exactly comprehend what the Continental Renaissance was like in its several dimensions.

Hoby's travel entries are the stuff of the no-nonsense, plain-dealing and speaking, English Protestant. This personality pervades the journal: His preoccupation with the antiquities of Italy, his keen interest in political affairs throughout the continent, his desire to learn Italian, his contempt for the "fond" traditions and superstitions of the papist, and his genuine regard for all men of learning and refinement.

The journal gives little indication of Hoby's splendid literary
abilities as evidenced in his translation of the *Courtyer*. Hoby's syntax is, at times, uncertain. When, for example, prepositional phrases intrude awkwardly into the sentence, the syntax becomes confused. When in the *Courtyer* he writes, "For besede the three great ones that we have named, of whom it may be hoped it, that beelongeth to the high degree of a perfect Prince," it is only too clear that the English requires some unscrambling. At one point in the journal, Hoby philosophizes in what proves to be the most obscure passage of all:

Abowt the beginning of Lent all humane things not keaping evermore in on cowrse nor continuallie abiding in on estate, but as matters of the world, somtime unstedfast variable and (as I may say after faire wether) raignie, were overcast with the sodain darknes which endured untill Christmas after, being th'occation of great heavines and much sorowe, yea and a great deale more than did owtwardlie appeare to the eyes of a number, which fedd with woordes turning the truthe into a bye waye remayned satisfied, thoughe inward grief (understanding on all sides compassion to be taken, but where it behoved most) was covered with an owtward shadowe: and alwais under a meerie countenance sorow and lamentation hidd in the heart. (fol. 97r-97v)

It is unclear what it was that so grieved Hoby, and the sentence construction is hopelessly snarled. As F. O. Matthiessen observed, English prose had not yet reached a level of sophistication whereby philosophical abstractions could be easily expressed. For example, in the *Courtyer*, when Hoby comes to Bembo's sublime discourse on

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Platonic love, "he must fit it into his own terms,"¹ and speak of "a smacke of the right bliss" instead of "da gusto di vera Beatitudine."

Hoby's pen, to be sure, served the man of action. The delicate and refined Italian prose and style does not possess the vivacity or vividness that it attains in the English translation. And it is for this very reason that Hoby's Courtyer stands apart from Il Cortegiano as a great work of literature on its own. In his hands the Courtyer becomes a uniquely English work.

For example, Hoby's diction offers some interesting and amusing variations from the Italian. John Cheke, Hoby's former schoolmaster, offered his advice on the art of translation. It is his famous dictum as a purist:

I am of this opinion that our tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing of other tungs, wherein if we take not heed by tiim, ever borrowing and never payeng, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt. (See n. lxxiv, Chapter II)

A further look at Hoby's Courtyer will demonstrate just how carefully Hoby adhered to the tenets of Cheke. These early Puritans were a sober breed. Hoby translates "novelle" as "triflying tales"—naughty stories are not to be regarded as serious literature. Where Castiglione simply writes of the sexual "appetito," Hoby speaks of the "greedye desire." The fools and scoundrels of the world are branded as such by Hoby's rounded Anglo-Saxon tongue. These unfortunate fellows are dubbed "untowardly asseheads," rather than "sciocchi" or simply "fools."

¹Ibid., p. 45.
Obnoxious people do not merely "excite one to disgust," but "they move a manne to vomite." Hoby's embellishments often produce a more colorful rendering of the Italian: "Let us leave these blinde busardes in their owne errore" for the more gentle "Lassamo questi ciechi (blind men) nel lor errore." And his fondness for Saxon epithets also contributes to his English style. He minces no words: for "Il nostro Cortegiano non debba far profession d'esser gran mangiatore, ne bevitore," Hoby states bluntly, "Oure Courtier ought not to be a glutton nor a dronkard."\(^1\)

Hoby's journal as well presents similar examples of his distinctive diction. When writing of Stephen Gardiner's (the Catholic Bishop of Winchester) "railing epistles" to the learned Martin Bucer, the note of Puritan contempt is plain. Later, Hoby again alludes contemptuously to the papal Jubilee where the foolish pilgrims pay reverence to the "stocks and stones" (an idol or a sacred image; the phrase means "gods of wood and stone"). Reporting on the sorry condition of the failing Emperor Charles V, Hoby bluntly remarks that "manie beleaved he was owt of his right witts...." And a final entry in the journal records with characteristic English matter-of-factness the birth of his daughter Elizabeth: "my wief delivered of a wenche betwene vj and vij of the clocke, at afternoone."

His metaphorical language I find particularly expressive. When,

\(^{1}\)Cf. Raleigh's "Introduction" to his edition of Hoby's Courtier and also Matthiessen's chapter on Hoby in Translation: An Elizabethan Art, largely based on Raleigh's earlier work. I am in debt to both of these scholars.
for example, several German princes scheme to betray the Emperor, they consider their course justified lest the political situation be "bredd to a greater scabb." And Marquess Albert, upon entering the service of the Emperor, asks that his recent dispute with Duke Maurice not "bee laide in his dishe...."

At times, Hoby's more simple, Saxon terminology betrays a less sophisticated society. This is especially evident in his Courtyer. Telling examples include the use of "carpenters" for "architetti" and "carvinge" for "scultura." A real knowledge of the fine arts "had not yet taken root in English soil."¹

The journal too offers a uniquely English perspective on Italy. I have already discussed how Hoby's Protestant bias intrudes upon the evenness of tone. His lack of concern or appreciation for the fine arts of the Italian Renaissance is startling. But, as I noted earlier, his genuine love for Italy is proclaimed time and again by the enthusiastic attention given to careful detail of his adventures there. Apparently, Hoby wanted to be certain that he would retain forever his memories of his Italian sojourn—we have too.

¹ Matthiessen, p. 48.
CHAPTER IV

THE MANUSCRIPT

The only manuscript of Hoby's journal is in the British Library. It is number 2148 of the Egerton Mss. In his Preface to the 1902 edition of the journal, Edgar Powell devotes several paragraphs to a careful description of the volume in which the Hoby manuscript is included. The autobiography constitutes all but approximately 30 folio pages. I will give here only a brief summary of Powell's helpful remarks, supplemented by a number of my own.

Written by several hands, the volume includes, first of all, a short pedigree of the descendants of Sir Thomas Hoby, followed by a note concerning the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, signed "B.M." Then follows the autobiographical journal, occupying folios 5r-182r, in Hoby's hand. In the margins of the manuscript are many sidenotes added by Edward Hoby, Thomas' son.¹ I have not chosen to include these (Powell too omits the marginalia) because they only repeat in summary form the text of the autobiography. They obviously served as guides to indicate points of particular interest to Edward. After the journal follows "An exhortation unto death given to my Lord and Master the Lord Russell when he laye upon his death bedd in London. By

¹I know these all to be Edward's notes, exclusive of several marginalia jotted by Thomas. On folio 34v a note reads: "My fathers departure from Rome towards Naples."
Doctor Nowell, deane of Poules. 1584." (fol. 183v-184v) This transcription is signed by one William Andrews. Appended to this is an account of the death and burial of Lord Russell by the same hand, although unsigned (there is no room left on the page for a signature; he even fills much of the inside margin). A note then follows, by a much later hand, describing the monument in Westminster Abbey to Elizabeth, the daughter of Lord Russell, who "died by a prick of a Needle in the Fore-Finger of her left hand...." (fol. 185r) (Edgar Powell conjectures, correctly, I believe, that the manuscript passed into the hands of the Russell family on the marriage of Sir Thomas Hoby's widow, Elizabeth Cook, to Lord Russell. It was later retrieved by Edward Hoby.) Folios 186r-202r constitute an interesting essay, in a sixteenth-century hand, although neither Thomas nor Edward Hoby's, entitled a "Description of the State of Italy." I think that perhaps this essay was written by a member of the Russell family, because according to Powell's history of the manuscript, after the Russells had returned the volume to Edward, it remained at the Bisham Abbey estate until the close of the eighteenth century. Of the remaining folios in the volume, running through 207, several pages are blank and the others contain jottings of place names and folio references. I think these are probably the jottings of Thomas Hoby, because the handwriting appears to be the same as that of the autobiography.

I remarked earlier in my Introduction that Hoby, as a dutiful Renaissance traveler, copies "all too carefully" the myriad Latin
inscriptions encountered abroad. Like Powell, I have chosen to omit catalogues of inscriptions that shed no further light on his experiences. These catalogues include epitaphs at Rome (fol. 32\textsuperscript{v}-36\textsuperscript{v}), at Naples (fol. 42\textsuperscript{r}-50\textsuperscript{r}), at Messina (fol. 70\textsuperscript{r}-71\textsuperscript{r}), at Catania (fol. 74\textsuperscript{r}) (a modern hand, probably that of a nineteenth-century librarian,\textsuperscript{1} has made corrections right on the manuscript: In the right-hand margin he writes that "a word seems to be wanted in this line" and then inserts an appropriate "habet" to correct the line), Rouen (fol. 112\textsuperscript{r}-113\textsuperscript{v}), at Mantua (fol. 158\textsuperscript{v}), and at the Baths of Caldiero, near Verona (fol. 162\textsuperscript{r}-169\textsuperscript{v}; for a summary of the contents of the Caldiero folios, see chapter III below). Powell's keen eyesight seems to have dimmed momentarily with these last omissions. I find here two errors in his Preface to the 1902 edition: 1) the physician's name in Alcardo di "Pedemonte," not "Pedemento" (fol. 164\textsuperscript{v}) and 2) the analysis of the waters by Gerardo di Boldieri da Verona is dated "1473," not "1474" (fol. 164\textsuperscript{v}).

Hoby prefixes to the names of the many towns and cities through which he passes a number of obscure symbols: \(\text{\textgreek{'j}}, \text{\textgreek{'e}}, \text{\textgreek{'a}}, \text{\textgreek{'e}}, \text{\textgreek{'h}}, \text{\textgreek{'f}}, \text{\textgreek{'h}}\). Again, I refer the reader to Powell's Preface for what I consider the most reasonable explanation. Briefly, they probably designate the size and/or population of the town or city, although as Powell points out, the mark for Antwerp is inconsistent. The numerals that

\textsuperscript{1}On the last folio page marked in the volume, a note reads: "207 Folios, AG. March 1872." The hand and ink are the same as appear several times earlier in the autobiography, adding corrections to the Latin transcriptions.
stand before the symbols seem to indicate the number of days that Hoby remained in a given town, while those numerals that follow the symbol indicate the sequence of towns visited. Since their signification is doubtful, I have decided not to include them.

The autobiography covers the years 1547-1564. The manuscript (exclusive of the side-notes) was entirely written by Thomas Hoby. (I have noted the two brief exceptions in footnotes to my textual transcription.) Hoby's method in writing his journal was to revise with attention to greater detail and organization notes he gathered while "on the road." For example, while traveling from "Sassan" (Sassano) to Castelfranco, he writes that "This journey," entered under 1548, "hitherto shal be better sett furthe and more at large with all circumstances in the yere 1554." (fol. lCV) Also under the entries for 1548, Hoby remarks that two gentlemen he met while in Padua, the brothers Henry and Frauncs Williams, were later to die in 1551. Evidently, Hoby wrote out the events from the beginning in 1547 to the end of the year 1554 "fairly and continuously" (Powell, Preface, vii) during his stay in Padua in the winter of 1554-1555. A blank page follows the last sentence under 1554 and the entries extending from 1555 to the end include entries where the darkness of the ink varies considerably. It is fair to surmise with Powell, therefore, that these very brief closing entries were written at considerably different times.

The pagination of Hoby's journal is a curious matter. Many pages are numbered two and three times. Both recto and verso of the folios are often marked. It appears, oddly enough, that Hoby marked
the autobiography with a modern sequence, although some pages seem to have been plucked, thus breaking the consistency. A second sixteenth-century hand, perhaps Edward Hoby's, also appears but irregularly. Finally, a modern hand, that I suspect of the British Museum librarian, has marked the entire manuscript by folio number as was generally the Renaissance practice. I follow this last sequence as did Powell; it is consistent and clearly legible.

The foregoing description is based on a microfilm reading of the manuscript. Naturally, I would like to see the original if I am to prepare this dissertation for publication. In this case it is essential because the volume is so tightly bound and fragile that the photocopyist was unable to copy completely the material on the inside margins. Where Hoby prints (indeed, beautifully) the many Latin inscriptions, he leaves especially narrow margins, thus obscuring from view the first letters of some words. Also, I must rely solely upon Powell's intelligent conjecture about certain words difficult to decipher because of smudging and careless handwriting (Hoby's cursive style is often difficult; however, when printing an inscription or even copying out another's work, as he did with the Italian medical treatises, he is clearly legible). To supplement both this dissertation and Powell's admirable work, I will need to have the original manuscript in hand, not just on film.
A BOOKE
OF
THE TRAVAILLE AND LIEF OF ME
THOMAS HOBY
W† DIVERSE THINGS WORTH THE NOTINGE

CYPRIAN DE DUPLICI MARTYRIO.—At non credit in Deum qui non in co solo collocat totius faelicitatis suae fiduciam.

But he beleeveth not in God w† placeth not in him onely y° conf-
idence of all his felicitie.

The yeers in this booke begyne upon Newyers day, accordynge to the Romysh computatione.
A BOOKE OF

THE

TRAUAILE AND LIEF OF ME THOMAS HOBY

MY JOURNEY FROM THE TCURE OF LCNDON IN THE MOCNETH OF

AUGUST A 1547, 2 Ed 6, INTO GERMANIE WITH JOHN ABELL.

From Calice to Gravelings.

from thens " Dunkerke.
" " " Newport.
" " " Brugs.
" " " Stekin.
" " " Antwerp.
" " " Lovain.
" " " Peroway.
" " " Corsiale.
" " " Richfort.
" " " St. Hubert.

From thense to Surwaye.

" " " Verdune.
" " " Novyliacon.
" " " Vylserlon.
" " " Metz.
" " " Senterfure.
" " " Aynchming.
" " " Solwerden.
" " " Sabern.
" " " Strasburgh.
Here I arrived the xvijth of October and remained in Mr. Martin Bucer's house, who was a man of no less integritie and purnes of lyving then of fame and learning. Him heard I in the Schooles in Divinitie, and sometime Peter Martir, Sturmius in humanitie, Paulus' Fagius in Hebrue, and Dasipodius in Greeke, who in their faculties were the best learned of their time. Abovt the moneth of December Mr. Peter Martir, Bernadinus Olchimus, and Jhon Abell went into England together. In January 1548 William Thomas cam this waye owt of Italye towards England. Also Sir Thomas Wyat arrived here to go towards Itayle.

Bucer and P. Fagius died afterward in England, whose deaths were not so much lamented of all menn as their lyves desired, and yet so lamented that they were celebrated throughout the wholl Universitie of Cambridge, both with orations and all kinde of verses in all three tungs after their deathe.

This yere in the warr that the Emperor made against the Germanes, was the Duke of Saxonye taken prisoner. And the Lantgrave cam and yelded him unto th'Emperor as his prisoner, and were kept severally, the on was putt in prison in Vilfort in Flaunders, and the other folowed alwaies the court, having a great garde of Spaniards appointed to attend upon him. Th'Emperor was alwaies in hand withe him to make him choung his religion, promising him lyfe gooddes and libertie. But his constancie could never be corrupt for no faire proferr he made him.

Electors of th'Empire by inheritance and succession are these folowing:--
The Archbishops of Mentz and Maddeburg, high chancellor of th'Empire;
The Archbishops of Collen;
The Archbishops of Trier;
The Palatine of the Rhine Duke of upper and nether Bavire;
The Duke of Saxony landgrave in Durlingen and Marques of
Meysson, high Marshall of th'Empire; The Marques of Brandenburg,
Duke of Stetin Pomern. and Wenden, high chamberlain of th'Empire.
And yf of these sixe, three holde of on side and the other three of
an other, then is the King of Boheme appointed to adjudge and
determine the matter as he shall think most expedient, eyther on the
on part or on th'other.

Jhon Friderick, after th'Emperor had taken him, was deprived
of this electorshippe, and Duke Maurice, who had assisted th'Emperor
in these his affaires of Germanye, was created Elector and putt in
possession of most part of the townes of Saxonye belonging to that
his electorship.

1548

When Bucer had finisshed the little treatise he made unto the
churche of England in answere to Stephan Bisshoppe of Winchester's
railing epistles unto him, I translated it ymediatlie into Englishe
and sent it to my brother, where it was put in print. About the
beginning of this yere, th'Emperor (desirous to plant the olde
churche of Babilon in Germanye again), with the assemblye of the
Electors and other princes of Germanye begann a diet at
Ausburghe, where they concluded among them the 'Interim' to bee used from thense furthe throwghout all Germany; that is to saye certain pointes of religion whiche commaunded a meane kinde of doctrine betwext the papistes and Luthere's opinion, untill such time as the great Counsell shuld be held generallye at Trent, there to agree upon an uniformitie to be observed in all Germanye. This kind of Interim lasted in the countreye in his full force about a v yeres, (the counsell all this while being differed and lingred from time to time), and afterward the people returned to their accustomed preachings again, when a little adversitie was happened unto th'Emperor by Duke Maurice his meane mingled with so muche prosperitie of his in former time, as in the yere 1552, shall more evidentlie appeare.

At such time as my brother, sent by the King's Majesty Ambassador towards th'Emperor, was arrived at Auspurgh, I departed from Strasburg as soon as I understood by letteres from him his minde was I shuld repaire to him thither. Leaving behind me there Mr. Christopher Hales, Mr. Richard Sadler, Mr. Jhon Aucher, Mr. Jhon Cobham, and Jhon Abell, Richard Hill, and John Bourcher. This was the last time that ever I sawe Mr. Bucer, but afterward at times I receaved letteres from him. This Interim was not in my time receaved in Argentine, for that Mr. Bucer bothe writt and spake earnestlie against yt, yeven in Auspuck after he was sent for thither under th'Emperor's saveconduct, and at his return preached openlye that in case they receaved it, they shuld liese him, as they did at lengthe: for he went from thense into England.
I departed towards Ausprüghe the fourth of Julye in mye journeye as folowethe:--

From Strasburghe to Bisshont

" thense to Ingamnawght

" " " Rostat

" " " Etlingingen

" " " Fortzon

From thense to Hamerting

" " " Canstat

" " " Geppingen

" " " Halbec

" " " Geinsbrucke

" " " Ausbrucke

Here I arrived within fowre dayes after my setting forwardes, where I found my brother lodged in a house that was onse a monas-terye called St. George. By this was a churche of protestants, where on John Maecardus was preacher. Th'Emperor was here lodged in the Folkers' house and had assembled together the king of Romanes his brother, Maximilian the King's sonn, which went into Spaine, where he married th'Emperor's daughter, the olde Duke of Bavire, certain of the Electors with sundrie other princes of Germanye.

A little before this time was the Interim begun to be observed in all the citie; saving in a fewe protestant churches which at time of service were replenisshed full of people, whereas at the
other churches cam verie fewe. I was sent for hither to have goone into Italye with Mr. Harry Williams, who was departed before mine arrivall, and the \textsuperscript{v}th of August set forward thitherward as followethe:--

\textbf{MY JOURNEY INTO ITALYE}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miles</th>
<th>From</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>From Ausburg to Lansberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>thence &quot; Innspruck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Culman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>From thense to Botzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Symon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Lansberg to Fietze

Here bee Bellies of Lutes made in most perfection and from hense bee sent to Venice and sundrie otherplaces.

From Fietze to Barbist

From thense to Lievigo

Here beginn the miles and accompt \textsuperscript{v}ml to the Dutch league.
From thence to Carpinea. . . . . vjm
" " " Bassan. . . . . vjm

This journey hitherto shalbe better sett furthe and more at large with all circumstances in the yere 1554.

From thence to Castelfranco. . . . . xjm
" " " Treviso. . . . . xvjm
" " " Margera. . . . . xijm
" " " Venice by water. . . . vjm

Here I laye in Mr. Edmund Harvell's house, Ambassador resident for the King's Majesty, where I found also Mr. Jhon Yong, with whom I laye, Mr. George Speake, Mr. Thomas Fitzwilliams, Mr. Thomas Straung, and dyverse other Englishemen. From hense I went to Padca and Mr. Fitzwilliams with me, which was the xvth of August. In this towne laye manye Englishmen, as Sir Thomas Wyatt, Mr. Jhon Cotton, Mr. Henry Williams, Mr. Frauncs Williams his brother, which died bothe in England the yere 51, Mr. Jhon Arundle, Mr. Jhon Hastings, Mr. Christopher Alen, Mr. Jhon Sheres, Mr. Jhon Handford, and dyverse other. Here I applied my self as well to obtain the Italian tung as to have a farther entrance in the Latin. The most famous in this town was Lazarus Bonamicus in humanitie, whose lectures I visited sometimes, Mantuan, Turnellus, and Canioulus in the civill lawe, and Claudius Tolomeus a senest in the Italian tung, and in logick Tomitanus.

The towne of Padca is very auntient, built by Anthenor, as this epitaff upon his sepulcher, which is bye St. Laurence Churche, withoit
the olde walles, makethe mention.

C.  
Inclitus Antenor patriam vox Nisa quietem  
Transtulit huc Ænetum, Dardanidumque fugas,  
Expulit Euganios, Patavinam condidit urbm,  
Quem tenet hic humili marmore caesa domus.

Som hold opinion that in those dayes all this waye was seea, and that he built his towne at the foot of Euganei Montes, which hilles are fyve miles outh of Padua: their reason is because ther are sundrie antiquities found under those hilles. As for this his sepulcher they say hathe bine placed here by the Longebardes, who found som certain monument of his, and here did erect this toumbe of marble in his memorye, for the letters are suche as the Longobardes did accustome to use in times past, neyther dothe the stile of the verses seeme to bee of anie probable authoritie or antiquitie. Others say they were not the Longobardes' letters but the Gothes and Vandals, which of long time have borne a great stroke in all Italy.

At the lower end of the great hall they have sett uppe a monument of T. Livius within the wall, whiche was a Padowan, and wrott the Roman histories. In the uppermost place there standeth his heade as livelie as it can bee made in stone, under that is an olde stonn with this inscription in yt:

V. F.  
T. Liuius Liuiiae

An image of brass  T.F. Quartae L. Halys  An image of brass

AETERNITAS  Concordialis Pataui Sibi  MINERVA

et suis omnibus.
Under this liethe on bothe sides a mass of brasse, th'on is made for Tiberis, the river that runnethe by Rome, and the other for Modoacus, that passethe by Padoa, called in the vulgar tung la Brenta. In the middes betwext bothe these rivers there is a wolf of brasse also, with two sucking babes. Underneath this there is a peice of brasse in maner of a skutchin within the whiche are these verses in golden letters,

Ossa tuumque caput cives tibi maxime Livi
Prompto animo hic omnes composuere tui.
Tu famam aeternam Romae patriaeque dedisti.
Huic oriens, illi fortia facta canens.
At tibi dat patria haec et si maiora liceret,
Hoc totus stares aureus ipse loco.

T. Liuius Quarto imperij Tib.
Caesaris anno vita excessit
Aetatis vero suae lxxvi.

This was sett uppe in the yere of our Lord 1547. The hall is verie bewtifull: all cauoses and matters are pleaded here: it is full of clarkes and notaries that are continuallie writing. At the on end of it is the govenar's house of the towne, whiche is continuallie a gentleman of Venice and chaunged everie yere. At the other end are prisonnes & dongeons. The towne is ruled by two principall heades, the on is governor, called in Italian Podesta: and his authoritee is in the day time; the other is the captain over the

1Hoby's Latin transcription reads "Hoc." In the left margin of the manuscript there is the word "Hic." In Powells' edition, he has incorporated this correction in his journal transcription. Judging by the ink and the hand, I think this marginal note may have been made by Edward Hoby. In my edition, I have retained Hoby's original "Hic."
soldiers and the garison, and his authoritie is in the night. They
have two severall faire howses belonging to their offices. At everie
yeres end of there abode here they are chaunged, but not bothe at on
time. They count the governance of this towne on of the cheeffest
offices belonging to the Syniorye of Venice, and not much inferior
to Candia and Cyprus. No man wearethe his weapon within the towne,
but such as are licensed by the Podesta; which is the maner both of
Venice and all the townes under the dominion of it. And by everie
newe Podesta this license is confirmed, yf he thinke it so expedient.
There are everie yere abowt August chosen two rectores by the scolars
themselves, th'on for the civill lawe, and the other for art, which
have the jurisdiction over the scolars that are in the Universitie;
and without their consent there is no scolar punished whatsoever he
do, nor yet taken out of his house. These rectors graunt owt
writings wythe the seale of the faculties to whosoever will becum
scholar: wherby he that is thus made scolar is freelie exempt from
all custome and whatsoever kind of dace is to be paid for anie thing
he buyeth, which is a great privileg. He is by this his scholarship
bound to no lectures, nor nothing elles but what he lyst him self
to goo to.

This yere the Duke of Guise cam throwge Padoa in the monethe
of August, where he was honorablie receaved and took his jorney to
Ferrara to espouse the Duke's daughter.

1549.

This yere the prince of Spaine cumming out of Spaine by sea to
goo to th'Emperor his father, arrived at Genowa. From thens he
went to Millane, where he was receaved by don Fernando Gonzaga, the
governar. The vij\textsuperscript{th} of January Mr. Edward Murphin, Mr. Henry
Killigrewes and I departed owt of Padoa towards Mantoa, to see him
make his entrée there, which was the xiiij\textsuperscript{th} of the said monthe.
There was great preparation for the receipt of him. He was mett
three or fowre mile withowte the towne by the yong Duke of Mantoa
accompanied with the cardinall his uncle, his two brethren and other
noble menn. He made his entrée an howre within night, riding under
a canapie born by iiiij horsmen. There camm with him more than a
thowsand on horsback. His gard folowed him a foote. Before him
went xxx or xl hansom youg gentlmenn, clothed all in white vellute,
townsmenn everye on, withe a great chain of golde abowt his necke a
witte staff in his hand.

The first gate of the towne he entred into is called la Porta
della Predella, upon the which was written on the owtside:

\textit{Philippo filio Hispaniae Regi in quo Patris imaginem cernimus,}
\textit{Animi magnitudinem admiramur, foelicitatem expectamus.}

He cam throwghe another gate called la porta della liona, on
the side of it was written:

timo Philippo F. Hispaniae. Principi magnanimo seculi spei.}

On the otherside of the gate was painted an egle with herr
yong birdes beginning to take their flight, and there was written:

\textit{Sicut aquila prouocans ad volandum pullos suos.}

upon the gate entreing into the great markett place before the
castle was written on thone side:

Spondeo digna tuis ingentibus omnia captis.

on the other side towards the markett place;

3ono Eventui. Genio Principis.

In the middle of the markett place was made a great stature of a woman holding a copia cornu in herr hand, and under herr was written:

Publica Hilaritas.

Upon the first gate at the entring into the castle where the prince laye, on the owtside was written:

Faelicitati Temporum.

and on the inside of the gate:

Securitati Augustae.

within this gate there was a large roome, in the middle whereof was made a stature of Hercules hollding in eche hand a great pillar,

and under him were written thes verses:

Alcides statuit, Caesar sed protulit. At tu Ulterius si fas, progrediere patre.

About the porche of this gate was written in great letters:

Captis Thebis, vates ventura providens, sub Principum Austriae auspitijs tutam urbem perpetuo futuram Cono filio conden-dam mandavit.

Stories do witnesse that Conus named this town Mantua when he had built it, after the name of his mother so called, who was daughter to Tyresias the profett sowgthseyer.

Upon the second gate of the castle was written:

Gonzaga et Palaeologa familiae Caro. V. Impera, Caesa. August. liberalitate magnos honores consecutae Philippi Filij His-paniae Principis adventu sempiternum beneficij Monumen-tum extare voluerunt.
The castle was verie richlie sett in ordre against his cumming: all the chambres hanged with riche arras. And the beddes covered with clothe of golde, sett all with perle, where he himself laye.

The next day after his arrivall, abowt the evening, he went owt of the castle to visitt the olde Dutchesse in the olde palaice where she laye somewhat yll at ease.

Hither there cam to salute him and to present him gyftes, the Duke of Ferrare in parson, who laye and kept a sumptious house in the house called il Palazzo dell'Abate. Fiderigo Badoero cam in ambassag to him from the Venetiens. And thither did the Duke of Florence send to him also. The prince made small countenance fo anie of them, wheruppon he obtayned throwghe all Italye a name of insolencye.

At his departure owt of Mantoa going onward in his jorney he wolde have passed through the citie of Verona; but the Venetians wold in no wise suffre him, saving yf he him selfe and a fewe more with him wolde passe they were content. For the wholl bande to passe over the river of the Adice, they had then made a bridg of purpose, besides Verona, where he refusing their offre passed over emong the rest of his companye.

The towne of Mantoa is almost an yland compassed abowt with a lague whiche the river Meltio makethe: on the other side it is a verie marishe. So that the scite of it is verie strong. From Mantoa we went by water downe the river Meltio, and afterwarde we entred into the Poo as far as Ferrara: and from thense we went to Padoa by land.
Within 1½ or 1½ miles of Mantoa there is a village called Pietola, where Virgile was born; and upon the hill there, there is a little brick house which th'inhabitants of the countrey call casetta de Vergilio, holding opinion that was his house, and that there he kept his beastes as a sheppherd. Five miles out of Mantua there is a verie beawtifull house of pleasure of the Duk's called Marmerol, full of plesant walkes and faire gardines: where the Duke hathe certain oreng trees whiche he may remove from place to place. We cam back again into Padoa the xixth of January: and shortlye after I went to Venice, where as after the entrie of the Prince into Trent, Duke Maurice th'elector with the Cardinall of Auspurghhe cam from his cowrt to see the citie of Venice, and were then newlie arrived there. They were honorablye receaved and greatly banqueted on the Synior's charge. When supper was doone they cam bothe with other companye in a maskerye and daunsed with the gentlewomen a good space. There was at that supper Don Juan di Mendozza, the Emperor's ambassador there resident, who satt uppermost and took the upper hand of them all.

At Shroftide after there cam to Venice to see the citie the lustie yong Duke of Ferrandin, well accompanied with noble menn and gentlemen, where he with his companions in Campo di San Stefano shewed great sport and muche pastime to the gentlemen & gentlewomen of Venice, bothe on horsback in running at the ring with faire Turks and Cowrsars, being in a maskerie after the Turquishe maner, and on foote casting of eggs into the wyndowes among the ladies full of sweete waters and damaske poulers. At night after all this
triumphe in a bankett, made purposlie at Mowrano, a litle owt of Venice, by the Seniorye, to honor him withall, he was slaine by a varlett belonging to a gentleman of the citie. The occasion was this: the Duke cuming in a brave maskerye with his companions went (as the maner is) to a gentlewoman whom he most fansied among all the rest (being assembled there a l or lx). This gentlewoman was wyff to on M. Michael Venier. There cam in another companye of gentlemen Venetiens in an other maskerye: and on of them went in like maner to the same gentlewoman that the Duke was entreating to daunse with him, and somewhat shuldredd the Duke, which was a great injurie. Upon that the Duke thrust him from him. The gentleman owt with his dagger and gave him a strooke about the short ribbes with the point, but it did him no hurt, because he had on a iacke of maile. The Duke ymmediatlie feeling the point of his dagger, drue his rapire, whereupon the gentleman fledd into a chambre there at hand and shutt the dore to him. And as the Duke was shovinge to gete the dore open, a varlett of the gentlmanne's cam behinde him and with a pistolese gave him his deathe's wounde, and clove his head in such sort as the on side honge over his shuldre by a little skynn. He lyved abowt two dayes after this stroke. There was no justice had against this gentleman, but after he had a while absented himself from the citie the matter was forgotten. The varlett fledd, and was no more hard of. This gentleman was of the house of Giustiniani in Venice.

Abowt this time there fell an other straung chaunce in Venice.
In the Countrey of Friuli are two great families, whiche of long
time have bine deadlie enimies th' on to th' other, Della Turre and
Soveragnani. Of th' origin of this hatred betwixt them I could
never gather other reason than this: at such times as the Venetiens
sawght first to be lordes over the countrey of Friuli, they had the
house Della Torre whiche was somewhat the mightier on their side, but
the Soveragnani could never be brought to yelde to yt. Upon this
they fell at debate and contention, th' on for their libertie, and
th' other to bring in a straunge nation. So that muche slaughter
ensued of yt sundrie times. At last the Venetiens obtained their
purpose, and could never sett these two howses at one. About this
Shroftide there were certayne justes proclaymed in Padoa to all
commers at the tilt. The best price was a great cheine of golde,
the second a rapire dagger and gyrdle faire wrought and gylt. The
third was a coronett of gold sett with pearle and stone, which was the
ladies' and gentlwomennes' cost: and whosoever cam into the feelde
with this traine best besene and galantest to the eye, with
slightest cost, his shuld this coronett bee. To these justes dailie
repayred sundrie gentlmen owt of all the countreys abowt, som to be
doers, and a number to be lookers on. Emong others these two
howses chaunced to runn bothe with their fawtors on their parties
well apointed. There were great gentlmen that were put in suritie
for them and bownd them selves to the Syniorye that repayring to
thes justes there shuld no hurt be done. Notwithstanding as they
mett at a chaunce together by the santo there was a great fraye
and on of the howse of Della Torre slaine and certain on bothe parties sore hurt. Thus they left for that time hoping for a reveng at more leyser. This matter was taken upp by the Siniorye of Venice, and their suretys that were thus bound for them were handled to the most extremitie. They thought it behouffull to banishe the Count Jhon Delli Soverignani, who was judged to bee the beginner of this fraye. When sentence of banishment was geven he prepared him self therto and taking wyff children bagg and baggage with him cam to Venice, entending to saile from thense to Candia and there to remayne in exile. As he thus taried in Venice a season attending for passag, being lodged upon the Canal grand over against San Geremia, he tooke bote manie times to goo upp and downe abowt sundrie his affaires. At this return upon a time he was watched, and by the walles side over against the house of Quirini there lingred a bote, suche a on as communlie carie frutes uppe and downe Venice, upon their frutes they use to laye mattes to kepe them freshe and to defend them from the heate of the sunn. There were no mo in sight but two within the bote. Under the mattes there laye vij or viij parsons withe eche of them a hackbutt in his hand. When the gondalo that Court Jhon Soveragnani was in came directlie against them they shott all together leveling all at on marke. Count Jhon was shott throwghe in manie places of his bodye. This enterprise thus acheved, as manie as were in the bote fell to rowing and made so sweeftlie awaye that none were able to folowe them nor decern who they were nor yet whither they went. The deade bodye was browght
into the house of Quirini, where it laye to bee seene of all menn.

When the Siniorye understoode of this murther they cawsed ymmediatly Francesco Della Turre to bee taken, who was than in Venice. But for all they putt him to the torment of the cord, they coulde never make him confesse that he was condescending or of counsell to this kind of murther. And the lawe is, except a man confesse his tresspace when he is putt to this torment, he shall never suffre deathe for yt.

This chaunce happened in Lent. About the ascention daye the Duke and Dutchesse of Urbin cam to Venice, where the Dutchesse, Cardinall Farnese syster, for that she was never there before, was mett a mile or two without the citie upon the seea, and receaved into the Venetiens' vessell of Triumphe called Bucentoro, wherin were dyverse of the Siniorye and nighe two hundrithe gentlwomen to accompanie herr to the Duke herr husbande's palaice within the citie. There a man might have seen the seea almost covered with sundrie kinde of botes, sum made like shippes other like galies some other like pinaces richlie dect within and without, besides manie other pretie vessells full of minstrelsy daunsing and maskaries. After herr arrival she was greatlye feasted, and before herr departure thense she sawe the Arsena of Venice where all their galies, shippes, artillarye, munition and such other matters were. After she had bine leade abowt yt, which lacketh the litlle of a mile in compasse, she was browghte into a larg room where she had a costlie bankett pre­pared for herr and all her companie richlie served of all kinde of dilicaties. Yt was in the after noone abowt fowre of the clocke.
Herr cuming to Venice was to see the Senza, which is a great feast there. And upon the place of Saint Mark is a great faire for certain dayes. The daye of the Ascention the Duke of Venice with all the Siniorye goethe into this vessell the Bucentoro, and after they are a little from the land they have a wonderous great ceremonie about the marryng of the see. For the Duke take the a ring of his finger and castethe yt into the seea, thinking by this meane to knitt yt so sure that yt shall never depart and leave the citie upon the drie land; as it is like to do in processe of time yf it continue to diminishhe still as yt hathe begone sith the memorye of man. Yet have they dailie provisions and officers appointed to the same to see the sandes and what soever is in the bottome in the shalowe places voided.

MY JORNEY INTO TUSCANE.

I departed owt of Padoa towards Venice the viijth of June, where Mr. Jhon Hastings and I were onse purposed to goo with the great gallies into Sorria. From whense Mr. Edward Murphin was abowt that time returned. After I had taried a yere sometime in Padoa and sometime in Venice, and obtayned some understanding in the tung, I thought yt behouffull to travaile into the middes of Italye, as well as to have a better knowleg in the tung, as to see the countrey of Tuscane, so much renowned in all places. I departed from Venice the xxiiijth daye of August and went to Ferrara bye water, which is abowt fowre score and tenn miles. This citie upon the east side and the sowthe side hathe the great river called Po running by yt. The countrey is verie plaine and plentifull round abowt yt. Duke of
yt is Hercules da Este the second, who married Rener, King Lewes of Fraunce the xij his daughter, by whom he hathe had iiiij children, Alfonse, Lewis, the dutchesse of Guise in Fraunce, and Lucretia.

From Ferrara to Bologna . . . . xxx

This citie is placed at the rootes of the hill Appennine. On the sowthside yt hathe the Appennine, on the east the river Savenna, on the northe the faire and bewtifull champaigne countrey, and on the west the river Reno. The Pope is lord of yt. Vicelegate there for him was Annibale Borio a Neapolitane. It is a verie famous Univer-
sitie throwghe owt Italye bothe for the lawe and other sciences, frequented with scolars from all places.

From thense to Loiano . . . . xvj miles
" " " Scaricalasino . . . iiiij miles

It is so named because when asses passe bye this waye with their burdens, for the sharpnes of the stonie rocks that are here in great quantitie and evell waye, they are faine to unlade them manie times.

From thense to Ferenzuolo . . . . x

Abowt this castle of the Duke of Florence arrisethe owt of the ground great quantities of smoke. Here is reckoned the beginnings of the countreye of Tuscane.

From thense to Scarperia . . . . x

This is another castle belonging to the Duke of Florence placed in a verie faire plaine.

From thense to Firenza . . . . xiiiij
This faire citie of Florence is built upon the river Arno, which
runneth through it; and the river is passed over by iiij bridges
in iiij sundrie places. It is compassed on the east and the northe
side with pleasant hilles full of frutefull trees. On the west side
yt hathe a verie bewtiful plaine so full of faire houses that yt
appearethe a farr of a great towne as farr as Prato. Yt is named
Valdarno. When yt was a commune welthe the armes of the citie was
a red lilie in a white feelde, but now yt is under Duke Cosmus de
Medicis, second Duke of yt, which mainteynethe all virtue in yt.

Within Florence is the faire churche called Santa Maria del fiore,
all of marble; in the toppe of yt is the marvelous peece of worke
called the Cupula, worthie to bee seen of all travellars. Without
this church there is a rounde temple dedicated to Saint Jhon Baptist,
which in times past was the temple of Mars, with gats of brasse,
within the which is a faire vessell made of riche stones where
children are christened. Abowt this vale it was that Hannibal lost
one of his eyes riding throwghe the marishes, as Lyvie makethe mention.

In this countreye here growethe a wyne called Torbiano di
Toscano, which is reckoned emong the plesant and delicate wines of
Italye. In this citie I remayned vj or vij dayes with Mr. Christopher
Alen.

From Florence to San Casan . . . . viijml
" thense to Tavernille . . . . vijml
" " " Poggibonzi . . . . vml
" " " Siena . . . . xijml
I arrived at Siena the iiiijth of September. This citie standeth upon hilles as the citie of Roome did in the olde time. It is counted vj miles compasse abowt the walles. The countreay abowt verie frutefull. The people are much given to entertaine strangers gentlie.

Most of the women are well learned and write excellentlie well bothe in prose and verse, emong whom Laudomia Fortiguerra and Virginia Salvi did excell for good wittes. The principall matters within the citie to bee seene are these. First the highe churche, as well without as within, which may be reckoned emong the sumptious woorke of Europe. The great Hospital for the poore, the Markett Place, made after the maner of a theater. The abundance of water that is in fonte Branda. The schooles called la Sapientia, whereat is also a college for scholars, which for vj or vij yeres abode there, disburse at their first entring lx or lxxx crownes, to the great refreshinge of poore scholars. The cheefe governance of this citie was in the hands of Don Diego di Mendoza, ambassador for th'Emperor to the pope, which manie times cam from Roome to lye there as occasion served him, where at his cumming he was alwaies more honorablie receaved outwardlie then inwardlie beloved. Under him were continuallie abiding there Zuan Gallego and Don Frances Delava, Master of the campe, a garrison of v or vj hundrethe Spaniardes. Within a fortnight or iiij weeks after myne arrivall in the citie Don Diego was receaved after the accustomed maner into the towne: and understanding certain English gentlmen to be newlie com thither, there cam a man of his to my lodging desiring me in his mastre's behalf to
take a diner with his master that daye, and to bring with me besides such Englishe menn as he hardsaye and I knew were in the towne; which were Sir Robert Stafford, Mr. Henry Parkar, Mr. Edward Stradling, Mr. Francs Peto, where we were greatlie feasted and gentlie entertereyned.

Besides these I founde in the towne Mr. Peter Whithorn, Mr. William Barkar, Mr. Edward Cler, Mr. Thomas Grymwaye, and Mr. Jhon Ellis, who wolde not go thither with us. Here I cam acquainted with the Marques of Capistrano, the Duke of Amalfi, his sonn, who often times shewed me great courtesie.

Th'occasion that this citie of Siena is som time under the Frenche King and manie times under th'Emperor appearethe cheeflie to proceade of their private discention and intestine discorde in that they cann not be brought to anie agreement betwext them selves. For they are divided into fowre severall partes, that is to saye, Gentilhuomini, Reformatori, Nuove and Popolo. The commune people are called Plebei, which are on no certain part. There is no gentleman within the citie of Siena but is well knowne to bee of on of these partes. Gentilhuomini and Popolo were at the first beginning of the citie; the on of the commonaltie and subiects; and the other of gentlmen and rulars. And at length they that were named Popolo becam gentlmen also: for being the greater number they could not abide to bee alwais under the government of the Gentilhuomini. After long debate on both sides they cam to this finall accorde: that vj parsonnes on the on parte and as manie on the other shulde equallie and indifferentlie have the preheminence, dignitie, superioritie, and rule over the commune weale, which were called
by a new name, Reformatori. Their issue and posteritie multiplied
so in processe of time that there arrose of them an other part in
the citie which usurped this dignitie of theirs, and as manie as were
descended of them tooke more upon them and bore a greater stroke
then eyther the Gentilhuomini or Popolo, drawing by amitie, consan-
guinitie, and force most part of the citie on their side. At lengthe
their insolencie was suche and so increased dailie that the other
two partes laide their heads together, eyther to displace them, or
to find owt at the least some meane that the hole government might
not alwais rest in this posteritie. The matter was long a debating
before the Reformatori (which were so named as manie as were
descended of the xij men that were chosen owt of the first two
partes) wold cum to aine accorde; but finallie they agreede to chuse
owt of everie on of thes three parts three parsones, which were
called Nuovi for that they were nine, and thus had this fourthe part
his beginning even like the third. They and their posteritie con-
tinued long in this state untill such time as in those dayes the
other three partes cloyed with this kind of government, and desirous
of new alterations as communlie menn bee, by force elected owt from
emong them a Siniory or counsell of sundrie heads to rule the
commune welthe, as there is yet to this day, displacing the Nuovi
of this dignitie against their willes, which were sore agreved at
the matter, and repined greatlie against this kind of government,
seeking all means to recover their former state again. For the
which they have bine ever sith yll beloved of the rest, and especiallie
of the Gentilhuomini and Popolo, whiche not manie years agoo banisshed
them owt of the citie by the reason of the great sedition and
salwghter that was dailie caused by them on bothe sides. At length
th'Emperor tooke uppe the matter and restored the Nuovi to the citie
again and to their possessions, which were putt to the commune use:
plainting there by their desire a garison of Spaniards to see them
lyve in peace. Notwithstanding there is muche murther emong them
and privie hatred. This Nuovi is as great a part or greater then
anie of the rest and most of the handsommest gentlmen in the citie
are of yt. They are best esteamed of anie of the rest with the
communes of the city. They esteame and make most of straungers of
anie of the rest. They syldom times marye with the other partes
except it bee with the Reformatori, which best agree together. None
of all these iiij partes are suffred to have anie weapons in his
house and speciallie to wear them abrode within the citie: nor yet
other straungers, withowt they be licensed by the Sinorie, or by the
Spaniardes that have charge there.

This yere was the rebellion in England in Norfolk and Devon-
shire, and the Duke of Sommersett deposed from his protectorshippe
by the onlie malice of the Earle of Warwicke, afterwards created Duke
of Northumberland. And before that the Duke of Sommersett had cawsed
Sir Thomas Seymer, lord admerall, his owne brother, to be beheaded
at the Towre hill. As I remayned thus in Siena newes cam of the
dethe of pope Paul, the third of that name, which diede the ix\textsuperscript{th}
of November. And seeing manie cardinalles resort thither dailie
towards Rome out of sundrie parties to the election of an other, I thought it convenient to make a journey thither at this time being so night, as well to the citie as to beholde the maner of the obsequies and the fashion how they elect an other. The xvi of the same monthe I departed out of Siena in Cardinall Salviati his company whiche cam throughe the towne to go to Roome, caried in a littar. There went also Mr. Henry Parkar, Mr. Barkar, and Mr. Whitehorn. Ymmediatlie after the pope's deathie Ascanio Colonna went about to recover his state again, which the pope had taken from him, and about two hundrethe Spaniardes were conducted out of Siena by Don Frances D'Alava to restore Fabricio Colonna, his eldest son, into possession of his fathers lands.

MY JORNEY FROM SIENA TO ROCHE.

From Siena went to Buonconvento . . . xij \textsuperscript{ml}
From thense to San Quirico . . . viij \textsuperscript{ml}
" " " Paglia . . . x \textsuperscript{ml}

Here endeth the dominion of Siena, and passing the river we enter into the territorye of the pope. This village is called Paglia because yt standeth by the river of the same name.

From thense to Acquapendente . . . xij \textsuperscript{ml}
" " " San Lorenzo . . . vj \textsuperscript{ml}
" " " Bolsena . . . iij \textsuperscript{ml}

This is an antient towne and in times past on of the xii of Tuscane called urbs Vulsinentium. There were the xii: Gianiculum, Arinianum, Fesuli, Aringianum, Fregine, Volce, Volaterra, Carriara, Cegiano, Arezzo, Roselli, Volsinio. By this towne there is a faire lague
so called.

From Bolsena to Montefiascon . . . . \(vj^{ml}\)

This towne was wont to be named Mons Phiscon and Arx Iti. Betwext Bolsena and this we ride throwghe the wode of Tuscane called in the olde time lucus Vulsinentium or lucus Heturiae. Abowt this towne there growe verie good and pleasant wines, as malvoseye and such other.

From Montefiascon to Viterbo . . . . \(vii^{ml}\)

To this towne we ride throwghe a plesant valleye where it is placed with a plentifull countrey abowt yt, not far from yt are the baynes called Bagni di Caie, verie porfitable for most diseases: now they are communlie named Bagni del Bolicano.

From Viterbo to Rossiglione . . . . \(ix^{ml}\)

By this towne there is a lague called lago del vico, and in the old time lacus Cyminus.

From thense to Monte Rose . . . . \(ix^{ml}\)

Here is also a lague so called, not verie bigg, but wonderous deepe.

From thense to Baccano . . . . \(vj^{ml}\)

By this is a lague called also Baccano owt of the which the litle river Cremera, so named in times past, hathe his beginning and goethe into the Tever. By this river yt was that three hundrethe and sixe of the fabii were slaine, with five thowsand of their servaunts, by the Veienti, as Lyvie makethe mention in his second booke.

Here is a wood called Silva Mesia in times past.

From Baccano to la Isola . . . . \(vj^{ml}\)

From thense to Roome . . . . \(vii^{ml}\)
When we arrived in Roome we saw dailie in St. Peter's churche verie solemn masses of requiem for the pope's deathe, after the maner of Roome, song by the cardinalles, everie on sitting according to his degree in a chappell, where the image of pope Xistus liethe all in brasse curiouslie wrought, with the Muses all abowt him. Abowt the later end of November, at the certain time limited for all cardinalls of the seea of Roome to repaire thither for the election of a new pope, all such cardinalles as were then in Roome, after on solemn masse of the holie ghost song emong them, entred into the conclave according to the accustomed maner; that is to save, into suche rowmes as are belonging unto the pope in his palaice, as the utter chambares, the hall above, the chappell and suche other wide places, where everie cardinall had beforehand a little cabbin prepared for him, hanged and separated from the rest with his owne hangings withowt anie light at all, except so muche as he lettethe in by the pinninge uppe of the hanging in the place where he entrethe into this cabbin, within the whiche he had so muche place that sufficed for a litle standing cowrt bedd for himself, a pallet for two of his servants, whom he lysted to have within with him, on litle square table and a coffer for his stuff. When they were all entred together into this conclave everie dore and wyndowe where anie yssue was in anie place round abowt them was after the maner mured uppe, saving a litle part of the verie toppe of the wyndowes on highe, in manie places owt of manne's reache, whiche to lett in light was left open, and a litle dresser in that great dore that menn used most communlie to cum in and owt at. Throghe
this dresser everie cardinalle's owne provision, browght thither from his owne palaice by his servaunts, was putt in and delivered unto the ij servaunts he had within attending upon him, the assaye or tast thereof first taken, whatsoever was browght thither. In this sort remayned they a good space attending for viij or ix cardinalles owt of Fraunce, for before their arrivall the Cardinall of Ferrara with the rest of the French partie would goo abowt nothing. When all were cum and conveyed in emong the rest they remaine thus shutt uppe until suche time as by agreement of the most part they have elected a new pope, except they find themselves yll at ease, as iiij or iiiij of them were at this time, whiche were permitted to go lye at their owne palaices, where on or two of them diede. During this time of vacation of the seea of Roome the consistorie (by the meane of Cardinall Farnese, then cheefe doer, and the Cardinall of Saint Angelo his brethren) confirmed unto Duke Octavio the Dukedom of Parma and unto Horatio his yonger brother the Dukedom of Camerino, and appointed him also generall for the churche over fyve or sixe thousand souldiers which during this time were there taken uppe to serve the churche. To the custodie of the castle of Saint Angelo was appointed a bisshoppe, and afterwards was rewarded with a red hatt. The pope that diede laye buried under a heape of earthe by the walles side within Saint Peter's churche, paled in, untill suche time as a more honorable sepulture were made readie for him, which his fowre nephewes Cardinall Farnese, Cardinall of Saint Angelo, Duke Octavio and Duke Horatio had cawsed to be taken in hand for him by Michael
Angelo. During the time of mine abode in Roome Don Diego and the Marquis Capistrano shewed me great entertainment and muche gentlnes. There were besides in Roome that cam after us Sir Robert Stafford, Mr. Francs Peto, Mr. Edward Murphin, Filpott, Christophersonn, Harding Boxwell.¹

The citie of Roome is in circuite abowt the walles xv miles. The walles have at this daye 365 towres where in the old time they were wont to have 734 when it most florissshed. There are twenty gates now, whereas were in times past xxxiiiij. The better half of the citie within the walles is desert and not inhabited, and especiallie the seven hilles, Campidoglio, Palatino, Celio, Aventino, Squille, Viminale, Quirinale, otherwise called Monte Cavallo, by the reason of two horses of marble that were made by Phidias and Praxiteles, sett uppe there. Upon these vij hilles was wont in the olde time to consist all the majestie of the citie, as it may well appere by the ruines upon them. The part of Roome that is now most inhabited was wont to be called Campus Martius, bicause it was a faire plaine feelde and there the yowthe of the citie did accustome to exercise feates of armes. Also Vaticanum on this side the river, where the pope's palaice is and the castle of Saint Angelo which is called Borgo Nuovo and Borgo Vecchio. The river of the Tever is passed from the on side

¹Hoby clearly ends his paragraph here. Powell did not begin a new paragraph in his transcription as I have done.
of the citie to the other by five severall bridges. There be seven principall famous churches about Roome, as Saint Peter, Saint Jhon Laterane, Santa Maria Magiore, Santa Croce in Hierusalem, these within the walles: and Saint Paul, Saint Laurence, and St. Sebastian without the walles.¹

There be sundrie faire antiquities to be seene within Roome, as in the Campidoglio in the palaice of the Conservatori, and in Belvedere manie statures, stones and inscriptions. There is also Santa Maria rotonda, called in the old time Pantheon, which is the fayrest and perfectest antiquitie about Roome. The Triumphall Arkes of Constantin, Vespasian and Septimius. The Coliseo, or Amphitheater. The beawtiful pillar by St. Petre's churche called la guccia di san Pietro. And the ruines about the seven hilles the whiche I passe over all: and the particularities thereof I leave to the searchers owt of them by the instructions of Lucias Faunus, Martian, and Biondo, which all have written verie diligentlie of the antiquities of the citie of Roome. And by probable reason have ghessed upon manie things for the whiche no certaintie is to bee alleged. Bicause in times past the citie hathe oftentimes bine enlarged and taken in again as occation served. For Vopiscus writethe that in the time of the emperor Aurelianus the citie was in circuite fyftie mile. And Fliny saithe that it was in his time twentie miles compasse. In our

¹Folios 32v-36v which follow in the manuscript have been omitted here.
dayes now it is xv miles about the walles, and not half inhabited within.

1550.

After Mr. Barker, Mr. Parker, Whitehorn and I had throwghlie searched owt suche antiquities as were here to bee seen from place to place, having bestowed all this time of owr beeing here about the same, we thought it but losse of time to make anie longer abode here. And we taried the longer to see yf the cardinalles wold elect a new pope. It was thought Cardinall Poole shulde have bine pope. Yf he had receaved the cardinalles' offer overnight as he entended in the morning folowing, he had surelie bine so. And in the morning when all the souldiers of Roome, and a great multitude of people besides, were assembled in the Markett place of Saint Peter's to have seen Cardinall Poole proclaimed pope, he had lost by the Cardinall of Ferrara his meanes the voice of manie cardinalls of the French partie, persuading them that Cardinall Poole was both Imperiall and also a verie Lutheran. So that morning passed without anie thing done, contrarie to the expectation of all menn. After the election of Cardinall Poole was thus passed the commune opinion was, that by the reason of the factions Emperiall and Frenche that were emong them, they would not so soone agree afterward, for there was no on in the hole Consistorie that was generallie so well beloved as he was of them all, and never declared himself neyther Emperiall nor Frenche. But Don Diego labowred what he colde to make him pope, and so did all the Emperiall Cardinalles that were within the conclave, but the
Frenche partie was against him. Upon this we determined in the mean time to make a journeye to Naples. And as we cam to Roome together, so not to depart companie untill we cam thither. We sett owt of Roome in a vessell towards Naples the x of Januarye; the same night we laye upon the Tever. The next morning we cam to Ostia, a verie auntient citie, which following the cowrse of the river is xxij miles from Roome. And after we had proved where the best passage was, we sailed into the seea, which is a v or vi miles from Ostia. The Tever cummith unto the see with a quiet swyft streame and the force of it is suche that yt driveth the salt water back almost two miles. At the meeting of it with the see where it must needes entre into the salt water, yt taketh on in suche wise that there arrise great waves from the on banke to the other with such quantitie of thicke sandes that in passing over them manie vessells are not communlie in great jeopardy onlie, but also sumtime certain are swalowed uppe by the waves, as we were enformed in passing over. After we were thus cum into the see, we sayled all that night after and passed Monte Circello, which is four score and tenn miles from the place where the Tever entrethe into the seea. This hill is almost an yland within the seea and may bee seen farr of. In a li tle port under the hill lye manie times Moores and Turks with their foistes and other vesselles to take the passinger vesselles that goo betwixt Roome and Naples. And we were afterward enformed that this time there laye ix, so that yt we had cum bye yt by daye as we did by night, we had bine all taken slaves. From hense we sayled to Gaieta, which is thirtie miles, with fowle wether and the winde almost against us. This is an auntient towne taking his name of Eneas' nurse so named and buried there, as Virgil makethe mention,

Tu quoque littoribus nostris Aeneia nutrix
Aeternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti.

This towne is verie strong situated upon a large rock whiche is in maner an yland. It is cownted on of the strongest holdes in all christendom. Above yt upon a verie rock is also a strong castle
which lookethe on everie side towartes the seea, at the entrie
wherof on the left hand is a litle chappell wherein is fastened upon
the walles sides a coffin covered with blacke vellute, with the armes
of Fraunce barred upon yt. And therin was Charles Duke of Burbon
buried which died 1527 at the sacke of Roome. There is also a place
within the rokke whiche seemethe that the verie stone hathe bine
cloven a sunder as a thing that hathe bine onse joyned together,
which is a wondrous strang thing to beholde. Passing throwghe this
clyft we cum into a litle larg rowme where is founded a chappell.

They say here yt clave in sunder at the verie time when our Savior
Christ suffred his passion, and yt is communlie called la Trinita,
to the whiche there is dailie great resort from sundrie places abowt,
with much devotion, and speciallie on the holie dayes. Abowt this
towne is a verie plentifull countrey, and sundrie kindes of fructes,
as olyves, aranges, lymones, figgs, and plentie of wynes. Betwext
Gaieta and Naples we were sailing two dayes, which is lx miles by
seea: we passed by the iland of Pontia, whiche they saye was Pontius
Pilate's inheritance. And we sailed by Ischia and Procida, and so cam
to the citie of Naples, where we arrived the fift day after our
setting furthe of Roome.

NEAPOLIS. TERRA DI LAVORO.

Naples is a verie beawtifull citie situated betwext the seea
and verie pleasant hilles, full of howses, well fortified of late
dayes with a strong wall that th'Emperor hathe begonne abowt yt, reple-
nished with sumptious palaces, delicious gardines, and sundrie
divises of fountaynes round abowt yt.
There be three strong castles belonging to yt, Castel Nuovo within the citie by the seea side where the Vicere lyethe, and where the most part of munitions and artillarie is: Castel San Martino, now within the walles, a verie rock upon the toppe of the hill, wrowght owt of the hard stone by force of hand, a wondrous matter to beholde. And Castello dell'Ovo somwhat withowt the citie upon the seea side. As for that was wont to bee called Castello Capuano it is no more a castle, but the on part of yt servethe for a prison; the other part above is full of faire chambres and plesant rowmes where the counselles, parlements and tearmes are kept on th'Emperors and the citie's behalves. There are within the citie fowre places called 'Seggi,' which are upon the streetes open on all sides saving on the one side where they joine to other bowses. The on is called Seggio Capuano, bicause of the streete that goethe by yt unto the gate towarde Capua, the other Seggio de Nido. The third Seggio della Montagna. And the fowrthe Seggio di San Georgio. In these fowre places do princes, dukes, marquesses, erles, barons, knightes, and squiers gather together to sitt upon and to debate emong them the matters of the citie. There be few princes, dukes, erles or barones within the realm which have not within the citie a palaice belonging unto them. Emong the whiche are most beawtifull the Duke of Gravines palaice, which yf yt were ended may compare with anie in Italie, and the Prince of Salernoe's, whiche is also verie faire.

The streetes in Naples are for the most part narrower then in anie other citie, notwithstanding they are of a good lengthe and verie straight. Wythin the citie is an Universitie, unto the whiche
scholars repair from many places, and the same that was wont to be at Salerno is now brought to Naples and made all on. On the sea side southward by Castel Nuovo is the faire pire made in times past by Charles the second, King of Naples, for the safeguard of shippers. This city is abundant with all things that are behoefull for the life of man, and in ye is plenty of delicate wines, as vino Greco, a very strong wine, which as I believe is so called because of Torre del Greco, where it is shipped to be transported unto Rome and other places, and not because ye came out of Greece, as some hold opinion;

also Maniaguerra, a sweete wine of a very high color, Vernaccia, a strong headie wine, Romanesco, which is dronke for a delicate wine in wynter, Latino, which is a delicate small wine for sommer, and dyverse other. The Vicere and cheefe governor here was Don Pietro di Tolledo for th'Emperor, verie well beloved both in the citie and throwghout the realm. Don Garzia his sonn was captain over sixe gallies belonging to the towne. He hath purchased much landes in the realm and beginnethe to build a faire palice with a pleasant gardin hard by the towne. The citie of Naples is very auntient and was alwaies (as T. Livius saith) faithfull and very obedient to the senat of Roome.¹

Here is within the citie a very bewtifull and large hospitall, wheras are continuallie both gentlmen and poore men and in like maner women which are placed according to their disease and served according to their degree, with a good order and cumlie to behold: a great

¹Folios 42r-50r which follow in the manuscript have been omitted here.
revenwes are belonging unto yt, and a great multitude of people alwaies within yt.

After we had taried a season within the citie and searched owt whatsoever there was worthie to bee seen, we thought it behouffull to mak now and then a jorney about the countrey called in times past Campania, and now Terra di lavoro, so mucche spoken of and renowed in all writers wherof Naples is the cheef head citie.

This Terra di lavoro (whiche men hold opinion to be so named by the reason of the good and slight tillage) is in lengthe from the river Garigliano on the west side, unto the river Silaro on the east. And in breadethe from the hilles of Abruzzo on the northe side, unto the sea on the sowthe.

It is named of Pliny Campania foelix, because of the frutefull feeldes within yt whiche are large and pleasant, and the hilles are abundant with all kinde of delicate frutes, and especiallie that whiche in time past was called Pausilipium, where the precious wines growe. It hath also delectable wooddes within yt, sweete fountaynes and verie helthsom springs, as well for sundrie infirmitie of the bodie as for pleasure and disport. And the fertilitie of the countrey is suche that yt dothe not onlie bring furthe necessarie things for the sustinance of the lyff of man with suche abundance, but also for deliciousnes and for sensuall pleasure in great quantitie.

Dionisius Alicarnasseus agreeing with T. Livius saith plainlie that this is the beawtifullest and pleasantest countrey of the world, sith the aere is not onlie most temperat and delicate, but also the frutefullnes of it is such, that in his time at three severall times
of the yere there were frutes gathered; the on was in the springtime, the other in the sommer, and the third in harvest, which he affirmethe to have seene there. Lucius Florus saith that in this fertile countrey the trees spring twise a yere, and that here is to be found all delicaties for the pleasure of man, for that Ceres and Bacchus strive whiche in most perfection shall best abound. Here upon the seea side are noble portes; as Gaeta, Miseno and the temperate fountaynes of Baia, Lucrino and Averno, the pleasure of the seea; the mountaynes and hilles decked with pleasant vines, and emong the rest Gaurus, Falerum, Masicus and Vesuus more excellenter than the rest, which striveth with Aetna to cast out fire. There are also on the seea side Formia, Cuma, Futeolis, Neapolis, Erculanteum, and Pompei. Besides this we may discerne Capua (the hade of this countrey) which is reputed the third of the most mightie cities, after Roome and Carthage. This muche saith L. Florius.

Departing therfor out of the noble citie of Naples there appearethe before our eyes this pleasant and sweete countreye, which bringeth furthe suche necessarie matters for the use of man and beast. And there is gathered great abundance of wheate, barlie and other graine, with sundrie sortes of good wines, so abundantlie that a man wold think it a straung thing and almost incredible how it were possible to gather out of on self feelde so great abundance of corn and wine. For so many vines are upon a verie highe tree and the branches of them so dispersed abowt the boowes of the tree, that som times of on of them they make two hogggesheads of wine, as I was enformed by th'inhabitants of the countrey, and indeed a man may
judge no lesse (albeit it appeare a straunge matter at the first) yf he behold it well. And of this doth Plinie make mention in the 14 book 2 chapter: declaring it as a wonderous matter.

On the west side of Naples there is a highe way that two cartes may easilee goo together, cutt owt of the rock by force of hand under the hill Posilipo. Yt is well 700 paces in lengthe and more than 12 in breadethe. At the entring into yt on the lefthand, upon the side of the hill within the precinct of the Monasterie called Santa Maria Piedo Grotto, there is a little olde house where they say Vergil was buried according to these verses.

Mantua me genui, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura duces.

But of his sepulcher there is no certaintie. Servius saithe that he was buried within two miles of Naples, upon the waye as we goo to Fuzzol, over against the mouthe of this grotta, wherupon it is to be thought it was not far from hense. Within this grotta there is two holes cutt owt on the rock a hie, to lett in light whiche notwithstanding is verie dark, and wondrous full of dust: who first made this Grotta is uncertain, for there are dyverse opinions.

From hense in the hie way to Puzzolo there is a lague called Lago di Aagnano, upon the which are certain baynes verie helthfull called Sudatorii: they cause good digestion and resolve raw humors, they lighten the bodie and heale the inward partes, they drie upp fistles and woundes in the bodie, and are verie good against the gowte. By these baynes on the lague's side there is a sandie hill, at the bottom of yt, a certain pitt not farr into the hill nor yet
verie deepe nor wide, in the whiche pitt there is a mark sett and
what thing soever passethe that, yt it have lyff in yt, yt hath not
onlie no power at all to sturr from themse, but yt fomethe at the
mowthe and fallethe to the ground ymmediatlie. After it is thus
fallen, take yt owt again and wash it in the lague, by and by it re-
liveth, yt it abide not long in the lague, for then it helpeth not
at all. And this have I seene proved with dogges, catts, froggs
and other lyving beasts. Byyond this we cum by certain ruines where
as Lucullus was wont to have his abiding place, and there cuit
throwghe the rock to lett the seea into the lague of Agnano, for the
whiche deede Cicero callethe him Xerxes togatus. By this had Cicero
a village called at this day villa di Cicerone. After this we cum to
the marvelous hilles of sulphure, upon the whiche are sundrie litle
holes that with great force cast owt verie hott smoke and sum flanes
of brimstone. On the side towards Puzzolo there is an open entrie
into a large place which is plaine and compassed abowt with hilles.
At the on side of this plaine there is a poole of boyling sulphure
water, owt of the which there arriseth a verie dark and black smoke.
Yt boilethe night and day, winter and sommer. The forme of yt
appeareth to be round, but it entreth farther under the hill then
cann be discerned. Whateover is cast in here, is pluckt owt again
immediatlie after well sodd, and of necessitie there remaynethe a
part of the same behinde still, for the hole cumeth not furthe again.
And yt hathe bine proved that when fowre egges hath bine putt in,
there have cum owt but three sodd. Of these hilles of brimstone
speaketh Plini in lib. 35 cap. 14 in this wise:
'In Italia invenitur sulfur in Neapolitano Campanoque agro collibus qui vocantur Leucogabi, quod e cumiculis effossum, perficitur igni.'

These hilles burn on everie side and caste furthe into the aere great smoke with a verie rank savor of brimstonn, the savor wherof may be felt (when the winde liethe on that side) as far as Naples. Which savor they reckon verie helthsom for suche as have rewmes and have taken cold in their heade. And the boyling sulphure water they saye, is good to mollifie the raynes and jointes, to clarifie the eyes, to heale the greefe of the stomake, to helpe barren women to conceive, to drive away the agues and to heale scabbes. Of these hilles of brimstonn the bisshoppe of Puzzolo hathe great revenues yerelie.

A litel from these hilles we cum to the towne of Puzzulo, situated on the sea side upon a litle hill and almost compassed aboutt with the sea. Betwixt this and Baia, whiche is three miles and a sixe hundrethe pases, we may discern xiiij foundations in the sea for the arches of a bridge, whiche th'Emperor Gallicula had made to passe the next way unto Baia: there appeares yet sum of the arches, but they are wonderouslie decayed. About this towne are sundrie howses of pleaser, with their delicious gardines and helthsom prospectes: also diverse antiquities and manie great ruines, as an amphitheater, and a place under ground called labirinto, for the multitude of the chambers in yt. By Puzzulo in the way to Baia there is a spring of freshe water which ariseth with such force owt of the ground and so abundantlie, that for all it is within the sea, yet hathe it no tast of the salt water.
Keeping along by the sea side we come to a place called Tripergola, where there is a hill covered with great sharp stones which lacketh little of two miles in height and iiiij in compass. This hill arose suddenly out of the plain sandy ground upon St. Michael's day in the year of our lord 1538 with such a terrible noise and such violence that it cast stones as far as Naples, not without the great terror of many a man, yea and abundance of ashes carried by the violence of the wind fell at St. Severino, which is 24 miles from Naples: this hill a good space after burnt in the toppe and cast further stones, but yet hath ceased burning of late days.

After this we come to Baia, whiche being in length is likened unto an arm or a finger: in this place are the notablest ruins to be discerned that are in all the rest of Italy. For a number of fair and pleasant cities as were Baiae, Cuma, Linternum and such other, there is now nothing but desolation and a sorte of old ruins. Of this place speaketh Horatius:

Nullus in orbe locus Baiis praelucet amoenis.

The notablest things here to be seen are these, Piscina Mirabile, which is thought was Lucullus' summerhouse, Cento Camerele which were under the ground to keep water in, like chambers passing by narrow doors out of one into another. And baynes communlie called Bagni de Cicerone, where at a certain time in the daye and likewise in the night there issueth out of the rocke warm water (with a great smoke) according to the increasing or diminishing of the moon. Upon the toppe of these baynes in the rocke, ascending upp by certain stayeres of stone, we find a long hole made artificiallly within the
rocke, sixe foote highe and five brode, which is summwhat croked; within the whiche if a man stand on foote he shall feele a hott aere about his face and ymmediatlie shall begin to sweat, thinking at the first entree his breath shall be taken from him. But yf he then fall upon his knees and encline to the paviment where he stoode, he shall contrarilie feel a verie cold aer. This sweating place in these baynes is said to be verie sovereign for diverse infirmities; yt purgethe the humors, yt comfortithe the heade and the stomak, yt healethe rewmes and catarres, yt breaketh fleame, and yt helpethe muche suche as are diseased of the gowte or the dropsie. There are about this place a two or three and twentie baynes, besides divers other springs of warm water whiche are good for manie matters. Of the baynes sum are of great vertue for the eyes, som for the hands, som for the feete, som for the sides, som other for the brayne, and manie for the gowte and dropsie. Here is the lague of Averno, and also the lague of Lucrino, which have bine so famous in the olde time. Averno is reported to be 360 fadom deepe, compassed round abowt with hige hilles saving at the entrie into yt, fayned by the poetes to be the way unto hell. Passing this arm or finger of earthe, which is five miles long compassed abowt with the seea on three sides and the fowrthe is five miles brode (whiche is also muche narrower towards the ende of yt, evermore straiter and straiter and at last is less than a mile), we cum unto the ruines of Cuma, where emong other monstrous matters there is a cave or hole under the earthe called Grotta di Sybilla, which is a wondrous thing to beholde, cutt ouwt of the verie rocke tenn foote brode and as manie high and five hundrethe long, wrowght within wondrous artificiallie round abowt which
appeareth to be mosaicall woorke. There be diverse opinions of yt. Som say yt was the dwelling place of Sybilla Cumana. And other imagin yt to be the waye under ground from Cuma to Saia, whiche is not likelie there shuld suche great cost and curious worke be bestowed upon a way to go uppe and downe. The entrie into it hathe of late dayes bine stopped upp by the reason that two or three have perished there within. Within the land abowt xij miles from the seea standeth Capua upon the river of Vulturno, which is not the olde Capua so muche spoken of by all writers, but yt is built of the ruines of yt. The olde Capua is abowt two miles from yt, and standeth not upon the river. It is now called Santa Maria Maggiore. There are to be seen great ruines of mightie walles, towres, amphitheaters, gates, pillars, palaces, and vawtes under the grounde whiche is a manifest proff of the magnificense and noblenes yt was of in times past. Round abowt yt is such a pleasant and bewtifull champaign countrey that yt ys not written for nowght how Hanniball prospered alwais and obtayned victorie against the Romanes untill he had overcum Capua and wintred there. For in this space his souldiars gave themselves to such deliciousnes as well in excesse of delicate fare as other sensuall pleasures, that they were no more soldiars for the feelde but rather knights for a ladie's chamber; after the whiche time he had never good successe in none of his affaires. This Capua is abowt xviiij miles from Naples. In the midway there is a town called Aversa, which is said was built by the ruines of the citie Atella by Robert Guiscardi when he beseaged Naples and Capua, and named it so bicause yt shuld be contrarie to them bothe.
On the north side of Naples passing by the pleasant palace of Poggio Reale, where so many gardens of pleasant and sundrie frutes are, with sundrie conveyances of water, we cum to a towne called Aecerra, eight miles out of Naples, wherof Livie makethe mention in manie places, also Virgil in these verses.

\[\text{Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Vesevo}
\text{Ora iugo, et vacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris.}\]

Eight miles beyond this is a towne called Arienzo or Arzento, standing on the side of the hill Tisata, which is above Capua and stretchethe thither, where we passe through them into a valley called Valle de Gardano; compassed about with hilles after the form and maner of an amphitheatrum, which was wont to be named Vallis Caudina.

Livius described it in this sort in the beginning of this ixth book: 'After the straite passe betwext two hilles there is a faire plaine feelde whiche a man may beholde compassed about with two verie highe hilles which are verie rockes in deede and great wooddes upon them.'

The waye is throwghe the middle of this feelde; and so cummethe to the passag where these two hilles joine on the other side, whiche is a muche narrower waye and a great deal more troblsom then the cumming in was before. At this narrow passage there is latlie built a little monasterie called Santa Maria del giogo for a memorie of the olde shame that the Romanes receaved there by the Samnites, as Livi makethe mention. Somwhat by yond this monasterie there is a litle walled towne called Arpaia, 4 miles from the above named Arienzo; After that we cum to Monte Sarcio, six miles from thense, whiche is a prettie walled towne, and Livi makethe mention of yt. Then we cum to the river
Sabbato, that goethe into Vulturno, which we passe over twice upon two faire bridges, and so we arrive at the citie of Benevento, 34 miles outh of Naples. This is a verie auntient citie. It was first built of Diomedes, and onse yt was named Maleventum. Yt is situated at the verie end of a hill and from the castle whiche is on the topppe of the hill yt is alwais descending into the plaine. Yt standeth in the confines of Terra di Lavoro, Abruzzo and Puglia. Yt is belonging to the chamber of Roome. I was informed for a truthe, beeing there together with Mr. Edward Stradling, that there were within the towne and in other places about yt, which are belonging to the towne, to the number of 18 thowsand menn that were banished outh of Naples and other partes of the kingdom: and here they may live in safeguard, for that the Emperor hathe nothing to do with yt. The whiche seamed to me a verie strang thing, being as it is within the hart of the kingdom and the king to have nothing a do with yt, to punish trayters and such evell disposed parsons as move sedition and rebellion against him. There be within the citie manie faire antiquities and emong other there is a round churche called San Stefano with the gate of brasse which is not mucho inferior to Santa Maria rotunda in Roome. Yt hathe (like unto that in Room) a hole in the topppe which letteth in all the light that cumethe into the churche. There is also a verie bewtifull triumphall arke of the Emperor Nerva, which for the bewtie of the fine marble and for the good workmanshipe may be compared to anie in Roome: Yt is now on of the gates of the citie communlie called Portaurea. On bothe sides wherof is the inscription verie legible:
The countrey about under the citie named Valle de Benevento a verie pleasant and delectable plaine, verie fertile and wondrouslie inhabited, and full of clere and bewtiful springs of freshe water.

Cumming back again from the thense there is on the left hand the town of Nola, a famous citie in times past, within 14 miles of Naples, which hath a goodlie plaine countrey round about yt, closed on the on side with the hill Tisata that cummethe from Capua, and on the other with the hill Vesuvus, communlie called Monte di Somma. Betwext Nola and Naples there is standing on the side of Monte di Somma a town called Somma, according to the name of the hill. This hill is on all sides verie frutefull except it bee in the toppe, whiche is full of great sharpe burnt stones. There growethe upon yt verie perfect Greeke wine whiche is communlie called Greco di Somma, and all kindes of delicate frutes. This hill burnt in Plinie's time, who went about to serche owt the cause of yt and was smodred in the smoke. On the east side of Naples about 8 miles owt of the citie is a town called Turre del Greco at the verie rootes of Monte di Somma by the seea side, so called because it was in times past built by a Grecian. And here is the wine Greco shipped to be transported into sundrie places of Italie. Betwext Naples and this town is a faire palaice called Pietra Bianca, where Don Francesco Deste, the Duke of Ferrarae's brother, was then, abowt the which are sundrie pleasant places. From Turre del Greco unto Turre della Nuntiata are also 8 miles, which is
a pretie litle castle upon the seeaside. From thense to Nucera is other 8 mile. This is a ruinous towne and is rather like a sort of villages together in a vale betwext hilles, then a towne: yet is there bothe a duke of yt and a bishhoppe belonging to yt whose name was Paulus Jovius, which die de aftereward in the yere of our Lord 1553, a famous writer.

Departing from hense we passed throwghe the vale and cam by Cava and Vietro, and so over the rocks to Salerno, which is 9 mile from Nucera. Yt standeth upon a hille's side by the seea verie pleasantlie, gardines & prospectes abowt it in great quantitie bringinge furthe all kindes of frutes in grete abundance, as oranges, lemones, poungarnettes, citrons, melones, figgs, and such other of all sorts: also diverse kindes of wines verie delicate and precious.

Here was wont to be a famous schoole, but of late dayes it hathe bine removed to Naples, not withowt the great displeaser of the prince, called Fernando di Sanscurrino, whiche delited muche to entertaine all kind of strangers. Above the towne there is a faire castle upon the rock where the prince liethe, which hathe manie goodlie prospectes and helthsom aeres abowt it, as well towards the seea as the hilles abowt, upon the whiche groweth almost nothing but rosemarie.

MY JOURNEY INTO SICILIA.

After I had well vewed whatsoever was to bee seene bothe within the citie of Naples and in the countrey abowt the same, I tooke a journey upon me to goo throwghe the dukedom of Calabria by land into Cicilia, both to have a sight of the countrey and also to absent my
self for a while out of Englishemenne's companie for the tung's sake. And the xi\textsuperscript{h} of Februarie I departed out of Naples on this jorney as followethe:

From Naples to Nucera . . . . . \textit{xxij} \textsuperscript{ml}
From Nucera to Salerno . . . . . \textit{ix} \textsuperscript{ml}
From Salerno to Mollere . . . . . \textit{vi} \textsuperscript{ml}
From thence to Eboli . . . . . \textit{xviiij} \textsuperscript{ml}
" " " the Scafa . . . . . \textit{iiiij} \textsuperscript{ml}

The name of this river is Silare, but it is communlie called la Scafa. Hitherto stretchethe the uttermost bondes of Terra di Lavoro.

From thence to Cicignana . . . . . \textit{xiiij} \textsuperscript{ml}
" " " Auletta . . . . . \textit{vij} \textsuperscript{ml}

This towne belongethe to the Erle of Congia.

From thence to Pola . . . . . \textit{iiij} \textsuperscript{ml}

Here beginnethe the pleasant vale called valle di Diane, which takethe his name of a castle therby called Diano. At the entring into this vale on the right hand there is a cave or denn within the rock whiche is about 30 feet in height and 50 wide; this cave is full of running cleere water, and in the middle of the water there is an altar which they call Altare di San Michael, and the water is so abundant about it, that is appeareth to be a little lake. Of this great abundance of water hath a river his beginning called Negro, which maketh a great rumerous noise untill he cumeth into the middes of the vale. This vale is xx miles in lengthe and iiiij in breadthe.

The hilles about it are so inhabited as it is wonder to behold. Yt bringeth the furthe marvelous plentie of corn and all kindes of frutes.
From Pola to Ateno . . . . . iiiij
From thense to Sala . . . . . iiiij
From Thens to Padula . . . . . iiiij

To this town of Padula stretchethe the principalitie of Salerno.

5 This is a faire towne situated at the rootes of the hill. It be-
longethe to Don Francesco Deste, the Duke of Ferrarae's brother who
maried the Ladie Mary Cardona that was wiff unto Anthony Cardona
Marques of Padula, who died in the yere 1513. And now th'Emperor for
his good service hathe confirmed yt unto Don Francesco. Without this
towne of Padula there is hard by the walle's side a monasterie of
charter friers called San Lorenzo di Padula, which is walled abowt
and seemethe as bigg as the towne of Padula, which hathe within yt
pleasant gardines and faire rowmes, with princelie conveiance of things
all abowt yt. This monasterie may dispendDatein revenues three pounds
of gold a day, which ammountethe to fourescore and fowretine crownes
the pound, and in English money it is above thirtie poundes. On
pound of gold they receave a day to the proper use of themselves, all
costs and charges besides born and discharged. They are in number as
manie friers as there are dayes in the yere, that is to say three
hundrethe three score and fowre. They have in the monasterie officers'
servannts attending upon them and dailie laborars two hundrethe.

Here we cost from the vale uppe the hill after we cum to
Montesano, which standeth at the rootes of the hill.

From Padula to Casal Nuovo . . . . . xij

This towne is on the side of the hill and belongethe to the
said monasterie of San Lorenzo.
After we have goone a mile from hense we enter into a great thicke woode called Bosco del Pellegrino, whiche is verie jeopardous to passe. For there do the banisshed men of the kingdom lie manie times for their praye, and many a man is there robbed and slaine in the yere by them.

From Casal Nuovo to Lago Negro . . . . viij\text{ ml}

From thense to Luria . . . . viij\text{ ml}

Here be sharpe mountaynes to passe and wonderous to beholde on all sides with infinit springs of water. This towne, th'inhabitants saye, belongethe to the prince of Salerno. And after we are cum a vi or vii miles from yt, we enter into an other woode not all thing so jeopardous as the first, called Bosco di Castelluccio or as som say, Silva de Lusillo.

From Luria to Castelluccio . . . . viij\text{ ml}

This towne belongeth to the Baron della Crone. After we are past this towne we cum to a river called Lauso, whereupon standethe a litle towne named Laino, throwghe the which this river runnethe: wheras the Dukedom of Calabria beginnithe which dothe alwais appertain unto the King of Naples' eldest sonn. After we passe this we enter into verie sharp and stonie hilles.

From Castelluccio to Rotonda . . . . xiiiij\text{ ml}

This is a pretie towne well compact abowt a round hill, and bicause the howses are on all sides joyning together and stand bound on by an other, therfor (I think) it is so named. After we have goone a good while from hense we cum at lengthe to descende from the hilles throwghe a strait, sharpe, roode and stonie waye, which a man
wolde judge to have been cutt owt of the rock by force of hand, for
it is on both sides as yf a man shulde enter into a gate. When we
are doone these hilles we cum into a faire plaine, and on the right
hand there is upon the hille's side the town of Murano.

From Rotonda to Murano  \( \text{xij} \text{ml} \)
Rotondo and Morano bothe do belong unto the prince of Bisiguano.
From Morano to Castro Villare  \( \text{iiiij} \text{ml} \)
Th'Emperor made duk of this town, Giovan Battista Cariati, Count of Cariati and surrnamed Spinello, who had Don Pietro de Toledo
in great indignation which was vicere of Naples, for keaping his syster as his concubine, making him beleve he wold marye herr.

This towne is situated at the end of the aforesaid plaine, and at the departing owt of it we descend a wondrous way downwards from the hill. By the way upon the right hand we may see Altomonte on the hill, within a mile wherof are the wonderous mines of salt. And a litle by yonde them are marvellous hige hilles upon the which is continuallie great abundance of snowe, which by the heate of the sonn dothe congele and becommethe cristall, wherof there is great abundance upon those hilles.

In the vale that is over against Altomonte is manna gathered in the sommer time which fallethe from the aere in the night: and so much more abundantlie yt after a great raign the daye before there folow a cleere night. This manna is gathered upon trees that have leaves like unto a plumme tree. There is two sortes of yt, the on fallethe upon the leaves (which is the perfectest) and the other upon the bodie and bowes of the tree. And of this they make great merchandise.
From Castro villare to thentrie into the vale of Grati, whiche is so named by the river. 

This vale is verie long but somewhat narrowe. In the middle of yt runneth the river Grati, whiche is augmented on everie side with other little riverse that cum into yt, as the rivers Finito, Settimo, Sordo, Busento, and Saunto, which is the river that in times past hathe bene so famous, called Acheron. The vale is a goodlie plaine peice of grownde, with hilles on bothe sides which are wonderous frutefull and marvelouslie inhaled with townes and villages.

From thentrie into the vale to Cosenza. 

Following a long the vale we arrive at lengthe at the end of yt, where we enter into part of the towne Consenza called il Borgo, and so passe the bridg over the river Grati to cum into the citie, which dothe appeare to be but a strete in lengthe. This citie is the head of all Calabria, called in times past Consentia by old writers. The greatest part of yt standethe upon the side of the hill Appennine which cummethe throwghe the middle of Italye, built upon seven little hilles. And for this the armes of the towne are vij hilles. Upon the toppe of the hill on hige towardes the sowthe there is a strong castle, unto the which the towne and the places abowt is subject. The coun- trey abowt is verie frutefull and hath abundance of corn, frutes and good wines. In the highe churche called the Archbisshopricke there is a coffin by the walle's side with the armes of Fraunce upon yt, where (they of the towne saye) liethe the body of Charles the Great, sometime king of Fraunce. Upon the toppe of the hill by the castle there are sundrie olde ruines in great quantitie of auntient buildings.
In the Borgo on this side the river there is a great church of St Dominik wherein is this epitaph upon a tomb.

Hoc sita sunt Petri Rodorici membra sepulcro
Ultima preclarum quem tuliit Speria.
Praetor erat Calabris vita, set febribus ante
Heu quam Praeturae munera functus obiit.
Quo pietate prior nemo et ferventior aequi;
Famam orbes,ossa solum, spiritus astra colit.

Livi make the oft mention of this town, and in one place he saith how the people called Brutii were yielded to Hannibal, and C. Servilius Consul made a peace with Consentia and the other people.

The river Grati, called in old time Cratis, hath his beginning about six miles above Cosenza on the east side out of a plentiful fountain of water. When it cummeth to the town yt is faire and larg, and there entrethe into him before he cummeth under the bridge the river called Busento; which two waters, as th'inhabitants report, have two sundrie virtues. For thone, that is to say Grati, yt a man washe his heade or silk in the water of yt, the heare and the silk becum an aubern or flexie colour. And the water of Busento on the other side make the yt to becum sumwhat black and of a dark colour: according to these verses of Ovid in the 15 booke of Metamorph:

Cratis et huic Sybaris nostris conterminus oris,
Electro similes faciunt, auroque capillos.

And the water of Grati is counted verie helthsome for manie infirmities. It is not verie cleere by the reason that it cummeth with such a force downe from the mountaynes of a great height.

From Cosenza to L'Aielo . . . . xvjml

After we passe Cosenza we ascende uppe upon verie highe hilles and emong them we travell so long till at last we arrive at Aielo,
which standeth upon a hill and hath a verie straite, sharp and stonie way unto yt. Above the towne is a fair large castle where the count lieth that is owner of the towne, and yt is almost as hige above the towne as the towne is from the valleye where we ascende situated upon a verie rock. Out of this castle there is a faire prospect over all the hilles and plains abowt. From L'Aielo towards San Biasi we cum upon a highe hill nighe unto the place called Golfo di San Eufemia, where the countrey is but xx miles in breadethe and a man may discern upon that hill the seeas that are on both sides of Italie, that is to saye to Golfo di San Eufemia, and the golf on the other side called Golfo di Squilacci. In this countrey they burn no candles and litle oyle, but their light is a kind of wood whiche burneth like a torche, beeing kept drie. The wines here are to extreme colde to be dronk of suche as are not accustomed to them. Before we cum to St. Biasi wee ride throughge a woode verie thick and jeopardous to passe called Bosco di Santo Mazzio, whiche hathe bine most famous for robberies and murtheres committed in yt, of all the rest within the realm. For the theves did not onlie robb in great companies within yt, but also yt they sawe a number ride so strongly together that they thought not themselves able to mak their part in good, they had emong the trees certain peices of artillarie to discharg at them, whiche were the death of manie a man. But now all the wood that was anie thing nige unto the high waye is burnt downe, and the trees remaine full of coles, without eyther leaf or bowe abowt them, and some lying upon the earthe half burnt. This was done by th'Emperor's commandment when he passed bye there. At owr cuming owt
of this wood we may discern a faire plaine and a bewtiful countrey, full of plesant places abundant with sundrie kindes of frutes. And on the left hand we may see the towne of Nicastro with the countrey about yt well tilled and verie plentifull, which is a great delite to beholde.

From Aielo to San Biasi . . . . . \(xx\) ml
This towne belongeth to the Count of Nicastro.
From thense to a river called Scala . . \(xv\) j ml
From thense to Montelion Duke . . . \(vi\) j ml
This hath been an auntient towne in times past, as it dothe appeare by certain great ruines there and old statures.
From thense to Seminara . . . . \(xxx\) ml
This is a pretie towne well inhabited and a plentifull countrey round about yt, of corn, frutes, wine, and in especiallie olives great abundance. Yt belongeth to the Count. When we bee past Seminara we ascend uppe the Appennine upon the which we may beholde the plenti-full and frutefull countrey about yt, all tilled full of vines and frute trees. Travailing thus upon the Apennine we may discern Vulcano, Strongoli and the yles there about within the see, and also Mongibello laden with snowe within Sicilia.
From Seminara to Fiumara del Moro . . \(x\) ml
Before we arrive here we descend somewhat from the Apennine a verie steepe and narrowe waye. This little towne is situated upon a rock with water round about yt, belonging to a barron that take the his name of it. After we arrive at Fiumare del Moro we yet descend more into a valley, whereas is great abundance of the trees called
mori, with the which silkewormes are fedd; and by them paradventure
the towne taketh his name. In this valley full of frutfull trees on
all sides, we ride bye abundance of vines, arange trees, and limones.
Here we leave the Appennine which keapethe more within the land and
goeth to Reggio. Upon the side of him cumming downe we may easlie
see into Sicilia and plainlie descern the straigt that is betwext it
and Italie. In this valley we folowe the litle river that cummethe
from Fiumare del Moro untill he enter into the seea.

From Fiumare del Moro to Catona . . . . . \textit{iij\textsuperscript{m}l}

Here standethe hard upon the seea an olde decayed towre by the
which is a verie beggerlie house made for an ynn called Catona, to
receave such as take passage from thense to Messina, and when there
want passangers, to lodge the bardge menn that are continuallie there
with their vessells readie to transport passengers unto the other
side, which is but sixe miles over. This passage is much used of the
people of the countrey to and fro. From hense to Reggio, which is
counted the verie end of Italie, are vij miles, gooing still in the
plaine valley betwext the Appennine and the seea. This towne hathe
often bine vexed, spoiled, and destroied. And not long sith yt
hathe receaved great damage by Barbarossa: yt is abundant with faire
litle rivers and clere springs, and besett in everie place with
pleasant gardines replenisshed with all kinds of frutes, and in
especiallie aranges, which are so plentifull there and of suche a
biggnes that they are most desired in Sicilia above all other for a
great delicasie.

From Reggio to Messina . . . . . \textit{xij\textsuperscript{ml}}
There is in this towne on of the fairest portes in Europe, standing as well for the Levant and all those quarters as for the Ponent. The towne standeth somewhat upon the side of a hill, between the hill and the port. Upon the hill there are two or three faire castles, kept by Spaniards. Yt is more in lengthe then in breadth. The cheffest thing for antiquitie I sawe there, were the heads of Scipio and Hannibal when they were yong men, in stone. The verie same (they of the citie say) that in times past were sent unto the communewale of Messina by the senate and people of Roome in token of the good will towardes the town, for the fidelitie and great good will they alwaies bore to the Romanes; presenting them with the head of him that had done so muche good to Roome, and also of him who was the cruellest enemie that ever Roome had. These remaine straightlie kept in the towne house of Messina, and not to bee seene, without yt be for friendshippe, to strangers. For a new worke and that not finisshed at my being there, I saw a fountaine of verie white marble graven with the storie of Acteon and such other, by on Giovan Angelo, a florentine, which to my eyes is on of the fairest peace of worke that ever I sawe. This fountain was appointed to be sett uppe before the hige church where there is an old one alreadie. Here is an old palaice belonging unto the Kings of Sicilia, and now most part of it is built a new from the ground: upon the front of the palaice is this inscription:

Regia sum regum studijs fundata piorum,
Aequoreum lustrando sinum lithusque decorum.
Exhibuit formam quam vides nunc Fridericus
Rex plus eximius summae vittutis amicus

An° M° viceno cumque ccc et nono Dñi.

After two dayes abode in Messina and vewed what was to bee seen there, I departed from thense towards Siracuse.

From Messina to Ali by the sea side . . . . \(xv\) ml

From thense to Tauromina . . . . \(xv\) ml

Cicero makethe oft mention of this towne in his orations against Verres. Yt standethe upon a hill not farr from the seea, and abowt yt are verie auntient ruines. By yonde this towne as we go to Catania are growing a great number of canes of sugar called cannemele. Yt is a plaine countrey full of marisshes untill we cum upon the rootes of Mongibello, called in the old time Aetna: which we do long before we cum to Catania.

From Tauromino to Catania . . . . \(xxx\) ml

This towne is placed upon the seea side at the rootes of Mongibello. Yt standethe most by fisshermenn, that travaill the seea day and night. It hath bine a famous citie in times past, but now there is litle to be seene abowt it, except the ruines of an olde aqueduct which browght water above ground from a farr of. And, saving of late yeres, there could no water be found abowt the towne, which hath bine the decay of this aqueduct. The towne of Catania is built with ruggie heavie stone full of litle holes, which th'inhabitants saye have in times past bine cast owt of Mongibello. True it is indeed that such

\(^1\)Folios 70 -71r which follow in the manuscript have been omitted here.
kinde of stone lie in great quantitie abowt the hill, which to look upon a man wold judge no lesse but they cam owt of fire: and before we cum to the rootes of this hill we find none of them abowt the countreye, but there is such abundance that they wearie both mann and beast to travaill upon.

This hill Aetna or (as it is now named) Mongibello verie famous emong the writers of old time: th'inhabitants of the towne of Catania call yt by no other name but their hill, yet is yt from thense to the verie toppe litle lack of xxx miles, as they tolde me, alwais ascending yeven from the towne, thowghe not much at the first. It is a verie uneasie waye by the reason of the great quantitie of great and sharpe stones that are upon yt. The hill is round, bigg and nige none other, the toppe is alwais laded with snowe, and speciallie in the winter time, for then (they saye) within sixe mile of the toppe yt is covered for the space of sixe monethes: and except a mann waite a time in the month of Julie or August, yt is not possible to go to the toppe. The verie toppe is flatt and compasseth a great matter more then it appearethe a far of, whereas in the on part yssueth the owt smoke at a wide hole manie times to be descerned when there blowethe a sowthe east winde, abowt the evening like unto a litle cloud. The other part is alwais covered with abundance of snowe, which in the sommer time meltethe awaye and there makethe a great lague where beastes wandring abowt the hill refreshe themselves. But it is never withowt great quantitie of snowe neyther winter nor sommer.
Mine intent was being here in Catania to have made a journey to the toppe of the hill, but th'inhabitants persuaded me to the contrairie, saing that the snowe was to thick, the way so troublesom, and the cold so extreme, that I shuld not be able to bring my purpose to passe. (And again which was worst of all) there was no lodging to be had; and to goo and com back again but from the hither most part of the snowe which liethe upon the hill, they said it was not possible in a daye. Th'inhabitants of the towne saye that in times past the hill was accustomed everie three score or foure score yeres at the farthest, to cast owt great streames of fire like unto a river, which cam from the toppe of the hill unto the verie walles of the towne and manie times put the towne in great perill, burning all that part of it that was next unto yt. I demaunded the question of them whie it raged not so still keaping his accustomed due time: and this fonde answere was made me. 'Bicause (say they) we have now a protectrice and defender from yt, called Santa Agatha, to whom the great churche of the towne is dedicated, and when soever anie likelihoode is of this kind of rage, herr holie bodie (which is here reserved within the churche) is ymmediatlie browght furthe in procession, and incontinentlie yt asswageth, or at the least it refrayneth, thowghe not altogether from flaming, yet from annoying the towne in suche sort as it was accustomed in time to fore.' And this they say hath bine onse done in the memorie of man. But th'onlie ocation whie it neyther ragethe, burnethe, flamethe nor smokethe at this present as it hathe done in thold time, is, that matter within wantethe, which in these manie hundrethe yeres hathe done nothing but consume; and therfor at this present it neyther flamethe nor yet castethe owt such quantitie of stones enie more. But
smoke it dothe a litle now and then, which a man shall see arise from the toppe like a litle white cloude. This hill may be seene well an hundrethe miles by land and two hundrethe by seea. It raigneth sel-dome eyther winter or sommer but it fillethe the toppe of it with snowe, as I have wondred myself lying upon the sea, to see with a litle mistie raign in the evening, what abundance of snowe was augmented upon the hill by the morning.¹

From Catania to the passing of a river . . . viij\textsuperscript{ml}

This is on of the fairest rivers in all Sicilia, called by none other name vulgarlie but fiume de Catania. It is large, deepe and of a somewhat sweeft stream. His beginning is partlie owt of Mongibello, but principallie owt of the hilles by yonde that.

From the nse to Lintini . . . . x\textsuperscript{ml}
" " " Siracusa . . . . xxiiiij\textsuperscript{ml}

This is the towne so famous in all writers both greeke and latin, which hath bine esteemed on of the principallest cities of all Greece, This it was, that Dionisius the tirant was king of, and wherein he played so manie tiranicall partes. The name of it doth still remaine, but the bewtee and majestie of it is cleane decayed. No part of it is now inhabited but onlie that which was wont to be the least part of the citie, called the iland. And indeed it is an yland, saving that at the entrie where the gate is, there is a litle peace of grownd of a xl foot broode. After our entrie at the gate, we cum into a large

¹Folio 74\textsuperscript{r} which follows in the manuscript has been omitted here.
greene, and by yonde that is the towne, situated upon a rocke, built thick together. Over against this rocke on the other side, which a man wold not judge passing xx score, is the maine land of Sicilia; and in at that straite cumethe the sea whiche makethe a verie large and bewtiful haven within the land of a great compasse. At this narrow passage of the seea into the haven is a strong castle kept by the Spaniardes, within the which is a lantern to bee seene a farr of. The auntientest thing within the towne is the highe church built upon olde great pillars. Undermethe the rocke there issueth the owt suche abundance of water and so sweeftlie that is is straunge to beholde: and it cumeth not xl foote from the rocke but it entrethe into the haven. This springe or litle river that I may call it findethe all the towne with water, and thither they bring asses with great earthen pottes upon their backs to fetch it home to their howses. It issueth from under the rocke as thowgh it had some trouble by the way, as the water hath that cummeth from an hige mountain emong great stones. The colour of it is like unto water when it is sodd. In drinking it hathe a tast above other waters somwhitt like unto whay. Of the origion of it there have bine sundrie opinions. For sum have ghesed that is summeth from Arcadia, where it entrethe into the earthe and goethe under the seea and so ariseth again in this place, according to Cvid, lib. v. Metamorph:

Quae tibi causa fugae? Cur sis Arethusa sacer fons?

and again in the same place:

Delia rupit humum: caecisque ego mersa cavernis
Advehor Ortigiam:
The Siracusani that inhabited the citie were also called Arethusides by the name of this fountain, as Ovid make the mention 4 Fast. Utque Siracusas Arethusidas abstulit armis Claudius. Sum other say it cummethe owt of the yland of Sicilia: which in my opinion is unliklie, because the towne or the yland of Siracusa is invironed on the land side with drie rocks and betwext those rocks and the towne there is a plaine where we enter into the towne. And again it is to great abundance of water, and issueth owt to swfitlie, to have his beginning in the litle rocke upon the whiche the towne standeth invironed with salt water. Not farr from this fountain there are certain springs within the seea which arrise owt of the bottom and discover on the topped without anie tast at all of the salt water.

Without the towne there are sundrie ruines about the port, which compasseth above xii miles, where the cheef of the citie was wont to bee, which was divided into seven townes. The principall matters to be seene there, is the fore front of a church dedicated to Jupiter, which standeth upon a litle round hill and was in the middle of the citie. A theater cutt by force of hand owt of the verie rocke adjoyning to the citie, in the toppe wherof yssueth owt at a hole owt of the rocke a faire spring of freshe water. There is also a hole or cave in the rocke like a vawte a xxx foote brode, which th'inhabitants say hathe no end; for diverse have gone so farr that for lacke of aere their torches have gone owt, and for want of light and aere wold go no farther. This cave is a straunge thinge to beholde, being by art cutt into the hard stone. Here are the ruines of Dionisius' palacie to be seene, and also of the Latomiae that he made to punish trespasers.
In on part of the hill there is a great deepe pitt and brode, where I beleve they had their stone in thold time to build the citie. When I had taried three dayes in Siracusa attending for passage to Malta, there arrived sodainlie in a night the galies of Malta, upon the whiche I met with an Englishman called Richard Lucas a gonner upon on of them, who persuaded me to goo back again to Messina with them by seea, saing I shuld find nothing at Malta worth the sight, without it were the knigts there, wherof they had store upon their galies. These galies went to Messina to be rigged, dressed and vittayled to accompanie Andrea Doria on his journey to wynn again the towne of Aphrica upon the seea in Barbary, which Dragout Rais the famous rover upon those seeas, had a litle before taken by force and fortified: the whiche he brought to passe with great honor in the moneth of September.

We departed owt of Siracusa the second day of Marche and were driven by force of wether to drawe to the port of Augusta, which is xxiiiij miles from Siracusa. In this port we laye ij dayes, for the wind was against us. Afterward we sett forwardes and sailed to Messina fourscore miles from thense.

By the arm of land that compassethe in the port of Messina is the perilous place of Charibdis, much spoken of in times past, which by the beating of the see against the said land is a great surgess, over the which we cam with our galie, which was beginning to turn abowt: but the slaves putt to great labor, so that at last we passed it, without daunger, and arrived in the port of Messina, where after iij dayes abodd I sett forwardes in a shippe towards Naples. And as
we passed owt of the faro of Masseno where the lantern is, which is a two miles and half brode betwext Calabria and Sicilia, we cam by the other jeopardous place called in times past Scylla, which is nothing elles but a great rocke that leaneth owt into the seea on the side of Calabria, against the which the salt water, driven by the violence of the windes, reboundeth backe again with great force, not without the hasard oftentimes of manie vessells. This rocke is holowe undernethe and makethe such a terrible noise (the water beating in and driven owt again) that it hath caused the poetes to faine in this sort--Ovid.

Altera Scylla monstrum medicame Circes
Pube premit rapidos inguinibusque canes.

And Virgil making Elenas to speake to Aenaeas admonishing him of the perill that was here, and faining the shape of Scylla (which is a bare rocke without anything upon yt) saith in this sort--Aeneid, lib. 3:

Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo
Pube tenus; postrema immani corpore pistrix,
Delphini caudas, utero commissa luporum.

When we were past the faro of Messina and sailed all that daye and the night folowing, there arrose a little after midnight suche a contrarie winde that we were driven from the yland of Strongoli back again, and recovered the port of Melazzo, abowt xxx miles from Messina by Seea. In this port before the towne of Melazzo we taried for better winde xiiiij dayes, without cumming to land at all in all these dayes. Because the maner is here and likewise in all other ports towards the levant, that no man shall be suffred to take land with-
The master of the shipp bring a certificat from whense he cummeth, the which we did not, thinking full little that we shuld be driven upon that coast again, after we were onse departed. Neither had our master anie certificat from Barletta, wher he laded corn for Naples, and therfor neythur he nor anie of his companie cold not be permitted to cum a land, neyther at Messina nor here. When we wold have anie victualles or anie thing elles we had neede of, there were certain of the shipp appointed to go to the verie edge of the shore, and there to call to on that is appointed there for that onlie purpose, who causeth the it to bee browght thither ymmediatlie, and after the bargain is made, the victualles are laide downe upon some stone, and the bringer goeth from yt: thin goeth on of the shippe to receave yt and lasthe downe so much monie for yt, as ther covenant was betwext them, and so con­vayethe it to the shippe.

The occation of this is bicause the plague rayneth so muche in the parties of levant, that they are loth to practise with anie that cummeth from thense. But if anie man cam from the Ponent they make not the matter so straigt.

This towne of Melazzo semethe to bee strong for that it hath bine newlie fortified all abowt. Yt standethe upon a hill above the seea. I have bine informed that at suche time as Principe Doria was wont everie sommer to sette furthe his armye bye seea, to find cwt the great Cowrsar Dragouth Rais, he hathe bine seen to entre into this port and the rovar Dragouth to cum furthe of it at the verie same time, withowt anie stroke geven. When I demanded the question what was th'occation therof, they answered me that on rover wold not take
another. But the Prince spent everie yere the emperor's monie to entertaine good fellowes that lacked wages, and not to come to anie handstroke.

Here abowt upon certain rocks within the seae groethe plentie of course corall bothe redd & whitte. When the wether was faire and had winde at will, we departed from Melazzo and coasted the ylandes abowt Sicilia, and cam by Lipari, whiche is a plentifull pcece of ground and a prettie towne standing a hige upon a hill. There is a place within this yland that a fewe yeres sith did burn: and the fond opinion of menn is that because it was very noisom to the countrey, the maydens upon a time vowed to drinke nothing but water, wherupon it ceased, and burnt no more never sins. Also Vulcano which castethe owt with great abundance thicke and darke smoke whiche hathe a verie evell savor.

Besides these, Salina which compasseth litle more than a mile and a half, and bringeth furthe fruts of sundrie sortes, which amount to viii hundreth ducats a yere, as I was enforwmed. After this we cum by Panaria and Strongoli, which is a litle hill and sharp in the toppe, where as with a sowtheast winde, arrisethe a wondrous great flame everie half quarter of an howre, with such flasses of fire that cumming by it at midnight being verie darke, we might in the shippe decern on another as well as by day light. Abowt this yland is almost nothing to bee seene but all asshes, emong the whiche are pumishe stones which are so light that they flee upp with the flame and so fall in the asshes. Yf they be taken before they towche the salt water they are verie good and perfect: there is greate abundance of them
that falling into the sea are carried upon the coast of Calabria, and many times left upon the dry land. We came towards Naples betwixt the island of Crapi and Capo di Minerva, that is on the other side of Baia, which two points of earth make the golf that summeth in to Naples. Betwixt Naples and Sicilia it is reckoned as much by sea as by land, that is three hundred miles.

We came to Naples the xxvi\textsuperscript{h} of March, within xviij dayes after our setting out from Messina. In the shippe I cam in there was an Englishman a gunner there, called Jhon Crpinn, who was married in Naples.

After mine arrivall in Naples I found there newlie com thither Mr. Edward Stradling, Fraunces Williams, Jhon Handfoot, and Thomas Grinwaye. Mr. Parkar and Mr. Barker were departed, whom I found not afterward untill I cam to Siena again. Being thus in Naples we made a journey together to Salerno, which they were desirous to see, and we departed in a bote to Castel Mare, which is xviij miles. This town standeth at the roots of the hill that goeth out into the sea to make the promonterie of Minerva. Here is great abundance of faire springs of water, and the countrey verie pleasant, and plentious of good frutes. From hense we passe to Nucera, which is viij miles, and from thence to Salerno as manie. When we had seen Salerno sufficientlie we entred into a bote to go a long the faire coost of Amalfi, which is praysed to be on of the pleasantest pieces of ground in all Italie. This coost is xx miles in lengthe, which is all of sharpe and hige hilles, on the side wherof such plentie of townes, villages, and howses of pleasure are planted so thicke together, that
a man wold judge them, passing along by them on the seea, to be all
together but on citie. These plesant places are marvelouslie in-
habited, where a mann shall see all kindes of frutes in great per-
feccion, as arange, limones, citrons, cedar trees, olives, plummes,
pourgarnetts, cheries, and such other, which shuld be long to repete.
Besides these, vines of great estimation and such abundance of
savorous flowres that it is no less pleasure to behold them then to
smell to them. The aere is verie temperat, and is open on the seea
almost on everie side. On the toppe of the hill there is a towne
called Rovello, which appeareth the afarr of to be verie faire. Benethe
that on the hilles side is Maggiore, of a bewtifull building, and
Minore, two faire townes. The seeas went to hige and the winde was
so contrarie that we were driven of force to land at Minore, which is
x miles from Salerno. Here is wonderous plentie of parfect good vine
greco which I marvailed much to see sold so good chepp; for a caraffa
which is abowt a quart Englishe was sold for viij cavallucci, which
is scarce iij farthings. From hense we went a verie narowe and straite
wayne upon the side of the hill to Amalfi, two miles of, which is a
pretie citie plesantlie built and faire to beholde with the castle
above it belonging to the duke, and all the coost abowt it. Here was
a garison of Spaniardes, which issued owt abrode manie times to take
suche banished menn (called forusciti) as lijing upon the hilles did
great damage to the inhabittants of the countrey. At owr arrivall
understanding the Marques of Capistrano, the duk's sonn, to bee in
the castle with his mother the Dutchesse (for the olde acquaintance,
frendshipp and familiaritie I had with him in Siena), I thought it
belonging to thoffice of humanitie to do my dutie to him, at whose hands in time before I had receaved so great curtesie. When he sawe me and Whitehorn cumming into the castle to him he did no onlie gentlie receave us with loving entertainment, but also browght us in to the Dutchesse his mother to do the like towards us. And while we were sitting in communication together, he had privilie willed on of his menn to bring uppe into the castle to him the rest of owr companie remaining benethe in the towne, where we supped all together, everie mann served his mess severallie at the table to himself in sylver verie honorablie. And there had he with him at supper the Captain of the towne the better to entertain us all. When suppar was done everie mann was browght to his rest: Whitehorn and I were had into a chamber hanged with clothe of gold and vellett, wherein were two beddes, th'on of silver worke and the other of vellett, with pillowes bolsters and the shetes curiouslie wrowght with neelde worke. In another chamber hard bie lay Stradlinge and Grinwaye. And bicause there was not provision sufficient within the castle, Handfort and Frauns Williams were ledd to the Captain's howse of the towne, where they laye sump-tiouslie, and were greatlie feasted. In the morning we wold needes depart contrarie to the Marquesse will: who understanding by us owr entent was, (the better to see the countrey) to go over the great hill, had privilie appointed a dosen of souldiers Spaniards to attend upon us, and to conduct us through the jeopardous places there abowt, where those kinde of banisshed menn were most likelie to bee. When they cam sodainlie to us at our departure declaring unto us the Marques's will, we refused that their gentle offre ocationed by him.
Notwithstanding, when we were departed (seeing them return backe again) he gave straite commaundment to two or three to folowe us in all hast with their peeces charged, and not to leave us till we cam to the toppe of the hill, and there to see us provided of things necessarie. This was a darke, mistie and rainie morning.

In Amalfi in the great Churche called San Andrea there are the bones of Saint Androwe, by the which is a vessell which (they say) is alwais full, and distilleth owt of those bones a certain oyl, called by th'inhabitants manna (as they say), which is given to pillgrommes and straungers by a preest appointed therto, and yet the vessell is alwais full nobodie adding anie thing to it.

To passe to the toppe of this hill of Amalfi it is a steepe, hard, stonie, narrowe, werisom and troblesom waye, for we ascend alwais upon degrees and stayers of stone sett there by the menn of the countrey to passe to and fro.

When we cam to the toppe of the hill there we found readie provision made for us against owr cumming, bothe fruts of all sorts to present us, and also horses to ride onwardes upon owr journey. Which horses we refused, saing that we could better go downe a foote than cum upp.

From Amalfi to the toppe of the hill it is reckened viij miles, and hitherto did the Spaniards conduct us.

At the bottom of the hill we passed over the river Sarno, communlie called Scafaro, which passage belongethe to the Duke of Amalfi, and so cam to Torre della Nunciata, which is from the toppe of the hill viij miles, where we laye that night. The next daye we
arrived in Naples again xvij miles.

Seeing at Amalfi the Marquess understanding we had not as yet seen the yland of Ischia, willed us in anie wise not to depart owt of the countrey untill we had seene yt: for he assured us it was on of the strongest places and worthiest to bee seene of all christendom: and overnight causeth a letter to bee written unto the captain of the towne (which he sent me in the morning) to shew us the same, as cuming from him; for he is nige of kinn unto the Marquess of Pescara, to whom it belongeth. So we made this jorney to Ischia by seea, which is xviiij miles from Naples: where after owr arrivall, presenting unto the captain this letter from the Marquess, we were lovinglie receaved and gentlie entertayned. There went with me thither Mr. Stradling, where we laye that night. The next daye we were shewed the situation, strengthe, fortification and ordre of the towne of Ischia. The maine yland is xx miles in compass, full of great hilles and villages, the towne is seperated from the maine yland and is an yland of it self, saving that on the side towards the maine yland it hath a bridge made of a heape of stones within piles to go in and owt at. The towne standeth upon a rocke and the castle on hige upon the veir topp of the rocke. Beside the castle, there is a litle privie staiere cutt owt of the stone to go upp and downe at yf neede bee. At the entrie into the towne we must passe iiiij or v gates, and somme of yron. After we are passed the first gate, we go through a vawte or entre that is cutt owt of the rocke for passage, in the which we continue untill we cum a hige upon the rocke where the towne standeth, where there is a veir open aere to looke all about both by seea and
by land. Within the towne there be iiiij or v larg sestornes cutt in
the verie rocke to receave and keep the raign water within them, which
by pipes and conduictes is convayed into them. And indeed in all
points we found the towne no lesse then the Marquess had said. Three
miles from this towne, there is an other yland adjoining to yt, called
Procida, which is nothing so big as this, nor the towne so faire, nor
so strong. When we had seene whatsoever was worthe sight in the towne
of Ischia, we departed towards Naples again in a vessell, owr leave
first taken of the Captain, who had so gentlie entreated us at owr
bring there. And thus on neytherside of Naples was there anie thing
left unseene that was worthie to be seene.

This realm of Naples is verie plentifull of all things behouffull
for the lyving of mann. For yt in the countrey of Calabria (which by
the reason of so manie sharpe hige hilles and stonie rockes is com-
munlie adjudged the worst and barronest part of the realm) ye find
such great abundance of necessarie things (besides other dilicaties of
pleasure), as is wheate, barlie, and all other graine, wine of all
tastes, oyle, sugar, honie, waxe, salte, bothe owt of mines, and made
of salt water, gold, sylver, wolles, silke in great quantitie, manna
a verie rare thing and precious, saffron, olive trees, figg trees,
arang trees, lymons, citrons with a number of other plesant fruts;
which judge ye maye ye find in the other partes of the realm, which
are plaine feeldes and dailie tilled, as Terra di lavoro and Paglia,
which for the fertilitie of the ground are esteamed the best partes
in the realm. The citie itself is replenisshed with all things, so
good cheape in respect of all other cities in Italie, that it is
wonder to see, and in especiallie the great quantity of frute that are there. It is communlie called Napoli Gentile, by the reason of the great Nobilitie owt of all partes of the realm within it, which (as I have said) have their severall palaces there. At owr being here there arrived a shipp which had browght in herr from Manfredonia iij hundrethe brass peecs great and small, which had the armes of the Duke of Saxonie and the Landegrave upon them, and upon the som of them the pope was made like unto a devell. These peecs and manie mo were taken when th'Emperor had the victorie against the Germanes, and most of them were conveyed to Naples by seea. The most of them that cam this time to Naples were hackbutts a croke. But some of them were faire great peecs, bothe canons, culverines and sacres. Here I taried for the companie of Mr. Stradling and Grinwaye a monethe after my cumming owt of Sicilia. The xxvijth of April we departed owt of Naples and that morning arrived there from Genoa the Prince Andrea Doria with xl galies, to go on his jorneye towards Aphrica, and to take the xij galies that were in Naples with him which towne of Aphrica (as I have said) he tooke in September folowing.

From Naples to Patria ... xvm

Hard by this towne of Patria appeares the old ruines of the citie of Linternum, where Scipio Aphricanus dwelt in exile owt of his country. It is not farr from the seea. By this place is a lague where we pass, which is called Lago della Patria and in sum place it is two miles brode, and insom other a mile, half a mile, and more and less.

Emong the ruines here there is a fountain or spring of sowre
water, which the inhabitants say is good for the headache, and if a
man drink unordinately of it, it maketh him drunk as wine doth.

Before we come to Mondragone we pass through a great wood
which is verie parellous for the vthes and robbers.

From Patria to Castel Mare di Vulturino...

This is upon the river Vulturino that cometh from Capua and
where Terra di lavoro hath his beginning. In this place stood one
the ancient city of Vulturino.

From thence to Rocca di Mondragone...

This castle standeth upon the hill called in time past Mons
Massicus, a mile from the sea.

From thence to the passage of Garigliano...

Most writers say that after we are past this river we come into
Campania or Terra di lavoro.

This river was named in time past Lyris.

At the passage of it we may discern the old ruins of Minturnae,
where the general counsel was kept in the yere of our Lord 297,
where there is to be seen a theater almost whole, and a sumptuous
aqueduct with diverse other antiquities.

From Garigliano to Mola...

This town may be so called from the abundance of milles within
which that are driven by the force of the swift springs that come out of
the hills there. The country here about is fair and pleasant, full
of beutiful gardens. Here it is thought was Cicero's villa

Formiana, which he speaketh of 2 lb. de oratore, that Scipio and
Laelius being weary of studie refresshed their mindes with sportes
and pastimes. And Martial also maketh the mention of yt.

O temperatae dulce Formiae littus.

And a man that markethe the old sepultures, the ruines of great buildings and the number of epitaffes graven in stone, may soone judge that this place hathe bine muche inhabited in times past.

I drue owt certain epitaffes that I sawe there in gardines, wherof this was one, graven in a pece of marble a foote and half long and a foote brode:

\[\text{Imp. Caesari Divi Hadriani f.}\]
\[\text{Divi Trajani, nep. Divi Nervae}\]
\[\text{Pronepoti Tito Aelio Hadriano}\]
\[\text{Antonino Aug. Pio Pont. Max.}\]
\[\text{Trib. Pot. xj Cos. iiiij P.P.}\]
\[\text{Formiani publice.}\]

And in another pece of marble like unto that:

\[\text{L. Brutio L. F. Pal. Celeri}\]
\[\text{Equo Public, Praes. Coh. III}\]
\[\text{Aug. Thrag, Equit.}\]
\[\text{L. Brutius Primitivo Pater et}\]
\[\text{Justeia Mater}\]
\[\text{filio optimo}\]
\[\text{P.S.P.L. D.P.P.}\]

And in suche an other, this that followeth:

\[\text{L. Varronio L. F. Pal.}\]
\[\text{Capitoni Scribae Aedili C. Velato II}\]
\[\text{Viro Quinquen. Curatorii aurum Patrono}\]
\[\text{Coloniae ordo, Regalium quorum honore}\]
\[\text{Contentus sua pecunia posuit. L.D.D.D.}\]

From Mola and Castellone to Fundi . . . xxiiij\(^{\text{ml}}\)

All this waye we go upon Via Appia, which was made of faire larg stone. This towne standeth in a plaine, with a frute full countrey about yt, where are verie delicate wines, which Martial coold not have kept till they bee old, as he saith:
Hoec Fundana tulit foelix autumnus opinii
Expressit mulsum consul et ipse bibet.

So dothe Strabo and Plini also praise the wine of this countrey marvelouslie: this citie was sacked by Barbarossa, captain on the seea for the Turke, anno 1532. It belongeth now to the prince of Salmone.

From Fundi to Terracina . . . . . x\textsuperscript{ml}

Before we cum to the towne we passe the Marisseshes and cum to a straite passage betwext the hill and the seea cutt of the rocke by force of hand. And there entre we outh of the realm into the Pope's land.

This towne is built upon a rocke besides the hige hilles, compassed about with fennes and marisshes that the passage is verie daungerouse except a mann know the way. Upon the hill there be manie antiquities, and emong other a mann may behold a faire theater.

Suetonius makethe mention that Tiberius th'Emperor being at supper upon a time here abowt Terracina at the Praetorium, there fell sodainlie from the rocke above certain great stones which slewe dyverse of his frinde and servantes: and it was so sodainlie that Tiberius himself had much to do to skape. The countrey abowt is faire and pleasant, full of vines, and other trees of sundrie frutes. By yond Terracina in owr waye from Naples to Roome there is a river called Astura and a castle upon it of the same name, where Cicero fleeing outh of the handes of M. Antonius, was taken by Popilius (whose lyf he had saved before) and there most cruellie cutt of his head; as Livi and Plutarc write of him. And here we may see Monte Cicello upon the left hand by the seea side, which is verie hige to behold a farr off.
From Terracina to Piperno . . . . xvij ml

This towne standeth upon the hill named in times past Priven-num, as Vergil saith:

Pulsus ob invidiam, viresque superbas
Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe.

From thense to Sarmineta . . . . xiij ml

This towne standeth a hige upon a hill, benethe at the rootes of the hill there are certain hostries to lodg travaylers, where as do appeare certain old ruines. And it is thought the place called in the Scripture Tres tabernae was here, and not betwext Ostia and Roome.

From thense to Velitri . . . . xvij ml

This is a verie auntient citie placed upon a hill, and was wont to be the beawtifull and glorious citie of the Volsci. Yt reserveth his old name still. This citie hath bine verie famous as well for the auntientie of yt, as for that the predecessors of themperor Octavius Augustus had their beginning here. The wine here abowt Velitri is muche praysed.

From Velitri to Marino . . . . viij ml

This towne standeth upon a hill emong thicke wooddes and trees. Not farr from yt is a great lague. Sum imaginn this to be yt that was wont to be called Villa Mariana, nighe unto which dwelt Lutius Mur-renna. This towne belongeth the to house of Colonna in Roome.

From thense to Roome . . . . xiij ml

The countrey abowt is faire and plaine on all sides, full of antiquities, aqueducts and such other.

In Roome was now pope Giovan Maria Cardinall di Monte, called
Pope July the third, elected the vij of Februarie last past.

This yere being 1550, the yere of Jubyley was celebrated in Roome, which is everie xxv\textsuperscript{th} yere. And ymmediatlie after the pope was created he gave the first stroke at the wall in St. Petre's churche (according to the maner) called the golden gate, and is kept mured uppe untill the yere of Jubilie. And as the pope his owne parson geveth the first stroke here in St. Petre's Churche, so be there cardinalles appointed to the like in the other vj principall churches abowt Roome: then the first stroke ons geven, there be masons readie to digg it downe, and so it standeth the open all that yere: at the yere's end it is closed upp again. Whosoever will receave the full indulgence of this Jubilie must visit the vii principall churches of Roome all in on daie (which he shall have inough to do) a foote. With these and like fond traditions is the papall seate cheeflie maintained, to call menn owt of all places of christendomme to lighten their purses here, at pardons, indulgencs, and jubileis to stocks and stones. But suche fond folishnes was never better spied owt then it is now, nor less observed in all places, thowghhe manie perforce bee kept blinde still. And especiallye in Roome itself where they have bine so used to yt, that they are wearie of yt a great number.

We arrived in Roome the last daye of Aprill, and from thense we sett forwardes towards Sienna the vi\textsuperscript{th} of May, the verie same journey I cam before by Viterbo and Bolsena, which is rekoned an hundretthe miles, where we arrived in the ix\textsuperscript{h} of May.

At my return to Siena I found there Mr. Parkar and Mr. Barkar. And after I had setteld my self sumwhat to my book I continued there
but a while, beeing sent for by letters from my brother to repaire
towards th'Emperor's Court to him with convenient speede.

At this time was Don Diego in the towne, who cam from Roome to
declare unto the lordes of the towne th'Emperor's will, how for the
less charges unto his Majesty and for the better saveguard of the
towne, his pleasure was to build a fortress where, upon a hill within
the towne, which full sore against their wille, agreed thereunto.
The place was assigned by Saint Domenico and the plott cast owt before
I cam awaye; the which fortress in the yere 1552 was cast downe to
the earth again after the French armie was entred into the towne, and
they restored to their accustomed freedom and libertie, as Claudio
Tolomei declared in his oration to the French King at Compeign, beeing
sent unto him ambassador from the citie to render due thanks unto him
for setting them at libertie.

I departed owt of Siena the xix of Julye to Florence, where I
found Mr. Peto and Whithorn. From hense I went to Bologna and so to
Ferrara, where at Frankolini, five miles of, I tooke both and so cam
to Chioggia, which is an yland within the seea, built as Venice is.
From hense cum all the abundance of mellones that in the sommer time
are in Venice. Afterward we sailed to Venice, which is xx miles. In
Venice I rested a daie with Mr. Jhon Arundell, where I visited Mr.
Edmund Harvelle's wyff, whom she had buried that sommer, complyning
greatlie of the loss of so worthie a husband (as he was indeede), as
gentle a gentleman as ever served king, of whom all Englishemen found
great lacke.
From Venice to Margera . . . . v_mL
From thense by Mestre to Treviso . . . xij_mL

By this citie hathe all the countrey abowt his name Marca Trivigiana, because there was a Marquess sett there by the Lombardes, and gave him to his title the citie and territorie of the same, whiche is verie frutefull of all things necessarie.

The towne is now so fortified by the Venetians, that it is reckoned on of the strongest holds in all Italye.

From hense to Castel franco . . . . xv_mL
From thense to Bassano . . . . x_mL

This is a prettie towne under the Venetiens, situated upon the Brenta that goeth to Padoa. Owt of this towne had the Carrari that in times past were lordes of Padoa, their beginning. And here in owr dayes was born the famous clarke in letters of humanitie Lazarus Bonamicus, stipended reader in the schooles of Padoa of the Greeke and Latin tung by the Siniory of Venice with great stipend.

From thense to Trento Isbruck and Ausburge as is before in my journey into Italie 1548, and hereafter shall be better sett furthe in 1554.

From Venice to Augsburg are lvj dutch leagues, which are two hundrethe and three score and tenn miles.

I arrived in Augsburg the vth of August; where th'Emperor laye being a litte before returned owt of the lower countreys. The King of Romanes his brother, the Quene of Hungarie regent of Flaunders his syster, the Prince of Spaign his sonn, the Dutchess of Lorraign, and dyverse other of the nobilitie of Germanie and Spaign.
Here I found my brother attending for Sir Richard Morisine's cumming, who was appointed by the King and the Counsell to suceede him in his roome with th'Emperor.

Th'Emperor had now made great alterations in this citie, bothe of politike government and also of the exclesiasticall jurisdiction, exiling and banisshing the preachers owt of the precint of th'Empire. And as all things maintainned with force endure not long, so was this alteration but for a time; for when he thought him self at the point to have browght his pretended purposes to pass, he was then farthest of, and they tooke no place. At this time he wold have had the King of Romaynes, and Maximilian, his sonn, King of Boeme, to have agreed to make the Prince of Spaign, his sonn, Emperor after his decease, and during lyff to be coadjutor with him in the Empire. The whiche demaund did neyther lieke the King of Romanes nor his sonn, as ever afterward a mann might gather by their countenance, for they seemed to bee alwaies sadd and pensive of the matter. Here the Emperor gathered to gather the Counsell of the Empire.

During the time of mine abode here I translated into Englishe the Tragedie of Free Will, which afterward I dedicated to my Lord Marquess of Northampton.

When Mr. Morisin was arrived and my brother had taken his leave of th'Emperor, the Prince of Spaign and the rest of the nobilitie of the Cowrt, we sett owt of Auspurg the xi\textsuperscript{th} of Novembre.

From Auspurg to Canstat . . . . . xvj\textsuperscript{legs}

" thense to Vayhinghenn . . . . . iiij\textsuperscript{ls}

" " " Bretten . . . . . ij\textsuperscript{ls}
From thense to Rainhausen.

Here we had a bote that cam from Strasburg to meet us here, wherein we shipped our horses and cariag to the number of xvij great horse, and xxx parsones; the mules and geldings went by land. And so from hense we went downe the ryver 3hyne, landing everie night in some good towne.

From Rainhausen to Wormes.
From thense to Mens.
" " Zachraghe.

From hense come all the perfect Renishe wines whiche growe here abowt in great quantitie.

From thense to Covlense.
" " Winter.
" " Zann.
" " Colain.
" " Disteldorf.

This is the Duke of Cleve's towne, wherein he hathe a faire palaise; and her (the Duke not being at home) we were presented with a pipe of wine, and a wild bore, by the Dutchesse, that sent yt to the bote to us, my brother not going to land at all him self, but sent Mr. Hampton with an other.

From thense to Kayserswert.
" " Resse.
" " Ninega in Geldres.
" " Ryell.

Here we rid by land and the bote cam after against the river.
From thense to Hertzukenbusse. iiiij
This towne is in Brabant, and is other wise named Bullduke. We travailed no farther by water but sold our bote here.

From thense to Borle. v
" " " Antwerpe. vij

We arrived in Antwerpe the xxx of Novembre, and the viij of Decembre we sett owt from thense towards Calice; where after our arrivall we taried for wind and passage viij or viij dayes. And at last we had a verie yll passag, of a crare and two hulks; the violence of the winde was such that we in the crare recovered Dover; but the hulks, wherein the horses were, were dispersed; the on was driven to Sandwich and the other to Rochester. And the report was they were seen upon Goodwinn Sands, which feared we not a litle.

Upon Christmas day in the morning abowt ix a clocke we arrived at the Cowrt, accompanied with Sir Anthony Aucher, Master of the Jewell house, the King lying then at Grinwhiche. That morning we cam from Dartford, where my brother saluted by the waye the Ladie Ann of Cleve.

This yere was Bollaign rendered uppe unto the French men again.

Duke Maurice at th'Emperor's commaundment begann his sieg before Madenburg, in Saxonie.

In this yere was Master Bucer in England and read openlie in the schooles in Cambridge: likewise Peter Martir in Cxford.

1551.

Upon Newyre's Daye my Lord Marquiss of Northampton, Lord William Aparr, receaved me into his service at Grynwhiche, and upon
Tweluf Yeven had me with him to my Lord Cobham's house of Cowling Castle, where he dissported himself a while with my Lord of Rutland, my Lord Braye, Mr. Nicholas Throgmorton, and dyverse other, and returned again to the Cowrt.

About the beginning of Lent all humane things not keaping evermore in on cowrse nor continuallie abiding in on estate, but as matters of the world, sometime unstedfast variable and (as I may say after faire wether) raignie, were overcast with the sodain darknes which endured untill Christmas after; being th'occasion of great heavines and much sorowe, yea and a great deale more then did owtwardlie appeare to the eyes of a number, which fedd with woordes turning the truthe into a bye waye remayned satisfied, thowghe inward grief (understanding on all sides compassion to be taken, but where it behoved most) was covered with an owtward shadowe: and alwais under a meerie countenance sorow and lamentation hidd in the heart. But it was not so oppressed nor so heavie before, as afterward the contentation of minde did with gladnes lighten it, for that that folowed upon it through sundrie wayes were first proved in vaine, and manie meanes made which took verie litle or none effect; neyther did anie prevaile at all saving that whiche appeared sodainlie of it self at a time unloked for, when almost all hoope was past; like as miseries take their leave when occation to rejoice suppliethe their roome; so dothe the sodain joye please muche more when it cummethe by a chaunce unloked for before.

THE VIAGE OF MY LCRD MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON UNTO FRAUncE.
The xvth daie of May in the vth yere of King Edward the VIth
there was sent by his Majesty and his Counsell in to Fraunce, to Henry
the Second, Frenche King, in commission, my Lord Marquess of North-
ampton, the Bishoppe of Elye, Sir Philippe Hobye, knight, Sir William
Pickering, knight, Sir Thomas Smythe, knight and Mr. Doctor Olyver,
sometime dean of Frideswise in Oxford and Doctor of the Lawe, Sir Jhon
Mason, knight, who was the third parson in the commission and Ambassador
resident with the French King. To accompanie the Lord Marquess on
this journey were sent these noblemen and gentlemen: the Earle of
Worcester, the Earle of Rutland, the Earle of Urmund, the Viscount
Fitz Walter, the Viscount Lile, sonn of th'Erle of Warwicke, the Lord
of Burgayney, the Lord Braye, the Lord Yvers, Mr. Nicholas Throgmorton,
Mr. Henry Sidnay, gentlemen of the Privie Chamber, Sir William Cobham,
knight, Sir Jhon Cutts, knight, Sir Jhon Paratt, knight, Sir Anthonie
Guidott, knight, Sir Gilbert Dithike, knight, communlie called Garter,
and principall King of Armes, Mr. William Fitzwilliams, Mr. Henry
Cary, Mr. Henry Knolles, Mr. Frauncs Varney, Mr. Edward Varney, Mr.
Jhon Yong, Mr. William Thomas, secretarie unto the Lords the com-
missioners, Mr. Nicholas Alexander, Mr. Lucas Fringar, Mr. Chester,
heralt at armes, and Rudgedragon, persevant at armes. Of my Lord
Marquess' owne companie there went to wait upon him Mr. Hew Rich, Mr.
Thomas Cobham, Mr. Francs Hinde, Mr. Thomas Carew, Mr. Clark, his
steward, Mr. Thomas Trundle, ussher, Mr. Fleare, Mr. Daniell, Mr.
William Rouse, Mr. Edward Horsey, Mr. Francs Horsey, Mr. Nicholas
Minn, Mr. Hall, Mr. Grisley, Mr. Sturton, Mr. Thomas Ashleye, Mr.
Kyrkham, Mr. Lyster of his seller, Thomas Middleton, his page, and I.
There was also Mr. Thomas Levar, his chaplene, Mr. Roger Straunge,
and manie of his yemen. The hole number of the noblemen and gentlemen with their traynes was two hundredthe & lx in all. My Lord Marques arrived at Calice, and from thensen the xxix of May he went to Bullain, where he was receaved right honorablie with gunnshott and other triumphes; and where also mett with him on Mons[e] Mendotsa, a Spaniard evermore trayned and brought uppe in Fraunce, and of the French King's Privie Chambre, who was appointed there by the French King to attend upon my Lord Marquess and to conduct him with his nobles and wholl traine unto the Cowrt.

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This is an Universitie standing in a good aere. Here my Lord Marquess both cumming and going was honorablie receaved, and presented with wine and spices for two or three dayes that he remayned there, and in like maner all the commissioners. Also there mett with him a gentleman of the French King's Privie Chamber, who had prepared
against his coming diverse vessels to transport him, the commissioners, and all the whole traine unto Nantz in Britaign, by the river of Loyre.

From Orleans to Lozans . . . . . vijie
From thense to Bloys . . . . . xie

Here my Lord Marquess both coming and going visited the Dolphinn and the rest of the King's children, which laye here in the castle.

From hense to Ambois . . . . . xie
From thense to Toures . . . . . vijie

About this towne the countrey is verie plentifull, abundant with all things necessarie, and within the towne there is silke made.

From thense to Salmure . . . . . xijie
" " " Pont de Sei . . . . . xie

In this towne we encountered the Marisshall of Sant Andrea, that was sent by the French King into England, accompanied with many nobles and gentlmen, who cam to visit my Lord at his lodging, upon the bridge, and had taken upp the towne for him self and his traine before our arrivall.

From thense to Ansenis . . . . . xijie

Here my lord was right honorablie receaved of them of the towne with great gunnshott. And not long after his arrivall there cam to him Mons de Chastillon, who accompanied him unto Chasteaubriant, where the King lay, and by the way was greatlie feasted by him.

From thense to Chasteaubriant . . . . . xie

At his coming towards this towne there mett with him Mons d'Anguien, the Duke Vandosme's brother, with xxx or x1 horse. And a litle without the towne gate mett him Mons Dalmal with dyverse other
noblmen in companie with him; and so was he accompanied unto the Castle where the King was. And after he alighted from horsbacke he was browght upp into the Chambre of Presence, where the King remayned for him, accompanied with the Cardinall of Lorraign, the Duke of Guise's brother, the Cardinall of Chastillon, Mons' de Chastillon's brother, the Duke of Guise, with the rest of his brethren, and the Cunstable of Fraunce with diverse other noblemen, at his Privie Chamber dore: whereas the King embraced my Lord Marquess verie courtiouslie and all the noblemen and gentlmen of England, wheras my Lord presented his letters of credence from the King's Majesty. And afterward my Lord tooke his leave of him and was browght unto his chambre within the cowrt, which was uppon Friday, the xixth of June.

Upon Saturdaye at after noone, Mr. Garter, with other that had the charg, was sent to the Chappell to prepare places for the King, my Lord Marquess, and the Cunstable, for the order of the Garter.

Uppon Sunday, the xxi of June, Mr. Garter and Mr. Chester browght the robes of the Garter for the French King into the Quene's great chamber, which was appointed for the same; and there my Lord Marquess and the Cunstable (being Knight of the Garter) did putt on their robes, and Mr. Garter the King's Majesty's cote of armes, and going before the two knights browght the French King's robes into his Privie Chamber, wherin entred my Lord of Elye and no mo of the commissioners of England. There my Lord of Elye made a preposition or oration unto the King for deliverie of the order of the Garter from the King's Majesty, whereunto the Cardinall of Lorraign made answere of thanks in the French King's behalf. That ceremonie done my Lord
Marquess delivered the George, Garter, robes, and collar unto the 
French King, where was delivered unto Mr. Garter the French King's 
gowne of his backe, which was of blacke satin with xlviij paire of 
agletts of gold sett full with pearles, esteemed worth 1 pounds, and 
a chaine of gold of two hundreth French Crownes.

At the cumming furth of the King owt of his Privie Chamber everie 
gentleman and nobleman tooke his place before the King unto the chappell. 
First the gentlemen of Fraunce and England, and then the noblemen of 
the order of Fraunce, and the Commissioners of England, where Sir 
Jhon Mason tooke the highest place as appertayned unto him, being 
Ambassador resident. Then before the two knights of th'Order, which 
were my Lord Marquess and the Constable, went Chester, wearing the 
King's Majesty's cote of armes. And after them, before the King, 
the Sargeants at Armes and Mr. Garter. Then cam the King betwext the 
Cardinall of Lorraign and the Cardinall Chastillon; and after the 
King such as were of his Privie Chamber. In this manner they cam to 
the chappell, where was song a solemn Mass after the French fashion, 
with holie water and holie breade, etc. After service was done they 
returned unto the King's chamber of estate, wheras dined with the 
King my Lord Marquiss and the Cunstable. The other nobles both of 
England and Fraunce dined together in a great chamber at on table 
appointed for them.

Uppon Tuisdaye, the xxx\(^{th}\) of June, the French King removed his 
Cowrt towards Nantz, wheras upon Sunday, the xij of Julye, he made 
his entrie. All this time my Lord Marquess, with certain lorde\(s\) with 
him, was with the King, and all the rest of the lorde\(s\) and other of 
the traine remayned at Nantz against his cumming.
The Castle of Chasteubriant standeth upon the hill full of pleasant wooddes, delectable walkes, faire springs of freshe water, freshe gardines and ortchards replenisshed with all sort of savorie fruts, bwtifull prospects all abowt, and verie helthsom aere. It belongeth to the Cunstable of Fraunce. The palaice is verie princelie, both for the building and also for the conveyance of roomes; bequethed unto him by Mons^ de Chasteubriant when he died, full litle thinking he shuld then have departed owt of this world.

TH'ENTRIE CF THE FRENCH KING AND QUENE INTO NANTZ, THE HEAD TOWNE OF BRITAIN.

The French King (as the maner of Fraunce is ) is after his cor-onation receaved with great triumpe in to all the cities of his realm, for the first time of his cumming: and for that he had not as yet bine in Nantz sith he was made King he entended to make his entrie ynto yt now, at my Lord Marquess being with him, which was in this manner:--

First there cam fowre bands of souldiers, which were about a thousand in all.

Secondarile, three score townesmenn on horsbacke.

Thirdlie, three score redd cotes which cam before the provost a foote, and after them the provost of the towne, accompanied with on horsebacke, and som what after them xxv townesmenn on horsback.

Fowrthlie, a great quantitie of friers and priests in maner of procession; after whom folowed xx of the Gard on horsbacke, and the Gard Swisers on foote in good ordre.

Fiftlie, xxvij great gentlmen and lordes, as the Ringrave, my
Lord of Urmund, the Cardinall of Lorraign, the Cardinall Chastillon, and an Italian Cardinall sent to the King by the Pope, called Cardinall Crispio; and next unto them the Master of the Horse, Deputie, and Mr. Cunstable, and after them the King on a horse verie richile trapt with imbroiderment of silver, riding under a canapie born by iiiij gentlmen. Next to the King rid the Prince of Rochsurion with Mons\textsuperscript{\textregistered} Danguien; and after them the Lord Marquess of Northampton, having on the on side of him Mons\textsuperscript{\textregistered} Delmal, and on the other side Mons\textsuperscript{\textregistered} Denemurs. Then followed other Erles of England and Fraunce, the Erle of Worcester, the Erle of Rutland, with other French lorde and gentlmen to the number of xl; after them cam lii of the Gard on horsbacke, and last of all a great multitude of people.

An howre or therabowt after the King was thus entred the Quene made herr entrie, having before herr l Swisers of the Gard and after them the Captain of the Castle with his band, wherof were xxxij vellute cotes, and a great number of noblmenn and gentlmenn on horsbacke. Three pages of honor, they and their horses all in white vellute imbroidered with redd and sylver: wherof the on caried behinde him the Quene's great Caskett coverid with white vellute and imbroidered with redd and sylver; an other ridd on a doble horse for the Quene, all embrodered sutable as beeefore: also there were two spare horses for the Quene, all trapt and imbroidered as the rest.

The Quene herrself rid in a littar born upon two great horses, and uppon them two pages all with colowrs and imbroideries sutable with the rest. And so was the Quene herr self. Ymmedialtie after the Quene followed xx gentlwomen, of the which fowre were apparelled
all in blacke, and xvij all in white damaske, white hatts, and great white fethers in them. And thus rid the Quene with her traine through the towne towards the Castle, after the King. The old and the yong Quenes of Scottes cam not with the Cowrt to Nantz, but remayned behinde at Chasteaubriant to go an other waye.

Upon Friday, the xvij day of Julye, my Lord Marquess and all the hole traine removed from Nantz towards Angiers by land, costing the river of Loyer; folowing the French King, which was departed before. At Chasteubriant the French King shewed my Lord Marquess great plesure and disport, sometime in plaing at tenice, sometime in shooting, sometime in hunting the bore, somtime at the palla malla, and somtime with his great boisterlie Britons wrastling with my lorde's yemen of Cornwall, who had much a do to gett the upper hand of them: and everie night ther was dancing in the great hall, and somtime musike in the King's Privie Chamber. He shewed him the like at Nantz with skirmishes sometime uppon the river with bottes and vesselles furnishe warlike.

From Nantz to Ansenis . . . . . vij\le
From thense to Angiers . . . . . x\le
" " " Salmure . . . . . x\le
" " " Toures . . . . . x\le

From Chasteubriant to Toures are xv postes. Uppon Sunday, the xix of July, my Lord Marquess and all the noblemen of England tooke their leave of the French King in Angiers. The King went from hense on Pilgromag a foote to a place called Nostredam de Clery, which he dothe accustomablie use onse a yere.
From Toures to Amboise . . . . viij le
From thens to Bloyes . . . . x le
  " " " Orleanse . . . . xviij le

From Toures to Orleans are viij postes.

A three leagues from Bloys there is a statlie place of the King's, somewhat out of the hige waye, called Chambray, a verie bewtifull palaice and curiouslie built with great conveyance of rooms within yt; so that when it shalbe throwghlie built uppe it may well be said to bee on of the fairest peecs of woorke in Christendom. At everie great towne in Fraunce where my Lord arrived he was right honorablie receaved of the principalles of the townes, both cumming and goinge, with great presentes of all kinde of wines and sundrie kindes of spices; and during the time that he laye in the Cowrt his table was provided for at the French King's charge, and the King's servants wayted upon him to serve him at table.

From Orleans to Tury . . . . xij le
From thens to Estemps . . . . x le
  " " " Chartres . . . . x le
  " " " Paris . . . . x le

From Orleance to Paris are viij postes.

Here my Lord arrived in his journey homwardes uppon Saturdaye, the xxv day of Julye; and the first daye of August Monsr Mendotsa presented him a cupbord of plate, on the French King's behalf, of the value of two thowsand Crownes. There was browght also for my brother plate of the value of vi hundrethe crownes, he being goone before homwardes by the waye of Roane; and also for Mr. Smith three
hundrethe crownes; for Mr. D' Olyver two hundrethe crownes. Mr. Mason's
was reserved untill his cumming, which was a cheine of xij hundrethe
crownes; and of that value was my Lord of Elie's cuppbord of plate.

During the time of owr abode in Paris, Mons' de Bies, who was
committed to prison in this King's father's dayes, for the matters
of Boulaign, was committed to perpetuall prison and disgraced of the
Order of Saint Michell.

The French King told my Lord he should not bee putt to death,
for that he made him knight in the feeld. Here we had newes owt of
England how the sweating sicknes did raign there, and that there died
of it the yong Duke of Suffolke, the Lord Charles his brother, the
Lord Crumwell, Sir Jhon Luttrell, Alexander Carew, and manie other
knights and gentlmen of much worthines; of this disease died also my
syster Elisabethe with her sonn. We taried in Paris x daies; and
after owr departure from thense S' Raff Coppinger, a worthie knight,
whom we found in Fraunce and had accompanied my Lord all this jorney,
tooke his leave of my Lord and went to Deepe for that my ladye his
wiff was newlie cum owt of England thither to him, where he died of
the sweate ar he departed thense.

After my Lord Marquess' cuming away from the Cowrt Sir William
Pickering, being appointed Ambassador resident by the King, succeeded
Sir Jhon Mason, who tooke his jorney towards England with my ladye.

From Paris to Cleremont . . . . . x\text{v}^{\text{le}}
From thense to Amiens . . . . . x\text{i}{\text{i}}^{\text{le}}
" " " Monterol . . . . . x\text{x}^{\text{le}}
" Monterol to Boulaign . . . . .
Mons de Mendotsa fell sicke at Abvile and there remayned, not being able to bring my Lord to Boulaign, where he first receaved him to conduct him to the Cowrt. From Paris to Boulaign are xvi postes.

My Lord arrived at Boulaign the x of August, where shortlie after he tooke shippe; and in the morning betwext iiij and iiiij of the clocke he arrived at Dover, which was a long and trob lsom passag. From thense he tooke horse and arrived the next daye at the Cowrt, leaving his traine behind him. The King lay then at Hampton Cowrt, wheras was small resort of menn, by the reason of the sicknes that raigned this yere in the realme. We that were of his howshold went by water to Gravisend to Assher, besides Hampton Cowrt, where my Ladye laye all that sommer. In this monethe of August were created at Hampton Cowrt by the King, the Erle of Warwicke Duke of Nothumberland, the Erle of Wilshire Marques of Wynchester; the Master of the Horse Sir William Herbert Lord Herbert and Erle of Fenbruke; and there were made knights Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir William Cecil, Secretarie, and Sir Jhon Cheeke; also the Marquess Dorsett created Duke of Suffolk.

About Michelmas the Quene of Scotts the elder tooke landing by force of wether in England, where she was honorablie receaved first by my Lord and Ladie, with manie other nobles, both lords and ladies, at Hampton Cowrt; afterwards she was conducted by water in the Quene's barge to Polle's Wharf, where she tooke land and cam to the Bishoppe's palaice, richlie apparell for herr. The next daie after she was brought to the Cowrt at Westminster, accompanied with erles' and barons' wyves, where the King receaved herr in the Hall, and ledd
her uppe into his chambres, richlie hanged on all sides. At herr departure she was conducted owt of the citie by most of the nobilitie, with their bandes of menn of armes in good ordre, and with a great number of ladies and gentlwomen.

This season cumming uppe and downe by water and attending at Hampton Cowrt for the Quene's arrivall, it was the occation unto me of a quartan ague, which held me a good space after.

After the Quene's departure we removed from Assher to Winchester Place, in Southwarke, which my Lord Marquess had of Doctor Ponett, then Bishoppe of Wynchester, in exchaung for an other howse of his in Lambeth. Here laye my Ladie all this winter.

Abowt the month of Octobre my Lord of Sommersett with other lordes and knights was committed to the Towre; to the custodie wherof, with Sir Arthur Darcye, was appointed my brother, then being on of the Privie Counsell to the King's Majesty and Master of th'Ordinance. Within vj weeks after he was browght to his arraignment to Westminster Hall, where he acquited himself verie wiselie of whatsoever could be laid at his charg: notwithstanding by the Duke of Northumberland's meanes he was condemned of fellonie and quitted of treason. The fellonie was that he pretended the death of the Duke of Northumber-lande, beynge a pryvy counsellor,\(^1\) which by stattute was made fellony.

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\(^1\)As Powell has already noted in his edition, from here to the end of the paragraph is in a different handwriting. It appears to be in a sixteenth-century hand, but whose remains uncertain. I do not think it is Edward Hoby's because his marginal notes are generally written in an Italic hand. This paragraph is completed in a secretary hand, but one distinctly different from Thomas Hoby's.
This forsaid jorney of my Lord Marquess into Fraunce was as well to conclude a marriage betwene the King's Majestie and the French King's eldest daugther, whom we sawe and saluted at Bloys, and to ratifie and establishe the peace and amitie betwext the two princes, as to bring unto the King the Order of the Garter.

At owr being in Fraunce the French King made great provision for war against th'Emperor; the cheef occation whereof was the citie of Parma, which th'Emperor would have kept in his owne hands from his sonn in lawe Duke Ottavio, that had maried his bastard daughter, which perceaving his father in lawe's entent, forsoke him cleane and fledd to the French King, who sett him in full state and possession of Parma again. And he did not onlie now turn French, but also all the house of Farnese, which in fore time were so great frinds to th' Emperor (for all he had cawsed Pier Alois, their father, to be slaine in the citie of Piacenza, and so recovered the towne to himself).

The French King, understanding how royallie the Marshall of Sant Andrea, his Cheef Commissioner into England, was rewarded by the King's Majesty at his return, and the rest of his commissioners that went with him, he sent afterward unto my Lord Marquess, by a gentleman of his that he sent to the King on his behalf, two standing massie cuppes with their covers, of the value of two thowsand crownes, which is on thowsand marks for an augmentation of his first reward. This yere after long siege laide to yt Duke Maurice entered by composition into the towne of Magdenburg.

1552.
This xxij of January the Duke of Sommersett was beheaded openlie upon the Towre Hill, to no small grief of the lokers on. So were also Sir Thomas Arundle, Sir Michell Stanappe, and Mr. Raff Vane, with Sir Miles Partridge hanged, for being forged upon them that they pretended the Duke of Northumberland's deathe. My lord Pagett was disgraced of the Order of the Garter, which after the King's deathe was restored unto him again, and he made of the Quene's Privie Counsell in as ample maner as ever he had bine in fore time. The v day of Februarie I went into the country with my brother William and his wyff to Harden. At this time was my brother appointed to goo in parson to transport and paye in Flaunders a certain sum of money borrowed there in fore time, to the which journey he prepared himself and my brother William with him, and returned again before Easter. My quartern was th'occation of my tarying at home, and when I had remayned a season in the country I returned again to London the xxvi of April, after I had bine ridd of my ague, where I prepared myself to goo into Fraunce and there to applie my booke for a season.

The xxiiij of May I tooke my leave of my Lord and Ladye at Horsleye, where they laye with my Ladie Browne, afterward maried to my Lord Clinton.

From the xvij of May until the xvj of June I continued in London, tarijing till my brother were dispatched from the Cowrt, being appointed commissioner by the King to go to Calice. And when it was determined Sir Richard Cotton should goo with Sir Anthonie Selinger in his place (who helped me afterward to convoye over two gheldinges which I browght with me into Fraunce to Mr. Francs Caro), I departed
owt of London, and at Dover passed the seas with Sir Anthonye Acher and Sir Henry Palmer. At Calice I had a pasport of the Lord Deputie, the Lord Willowghbye, to pass into Fraunce, and likewise of the Treasurer, Sir Maurice Denis, to pass without searche.

MY JORENEY INTO FRAUNCE.

I departed out of Calaise the ij of Julye to Boloign, Monteroll, Abvile, Amiens, Bretoile, Cleremont, Luserts, Paris. I cam to Paris the vi of July, and the ixth of the same I departed thenes by water toward Roane.

From Paris to Roane are lx leagues.

From Paris to Poxsie xxijle
From thenes to Mantoe vjle
" " " Vernune vjle
" " " Undely vle

Here is a castle called Galiard, the strongest in all Normandie, built by Englishmen.

From thense to Roane xxjle

I arrived in Roane the xij of July, and within a three weeks after I had receaved my stuff I retournd by the river to Paris again, by reason of my sore fote.¹

After I had conveyed my stuff to Paris and settled myself there, the first thing I did was to translate into Englishe the third booke

¹Folios 112r-113v which follow in the manuscript have been omitted here.
of the 'Cowrtisan,' which my Ladie Marquess had often willed me to do, and for lacke of time ever differed it. And from thense I sent unto Sir Henry Sidney the epitome of the Italian tung which I drue owt there for him.

This done Mr. Henry Kingsmeale and I applied ourselves to the reading of the institutes of the Civill Law, being bothe lodged in a house together.

The men of most fame and renowne in this Universitie of Paris were these: Silvius in phisike, Crontius in the mathematiks, Ramus in humanitie and philosophie.

This yere the French King had taken Metz, in Lorraign, and Siena and Mirandula, in Italie. In Siena the Spaniardes were driven owt by the helpe of the towne, and the castle that was built there by th' Emperor was cast downe to the earthe; for the which entrie of the French partie Don Diego was blamed and somewhat in displeasure with th'Emperor.

After Duke Maurice, lijng long with his siege before Magdenburg (which is a citie in Saxonie and holdeth alwais of the Duke that is Elector), had browght it into th'Emperor's subjection, as other cities of Germanie than were, bicause they of the citie wold neyther receave th'Emperor nor his Interim, not yet Duke Maurice for their lord, Marquess Albert of Brandenburg, the Duke of Mechelburg, and the Lantgrave of Hesse, his sonn, and Duke Maurice with certain other princes of Germanie annexed together, perceaving their kinn and friends in captivitie and Germanie thus daile oppressed and browght from the accustomed libertie into untollerable bondage, laide their heads
together and entered into a new confederacie, that like as all this
business had bine sturred in Germanie partlie by som of their meanes,
so they shuld emong them bee the first to seeke a present remedie for
so great an evell before it enlarged any farther and bredd to a
greater scabb. They entered into a new confederacie privilie to for-
sake th'Emperor and to serve the French King, his ennemie, thinking by
that meane to obtain the sooner wherby to maintain their warres and to
bring their purpose to passe. The which their device, not long after
the towne was yelded and the duke peaceblie entred with good favor,
they putt in practice. And as it was divised betwext them Albert went
privilie into Fraunce to open this practise of theirs unto the French
King, and to persuade him to this kinde of enterprise to aide and susta-
taine them with his helpe in the same, and to take upon him the stile
of the defensor of the libertie of Germanie, promising him to do him
good and faithfull service in that quarell against th'Emperor, who
sawght nothing but the distruction of all Germanie, and to make this
free nation an inheritance to him and to his for ever: offering him
sufficient hostages in that behalf.

When the Frenche King perceaved it to bee no lie that they
were at defiance with th'Emperor, thinking the sooner to compasse his
purpose and ambitious desire (the which for all that he was never
the neerer of), gave them verie gentle entertainment with faire woordes,
promising them golden mountaynes and (paradventure in hoope of a greate
deale to ensue from yt) discoursed somwhat with them. When Albert
with speede was returned and had declared how acceptable their ser-
dvice was to the King, who promised them large entertainment to do him
service in Germanie, Duke Maurice and the rest with their powres marched towards Auspurp, where they entred at last before th'Emperor's meny which he had sent thither to defend the towne. And albeit they arrived there before Duke Maurice, yet they of the towne desired them to stay a while without the walls until they of the citie were at a point among themselves, which was nothing elles but to prolong the time until Duke Maurice cam (for they had intelligence that he was not farr of), who ymmediate after his arrival entred into the citie, and th'Emperor's meny retired backe again as they cam without doing anie thing. When he was thus entred he restored the citie to his accustomed libertie again, thrusting out th'Emperor's garison, and undoing whatsoever the Emperor had done in fore time at his being there, and displacing all such as th'Emperor had there putt in authoritie.

Th'Emperor was departed from hense to Ynsbrucke when this sturr was in Germanie, entending to go from thense to Trent, where the generall Counsell was appointed to bee held. Before his departure out of Ausprucke he thought to make all things sure there, placing such in authoritie within the citie as made most for his purpose, banishing and exiling the chiefest preachers of the towne, enforcing them to take their oath not to abide within the precinct of th'Empire, and leaving there to his thinking sufficient garison.

When Duke Maurice had restored the preachers again (who counselled him in no wise to dissolve the popish churches sett upp there by the Emperor's commaundment), and made this new alteration in the citie, leaving sufficient power there to the preservation of the same, he went towards Fietse, a towne of the Cardinall of Auspruck,
the which he took ymmediateli, and the Duke of Mechelburg with him, by whose meanes he wann in a moment a certain sluce of importance within half a league of Fietse, which was upon a rokke in a verie narrow passage. The Emperor lijng in Ynsprucke thought himself sure inowghe because his trust was in that sluce, which was indeed on of the strongest holdes in all Germanie and wonn by a wonderous policie. But when he heard it was taken, and hearing the newes of the sodaine approache of the Duke (the which he wold not almost credite before he in a maner sawe it), with all his Cowrt he removed in post hast in the night towards the Archdukedom, caried in a littar, and never staide before he cam to Villaco, in Carinthia, where he remayned a season.

Duke Maurice cam to Ynspruck, where he touched nothing that belonged not to the Emperor. Withowt the towne on the other side of the river there dwellethe on the hilles side in a faire house a gunnfounder, on of the best in his science of all Christendom, a verie discreate and sober parson. This mann (as he told my brother the tale) had a xx great peecs of artillarie in hand for the Duke of Alava, which he minded to carle into Spaine. Upon these peecs the Duke had cawsed to bee graven the armes of Philipp, Lansgrave of Hess, with his stile, which was the Emperor's prisoner, and all for a certain vain glorie that menn shuld beleave he had gotten them in the feeld by prowess of armes. The Lansgrave's sonn, who was in Duke Maurice hoost, seeing those peecs there with his father's armes upon them, ceased upon them and tooke them awaye with him, geving to the gunnfounder's wyff an hundrethe crownes to drinke.
Th'Emperor perceaving to what a narrow point he was now driven to, and that without a peace made betwext Duke Maurice and him he shuld never be able to cum into anie part of his dominions again, sowght all meanes possible for a peace, and causd the King his brother and sundrie others to labour diligentlie in yt. Duke Maurice at lengthe by faire persuasions was overcum and agreede a Diete to bee had at Passa or Bassa, a towne that holdethe of the Duke of Bavire, but it belongeth to the Bishoppe, great frind to the Duke. In this towne at time appointed were assembled on the Emperor's part the King his brother, Maximilian, and the Duke of Bavire, and on the Elector's and other princes' of Germanie's behalf, their debities and Duke Maurice himself. They agreed here and sealed to certain articles bothe for the restoring of the accustomed religion throughwout Germanie and other kindes of auntient liberties, and also the reconciling of the Duke and the Marquess unto th'Emperor again, with such as were their confederates. When Marquess Albert heard of this he was sore displeased with Maurice, not so much for that the conditions agreed upon were not large inowghe (for having th'Emperor at this narrow point he might have made him to agree to whatsoever he had listed), as for that Duke Maurice did it upon his owne heade, in the name of the holle Empire, unknowne to him, the which he owght not to have done, considering in what a confederacie they two were annexed together for the libertie of the hole Empire, and indeed hitherto had proceeded jointlie together.

For the Marquess at their departure from Ausprucke did no less good beefore Noremberg, which he entred into at length by composition,
then Maurice had done in pursuing th'Emperor. Upon this occasion he fell owt with Duke Maurice, calling him 'Schelm,' which is a verie reprochfull word in their language, and reviled him, with opprobrious woordes, that he wold, so contrarie to his othe and honestie, enter-
prise such a matter without making him privie to yt, which of duty he ought to have done. Wherupon he warned him to provide for him self, for he swore he wold be revenged or it shuld cost him his lyff.

After the peace thus concluded the Marquess thought Germanie no place for him, but ymmediatlie sett forwardes with his powre

towards Ulm, where he culd not entre, but was kept owt by th'Emperor's menn there within. When he was past all hoope of entrie, he spoiled and rased most part of the countrey abowt. From thense he removed and tooke Spier and Woormes, and the Duke of Mechelberg with him, which was at Franckfurt slaine with a great peece, where he was in like maner kept owt and not suffred to entre but by composition such as he left at the sieg entred. Then he left Germanie and marched towards Fraunce (taking Trier and Mens in his waye, where he receaved a good portion of treasure), thinking to be greatlie welcummed thither. All this while that Maurice warred thus in Germanie against th'Emperor, the French King was with his powre drawing thitherwardes, and having taken Metz, under the cooler to pass throwght yt, went towards Strasburg, thinking to have obtained it by a like pollicie; but he was deceaved, for they wold not suffre him nor anie of his to entre the walles; wherupon he was constrayned to retire again. The peace was not so soone concluded betwext th'Emperor and the Duke, but th'Emperor removed from Villaco and cam to Ausprucke, where he
graunted libertie to the Duke of Saxonie and the Landesgrave, his prisoners. And whereas they were under his custodie in former time he in maner now committed him self into their hands. By this breache of Duke Maurice with him he was not onlie disapointed of his purpose in Germanie, but also the wicked Counsell, that he had appointed to have bine held at Trent, where all matters of religion shuld have bine concluded according to his will, was stopped and hindred; for there were alreadie assembled together, besides cardinallls and other prelats, lx bisshoppes, whiche were glad and faine to repaire to their hommes again in hast when they understoode Duke Maurice was so nighe drawing thitherwardes. In Ausburg at the Emperor's return that waye he made som alteration, though not so much as he had done at other times, and displaced certain preachers whiche he had no great fansie to.

From hense he departed, going by Strasburg and gathering on all sides as much powre as he was able to make, towards the siege of Metz, where he had assembled lxxx thousand men. And perceiving how litle he prevailed at the siege eyther by battrie or by assawte, dailie liesing of menn, being in the deepe of wynter, and that a verie sharp winter (for he laye continuallie at yt the space of iij months), he levied his siege and withdrew himself unto the lowe countrey towards Brusselles.

Marquess Albert continued not a moneth in Fraunce, but he was wearie of the French King's entertainment, and desired nothing so muche as to bee dispatched owt of his service with honestie. For he perceaved verie well what a gelowsie and suspect he was had
in, in that he could not onlie not be suffred to entre into the citie of Metz after it was taken, nor yet so muche as to withdraue him self owt of th'armye into anie secrete place without great espiall; and sawe before his eyes a manifest proouf of the French King's pretended libertie, which tourned to a private proffitt, keaping the free cities of Germanie in his owne hands with force of armes, abusing their gentlnes under the cloke of the defense of their libertie; and recompensing their true dealing with fraude and treson.

Upon this Albert renounced openlie his entertainment and letted not to declare that he was not a prince of his worde, for he perfourmed not one of those large offres which at the first he made to him, and therfore he entendeth to depart and serve him no longer. The French King answered plainlie he shuld not so depart, wherupon ymmediatlie he sent Mons\(^\text{r}\) Delmal, captain of the light horsmen, with Mons\(^\text{r}\) de Rohan to withstand him and to stoppe him the passage.

Albert escaped notwithstanding and valiantlie acquited himself in escaping from emong them, for he tooke them bothe prisoners with the loss of vj or vij hundrethe of their menn.

Mons\(^\text{r}\) de Rohan by the reason of a controversie betwext the souldiers that equallie challenged him, was there slaine by th'on of the two, bicause the other shuld chaleng no part. Mons\(^\text{r}\) Delmal was after a yere raunsomed again for iij score thowsand crownes. After this so luckie a chaunce of Marquess Albert, th'Emperor for all his despleasure he owght him, knowing him to be a good mann of warr, retayned him in his campe, this time of his necessitie. For whether at his first cumming owt of Fraunce he was desirous of th'
Emperor's wages to come to an accorde with him again, or th'Emperor willing to receave his service and desirous of his parson (which seemethe most likelie), he cam to th'Emperor's speache. But first it was indented before he wold cum to that, among other things, and graunted: first, that his late revoking from him with Duke Maurice shuld not bee laide in his dishe as a reproche nor cast in his teethe from thens furthe; again, that he might cum fornisshed into th' Emperor's presence with his menn and all kind of weapons appertayning to a man of warr; morover that he might not come before him like an offender in anie point wherbie he should bee constrayned in capping or kneeling to make anie other a doo then other princes use communlie or do in his presence; also that his Majestie, whereas he had geven to the Bisshoppes of Bamberg and Wurtsburg by the virtue of his lettres patents (for displeasur conceaved against him) free libertie, releasing them of all homage and whatsoever was due unto him, wold (being now reconciled again) graunt him his great seale on the other side to calleng this his right of them again, in as ample maner as ever he hathe done in foretime.

These capitulations and other like were agreede unto, and the Marquess, during the time of this siege and long after, did th' Emperor as worthie and faithfull service as anie noble captain he had in all his hoost.

When the siege was levied Albert thought it a meete time then to seek all means possible day by day how he might kepe promise with Duke Maurice and be revenged of him, making great sturres in Germanie and gathering a powre to invade upon him. Duke Maurice on the
other side levied all such powre as he was able to make to defend himself and joynd with the Bisshoppes of Bamberg and Wurtsberg.

There were manie skirmishes on bothe parts, but in long time the victorie was uncertain. At length after long continuance of warr on both partes, not knowing who shuld have the upper hand nor by anie likelihooде to whether part victorie wold or might encline, being utterlie determined the on to persue the other unto death, Duke Maurice was slaine with an arkebuse in a battell by on of Albert's men in the chase (as it was reported for a certaintie), after he had wonn the feld and slaine and discomfited and hurt iiiij thousand of Albert's men. In this battell was assembled on bothe sides all the poure they were able to make.

It is not without suspition that th' Emperor, to kepe these two princes thus at debate, still for feare least they might happen to cum to an accord (which shuld not have bine greatlie to his proffitt), fedd Albert with money largelie, whiche is credible inowghe; and the King of Romanes did the like to Maurice.

This battaile was in the yere of our Lord 1553, about the monthe of June.

After Maurice death, Friderick Duke of Saxony sent his sonn Jhon William to th' Emperor for restitution of suche possessions as he had taken from him and were given to Maurice with the Electorshiph.

THE NAMES OF THE PRINCS AND NOBLE MENN OF FRAUNCE, WITH THE BANDS OF MENN OF ARMES OF THEIR RETINUE.

They call him a prince in Fraunce that is eyther descended liniallie of the Blood Royall or elles of a free duke, as of the
Duke of Savoy, Lorrain, and such other.

PRINCS.

The Dauphinn, the King's eldest sonn. 100 menn of armes.

Governor of Normandie.

5 The Duke of Orleans, his second sonn.

The Duke of Angolesm, his third sonn.

The Duke of Vendoys. 150 menn of armes. Governor of Picardie.

Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons'}d'Anguien, his brother. 50 menn at armes. Knight of

10 th'Ordre.

Loys Mons}, brother to them both. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons'} de Monpensier. 50 menn at armes, and Knight of th'Ordre.

The Prince of Rochesurian, his brother. 50 menn at armes.

Knight of th'Ordre.

15 Mons'} de Nemours. Knight of th'Ordre, a duke.

Mons'} de Nevers. 50 menn at armes. Governor of Champaign and

Brye. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons'} de Guise. 100 menn at armes. Governor of Savoy and

Dauphiné. Knight of th'Ordre, master of the King's game.

20 Mons'} Delmal, his brother, 50 menn at armes. Governor of

Surgundie, captain of all the light horsmenn. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons'} le Gran Prier de France, his brother.

Mons'} le Marquis of Benf. his brother.

Mons'} de Longeville. 50 menn at armes. The King’s Great

25 Chamberlaine.

Mons'}d'Estemps. 50 menn at armes. Governor of Britaign.
Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons\textsuperscript{d}'Ambugny. 50 menn at armes.

The Prince of Ferrara. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre, son to the Duke of Ferrara.

GREAT LORDS OF FRAUNCE.

Mons\textsuperscript{d} de Momorensye. Duke, Constable, and Chief Marshall of Fraunce, Governor of Languedoc. Captain of 100 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons\textsuperscript{d} de Sainct Andrea. Marshall of Fraunce, Cheef Gentleman of the King's Privie Chamber. Governor of the countries of Lyons, Beauger, Bourbon forest, and Auvergn. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons\textsuperscript{d} de Brisac. Marshall of Fraunce, Master of the King's Hawks, Governor of Piemont. Captain of 100 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons\textsuperscript{d} de la March. Marshall of Fraunce. Captain of 100 Swisers archers of the King's Gard. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons\textsuperscript{d} de Chastilllon. Admerall of Fraunce, Lieutenant for the King in Normandie under the charge of the Daulphine. Captain of 100 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre; Coronell of Fraunce, the whiche office he keapethe for his brother Mons\textsuperscript{d} Dandalot, which is prisoner in Millan.

Mons\textsuperscript{d} di Boycy. Master of the Horse. Captain of 100 gentlemen and of 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons\textsuperscript{d} de la Rochport. 50 menn at armes. Lieutenant in Picardie under the charge of Mons\textsuperscript{d} de Vendosm. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons\textsuperscript{d} de Curton. 50 menn at armes. Knight of the Quene's Honor.
The King of Naverr. 100 menn at armes. Governor of Guyenn.

Knight of th'Ordre of Fraunce.

Mons^Durf. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^de James. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^de Lude. 50 menn at armes. Governor of the Rochell, Lieutenant in Guyenn under the charge of the King of Navarr. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^de Maugeron. 50 menn at armes. Lieutenant in Savoy and Daulphine under the charge of the Duke of Guise. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^de Guiche. 50 menn at armes. Governor of Bresso. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^de Momorency, the Cunstable's sonn. 50 menn at armes. Governor of the Yle of Fraunce.

Mons^de Burn. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^de Villebon. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^Desse. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^de Canaples. Captain of 100 of the King's gentlemen. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^de Creguison the father. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^de Reullerat. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^de Vasse. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^de Termes. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^Visdam de Chartres. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^de Jernac. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^de Humanday. 50 menn at armes. Sonn to Mons^d'Annebalt, admerrall, that died.
The Count of Nanteur. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.
The Count of Tandes, brother to the Cunstable's wyff. 50 menn at armes. Governor of Province. Knight of th'Ordre.
The Count of Villers, his brother. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre. Lieutenant of Languedoc under the Cunstable's charge.
MonsF della Roch du Maine. 50 menn at armes.
MonsF de Larges. Captain of 100 archers Scotts of the King's Gard. Knight of th'Ordre.
MonsF de Longeaval. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

MonsF de Trey. Master of the King's Ordinance. Knight of th' Order.

OF THE HOUSE OF BURBON.

The House Burbon, which hathe in times past bine a part and portion of a sonn of Fraunce, hathe bine dyvided into three parts and Howses: that is to saye, into the House called by name Burbon, principall of th'armes, the which of olde time hathe enjoyed the Dukedom of Burbon. And their mansion place hath ordinarilie bine in the Castle of Molines, in Burbonois, in the hie way to Lions, going from Paris thither.

The second House yssued owt of the House of Burbon is the House of the Lordes of Vendosm, the head wherof is the Duke of Vendosm, which hath maried the King of Navarre's dowghter and onlie heire (by whome he had yssue Henry, nowe Kynge of France and
Navarre, 1592).\textsuperscript{1}

This third House yssued owt of the House of Burbon is the house of Monpensier, and owt of that cam the Duke of Burbon, which was Constable of Fraunce and died at the sacke of Roome. This Duke had before his departure owt of Fraunce maried the daughter of Madam de Beauger, syster to King Charles the Eight. This Madam Beauger was married to the Duke of Burbon, which was the chief of the armes of the House of Burbon, and of herr this Duke had no heir male, but onlie a doughter, which was maried to the late Burbon that was Constable, which afterward fled owt of Fraunce after the death of his wyff, under the name of whom he enjoyed during herr lief the dutchie of Burbon, because his said wyff was the onlie doughter of the head of th'armes of Burbon.

As towching the House of Vengosm, owt of yt yssued the late Duke of Vengosm, Knight of th'Ordre and Governer of Picardie (as at this present is his sonn), who died at Amiens retourning from the campe at Hesdin, which had to his brethren the Cardinall of Burbon and the Erle of Saint Pole, who had to their syster the old Dutchesse of Guise. Their father died a yong mann, who had married the Ladie Mary of Luxemburg, Countess of Saint Pole and Anguien, and ladie of manie lordshippes in Flaunders, Arthois and Henalt.

\textsuperscript{1}This last parenthetical phrase is inserted in the manuscript later and although the secretary hand closely resembles Thomas Hoby's, the date given (1592) makes this impossible.
Concerning the controversie abowt the state of Millan: yt is to be understood that Jhon Galeatso, Duke of Millan in the time of King Charles the Sixt, married, in Fraunce, a dowghter of his to the Duke of Orleans, which dowghter was his onlie lawfull heir.

It is true that herr father had in deede a bastard dowghter, which was married to a captain, a lieutenant of his, called Sforzia, whiche after the death of his wyve's father (being then in those parties) placed himself in the Dukedom of Millan, setting the Duke of Orleans cleane beside it, which had married the true and lawfull dowghter of the said Duke Galeatso.

Of this dowghter of Millan yssued the father of the King Lewes the XII., and by his mother's side Millan appertayned to him. Wherupon this Lewis, being his sonn, made warr for the said Dutchie of Millan before he was king, the which he enjoyed as much before as he did after he was king. He left of him onlie two dowghters. The eldest was married to the last King, Frauncs, and was mother to the King that now raignethe, who claymethe a title to the said Dutchie of Millan by succession on the mother's side, which was eldest dowghter to the said Lewes the XII\textsuperscript{th}, whose father cam of the dowghter of Millan. The other dowghter of King Lewes the XII, was marid to the Duke of Ferrara, and is mother to the Dutchess of Guise.

Concerning Savoy and Piemont the King claymethe the Dutchie of Savoye, first because his father's mother was elder syster to the
Duke of Savoye, the which countrey is not under the laws alike, but wemen in their inheritance succede before the menn in case they be elder thin the menn, as the chronicles witnesse.

Secondarilie, the King saith his father claymethe the succession of his mother, who for all she was eldest child yet had she not a foote of ground of that herr heritage.

Thirdlie, the King as tutor to Mons' de Nemours' children, who was brother to the late King Frauncs' mother and to the Duke of Savoy, requireth that the children may be better loked to and re-compensed, alleaging that the part or portion that was geven their father is nothing reasonable.

Furthermore, as towching the countrey of Piemont, the king saith that King René of Anger, Erle of Province, did but laye in mortgage for a certain time for a sum of money lent to him upon it to make a journey to Naples. And the chronicles themselves make mention that Piemont and the countie of Nice, laid in gage for the said money, have alwais bine in the patrimonie of Province, which was geven to King Lewes the XI. and other kings his successors. Whereupon the French kings as erles of Province have come by these countreys of Piemont and Nice, and such as injoye these countreys are their vassalls. And the Duke of Savoy nor his sonn hathe not bine willing to conquerr them again.

OF THE STATE OF LORRAIGN.

Concerning the House of Lorraign ye must understand it is descended from Godfray de Bullion, that conquered the realm of Jherusalem.
This House hathe bine aliede as well to the Howses of Fraunce, England, and Austriche as to the House of Anger. They have injoyed Province, Piemont, and th'erldom of Nice. And the House of Savoy hathe not to do with Piemont but onlie for lending of money to King Rene of Anger, who borowed it to drive owt the Arragonese owt of his kingdrommes of Naples and Sicilia.

Of the Howses of Anger and Lorraign resteth the onlie heyre Rene of Lorraign, father onto the late Anthonye of Lorraign, and Lion after the deathe of his father Claudius of Lorraign, which was called by the name of Guise.

Jhon of Lorraign, which was called Cardinall of Lorraign, great frend to the late King Frauncs. Lewes of Lorraign, which was Count of Vaudemont and was poysoned at Naples with Mons\'de Lautrec, and Frauncs of Lorraign, that died at the battaile of Pavia.

Anthonye of Lorraign, that was Duke of the countrey and chief of the armes, maried the syster of the Duke of Burbon that fledd owt of Fraunce, and had by herr Frauncs of Lorraign, father to the yong Duke of Lorraign, Count of Vaudemont.

The maner of Frauncse is that after the decease of the father, his landes and gooddes are equalye dyvided unto his children: the stile and title of honor (yf it bee a prince or a mann of honor) onlie reserved to the eldest sonn, with a litle peece of land besides the siniorye for superioritie's sake, called in French 'vole de chappon': that is to say, as muche as a capon is able to flee at a flight, which is a verie small matter. And so much hathe the elder brother now then the yonger brethren.
1553.

At the beginning of this yere Sir Henry Sidnay cam to the Frenche Cowrt (being than in the citie of Paris at the Lover), sent by the King and his counsell to move a peace betwext him and th' Emperor, and to th'Emperor's Court for the like entent was sent Sir Andrew Dudelye. And after his answere geven him he retourned again into England without having done anie thing in the matter.

The xiiiijth of Februarij Duke Horatio Farnese was married to the French King's bastard dowghter, which was a verie honorable and solemn mariag. The feast was kept in the house of Burbon, not farr from the Lover, in the which was a great halle hanged with faire tapistrie, upon the whiche were sett uppe sundrie scuttchions of the armes of Fraunce, Orleans, Farnese, and Urbin; and emong them were certain tables with these inscriptions in them in grete letters:

At the entring into the hall doore:

'Ad thalamos etiam Charites venere Diane. Cur? Quia quicquid agit Gratia semper adest.'

On the right side

Christianiss.
Franco Regi,
Henrico II Ita
lico Germanico
Britannico.

20

On the left side:

Restituta
 Repub. Senensi
 et protectis cis
 Padum Alba, Qui
 ritio universaque
 ad rad. Alpium
 Regione.

25

Ob res in
Italia, Germania
et Britannia
fortiter ac foe
liciter gestas.

At the upper end of the hall:
Compositis
Britanniae
ulterioris reb.
Recepta Mori
norum Bononia
oppidisque finiti
mis; deinde He
dinio.

At the lower end of the hall:

10 Assertis
in libertatem
principibus Saxo
num Hessorum
atque Sacri

15 Imperii
urrib.

At this mariage besides the King and the Quene and the Ladie
Margaret, the King’s syster, there were that were latlie com from
the defense of Netz bothe prins and other lords, as the Duke of
Guise and Marquess of Beef, his brother, Mons d’Anguici, Loys Mons
his brother, Mons de Nevers, Mons de Namours, Mons d’Ambugny,
also the Cardinall of Roane, the Prince of Ferrara, the Cardinall of
Lorraign, the Bisshoppe of Alby, the Grand Prior of Fraunce, the
Duke of Guise brethren, the Constable, Cardinall Belly, Cardinall
Chastillon, Cardinall Farnese, Duke Horatio, his brother Mons
Chastillon admerall, Mons Visdam, Mons de Trey, the Ambassador of
England, Claudio Tolomei that was sent from the commune weale of
Siena to thanke the French King for their deliverance owt of the
hands of the Spaniards, and sundrie other noble menn and great ladies.

After I had taried in Fraunce the space of ix monthes and settled
my self to my studie, I receaved letters from my brother to repaire
ymmediatlie upon the sight therof unto him, being appointed with my
Lord the Bisshopp of Norwiche commissioner and ambassador towards
th'Emperor on the King's Majesty's behalf.

And as they went into Flaunderes so there cam into Fraunce Doctor Wotton and Sir Thomas Chaloner, to entreate a peace betwext these two princes, where they laboured a long time without anie good doing in that behalf on eyther partie.

MY JOURNEY GW'T OF FRAUNCE TO TH'EMPEROR'S COWRT.

Ymmediatlie upon the receipt of my letters from my brother I departed out of Paris, thinking to meete with him at Calice; the xiiiij of Aprill I sett forwards as foloweth:

10 From Paris to Pontois . . . . . vjle
    From thense to Manny . . . . . vijle
    " " " Guy . . . . . viijle
    " " " Roane . . . . . vijle
    " " " Boucere . . . . . ville
15 " " " Blangye . . . . . ixle
    " " " Abvile . . . . . vjle
    " " " Monterolle . . . . . xle
    " " " Calaice . . . . . xiiiijle
    " " " Bruges . . . . . xvijle
20 " " " Bruxelles . . . . . xvijle

Here I arrived the xxiiij of Aprill.

I found my Lord of Nowriche, my brother, and Sir Richard Morisin here, newlie settled together, attending for audience with th' Emperor, whose astate was so uncertainlie spoken of abroode that no man could for a great space gather by anie means the truth in what case he was. For not a fewe thought plainlie by sundrie probable imaginations that he was dead. Manie beleaved he was out of his right
witts and that his senses failed him. Sum affirmed (as it was indede) that by the continuance of his infirmitie, encreasing rather dailie upon him then diminshing, he was brought in such case not able to be spoken withall. At lengthe, I being appointed to sollicite the matter with the Bisshoppe of Arras for them all, they had verie favorable audience the viij of June, contrarie to all menne's expectation, which thought him not in case able to attend to audience. He was indeede verie feeble of his bodie and pale of his face; sitting in a chaier, laijng his feet uppon an other lesser abowt a foote or more from the ground. He declared him self verie reformabl and flexible to this the King's Majesty's most godlie entent, but the French demaunds werr so farr owt of the way and so unreasonable that he could not of his honor condescend to a peace.

Cardinall Dandino arrived in Brusselles the xv of Maij, legate from the Pope for the verie same effect and purpose, which had his audience the daye after owr commissioners. And as he cam to the Emperor, so Cardinall Capo de Ferro was sent into Fraunce.

Abowt this time was Touranne and Eesdin taken by the Emperor's armie, wherein were manie noblemen and gentlmen of Fraunce, and especiallie in Eesdin, where Duke Horatio, that had this yere maried the King's dawghter, and the Duke of Bullion with dyverse other were slaine, to the no small discomfiture of the French partie.

The vth of July the Prince of Piemont departed owt of Brusselles towards the campe as generall over th'Emperor's armye, with whom went Mr. William Pelham, who was retayned in wages by the ladie Regent, and did him great good service in his campe, my brother being a suter unto him for him.
At this season was Montalcino beseaged by th'Emperor's armie in Italie, Don Pietro di Toledo, vicere of Naples, being generall. The towne was marvellouslie defended by the French partie, captain wherof was Ascanio della Corna, who chaunced afterward to be taken in those parties prisoner; and was committed to the galies. Don Pietro died there, and Don Garzia, his sonn, succeeded him in his charge.

Newes cam to the Cowrt of the great battell betwext Duke Maurice and Marquess Albert, which encreased joye on all sides:

The xi\textsuperscript{th} of July there arrived in Brusselles Sommersett, heralt at armes, with the heavie newes of the King's deathe, who died upon Thursday, the vi of this monethe.

And the xvij of the same the commissioners had audience with th'Emperor in morning apparelle, unto whom they declared these heavie newes, according to the tenor of their letters from the Counsell.

The xix\textsuperscript{th} of July th'Emperor sent for the commissioners, declaring unto them that he understoode they went abowt in England to dispossess the Ladie Marie, his kinswoman, of the realm, to whom it belonged after the decease of the King. And sith she was made heire apparant unto the King bothe by the will of herr father and also by Act of Parlement, they shuld not deprive herr of this herr right by the private affection of a fewe parsonnes, and without just cause whie. Wherupon he demaunded of them what shuld be th'occation of it and upon what consideration it was done. Wherunto they answered the matter was unknowne to them, and the occation whie it shuld bee.

Notwithstanding there was at their cumming furthe of their doores towards his Majesty a gentleman arrived in post owt of England which
may chaunce to have browght with him in his letters from the Counsell somewhat where bye to answere his Majesty in that behalf, the whiche for lacke of time they had not as then looked upon. And thus they departed.

Mr. Shelley taried about a ix or x daies for audience with th' Emperor on the Ladie Jane's behalf, which before his setting furthe of England was proclaimed Quene. But after he understood for certaintie that the Ladie Mary had obtaind herr right and was proclaimed Quene of England, he departed again without eyther delivering of his letters of credence or speaking with the Emperor according to his commission.

Upon Friday, the xvij th of August, my Lord Warden, Sir Thos. Cheyney, arrived in Brusselles, accompanied with Sir Anthonie Browne, Sir Jhon Parat, Mr. Crippes, Mr. Henry Poole, Mr. Harvie, Mr. William Thomas, which was with us before, and went into England to tarie a space there, and Mr. Norrye, heralt at armes. Upon Sunday following he and the rest of the commissioners had audience with th'Emperor.

Wheras it was appointed in the King's dayes that my brother shuld have succeeded Mr. Morrisin in his room to have bine resident with th'Emperor, it was now the Quene's pleaser to have the Bisshopp of Norwich tarie there. And likewise Dr. Wotton in Fraunce, to succeade Sir William Pickering for Mr. Chaloner.

The xxiiiij th of August the Quene of Hungary, regent of Flaunders, made unto my Lord Warden and the rest of the commissioners a sumptious and costlie diner; and ij dayes after they departed with all their companie towards England, leaving the Bisshoppe of Norwiche behind with the Emperor. The iiij d of September we arrived at
the Court in Richmont, the which daye being Sondaye the Lord Cowrtney, 
laltie before delyvered out of the towre, was created Erle of Devon-
shire, being ledd betwext the Erle of Arundle, Lord Steward of the 
Queene's house, and the Erle of Shrewesbery.

Here spake they with the Quene's Majesty, shewing herr their 
rewardes geven them by th'Emperor. The Lord Warden a cheine of 1j\(^m\) 
crownes, my brother and Sir Richard Morisin two chaynes of on thousand 
crownes the pcece.

Uppon Sunday the first daye of Octobre was herr Grace crowned 
solemplie in Westminster Churche by the Bisshoppe of Wynchester, 
laltie before delyvered out of the towre, with th'assistance of all 
the nobilitie of the realm, which sware fealtie and homage unto herr 
Majesty, everie noblemann in his degree, beginning at the Bisshoppe 
of Winchester and the Duke of Norfolke and ending at the Lord Pagett, 
then yongest baronn.

At this coronation were manie bisshoppes, the most part of them 
restored verie latlie to their bisshoppricks again; and also a great 
companie of noble wemen, as the Ladie Elizabeth, the Ladie Ann of 
Cleve, the Dutchess of Norffolk, the Marquess of Exeter, the Marquess 
of Winchester, and almost all other countesses and noble menne's 
wyves of the realm, with a number of knights' wyves.

The coronation Mass and other ceremonies endured from x a' 
clocke in the morning untill iiij and past in the afternoone.

This yere were condemned and suffred death the Duke of Northum-
berland, Sir Jhon Gats, Sir Thomas Palmer; and arraigned and con-
demned the Lord Marquess of Northampton, the Duk's fuye sonnes, the
Bishopp of Canterburye, the Ladie Jane, Sir Androw Dudley, and Sir Henry Cats.

1554.

The example of constancie and verie mirror of true magnanimity in these our daies to all pryncs, died this yere Jhon Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie, a mann for his singular virtues, faithfull meaning, and true dealing with all menn, no less praysed among his enemys than his lyff missed among his frendes, and lamented of bothe. And such a on as with stowtones of mind alwaies preferrred an uncorrupt and stedfast lyving before the continuall threatenings of a shamefull death, whiche he was manie times nige unto. So that neyther threatenings nor faire promises of libertie or great worldlie siniories were of anie force at all to make his mind and conscience to annye manne's appetite or desire flexible or easie to be entreated.

My brother was this yere commaunded to make himself readie to goo in commissioun with the Erle of Bedfort to conduct the Prince of Spaine into England; but that determination of the Quene's and the Counsell's of this jorney of his was no more spoken of after Sir Thomas Wiatt was onse uppe in Kent, who at Temple Barr yielded himself to Sir Morice Barklet uppon Ash Wenesday, and afterward he, the Duke of Suffolke, the Lord Thomas his brother, the Lord Gylford, and the Ladie Jane lost their heads. Hanged and quartered, Sir Henry Isley, Mr. William Thomas, two Knevetts, two Mantelles, Brett, and manie moo, with sundrie other condemnd for this conspiracie of Wiatt's; my Ladie Elizabethe, the Erle of Devonshire, and certain others committed to the Towre that cam not to be arraygned.
During the time of the Ladie Jane's imprisonnement in the Towre there visited herr manie times Fecknam, with sundrie other, to convert herr to the faithe of the Catholike Churche, bourding herr to renounce herr true and Christian fathe. And emong other times they had this communication together, written and penned with her owne hand:--

A DIALOGUE OF THE COMMUNICATION BETWEXT THE LADIE JANE DUGGLEY AND MR. FECKNAM.

'FECK. What thing is required in a Christian?

'JANE. To beleave in God the Father, in God the Sonn, and in God the Holie Ghost, iiij parsonnes and on God.

'FECK. Is there nothing elles required in a Christian but to beleave in God?

'JA. Yes; we must beleave in Him, we must love Him with all owr sowle and all owr mind, and owr neighbor as owr self.

'FECK. Whye then faith onlie justifieth the not nor savethe not?

'JA. Yes, verilie; faith (as St. Paule saith) onlie justifieth.

'FECK. Why St. Paul saith that yf I have all faith withowt love it is nothing.

'JA. True it is. For how cann I love him in whom I trust not, or how cann I trust in him whom I love not? Faith and love goo bothe together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

'FECK. How shall we love owr neighbour?

'JA. To love owr neighbor is to feade the hungrie, clothe the naked, and give drinke to the thirstie, and to do to him as we wold to owr selves.
'FEC. Whie then it is necessarie unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient onlie to beleave?

'JA. I denye that, and I affirme that faith onlie saveth; but it is meete for a Christian in token that he foloweth his Master Christ to do good works; yet we may not say that they proffitt unto salvation, for when we have all done we be unproffitable servants, and the faith onlie in Christe's Bloode saveth.

'FEC. How manie sacraments bee there?

'JA. Two, the one of the sacrament of Baptism and the other of the Lorde's Supper.

'FEC. No, there be seven.

'JA. By what Scripture find yow that?

'FEC. Well, we will talke therof hereafter. But what is the signification of your ij sacraments?

'JA. By the sacrament of Baptism I am wasshed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is offred unto me as a sure seale and testimonie that I am by the Blood of Christ, which He shed for me on the Cross, made partaker of the ever-lasting kingdom.

'FEC. Whie, what do yow receave in that Supper? Do ye not receave theverie Bodie and Blood of Christ?

'JA. No, verilie I do not beleave so. I think that at that supper I receave neyther fleshe nor blood, but onlie bread and wine. The which bread when it is broken and the wine when it is drunken puttethe me in mind how that for my sinnes the bodie of Christ was
broken and His Blood shed on the Cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefitts that com by the breaking of his bodie and the shedding of His blood on the Cross for my sinnes.

'FEC. Whie dothe Christ speake these woordes, "Take, eate: this is My Bodie"? Require we anie plainer woordes? Dothe not He saye that is His Bodie?

'JA. I graunt He saith so. And so he saith, "I am the vine," and, "I am the dore." But is He ever the more for that the dore or a vine? Doth not St. Paul say that he callethe those things that are not as thoughghe they were? God forbid that I shuld say that I eate the verie naturall Bodie and Blood of Christ. For then eyther I shuld plucke awaye my redemption, eyther elles there were ij bodies, or ij Christes, or elles xij bodies. On bodie was tourmented uppon the Cross, and then yf they did eate an other, than eyther He had ij bodies, eyther elles, yf His Bodie were eaten, it was not broken uppon the Cross. Or elles yf His Bodie were broken uppon the Cross it was not eaten of His disciples.

'FEC. Whie is it not as possible that Christ by His power could make His Bodie bothe to be eaten and broken, as to bee born of a woman without the seede of man, and as to walke uppon the sees having a bodie, and other such like miracles as He wrought by His power onlie?

'JA. Yes, verilie, yf God wold have done at His Supper a miracle He might have done so. But I say that then He minded to worke no miracle, but onlie to breake His Bodie and shed His Blood on the Cross for our sinnes. But I pray yow answere me this on
question. Where was Christ when He said, "Take, eate: this is My
Bodie"? Was He not at the table when He said so? He was at that
time alive, and suffrid not untill the next daie. Well, what tooke
He but bread? what breake He but bread? and what gave He but bread?

Looke, what He tooke He brake; and looke, what He brake He gave; and
looke, what He gave they did eate. And yet all this while He Himself
was at supper before His disciples, or elles they were desceaved.

'FEC. Yow ground your faith uppon such authores as saye and
unsay both with a breth, and not uppon the Churche to whom you

ought to geve credit.

'JA. No, I ground my faith uppon Godde's woord and not uppon
the Churche. For yf the Church be a good Churche the faith of the
Church must be tried by Godde's woord, and not Godde's woord by the
Church because of antiquitie. Or shall I geve credit to the Church
that takethe awaye from me the half part of the Lorde's Supper and
will not lett no lay mann receave it in bothe kindes but themselves?
Which thing yf they denye to us they denye part of owr salvation.
And I say that is an yll churche and not the spouse of Christ, but
the spouse of the Devell. Yt alterethe the Lord's Supper and bothe
takethe from yt and addeth to yt. To that Churche I say God will
add plagues, and from that Churche will He take part out of the booke
of lief. Do they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministred it to the
Corinthians in bothe kindes? Shall I beleave that Church? God
forbidd.

'FEC. That was done of a good entent of the Churche to avoid an
heresie that sprung of yt.
'JA. Whie shall the Churche altre Godde's Will and ordinance for a good entent? How did King Saule? The Lord defend.

'With these and such like persuasions he wold have me to have leaned to the Churche. But it wold not bee. There were manie mo things wherof we reasoned, but these bee the chief.

JANE DUDLEY.

AN EXHORTATION WRITTEN BY THE LADYE

JANE THE NIGHT BEFORE SHE SUFFERED, IN

THE LATTER END OF A GREAT TESTAMENT

SENT FOR A TOKEN TO THE LADIE

CATHARINE HER SYSTER.

'I have here sent yow, good syster Catharin, a booke, which althowghe it bee not owtwardlie trymmed with gold, yet inwardlie it is more woorthy than precious stones. It is the booke, deere systir, of the lawe of the Lord. It is His Testament and last will whiche He bequethed to us wretches, which shall leade yow to an ymmortall and everlasting lief. Yt will teach yow to live, and learn yow to die. Yt shall wynn yow more than yow shuld have gayned by the possession of your wofull father's landes. For as yf God had prosp-

yow shuld have enhereted his landes. So yf yow applie diligentlie this booke, seeking to direct your lief after it, yow shall be an enhereter of such richess as neyther the covetous shall withdrawe from yow neyther the theves shall steale, neyther yet moothes corrupt. Desire with David, good syster, to understand the lawe of the Lord your God. Lyve still to die, that yow by death may purchase eternall lief. And trust not that the tendernes of your age
shall lengthen your lief. For assone (yf God call) goith the yong as the old. Labor alwaies to learn to die. Defie the world. Denie the Devell and despise the flesh, and delite yourself onlie in the Lord. Bee penitent for your sinnes and yet desparre not. Be strong in faith and yet presume not. And desire with St. Paul to be dis­solved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is lief. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death commeth and stealeth upon yow like a thief in the night yow be with the evell servaunt found asleepe, and leaste for lacke of oyle yow be found like to the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and than yow be cast out from the marrriage.

'Rejoice in Christ, as I trust I do; and seing yow have the name of a Christian as nere as yow can follow the steppes of your Master Christ, and take upp your Cross. Laye your sinnes uppon His backe, and alwaies imbrace Him. And as towching my death, rejoice, as I do, good syster, that I shall be delivered of this corruption and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall for losing of a mortall lief wynn an immortall lief, the whiche I pray God graunt yow and send yow of His grace to live in His feare, and to die in the true Christian faith; from the which in Godde's name I exhort yow that yow never swarve, neyther for hoope of lief nor for feare of death; for yf yow will denie His truthe to lengthen your lief, God will denie yow and yet shorten your dayes. But if you will cleeve to Him He will prolong your dayes to your comfort and His glory, to the which glory God bring me now, and yow heraftcr, when
it shall please God to call yow. Fare well, good syster, and put your onlie trust in God, who only must help yow.

'Your loving syster, JANE DUDDELEY.'

THE WOORDES OF THE LADIE JANE TO THE PEOPLE IN THE TOWRE BEFORE SHE SUFFERED.

'Good Christian people, I am under a law, and am condempened by a lawe, wherfor I am com. hither for to die, desiring yow all to pray for me. And I take God to witness that I never offended the Quene's Majesty willinglie, but onlie in taking uppon me this thing, the which I was compelled to against my will, and here I washe my hands of my innocencie, desiring yow all to wittniss with me. But I have offended God dyvers and manie wayes in breking His will and commaundments, seeking more the pleasure of this woorlde then the following of Godde's commaundment, wherfor God hathe striken me with this plague for my unthankfullnes towards His Majestie. But now I am hartelie sorie for my misdeades, beseeching Almighty God to take me unto His mercie, and bring me furth of this wretched lief unto the joyes everlasting of heaven.' And the people said, 'Amen.'

'Good Christian people, I besech you beare me witnness that I die a true Christian in the faith of Jesus Christ, geving Him most hartie thanks that it hath pleased Him to lett me have time to repent me of my former lief, trusting to be saved by the Blood of Christ.' So she desired the people to pray for herr, and said the psalm of Miserere. And when her head was on the blocke she said,

'Lord receave my soule into Thy hands,' taking her death most humblie, like unto a lambe.
She died the 12th of February, and likewise the Lord Guilford.

My brother, disapointed of this his journey into Spaine with the Erle of Bedford, by long sute bothe unto the Quene's Majesty and the Counsell, obtayned license to go visitt the baynes of by yond the sees, for the better recoverie of a certain old disease of his, the which he was licensed to do by the King's Majesty, being yet alive when he was last Ambassador with th'Emperor, and by the reason he was prevented by death, could not enjoye the same for that he was called home again shortlie after.

And after he had settled all things at home as he thought best he appointed owt a certain numbre of his familie to accompanie and to waite upon him in this his journey. This done and his leave taken of the Quene's Majesty, part of us sett forwarde owt of London, the xxi of May, towards Calice, there to abide and tarie his cumming.

And then the vth of June, after great entertainment with the Lord Wentworthe, Lord Deputie there, and the Lord Gray, we departed owt of Calice as folowth.

MY BROTHER'S JOURNEY INTO ITALY.

From Calice to Gravelings, Angel . . . iiijle

Hitherto did Sir Anthony Aucher, Knight Marshall of Calice, accom­panie my brother, with Mr. Richard Blount, Master of th'Ordinance, and dined together in th'Englishe Sluce.

From thense to Dunkirke, Cross Kays . . . iiijle

" " " Newport French Crowne . . . vle

" " " Oldenburg . . . . iiiijle
From thense to Brugis, Golden Heade

" " Eclowe

" " Caulue

" " Stekin

" " Antwerpe, English house

Here my brother taried iiij dayes to dispatch certain busnes of his.

Hitherto cam with us in our wagon Mr. Charles Morisin and Mr. Darell.

From hense we departed towards th'Emperor's Cowrt to Brussells.

From thense to Maklines, at the Kettle

In this towne is all the munition and artillarie of the Lowe Countreye.

From thense to Vilfort

Here is a strong castle wherin the Landesgrave of Hess lay so long prisoner.

From thense to Brussels, at the Wolf

We arrived here the xiijth of June, wher my brother lay with Sir John Mason, Lord Ambassador.

The iiiijth of July, by th'Emperor's appointment, my brother had audience with the Lady Regent, his syster, which was very benign and gentle, and delivered unto herr the Quene's Majesty's letters of credence unto th'Emperor, who was in that case himself by the reason both of sundrie waightie affaires as well for the setting furthe of his army royall (of the which he made the Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piemont, his generall) as for th'establishing of other matters at home, for th'assistance of the comunes in the same in graunting of subsidies, and also of his long sicknes, which had now broughht him verie lowe, that he had no convenient time to speake with
him in parson, as his Majestie was once determined.

Within three dayes after my brother had audience his Majestie removed owt of Brusselles in a littar towards Namours, where his armye was, the French King's power lijng not farr of, which about Midsommer had taken there upon the frontiers the strong towne of Maryburg, built by the Regent herr self and so named after herr owne name, and the towne of Dinant, and at length the Castle of Dinant, after vii assawtes geven to yt.

Here was now in the Cowrt Don Ferrante Gonzaga, latlie com from Millan, and Don Garzia, Don Ferrante della Noia, with diverse other noble men.

After Duke Maurice death, which tooke uppon him the defense of the bishoppes (that Marquess Albert persued to obtain his right of them) during this quarell betwext them, the Duke of Brunswike supplied Duke Maurice rowm, and was so aided by the bishoppes and by the citie of Norenberg that manie times he had the better hand of him, and in a conflict now latlie he gave him a great overthrowe and wonn by force of armes all his townes, castles, and strong holdes, and brought him in that case that he is not able to gather anie power again. And in the later end of July he returned to the service of the French King again, accompanied with xxx horses.

When my brother had taken his leave of the Bisshoppe of Arras, who lovinglie embraced him, and had visited Cardinall Poole, then lying there as legat from the Pope with a commission to entreate of peace betwext these Princs, who entertayned him verie gentle, we departed the viijth of July owt of Brusselles, accompanied as far as
Lovain with Sir Thomas Chamberlain.

From Brussells to Lovane, Looking-Glass . . . iiiij le
From thense to Tyne . . . . . iiij le
From thense to Sintrur, Shipp . . . . iiij le
" " " Tunger . . . . . . iiij le
" " " Trick, Horshew . . . . iiij le

This towne is communlie called Mastrick, for that the river Nase runnethe throughe the middle of yt. The on side wherof is in Brabant, and the other in the land of Falconbridge and holde the of th'Empire.

From thense to Falconbridge . . . . j le

This towne hathe bine in times past belonging to the Duke of Cleve, but now it is the Emperor's, gotten in the warres betwext the Duke of Cleve and him.

From thense to Gulick, Chalice . . . . vij le

This towne belongeth to the Duke of Cleve, who is Duke of Gulick, Cleve, and Berg by inheritance. In the warres he hath with th' Emperor, when he lost to him the Dukedom of Geldres, yt was greatlie defaced and burnt by the Emperor's armye. Now the Duke doth enlarge yt, fortifie yt stronglie, and build it a new; and is in hand to make a verie bewtiful castle (hard by the wallles of yt answering to the boulwarke of the towne) both for strengthe and pleaser, which he hath begun verie princelie from the foundation, and hathe dailie a thousands workmen about yt.

From Gulick to Coloin, Wild Man . . . . vij le

This is on of the free cities of th'Empire.

From thens to Sonn . . . . . iiiij le
This towne is belonging to the Bisshoppe of Coloin, Elector.

From thense to Wynter at an inn by the Rhyneside. iij\(^{1}\)e

This is of the Count Mandersett's possessions, subject to the Duke of Cleve. The next waye from Gulick hither leaving the waye of Coloin is but viij leagues.

From thense to Aldernach. . . . . iiij\(^{1}\)e

This towne belongethe to the Archbisshopp of Colain.

From thense to Covelens, Helmett. . . . . iiij\(^{1}\)e

The Archbisshopp of Trier is bisshopp and lord of this towne, who hathe a verie bewtiful castle on the other side of the Rhine upon the hill, where there is also a fountain of sharpe water.

The Rhyne passethe bye this towne on the on side, and on the other the Mosell entrethe into the Rhyne.

From thense to Kyselback. . . . . vj\(^{1}\)e

This village is in the land of Duke Hauns van Symmer. Here we cam uppe the mountaynes, leaving the hie way by the Rhyne, because it was to narrowe for our wagon to pass, and in the waye we found a verie faire spring of sharpe water, which is thowght to cum owt of the mines of yron. A faire woodie countrey all abowt after we be onse upp the hilles.

From thense to Creitznach, Greene Tree. . . iiij\(^{1}\)e

There be three lorde that have equall possession of this towne, the on no more then the other--the Pfalsgrave of Ryne, the Duke of Symmer, and the Marquess of Bade. In som places of yt they have Masse, and in some other none at all. The towne is divided in the middes with a ryver.
From thense to Alezen, Helmett

" " " Frawzen, Oxe

These two townes do belonge unto the Pfalsgrave of the Rhyne that is Elector.

From thense to Spire

This is a free citie of th'Empire, and is commonlie called the Chambre of th'Empire, because all weightie causes and matter of controversy in th'Empire are adjudged here to be pleaded and descerned.

From thense to Rainhausen, Looking Glass

Here is the commune passage over the Rhyne, and it belongethe to the Bisshopp of Spire, with the towne of Brouchsall.

From thense to Bruchsall

" " " Bretten, Crowne

This towne belongethe to the Pfalsgrave of the Rhyne; within it was born Mr. Phillipp Melanchton, the great and prudent clerke.

From thense to Vayhinghenn, Crowne

Here beginnethe the Duke of Wyrtenberge's lands. This is a pretie towne standing uppon the ryver of Entz, and above yt is a castle wherin lay a garison iiij hundretethe Spaniardes after the warr of Germany was ended to helpe to kepe the countrey in subjection; but when Duke Maurice rose in th'Empire against the Emperor he voided all his dukedom of Spaniardes which th'Emperor had in the old Duke his father's dayes planted in everie castle and strongholde abowt the land.

From thense to Magranige

Somwhat owt of the hie waye. Not farr from this towne there is a
verie strong castle of the Duk's, called Asberg, in the which were v
hundrethe Spaniardes in garison.

From thense to Canstat, Crowne . . . vj\textsuperscript{le}
This towne standethe uppon the river of Necker, by the which groweth
the good Necker wines. Here is a new sect of heretieques, called
Zwingfeldiani, which contemn all the sacraments. They gather to-
gether manie times in corners, and will in no wise be browght to
communicate with other men. They hold opinion that the administration
of sacraments is not available, but that menn may better a great
deale receave them in faith than outwardlie, and diverse other opinions
which are to long to recite. A gentleman called Zwyngfeldus was the
author of this sect among them, yet alive and wandring abroade in the
woorld. Most of the chief menn of the towne be corrupt with yt.
Within half a league of this towne standethe uppon the toppe of an
hill, not farr owt of the hie way, the auntient house of Wyrtenberg,
like a bewtifull castle to behold afar of, wherby all the holle land
of Wyrtenberg takethe his name. Yt is much in decaye; the occasion
thereof (they saye) is bicause it standethe to hie to be inhabited.
Yt hathe the goodlie prospect of a faire and plentifull countreye all
abowt yt.

Litle more than half a league owt of this towne is Stuccardia,
the chief citie in the Duke's land, where he liethe most communie
himself, and a three leagues owt of the towne is a famous univer-
sitie of the Duk's called Tubinga, where emong other learned menn
are Gribaldo, and Virgerius, that was Bisshoppe of Capo d'Histria,
verie famous in all Italye.
From Canstat to Eslingen . . . . . jle

This, among other, is also a free citie and holdeth of th'Empire, and by it runnethe the river of Necker. Yt standeth within the precinct of the Duke of Wyrtenberge's dominion, and (as som say) have in times past bowght their freedom of the Duke. Within this citie are two famous men, learned preachers of the Gosspell, M. Rauberus Bonaventura and Gallus Hartman.

These bee most of the free cities of th'Empire:--

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From Esplingen to Geppingen, Starr . . . . iiJle

Here we arrived the xxiiijth of July. Without the walles of this towne there is a fountaine of sharpe water, nie unto the which the Duke hathe built certain baynes where menn wash them in yt in tubbes after

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The manuscript includes a numerical tally at the bottom of each column. Powell did not include these tallies in his edition.
yt hathe bine sodd uppon the fire, which is reckoned of the countrey abowt a verie helthsom and soveraign matter for such as have a cold stomake, or unperfect digestion, or a hott lyver, or ague, or almost any matter of impediment. This water is also good to bee drunke eyther warmed or cold at all times; and it serveth the th'inhabitants abowt in steade of wine. In this water did my brother bathe himself the space of vij or viij dayes bothe before noone and after; encreasing everie daye from on howre at the first beginning until vj or vij howres a day, and not past (for to beginn with so manie howres at the first, as they say, doth great hurt to the bodie and affoyblethe yt verie much)—that is to say, iij or iiij howres before dyner and iij howres after, as a man is dissposed. And like as the beginning was not sodainlie to vij howres in the daye, so shuld the end diminishe by litle and litle, everie day half an howre less or therabowt. They say he that will use yt in perfection to do him good must bathe vijxx howres in all.

The ruines of a faire castle are to be descerned a farr of owt of this towne, situated in times past uppon a verie hie hill, half a league without the towne, called Stauffen, which was destroyed and burnt by the communes of Germanie, when they made a generall insurreccion against the nobilitie and gentlemen.

We departed owt of this towne the first daye of August on our journeye towards Italye, having rested here to take this kind of water on viij or ix dayes. Hard by this towne runnethe a river called Filtz, which goethe into the Neckar.

From Geppingen to Geislingen, Swann
This towne belongethe to the lordes of Ulm.

Here hath bine a faire castle uppon the hill, and was overthrown when Marquess Albert spoiled the countrey abowt Ulm to the verie ground, that almost no sign remaynethe.

From thense to Halbec . . . . iijle long.

This doth appertain to the lordes of Ulm.

Uppon the side of a hill above it is a faire castle.

From thense to Geinsbruck, Cross . . . . iijle long.

This towne doth belong to the King of Romanes; yt standeth uppon the river of Gentz; and before we cum to yt we pass over the river of Danubius, called in Dutche the Thonaw.

From thense to Sousmerhausen . . . . iiijle

This village is of the Carnall of Auspurg's possessions, which hathe great territorie here abowt. Before we cum to yt we pass throwghe a long, thicke, thevishe wood, verie daungerous.

From thense to Ausspurg, Crowne . . . . iiijle

This is on of the bewtifullest free cities of th'Empire. There is no land belonging to yt, but there are within yt rich marchentmenn, as the Folkers, the Velsers, the Pougarts, the Herbrothes, and such other which have indeed lands belonging to them, but not abowt the citie. For all that, yeven to the hard walles of yt almost, belongethe to the Duke of 3avire and to the Cardinall of Auspurg. This citie is verie faire built, and manie goodlie conveyancs of waters within yt.

At our cumming hither we understood newes owt of England of the Prince of Spaine his arrivall there in the port of Southampton
the xx of July, and the solemnisation of the marriage betwext the Quene's Majestie and him at Winchester the xxvth of Julye, where by letters patents from his father, th'Emperor, he was openlie pronounced King of Naples and Hierusalem, to the stile of England.

From Auspurg to Brugk, Hartshead ... vle

It belongethe to the Duke of Bavire. Within half a league or Ausperg we passed the river Leigh, and cam by Friburg, a towne that by the Duk's means hath maintayned warr against Ausspurg a long time. From Ausspurg we cum out of the hie waye to see the towne of Miniken.

From Brugk to Miniken ... iijle

This is the cheefest towne within the Duk's land. It standeth in a goodlie plaine verie plentifull round about yt. The towne for the bigness is generallie as well built and hathe as bewtiful streates as anie citie in all Germanie. Not a house of tymber within it, but all of freestone and bricke in such cumlie order and due proportion that yt hath not his name all abrode for nothing. Hard by the walles of yt the Duke hathe a castle wherein are faire lodgings and pleasant orchardes and gardines with sundrie devises of conveyance of waters, replenisshed with delicate frutes and saverie flowres.

This towne standeth upon a river that goethe into the Danubius, called Yser, and part of him runnethe through the Duk's gardines. It is a famouse towne for the best lutestrings in all Germanie.

From Miniken to Wolfershausen ... iiiijle

This standeth upon a river called the Luese, which goethe into the Yser. After we pass thorowgh this village we cumm to a thick wood
of great firr trees ij leagues broode.

From thense to Laingreben . . . . iiij\textsuperscript{le}

By this village is a great monasterye called Benedictenpeuren, verie rich in possessions. A league from hense we begin to enter into the hilles of the Alpes, where we ascended a verie highe hille, and the wagon was drawn upp by force of horses with much difficultie.

From thense to Waltsee . . . . . iiij\textsuperscript{le}

This village is so called by the name of the lague that it standeth uppon. The lague is 725 faddom diepe, which th'inhabitants affirm hathe bine proved within the memorie of mann. Yt is compassed abowt with hige hilles on all sides. In the hie way betwext this and Laingreben we cam by another lague called Kochelsee, not so deepe but much broder.

From thense to Mittenwalt, Lion . . . . iij\textsuperscript{le}

All this way is full of great hie firr trees, wherof finding on lijnge uppon the ground we found him to bee lx yardes in lengthe of good tymber; verie straight and thicke.

This belongethe to the Bisshoppe of Frizerr, which holdeth of the Duke. Here cummeth in the hie waye from Auspurg into Italie.

All along the valley here runnethe the river that passeth Miniken, which hath his beginning at Lovaccia, iiij leagues farther of.

From thense to Seefelt . . . . . . iiij\textsuperscript{le}

It is so named because there is a litle small lague by it. Before we arrive here we pass through a sluce of the King of Romanes called Klausen, which seperatethe the Duk's land, called Nyder Bayern, from the countie of Tirol, which is the King's.
From thense to Innspruk, Hans Frellick

This is a litle towne and well built, and it is the heade towne of Tirol. It standeth on the river of Syene, which hath his beginn­ing at a place in Swicerland called Engeting, and goith into the Danubius at Passau with a swift streame. In the same hill the Rhine in Germanie, and the Adice in Italie, have their first beginning also. Three leagues from hence are certain silver mines at a place called Swatz, belonging to diverse, as the King of Romanes, the Bisshoppe of Saltsburg, the Folkers, etc., and within a league of yt is Halla, where abundance of salt is dailie made. Abowt the toune are dyverse mines of yron and other metalles, whiche from thense are convayed (for their perfection) into sundrie partes of Europe. For Insspruck stuff is much sett by in all places as well as for armor as for all other things of mettall.

There were in the palaice here, called the castle, sixe of the King of Romanes' dawghters--

Magdalena, of the age of xxiii. 
Leonora, of the age of xxij.
Margarita, of the age of xx.
Barbara, of the age of xv.
Helena, of the age of xj.
Joanna, of the age of vij.

My brother went thither to visit them, and was browght to their presence by on Geronimo, Baron of Sprincestain, a counsellar of the King's.

The Ladie Margaret he sawe not for that she was somewhat yll
at ease and kept her chambre. Besides these vi he hathe other iiij, on married to the Duke of Bavire, an other to the Duke of Cleve, and the third to the King of Polonia, which was maried to Fraunco, the yong Duke of Mantua, that was drowned. The King was first maried to the King of Romanes' eldest dawghter, that died.

From Insspruck to Matra, Egle . . . . iiij\textsuperscript{le}

" thense to Stertzin, Grifin . . . . iiiij\textsuperscript{le}

Betwext Matra and Stertzin there is a monument graven in brass with an inscription signifijnge how th'Emperor Charles the V\textsuperscript{th}, after his coronation at Bolonia in the yere of xxx, cumming owt of Italie, was there mett by King Ferdinando, his brother.

In the middle waye there is the beginning of a river called Prenerpach, which fallethe downe from a hie hill, and we folowe the course of yt untill we cumm to Trent. And on the other side beginnethe a litle river that runnethe into the Siene benethe Insspruck.

From thense to Pri xen . . . . . . iiiij\textsuperscript{le}

The Cardinall of Trent is Bishoppe of this towne, and they hold of him under the King, paing unto him their custommes. Here the river is called Eysackh.

From thense to Klausen, Lambe . . . . . iij\textsuperscript{le}

Here the river is named Bocer.

From thense to Culman . . . . . j\textsuperscript{le}

" " " Botzen or Botzan, Golden Egle . iiij\textsuperscript{le}

This is a pretie towne, compassed abowt with hilles, and the litle vale abowt it is verie frutefull with vines and sundrie kindes of frutes.
From thense to Niuenmarke . . . . iij$\text{ij}^{le}$

" " " Salorn . . . . j$\text{j}^{le}$

Here the river is called Eiche.

From thense to San Michael . . . . j$\text{j}^{le}$

" " " Trento, Rose . . . . iij$\text{ij}^{le}$

Here the river is called l'Adice, and goith from hense to Verona.

This towne is in the countie of Tirollo, and is in the Cardinalle's government under the King. Wherin the Cardinall hath a faire castle. In this towne they speake for the most part Italian, and manie Dutch, which as they differ in language so do they varie in fasshions and maners.

From thense to Fergini, Egle . . . . v$\text{v}^{ml}$

Here we cumm to the Italian miles, after we pass Trent, and leave the Dutch leagues, with v miles to the league.

From thense to Lievigo . . . . v$\text{v}^{ml}$

Betwext Fergini and Lievigo we ride by the side of a lague called Lago di San Christofano. This lague hath his yssue owt into an other lesser, owt of the which the river of Brenta, that goith by Padoa, hath his heade. And by this river's side we ride untill we cumm to Bassano.

From thense to Al Borgo . . . . viij$\text{vij}^{ml}$

" " " Castelnovo . . . . i$\text{i}^{jml}$

" " " Grigno, Lion . . . . viij$\text{vij}^{ml}$

" " " Scala . . . . v$\text{v}^{ml}$

This village of Scala belongethe to the Venetians.

From thense to Covolo . . . . j$\text{j}^{ml}$
This is a straight passage and narrow between the hill and the river, where is a custom house belonging to the King of Romanes.

Here is a dwelling-place on hige within the rocke, unto the whiche men and victell, or what so ever is needfull for their use, is wound up by a corde with a windless, and likewise cummethe downe by the same. Within this house in the rocke runnethe a great spring of water, which cummeth downe the hill with great abundance.

From thense to Sismon . . . . . ij\text{\textaccents mL}

Here the Venetians have custom paid them of all such as travaile to and fro.

From thense to Carpinea . . . . . vj\text{\textaccents mL}

" " " Bassano, Angel . . . . vj\text{\textaccents mL}

Somewhat before we cumm to the towne we leave the mountaines called Alpes and enter into a brode plaine countrey, full of frutes, vines, and corn.

From thense to Cittadella . . . . . viij\text{\textaccents mL}

" " " the passage over the Brenta . ix\text{\textaccents mL}

" " " Limina . . . . ij\text{\textaccents mL}

" " " Padova, Sunn . . . . vj\text{\textaccents mL}

We arrived in Padova the xxiiij\textsuperscript{th} of the moneth of August, where as we mett with Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Jhon Cheeke, Sir Henry Nevell, Sir Jhon Cutts, Mr. Bartye, Mr. Taumworth, and iiij of Sir Anthonie Denie's sonnes, Mr. Henry Cornwallis, Mr. Jhon Ashley, Mr. Henry Kingsmell, Mr. Windam, Mr. Roger Carewe, and Mathew, his brother, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Orphinstrange, with dyverse other. And shortlie after here arrived Sir Anthonye Cooke. Besides all these
here I found Mr. Thomas Fitzwilliams, whom in fore time I had left in Fraunce, whose studie and industrie in obtayning of vertuous knowleage hath the spread abrode a worthie fame of it self. And indee it was no small contention of mind unto me to find him here, whose unfayned frendshipp I had alwaies tasted of in sundrie places, and now receaved the frutes of the same.

A JOURNEY TO MANTUA.

The xxith of October my brother, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Cooke, and Mr. Cheeke, with their companies, sett forwardes toward this journey as folowethe:

From Padova to Moncelise . . . . . x\text{ml}

From thense to Este . . . . . v\text{ml}

Cwte of this towne had the house of Este that are Duks of Ferrara his origin.

From thense to Montagnana . . . . . x\text{ml}

" " " Lignago . . . . viij\text{ml}

This towne is divided in the middle with the great river of Adice. The first side of the towne we cumm into is communlie called Porto, and the other side over the river Lignago: well fortified on bothe sides with square boulwards, lowe after the new fasshion, and without flankers. It standethe in a plaine, as all the rest of the countreye abowt.

From thense to Sanguinea . . . . . x\text{ml}

" " " Muradiga . . . . viij\text{ml}

" " " Castellare . . . . j\text{ml}

This belongeth to the Duke of Mantua. Betwext Muradiga and this
towne there is a place called Fossa, which with a small distance divideth the Venetians' countrey from the Duk's of Mantua.

From thense to Mantua, Sonn . . . . x:\n
Here we understoode that fewe dayes before our arrivall the Marquess of Pescara (being sent by the King of England to take possession of the realm of Naples for him) had, with great triumphant, maried the Duk's syster as he passed by this towne towards Naples.

Here we vewed diligentlie the strong site of the towne, compassed abowt with the lague and marrisshes, and fortified in the weakest places verie stronglie with boulwarks and rampares. We were ledd abowt to the Duk's palaces, and sawe the grotta where the old Dutchess' jewelles are, with sundrie faire antiquities worthie to be seene. By yond the bridge of the milles towards Porta Nova there is Virgilius' heade in stone sett uppon the toppe of a marble pillar, with this inscription on the pillar--

Mantuae genium in P. Virgilio
Marone cive suo veneramur.
Marius Aequicola Poetae,
D."

After two dayes' abode in Mantua we sett forwardes toward Ferrara along by the Po.

From Mantua (passing by Governo, where the river Meltio, that cummethe by Mantua, entrethe into the Po, and by Saravalla, uppon the Po) to Cstia, Castle. . . . xvij:\n
\footnote{Folio 158v which follows in the manuscript has been omitted here.}
Throwghe Ostia is the throwgfare from Fraunce, Germanie, Grisland, and other countreys into the rest of Italy. On the other side of the Po, over against Ostia, there is a pretie towne called River.

From Ostia to Melara iiij ml

From thense alonge by the Po side to the passage over the Po called Porto del Palanton xviij ml

Before we cumm to this passage we may discern the Po to divide into two partes. The on arm goethe hard by the walles of Ferrara, and the other that we passed over commethe within iiij miles of the towne, and entreth into the seea in ij sundrie places. And whoso will go by water the next way to Venice takethe his bote in that part of the Po that we passed over, at Francolini.

From thense to Ferrara, Angel x ml

This towne is well ditched on everie side and stronglie fortifie with great walles and mounts, and not without cause counted on of the strongest in Italye. On the other side of the Po that cummethe under the walles of the towne is the yland of Belvedere, where the Duk's house of pleaser is, with sundrie divises for water, and where salt is made.

From thense to the passage over the Po at the ferie called Ponte Vescura iiij ml

From thense to the passage over the on part of the Adice at Villa xl ml

Somwhat before we cumm to this passage we entre into the Venetians' dominions.

From thense to Rovigo, Sonn vj ml
This is an old towne and hath a bishoppe over it. Through it runnethe a litle river that cummethe out of the Adice.

From thense to the ferie over the maine river of the Adice, called Anguillara. vijm

From thense to Conselve, throwghe the plasses and marisshes of the Adice. viim

From thense to Padova. x

Here we arrived again the xixth of October.

This yere, abowt the xxviiith of November, were abrogated in England by Act of Parlament all such statutes, actes, and injunctions as had bine in time tofore established against the Bishoppe of Rome's usurped authority, and the wholl realm, by the submission of the Parlament, absolved by Cardinall Pole from their heresies and othe taken against him in times past, by full authoritie from him being Legatus ex latere:

The writing began the xviiith of November I ended the ixth of Februarie folowinge.

1555.

Pope July the Third died the xxith of Marche, and in his rowme succeeded Cardinall di Santa Croce, called by name Marcellus the Second, not chaunginge his name, as other Popes had done in foretime; who going abowt spedilie to bring to pass sundrie reformationes of abuses in the Churche, died the last day of Aprill folowing, not withowt susspition of poyson, being made Pope onlie by the assent of the Imperiall Cardinalles, the Frenche Cardinalles not being assembled. He raigned in the seate xxij dayes.
The imperiall armie, guided by the Duke of Florence and the Marquess of Marignano, so oppressed the citie of Siena with long siege and sore assalts, that for want of vittualles to hold cwt enie longer yielded uppe into the Emperor's hands in the monethe of Aprill by composition.

The ixth of Maye Sir Jhon Cutts departed cwt of this woorlde at Venice of a pleurisie, as it is judged.

The xxv was created Pope Cardinall Theatin, commonlie called Cheti, of the familie of Caraffa in Naples, of whom Viscount Montacute and the Bisshoppe of Elye had audience on the King and Quene's Majesty's behalf for the restitution of England again to owr holie mother, the Churche of Roome.

The xijth of June my Lord of Bedfort arrived in Padoa, and Sir Anthonye Cooke departed towards Germanie.

In the monethe of July Sir Anthonye Browne, Vicount Montague, returned by Padoa from Roome, and the Bisshoppe of Ely arrived at Venice in his jorney towards England again, where my brother went to see him.

The xvth of July my brother departed cwt of Padoa towards the Baynes of Caldero, besides Verona.¹

After xxij dayes abodd at Caldero, to take the water, we departed thense in cumpanie with Mr. Wrothe and Mr. Cheeke, who were then cumm from Padoa, for that the plague, that was ceased before

¹Folios 162r-169v which follow in the manuscript have been omitted here.
owr cumming from thense, begann again to encrease.

We tarried a while at Verona, as well to see the towne as the countrey abowt, and the lague called Lago di Garda, xv miles from Verona, at Lazize, and xv miles from thense all the breadeth of the lague which stretchethe to the towne of Salo, uppon the lague's side, all which coost of the lague is called Riviera di Salo, marvelouslie besett with citron trees, orenges, and lymones, verie plesant to behold.

From the towne of Salo we returned backe again to Peschera, xvij miles, which is a towne situated in the marisshes on the lague's side, newlie begonn to be marvelouslie fortified by the Venetians.

Throwghe this towne owt of the lague runnethe the river Meltio, that goith to Mantoa, in the which river are taken verie good trowts, and great yeles that at certain times (as Pliny writeth) gather them­selves into clustres, and after the shape of round balles tumble owt of the lague down the river, on knitt within an other.

This lague is in length xxxv miles, in breadethe in on place xv miles, in compass above an hundrethe, and in deepethe in most places ij and iiij hundrethe fad om. Within the lague is verie good fishe, as trowts, yeles, pickerelles, tenches, and carpioni, which (as the inhabitants say) feede upon the mines of gold and sylver that are in the lague. Onse this is true there are no excrements in the bellie of them, as in other fisshes; and this kind of fishe, they say, is found no where elles but onlie in this lague.

MY BROTHER'S JORNEY CNT OF ITALY.

From Padoa to Vicenza, Peacock ... xvij\textsuperscript{m}l
From thense to Caldero . . . .  xxij™l
" " " Verona, Canalletto . . viij™l

Throwghe this citie runnethe the Adice, that passes by Trento.

From thense to Volarni . . . . . xij™l
" " " Chiusa . . . . . i™l
" " " Borghetto . . . . x™l

A mile or ij before we cumm to this towne we entre into Tyroll, the
King of Romanes' countrey.

From thense to Rovere . . . . . xv™l
10 " " " Trento . . . . . xij™l

From thense to Innsprucke, Minichen, and Auspurg, as in owr jorney
into Italy, where we arrived the 28th August.

Here we found the King of Romanes with the Archduke Charles,
his youngest sonn, at the Diet (which had continued long before), bothe
for the uniting of Germanie in religion and for aiding th'Emperor
and the King against the commune ennemie, the truce being now
expired.

The prinsc that were at this Diet, by their agents and not on
in person, stoode exceeding much upon their religion, which was the
onlie point and stay thereof, bearing in mind the Diet had at Passa
by the King and the Duke Maurice, and the conclusions there agreede
upon, bothe in the Emperor's and in the Empire's behalf, as in the
yere 1552.

Here, the first of September, my brother spake with the King,
who gave him gentle audience. In this diet was entreated also by
the stats of th'Empire that Protestants shuld be intermedled with
the rest of the Chamber of th'Empire, to th'entent that all shuld not consist in the Papists' hands onlie, concerning rule and government touching the astate of th'ole Empire.

Also that the bando imperial to banishe and exile within the precint of th'Empire, and to confiscat their goodes that trespase, shuld not be withowt the authoritie and consent of the Princs Electors; least for everie trifling cause of displeaser menn shuld be banisshed owt of th'Empire.

It was furthermore decreed that enie parson, of what condition soever he be of, that will forsake Poperie and becum a Protestant shuld depart owt of the countrey he dwellethe in, in saftie with his goodes and lyving, to remaine where he lustethe within the Empire, and in this decree was contayned the King's own countrey of Austria, and belongethe as well to prests as to the laytie, saving that priests shall not enjoye their stipend and revenue yf they forsake their pristhood, but onlie their movables.

The xxvi of September the Diet ended with an oration made by the King for a small conclusion of the same unto the stats there assembled in the towne house after the maner.

And the first day of Marche the princs themselves promised to meet the King at Ratisbona at an other Diet for farther matters at the King's request, who the day after his oration made departed owt of the citie of Auspurg towards Inspruck, there to remaine during this wynter.

The last of September my brother departed owt of Auspurg and made his jorney by Ulm, Esling, Stutcard, and Spire.
From Spire to Overson

This is the Palsgrave of the Rhyne his towne, latlie burnt and now building.

From thens to Woormes, White Swann

This towne dothe belong unto the Palsgrave, but is possessed presentlie of th'Empire, for certain interests betwext the Palsgrave and th'Empire.

From thens to Memt, Wild Mann

Marquess Albert entering into the citie, spoiled and burnt the Bisshoppe's palaice, with certain abbayes and monasteries bothe within and without the citie.

From this citie certain of us went to see the citie of Franckford, iiiij leagues along the ryver of Mene, that runnethe by yt, and entrethe into the Ryne on the other side of Mentz. In Franckford were Mr. Jhon Hales, Mr. Thomas Ashley, Mr. J. Cope, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Whitehead, pastor, Jhon Bale, Turner of Wyndsore, and dyvers other men and womenn to the number of on hundrethe, whiche had there a churche graunted them to preache in.

Here, in Mentz, we tooke bote to go downe the Rhyne into Brabant.

From Mentz to Binge

In this towne of the Palsgrave's were the Lantsgrave of Hess and the Erle of Nassaw, attending for the arrivall of the Palsgrave, the Duke of Cleve, the Duke of Wirtenberg, and manie other princo that had appointed an assemblie here together for a concord and agrement
to be had betwext the Lantsgrave and the Erle of Nassaw, concerning certain lands in controversie betwext them.

Benethe Bachrache in the middle of the Rhyne, uppon a little rock, standeth a house called Pfalz, wherof the Pfalzgrave of the Rhynne take the his name.

From Bachrach to Coulens, Helmet

From Coulens to Collen, Wildman

" Collen to Disteldorf

" thense to Kaiserswert

" " " Ursey

" " " Wesel

Here cummethe a diepe ryver into the Ryne, called the Lappe. In this towne lay my Lady of Suffolke with her husband, newlye brought a bedd of a boye. The towne is in Clevland, a free towne and under the protection of the Duke of Cleve.

From thense to Emmere, Crowne

A league from this towne within the land standeth the Duke's chef towne, called Clef, wherof the land take the his name.

A mile from Emmere downe the Ryne standeth a house called Toll house, wheras custom is paid for the Emperor, the Duke of Gelderland, the Duke of Cleve, everie on his severall custom. At this custom are iij townes in Gelderland free--Tiel, Somar, and Numegen. At this toll house we leave the maine river of the Rine on the right hand and enter into a braunch of it called the Wall, whiche never meete again. And here we entre into the land of Berg.

From Emmere to Numegen
This is the chief towne of Gelderland, and in yt are ij customes, those for the Duke, and th'other for the towne.

From thense to Tiele, Pellican . . . iiiijle
A league from this towne the Mose and the Wall meete bothe in on, and at a village called Herwart, less than an English mile from the place where th'on cummeth into th'other, they depart again, eche of them his owne waye. And from thense we cam downe the Mose (leaving the Wall on the right hand) the space of two leagues, where we entred into a great ditche that brought us against the streame owt of the Mose unto Hertzogenbuss, a league in lengthe, which is on of the cheffest townes in Brabant.

From Tiel to Hertzogenbuss, Host . . . iiiijle
Here we sold owr bote and rod by land to Antwerpe.

As we cam downe the Rhine we passed manie custom houses, where all bottes of marchandises, uppon paine of deathe, must pay their custome and toll, and are from Mentz downward xxj.

First at Bing for the Bisshopp of Mentz.
At Bacrach " " Palsgrave.
" Cause, over against Pfalz, for the Palsgrave.
20 " Gewere for the Lantsgrave.
" Pubbart " " Bisshoppe of Trier.
" Losta " " Bisshopp of Mentz.
" Ingers " " " Collen.
" Bunn " " " " "
25 " Aldernach " " " " "
" Lintz " " " " "

At Zontz for the citie of Collen.
" Disteldorf " " Duke of Cleve.
" Kayserswert " " B. of Collen.
" Ursy " " Duke of Cleve.
" Burick " " " " "
" Emere " " " " "
" Tollhouse " " " " Gelderland,

th'Emperor, and the Duke of Cleve.

" Numegen for the Duke and the Citie.

From Hertzogenbuss to Tylberg . . . . iiijle
From theanse to Holstrat . . . . . iiiijle
" " " Antwerp . . . . . vle

After ix dayes' abode in this citie we departed from theanse to Brussels, where the Erle of Devonshire was taking his journey toward Italy, and the Lord Hastings into England.

About Allhaloutide Mr. Michel Blount, Mr. Skidmore, Kemis, and I departed from Antwerp, toward England. From London I went to Evesham, and there lay a season, untill my brother cam thither.

This yere died the Bisshopp of Winchester, Stepan Gardiner, Chaunceler of England; and great persecution there was for Godd's Woorde.

Ths Bisshoppe of Canterbury, Riddley, and Latimer were burnt at Oxford, and manie at London.

1556.

About Candlemas cam my brother to London out of Flaunders, and shortlie after tooke his journey into Worcestershire; at his departure
thens I went with him to Bissham, which was at Easter.

This yere were Peckham, John Throgmorton, Daniell, and certain other hanged for treason.

In the Whiteson weeke I returned to Evesham, where the Bisshopp of Worcester cam shortlie after in visitation to set up imags,etc.

1557.

In Lent I cam to Bissham, there to continew. At Midsommer cam to Bissham Sir William Cecill, my Lady Sourn, my Lady Cecill, with her sister, Elizabeth Cooke. Immediatlie after their departure thens tooke my brother his journey toward Evesham, and from thens to Bathe. I remained at home to see his new building go forward.

Upon Christmas Day I fell sick of a burning fever, which helde me till Twelf Day.

1558.

Upon Twelfday was Calice lost, where they within were taken prisoners, and Sir Anthony Aucher, Knight Marshall, slaine with his eldest sonn, Jhon.

The xvij of Aprill my brother Philipp went from Bissham to London, there to seek the aide of phisitions, where he made his last will and testament, and made disposition of all his lands and goodds.

The xi of Maij I came to London, being sent for to set my hand to a recognisance, and returned again the xiiij, taking my way by Wimblton, where I communed with Mr's Elizabeth Cock in the way of mariage.

Whitesonday, the xxix of May, departed my brother out of this lief to a better, at iiij a clock in the morning, leaving his executors,
Sir William Cecill, Sir Richard Blount, and me, who took upon me after
the will was proved the administration of his gooddes.

The ixth day of June he was buried at Elysham, being conveyed
thither by water.

Monday the xxvij of June, the marriage was made and solemnised
betweene me and Elizabeth Cooke, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke,
knight. The same day was also her syster Margaret, the Quene's
maide, married to Sir Rauf Rowlet, knight, who shortlie after departed
out of this lief.

The rest of this sommer my wief and I passed at Burleigh, in
Northamptonshire.

At Michelmas was I at the findinge of my brother's office at
Worcester. From thens I retourned to London, where I founde my wief
newly retourned out of Northamptonshire.

The xvij of Novembre died Quene Mary betweene vj and vij of
the clock in the morning, and betwene ix and x was proclaimed at
Westminster the Lady Elizabeth, Quene of England, France, and
Ireland. The same day died Cardinall Poole, betwene vij and viij
at night, who had brought up all poperie again in England.

This yere died also Charles the 7th, Emperor, and in his place
was elected Ferdinando, his brother.

Upon Christmas Day fell I sick of a sore plewrisie.

1559.

This yeer cam to the Court Mons' Monmerency, the Constable's
eldest sonn, to confirm the peac between England and France.

The Queene was visited with sundrie messagers from great
princs, as th'Emperor, the King of Suevia, and divers other.

The viii day of July I came to Bissham with my wief, there to remaine.

The ix day of August I entred into a siknes that continued upon me the space of iij weeks.

The xij of November my wief went from Bissham to London, and there continued iij weeks in phisicke for her great belly, which was supposed to have bine a timpanie or dropsie.

1560.

The xx day of March was my wief, at midnight, delivered of a boy, being Wednesday.

The iiiijth of Aprill he was christened and named Edward. Godfathers and godmother were the Lord Windescore, the Lord Darcie, and the Lady Williams of Ricot.

The xiiij day of Maij my brother Richard maried.

The iiiij of June was Sir Nicholas Bakon, Lord Keeper of the Greate Seale, and Sir Anthony Cooke, my father in law, at Bissham.

The xxv day of August died my Lady Hoby, late wief to my brother Sir Philip Hoby.

The xxx of the same the justics of the shire meat the Queene at Bagshot, comming toward Windsore.

The viij day of September dined at Bissham the Lord Marques of Northampton, the Erles of Arrundell and Hertford, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Henry Seimer, Sir Roger Northe, the Lady Katharin Grey, Lady Jane Seimer, the Lady Cecill, Mrs Blaunch Apparry, Mrs Mannsfeld, the Queene's maids.
The xx of the same I departed toward Evesham and taried there xv daies.

The v of November I removed from Bissham to London, and there remained xiiij weeks.

There continewed for vj weeks in the Deane of Powle's house, sent from the Lords of Scotland, the Lord James Duglas, Erle of Moorton, the Lord Alexander Keningham, Erle of Glen Kerne, and the Lord William Natland of Ludington, with an honorable traine, among other things, to be as suuters for the Erle of Arrane to the Queen's Majestie. At which time died the yonge French King, the Scottishe Queene's husband.

All this yere there was great susspicion of warres betwene Fraunce and England, because of the sieg of Lyth against the French in Scotland, and the taking of the same, but after the French King's death this suspicion ceased.

This yeere was the turret built in Bissham.

1561.

The iiiij day of June Powle's steple and the churche set on fire and burnt with lightning.

This yere were the new lodgings finished at Bissham.

1562.

The xxvij day of Maij was my wief delivered of a wenche betwene vj and vij of the clocke, at afternoone.

The xxxj of Maij she was christened and named Elizabethe. Godmothers and godfather were the Lady Frauncs Gresham, the Lady
Elizabeth Nevell, and Mr. Jhon Doylie, Esquier.

This yere were the garden and orchard planted at Bissham, and the gallery made with noble men's armes, etc.

1563.

This yere was the water brought in lead from Puddings to the house, and the fountain placed in the garden at Bissham.

1564.

Repairing of outhouses and barnes beyond the stable.

The xvijth day of November was Anne borne about vij of the clock at night.

Christened the xixth of the same, Mr. Deane of Westminster being godfather, Mr. Thomas Throgmorton's wief and her aunt Katharin Cooke godmothers.
NOTES AND COMMENTARY

In compiling these notes I have relied heavily on several standard reference works: *Dictionary of National Biography*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *New Columbia Encyclopedia*, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, and the *Encyclopedia Italiana*.

Wherever possible, I have retained the exact wording of Edgar Powell when I could add no further important information of my own to his note; I have indicated this by placing "E.P." in parenthesis after the note. (In several cases, however, I have also added the birth and death dates.)

All other notes and commentary are the result of my own research. In some cases Powell has included a note on a person or place that I too include in my edition. To these, I have added further information that I feel better elucidates the journal for the curious reader and have, therefore, appended no "E.P."

It has not been possible to identify some persons, places and events alluded to by Hoby in his journal. Where this has been the case, rather than distracting the reader with a note such as "unidentified," I have chosen to transcribe the name, place, or event, without further comment. I have, naturally, centered my attention on only the most important material throughout the journal.
John Abell. A London merchant of this name is mentioned by Strype as an exile for his religion in 1554. (E.P.).

Martin Bucer, born at Strasburg 1491; embraced the teachings of Luther, 1521; professor of theology at Strasburg; came to Cambridge as a teacher of theology in 1549, and died there in 1551. (E.P.)

Peter Martyr, born at Florence 1500; joined the Reformers at Zurich 1542; came to England 1547; professor of divinity at Oxford 1548. (E.P.)

Jean Sturm (1507-1589), a well-known classical and theological author, and a correspondent of Roger Ascham.

Paulus Fagius, born at Antwerp 1504; came to England with Martin Bucer; died at Cambridge 1549. (E.P.)

William Thomas (d.1554), a well-known Italian scholar; Clerk to the Council of Edward VI. He took an active part in Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection (q.v. 3/9), for which he suffered death. George Parks, in his Introduction to Thomas' The History of Italy notes that "Thomas Hoby wrote in his diary that Thomas passed through Strasbourg, where Hoby was living, in January 1547-48, on his way home. But Thomas dated the preface to his Italian Grammar from Padua, February 3, 1548, and we can guess that Hoby, who wrote his diary later, had the wrong month. Hoby left Strasbourg on July 4, 1548, and Thomas must have arrived before that time." I agree with Parks. Hoby composed his journal later in England from the notes he gathered while traveling abroad and it is likely that he recalled incorrectly exactly when he had met Thomas.

Thomas Wyatt (c.1520-1554). This was not the famous poet, but his son, who was executed on April 11, 1554, for leading a rebellion against Mary Tudor.
3/16 Charles V (1500-1558), Holy Roman Emperor. Also, as King of Spain, Charles I. He was the nephew of Catherine of Aragon and cousin to Queen Mary of England. As champion of the Catholic Church, Charles warred in Germany to prevent the alliance of Luther's reform movement with a number of the German princes.

3/17 Maurice, Duke and Elector of Saxony (1521-1553), q.v. 103/17.

4/13 John Frederick (d.1554), one of the leaders of the Schmalkaldic League (an alliance formed in 1531 at Schmalkalden by Protestant princes and delegates of free cities. It was created in response to the threat by Charles V to stamp out Lutheranism, was defeated by Charles V at the battle of Mühlberg (1547). (q.v. 103/17) By the capitulation of Wittenberg, in the same year, John Frederick was deprived of the electorate.

4/19 The title of this translation of Bucer's work, which was printed in 1549, runs thus: "The gratulation of the mooste famous clerk M. Bucer, a man of no lesse learning and lyterature then Godlye Studie and example of lyving, unto the Church of England for the restitution of Christes relegion. And Hys answere unto the two raylinge epistles of Steven Bisshoppe of Winchester concerninge the unmaried state of preestes and cloysterars, wherin is evidently declared that it is against the lawes of God, and his churche to require of all suche as be and must be admitted to preesthood to refrain from Holye Katrimony."

"To his right worshypfull Brother Syr Phillyppe Hoby Knight M. of y8 Kinges maiesties Ordinaunce, Thomas Hoby wishethe grace & peace, through our lorde Jesue Christe.

"Imprinted at London by me, Richard Jugge, dwelling in the nourthe dore of Poules." (E.P.)
4/20 Stephen Gardiner (1493?-1555), master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was made Bishop of Winchester in 1531 and wrote De vera obedientia justifying the royal supremacy in church affairs. He was deprived in 1550, restored in 1553 and made Lord Chancellor.

4/23-24 "olde...Zabilon": the Roman Catholic Church.

5/5 Council of Trent (1545-1563). Council of the Roman Catholic Church that defined its position against the Protestants. The Council was never free of the fierce rivalry of France which opposed the Council, and Spain, which strongly favored it. The Emperor Charles V was the chief protagonist of reconciliation with the Lutherans.

5/17 John Aucher. Probably son of Sir Anthony Aucher. (E.P.) The DNB lists a John Aucher (1619-1700), son of Sir Anthony, but the birth and death dates contradict Powell's conjecture. I have been unable to locate any other John Aucher.

6/18 The Folkers' House. Probably the house of Antoine Fugger (1493-1535), the great financier, to whom Charles often had recourse for large loans of money. Folkers' silver mines are mentioned. (E.P.)

6/19 Ferdinand I (1503-1564), Holy Roman Emperor (1558-1564). He was named King of the Romans by his brother Charles V in 1531.

8/9 Edmund Harvell. Possibly Edmund Harewell of Besford, Worcester. Philip Hoby had estates in Worcester, which might account for the intimacy. (E.P.) I have tried to trace this name myself, but have been unable to locate it.

8/22 **Claudius Tolomeus.** Claudio Tolomei (1492-1555 or 1557), Sienese writer, diplomat and public official. He was exiled from Siena in 1526 for support of the Medici. He returned in 1549 and held public office and served as ambassador to France. In his writings, he supported Tuscan as a literary language in opposition to Castiglione and others.

8/24 **Antenor.** In mythology, an elderly and upright counsellor in Troy during the siege, who advised the return of Helen to the Greeks, and in return for this was spared by the victors. Pindar says his descendants held Cyrene; but in the story current in Roman times he took with him the Eneti from Paphlagonia (who had lost their king at Troy) and, settling in Venetia at the head of the Adriatic, founded Patavium.

9/10 **Lombards.** Lombards: an ancient Germanic people. In 568 A.D., under the leadership of Alboin, they invaded northern Italy and established a kingdom with Pavia as its capital. The Lombards left their name to the Italian region of Lombardy.

9/15 **Goths.** An ancient Germanic-speaking people established in the regions between the Elbe and Vistula rivers in the third century A.D. The two great historical divisions were the Visigoths (West Goths) and the Ostrogoths (East Goths). An Ostrogothic kingdom existed in Italy and neighboring regions from 493 to 553.

9/16 **Vandals.** An ancient Germanic tribe. In 455 A.D. Rome was sacked by the Vandals under King Gaiseric's troops, and Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters were taken as hostages. The modern use of their name is probably derived from the fear and hatred felt toward them by African Catholics (who were severely persecuted by this conquering tribe) and a reminiscence of the sack of Rome.
9/18 Livy (Titus Livius), 59 B.C.-A.D. 17. His life work was the History of Rome from its founding in 735 B.C. The narrative comes to an end with Drusus (9 B.C.). Hoby alludes frequently to passages from this great historian whose work was widely read and greatly admired in the Renaissance. For example, q.v. 38/23, 46/13, 46/22, etc.

11/21 Francois de Lorraine, Duc De Guise (1519-1563), French soldier, politician. Fought against Charles V. Took Calais in 1558. He was hostile to the Huguenots and was assassinated by a Protestant fanatic, Jean de Poltrot.

11/25 Philip II of Spain (1527-1598), King of Spain, Naples and Sicily (1556-1598), and of Portugal (1580-1598). His second wife was Mary I of England.

12/3-4 Henry Killebrew (d. 1603). An exile for religion in Mary's time, he was later employed by Elizabeth in various diplomatic missions. He married Catherine, fourth daughter of Anthony Cooke (q.v. 15/26), and sister to Thomas Hoby's wife, in November, 1565.

13/18 "porche...gate": in this sense, the arch of the gate.

15/18 Shroftide (Chrovetide): the period comprising Quinquagesima Sunday and the two following days, "Shrove" Monday and Tuesday.

19/8-9 Guidobaldo II Della Rovere (1514-1574) was at this time the Duke of Urbino. It was at the court of Urbino under Guidobaldo de Montefeltro (1472-1508) that Castiglione sets Il Cortegiano, later translated by Hoby.

21/1 Hercules da Este. Ercole II (1508-1559), Duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio. He was a member of the great Italian noble family, rulers of Ferrara (1240-1597) and Modena (1288-1796). The Este were celebrated patrons of the arts during the Renaissance.
Scaricalasino. "Scaricare" in Italian means to unload; to discharge. "Asino" is Italian for an ass or donkey. Also, the term "scaricalasino" refers to a children's game of carrying each other pick-a-back.

Duke Cosimo de' Medici. Cosimo I (1519-1574), was granted the title Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V in 1569, the title under which his descendants ruled the moribund city of Florence until 1737. Cosimo I was a ruthless and resourceful despot.

Hannibal (274 B.C.-183 B.C.), q.v. 45/16.

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (c 1503-1575). An embodiment of the Renaissance man, Mendoza was a Spanish diplomat, politician, novelist, historian, and poet. In Italy he took part in the battle of Pavia in 1525, was ambassador to Charles V to England in 1537 and to Venice in 1538, imperial plenipotentiary at the Council of Trent, ambassador to the papal court in 1547, and governor of Siena. His most famous work is the history of the Moorish rebellion, Guerra de Granada, which was not printed until 1627.

Probably Edward Stradling (1529-1609), of St. Donats, Glamorgan, a scholar and patron of literature; M.P. for Steyning in 1554; knighted in 1575. (E.P.)

Francis Feto. An Italian scholar and military writer; Fellow of Gray's Inn. (E.P.)

William Barker. On his return from Italy, Barker published a book of epitaphs he had collected there: Epitaphia et inscriptiones Lugubres a Gulielmo Berchero, cum in Italia animi causa peregrinaretur collecta. Lewis Einstein notes in The Italian Renaissance in England,
p. 139, that "William Barker, whom Hoby met at Siena in 1549 (Ms. cit., f25b), later became one of the secretaries to the Duke of Norfolk, and was deeply implicated in his plot. He confessed his share under torture, whereupon the duke, who had denied everything called him contemptuously an 'Italianified Englishman.'" Einstein is the only scholar I know of, other than Raleigh, to use the Hoby manuscript. Parks and Matthiessen both used the Powell edition. In his chapter on "The Traveller," Einstein alludes frequently to the Hoby journal, particularly as it relates to the cultural and educational importance of travel in the sixteenth century.

26/19 Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset (c. 1506-1552). On the death of Henry VIII Seymour gained custody of Edward VI and was named protector of the realm by the council of regency. He effected major Protestant reforms. John Dudley, earl of Warwick (later Duke of Northumberland) deprived Somerset of the protectorate and imprisoned him in the Tower (1549). In 1552 he was convicted on a charge of felony and beheaded.

26/20-21 John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (1502?-1553). Named as one of the executors of Henry VIII's will, he helped Edward Seymour, later duke of Somerset, become protector of the young Edward VI, while he himself was created Earl of Warwick and Lord High Chamberlain. By never committing himself to either the Protestants or the Catholics and playing on the sympathies of both, he deposed Somerset in 1549 and had him beheaded in 1552. He created himself Duke of Northumberland in 1551. He convinced the dying Edward VI that Lady Jane Grey, his daughter-in-law, should succeed to the throne. He was executed for high treason under Mary I.
Thomas Seymour (1508?-1549). After the marriage (1536) of his sister Jane to Henry VIII, he served on various diplomatic missions, was in command of the English army in the Netherlands in 1543, and was admiral of the fleet in 1544. When, on the death of Henry in 1547, his brother Edward Seymour became the protector of Edward VI, Thomas was made Lord High Admiral and Baron Seymour of Sidley. Thereafter he tried to supplant his brother as guardian of the king. His activities provoked questioning by the council, and he was convicted of high treason and executed.

Pope Paul III. Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549), pope from 1534 to 1549. With his election a new era in the papacy opened, for the Catholic Reformation began. He was the pope who excommunicated Henry VIII in 1538.

"rewarded...hatt": made a cardinal of the Church.

A modern English spelling may be more familiar: The seven hills of the ancient city are the Palatine, roughly in the center, with the Capitoline to the northwest and the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, Caelian, and Aventine in an outlying north-southwest curve.

Phidias or Pheidias (c. 500 B.C.-c. 432 B.C.). Greek sculptor and one of the greatest sculptors of ancient Greece. His most famous achievements were the Athena Parthenos at Athens and the Zeus in the temple of Olympia, neither of which is still extant.

Fraxiteles (c. 370-c 330 B.C.), famous Attic sculptor. His Hermes with the Infant Dionysus, found in the Heraeum, Olympia, in 1877, is the only example of an undisputed extant original by any of the greatest ancient masters.
32/19-20 The present population of Rome is, according to a 1971 count, 2,799,836. The city has spread out considerably since Hoby's day, expanding well beyond the seven hills of antiquity. The Pincian Hill, the Vatican Hill, and the Janiculum were enclosed within the city later. More recently still Monte Mario (to the NW) and Monte Sacro (to the NE) have become new centers of population.

32/21 Aurelian (Lucius Domitius Aurelianus), c. 212 A.D.-275 A.D., Roman emperor (270-275). One of Rome's greatest emperors, Aurelian regained Britain, Gaul, Spain, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The ancient city of Rome and its environs may well have been 50 miles in circumference, but the famous Aurelian wall, much of which still remains today, was only 12 miles in circumference and averaged 40 feet in height.

32/22 Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus), 23 or 24 A.D.-79 A.D. Pliny sailed on August 24, 79, to observe the eruption of Vesuvius from the neighborhood of Stabiae. There he was overcome by fumes from the eruption and died. Of his many works, only the *Naturalis Historia* survives. It is in this work, Book III, chapter 9, that Pliny describes the size of Rome.

33/9 Reginald Pole (1500-1558), English churchman, archbishop of Canterbury (1556-1558), cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. When Henry VIII broke with the pope, Pole upheld the decision of Rome and went abroad. He was one of the legates appointed to open the Council of Trent in 1545. With the accession of Mary Tudor in 1554, he returned to England with hopes of restoring Catholicism. He died of natural causes the same day as Mary Tudor. (q.v. 138/23).

35/4 Charles, Duke of Bourbon (1490-1527). Charles Bourbon was
created Constable of France for heroism at the battle of Marignano in 1515. He later deserted the king of France for Emperor Charles V and attacked and sacked Rome with Spanish and German troops in 1527. He was mortally wounded, reputedly by Benvenuto Cellini, a bombardier on the parapet of the Castel Sant' Angelo.

37/4 Charles II (Charles the Lame), 1248-1309, King of Naples (1285-1309). He defeated James II of Aragon for control of Sicily and was crowned King in 1295.

38/23 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, rhetorician and historian, who lived and taught at Rome for many years from 30 B.C. His enthusiasm for all things Roman finds its clearest expression in his Roman Antiquities, which began to appear in 7 B.C. See Book I, chapter 37.

39/3 Florus (Lucius Ann(a)eus F.) is generally held to be identical with Florus the poet friend of Hadrian (76-138 A.D.) and with P. Annius Florus, author of the imperfectly preserved dialogue Vergilius orator an poeta. His chief work is entitled Epitome bellorum omnium annorum B.C.

39/5 Ceres: an ancient Italian corn-goddess, commonly identified in antiquity with Demeter.

39/5 Bacchus: in Greek and Roman mythology, the god of wine, identified with Dionysius. He was also a god of vegetation and fertility, and his worship was orgiastic.

40/13 Servius (4th century A.D.), grammarian and commentator. His greatest work was a commentary on Virgil for which he directly or indirectly incorporated much of the earlier Virgilian criticism.

41/9 Lucullus (Lucius Licinius Lucullus Ponticus), c.110 B.C.-56 B.C., Roman general. After many campaigns in the Eastern provinces, Lucullus
retired to Rome and spent enormous sums improving his estates there and in the south of Italy and sponsoring public shows. The term Lucullan derives from his extravagance.

41/11 Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero) or Tully, 106 B.C.-43 B.C., the greatest Roman orator, famous also as a politician and a philosopher. The most widely read of Cicero's works are his orations. The most famous of these are the Crations Against Catiline, on the occasion of the conspiracy, and the Philippics against Antony. Cicero was so greatly admired in the Renaissance that his De Officiis and De Cratore were the works upon which men such as Duke Federigo da Montefeltro, modeled their lives. Such humanists as Petrarch, Erasmus, and Castiglione were equally enamored of his prose.

42/18 Gallicula. Caligula (A.D. 12- A.D. 41), Roman emperor. His real name was Gaius Caesar Germanicus. As a small child, he wore military boots, hence his nickname (Caligula= little boots). On the death of Tiberius the army helped make Caligula emperor. Shortly afterward he became seriously ill, then insane. He governed with great cruelty and his brief reign ended when Chaerea, a tribune of the Praetorian Guard, assassinated him.

43/4-5 St. Michael's Day (Michaelmas): a church festival celebrated on September 29 in honor of the archangel Michael.

43/18 "Piscina Mirabile": translated into England, a "marvelous fish pond or swimming pool."

43/19 "Cento Camerele": translated into English, "one hundred rooms."

44/24-25 The Sybil's cave at Cumae remains today a fascinating and mysterious site, located on the coast of Campania, west of Naples.
Hannibal (274 B.C.-183 B.C.), Carthaginian general, an implacable and formidable enemy of Rome. He succeeded as general in Spain on the death of his brother-in-law, Hasdrubal, in 221 B.C. After consolidating his position for two years, he besieged Rome's ally Saguntum (now Sagunto), which fell eight months later. Carthage supported him, and Rome declared war (the Second Punic War, 218-201 B.C.). Hannibal set out to invade Italy by the little-known overland route, crossing the Alps in one of the most remarkable feats in military history. From 212 the tide gradually turned against him. He was recalled to Carthage in 203 to check the advance of Scipio Africanus Major. After sixteen years in enemy country he withdrew his unconquered army and advanced to final defeat by Scipio at Zama in 202. Hannibal escaped to Carthage. He took a small part in Antiochus' (of Syria) war against the Romans. After the Syrian defeat, he poisoned himself rather than be delivered to the Romans.

After the battle of Cannae in 216 B.C., Hannibal's troops wintered in Capua. For Livy's comments on the deleterious effects of the camp site on Hannibal's troops, see History of Rome, Book III, chapter 38, and Book XXIII, chapter 18.

Robert Guiscard (c. 1015-1085), Norman leader and conqueror of southern Italy.

Sannites: A people of ancient Italy. They sided with Marius in the Social War and were crushed (82 B.C.) by Sulla before the gates of Rome. The "shame" mentioned by Hoby, however, occurred in 321 B.C. when an entire Roman army under Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius was captured at the Caudine Forks by Pontius. "Giogo" is Italian for yoke. Livy states that the hostages of this battle "were sent under the yoke" (see The History of Rome, Book IX, chapter 2ff.).
Diomedes: A leader and great warrior of the Greek forces in the Trojan War. He and Odysseus carried off the Palladium, without which Troy must fall. Returning from Troy, he found his wife Aegialeia unfaithful and set sail for Italy and founded Arpi in Apulia.

Marcus Cocceius Nerva (c30 A.D.-98 A.D.), Roman emperor. He succeeded to the throne after Domitian's assassination. Nerva, who was himself childless and infirm, formally adopted Trajan in September of 97, and gave him powers equal almost to his own. In his brief rule, Nerva sought to be enlightened and progressive.

Paulus Jovius, born at Como, 1483, died at Florence, 1552. A famous Italian historian; author of Historia sui Temporis, (E.P.)

Acheron: A river of Thresprotia in southern Epirus, which breaks through an impenetrable gorge into the Acherusian plain where a lake lay in ancient times. The entrance to Hades was reported to be there.

Following the town name, Montelion, the word "Duke" has been added later, and probably is the name of an inn. (E.P.) This is the first time in the journal that Hoby includes the name of an inn following that of the town. He later includes other inn names, such as "White Swann," "Crowne," "Pelican," etc.

Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa (c. 1483-1546), a famous pirate, conqueror of Tunis and admiral of the Turkish fleet. Between 1533 and 1544, as admiral under Sulayman I, he twice defeated Andrea Doria and ravaged the coasts of Greece, Spain, and Italy. In Italian, "Barbarossa" means "red Beard."

Scipio Africanus Major (Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus), c. 234 B.C.-183 B.C. One of the greatest of Roman generals, Scipio
defeated the forces of Hannibal at Zama (in present-day Tunisia) in 202 in the decisive and final battle of the Second Punic War.

59/17 Acteon: In mythology, Acteon was the son of Aristaeus and Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus. A keen hunter, he one day came upon Artemis bathing; offended at being thus seen naked by a man, she turned him into a stag and he was chased and killed by his own hounds.

59/17-20 Giovanni Agnolo Montorsoli (d. 1563). A description of his work at Messina is given in Vasari's Lives. The Fountain or Orion (1547) still adorns the Piazza del Duomo in Messina today.

60/8 Gaius Verres (c. 120 B.C.-43 B.C.). Verres was politically corrupt. Unwisely offending several senators and ill-treating clients of Pompey, he yet evaded the effect of Senate disapproval through his father's influence. Cicero launched a successful attack against Verres; his Verrines give us our best insight into provincial administration and its abuses in the late Republic.

63/17 Dionysius I (c. 430 B.C.-367 B.C.), tyrant of Syracuse. Although his government is traditionally considered oppressive (a tradition partly due to Plato, whose visit to his court was not a success), there is nothing to show that he was unpopular with the bulk of the Syracusan people.

66/10 Andrea Doria (1468-1560), Italian admiral and statesman, of an ancient family prominent in the history of Genoa. Doria became (1528) virtual dictator of Genoa, but even under the constitution that he imposed the republican institutions were preserved. As admiral of the fleet, Doria assisted the Spanish against the Turks and the pirate Barbarossa.
Dragout Rais. The Turkish pirate; once taken prisoner by Andrea Doria, but ransomed by Barbarossa. Killed at siege of Malta, 1565. (E.P.)

Charybdis: A sort of whirlpool or maelstrom in a narrow channel of the sea (later identified with the Straits of Messina, where there is nothing of the kind), opposite Scylla. It sucks in and casts out the water three times a day and no ship can possibly survive it.

Scylla: A sea-monster, living in a cave opposite Charybdis; she had six heads, each with a triple row of teeth, and twelve feet. She lived on fish of all sorts, but if a ship came near enough, she would seize six men at a time from it and devour them.

"loth...with": "reluctant to deal with."

Even so great a general as Scipio Africanus Major had enemies in Rome. Cato led political attacks against the Scipios, culminating in the "Trials of the Scipios," on which the ancient evidence is conflicting. Africanus intervened when Lucius, his brother, was accused. Thereafter, his influence was undermined and he bitterly withdrew to Liternum where he died soon afterwards.

Minturnae, an ancient town of Latium, Italy, 7 miles east of Formia. It was important in Roman times because it controlled the bridge on the Appian Way over the Liris River. No council at Minturnae is listed among the recognized ecumenical councils of the Church. It is possible that it was a local council of the See of Rome, but I have been unable to locate any reference to it.

Caius Iaelius (fl. c. 140 B.C.), Roman orator and philosopher, a friend of the younger Scipio Africanus. He was nicknamed "Sapiens," probably referring to his sagacity. He is the central figure in Cicero's
De Amicitia and appears also in De Republica.

78/1 Martial (AD. 40–A.D. c.104), Roman epigrammatic poet, born in Bilbilis, Spain. After 64 A.D. he lived in Rome for many years, winning fame by his wit and poetic gifts.

79/3 Strabo (63 B.C., died after A.D. 21), Roman biographer. His De Vita Caesarum survives almost in full; it was translated by Robert Graves as The Twelve Caesars (1957). There are also fragments of much larger collection of biographies, De Viris Illustribus.

79/15 Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus (42 B.C.-A.D. 37), second Roman emperor (A.D. 14–A.D. 37). He worked to continue the policies of Augustus, with one exception: he drastically cut luxury expense, including public shows. By so doing and by reforming the tax system in the provinces he greatly improved the financial state of the government and made himself extremely unpopular in Rome.

79/23 Marcus Antonius, Antony or Marc Antony (c. 83 B.C.–30 B.C.), Roman politician and soldier. After Caesar's assassination (44 B.C.), Antony, then consul, aroused the mob against the conspirators and drove them from the city. He then joined forces with Octavian (later Augustus), Caesar's adopted son, and Marcus Amelius Lepidus to form the Second Triumvirate, with Antony receiving Asia as his command.

79/24 Plutarch (A.D. 50, died after A.D. 120), Greek philosopher and biographer. His influence in the Renaissance was great. In France, it dates from Amyot's translation (Lives, 1559, Moralia, 1572); in England from Sir Thomas North's version of Amyot's Lives (1579) and Philemon Holland's Moralia (1603). For Plutarch's grisly description of Cicero's death, see Lives, "The Death of Cicero," chapter 48.
Volsci: An ancient people, the Volsci opposed Rome in the Latin War, but were defeated by C. Maenius. By 304 B.C. all Volsci were subject to Rome and so rapid and complete was their romanization that their original civilization can scarcely be discovered.

Octavius Augustus (63 B.C.-A.D. 14), first Roman emperor, a grandson of the sister of Julius Caesar. Named at first Caius Octavius, he became on adoption by the Julian gens (44 B.C.) Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus; Augustus was a title of honor granted him (27 B.C.) by the Senate. He was munificent to arts and letters, and he was a close friend of Maecenas and a patron of Vergil, Ovid, Livy, and Horace. Augustus established the concept of Pax Romana (Roman Peace) which strengthened the imperial government.

Lucius Licinius Murena. Elected consul for 62, he was accused of ambitus (bribery) by Sulpicius Rufus, his defeated rival, and by Cato; he was defended by Crassus, Hortensius, and Cicero (Pro Murena) and though perhaps guilty he was acquitted.

House of Colonna: An ancient noble family of Rome that played an important role in her history from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries; they were implacable foes of the Orsini family. The Colonna were leaders of the Ghibelline party in Italy and usually supported the Holy Roman emperors against the popes of the Guelphs; one member of the family, however, ascended the papal throne as Martin V, 1417-1431. He was a Renaissance patron of the arts and learning as were several later members of the family; others were soldiers. Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547) was a gifted poetess and choice spirit of the age. The family still survives.
80-81/26-1 Giovanni Maria, Cardinal di Monte (1487-1555), Pope Julius III, 1550-1555, elected as a compromise in preference to the English Cardinal, Reginald Pole. A worldly pope, he was devoted to carnivals, parties, hunts, bullfights. There is no significant monument to his memory, except that he succeeded in persuading Charles V to allow the Council of Trent—in abeyance since 1547—to resume in 1551.

81/2 The most recent Jubilee was celebrated under the Pontificate of Paul VI in 1975.

81/16-17 "stock and Stones": applied contemptuously to an idol or a sacred image.

81/26 "my book," i.e., The Booke of the Courtver (q.v. 101/12; 103/1).

84/19 Hoby's Tragedie of Free Vill is the first English translation of Bassano's morality play, Tradegia del libero arkibio. Latin translators were Henry Cheke (c. 1568) and Francis Bristowe (1635). (Annals of English Drama)

86/15 Sir Anthony Aucher, of Ottringden, Kent, Marshal of Calais, at the taking of which place by the French both he and his son were killed. (E.P.)

86/16 Edward VI (1537-1553), king of England from 1547 to 1553. He was the son of Henry VIII by his third queen, Jane Seymour, and succeeded to the throne under the regency of his uncle, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, who was supplanted in 1550 by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

86/17-18 Lady Ann of Cleve, the repudiated wife of Henry VIII, had been granted the lands of Dartford Priory for her life by Edward VI. (E.P.)

86/25-26 William Farr, or Aparr (1513-1571), brother of Queen Katherine,
sixth and last wife of Henry VIII. Created Marquis of Northampton in 1547, he was attainted in 1554 by Queen Mary and his honors forfeited. Created again Marquis of Northampton in 1559 by Elizabeth.

87/1 Tweluf Yeven (Twelfth Night): the evening before twelfth day, January 6, on which day the Epiphany is celebrated.

87/1-2 Cowling or Cooling Castle was the seat of George Brooke, Lord Cobham, near Rochester. The castle was attacked and taken by Sir Thomas Wyatt, January 1554, during the insurrection. But Lord Cobham seems nevertheless to have been suspected of complicity in the rising. From Berry's Kent Pedigrees it seems that Sir Thomas Wyatt and Lord Cobham were cousins. (E.P.)

87/3 Nicholas Throckmorton (1515-1571), diplomat, ambassador to France from 1559 to 1563. He was related through his mother to Lord Northampton.

88/1-2 Henri II (1519-1559), king of France from 1547 to 1559; son of Francis I. He married (1553) Catharine de Medici. He conquered the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdum from Germany in 1552, and conquered Calais and Guines, the last English possessions in France in 1558. He was mortally wounded at a tournament in honor of the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with Philip II of Spain and his sister Margaret to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy.

88/3 Bishop of Ely; Thomas Goodrich, d. 1554. A list of names corresponding to this was sent home by Lord Northampton in June 1551, and remains among the Foreign State Papers of this date. (E.P.)

88/3-4 William Pickering (1516-1575), courtier and diplomat. He was knighted on Edward VI's accession and later served as the English ambassador at Paris in 1551.
Thomas Smyth (1512-1577), statesman and scholar, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. He served as ambassador to France in 1562, a post of great difficulty and some danger, owing to the civil war between the Guises and the Huguenots.

Dr. John Cliever, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Advanced by Wolsey's interest; died 1552. (E.P.)

John Mason (1503-1566), son of a cowherd at Abingdon. He was an extremely intelligent scholar and highly astute statesman serving successfully under four sovereigns. He "had more of the willow than the oak in him." (2.K.E.) In 1537 he became the secretary to Sir Thomas Wyatt, English envoy to Spain, was named Clerk to the Privy Council in 1542 and was knighted by Edward VI. He was named English ambassador to France in 1550. On October 18, 1552, he became Chancellor to Oxford University.

Henry Carey (1524-1596), first Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick and chamberlain of Queen Elizabeth's household. Through his mother he was first cousin to Queen Elizabeth and a favorite at court. His daughter married Sir Edward Hoby, son of Thomas Hoby.

"against...cumming": "in regard to his coming"

"letters of credence": letters of recommendation or introduction.

"Britaign," i.e., Brittany. Brittany became part of France in 1524.

Swiss Guards: Swiss mercenaries who fought in various European armies from the fifteenth until the nineteenth centuries. The Swiss Guard of the Vatican, founded in 1505 by Pope Julius II, is the personal guard of the pope. Garbed in colorful Renaissance costume, the Guard
still exists today.

95/3-4 "the old and yong Quenes of Scottes": The "old" one was Mary of Guise (1515-1560). Queen of James V of Scotland, and mother of Mary, his queen, became regent. A conflict with John Knox and the Reformers resulted in her suspension from the regency in 1559. The "yong" one was Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587). At the death of Mary I of England, Mary Stuart became a principal claimant to the English throne. Elizabeth I, fearing Mary's claim to the throne and perhaps a civil war instigated by Catholics, reluctantly had her beheaded for conspiracy on February 8, 1587. Mary's son was to be James VI of Scotland and James I of England.

97/4 Mr. de Bies (Cudart du Biez), a distinguished general, a Marshal of France 1542. His downfall was unjustly brought about by his enemies, among whom were the Guises, by accusations brought against his conduct at the surrender and retaking of Bologne, on which he was condemned to death. He appears to have been set at liberty before his death in 1551 (Biog. Univ.). (E.P.)

97/13-14. "My sister Elizabethe." The Hoby pedigree in the Visitation of Worc., 1569 (Har. Soc.), gives an unnamed sister married to one Parker, who is possibly the person to whom reference is here made. (E.P.) I have been unable to locate any further information that might verify Powell's conjecture.

98/17 William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598), distinguished minister of state, knighted in 1551. He served Queen Elizabeth I faithfully for 40 years, first as secretary (1558-1572), then as lord treasurer (1572-1598). He married Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke (q.v.
On December 21, 1545, and was thus brother-in-law to Thomas Hoby. He had earlier been married to Mary Cheke, the great scholar's sister.

John Cheke (1514-1557), knighted in 1552. A great scholar of Greek, he was tutor to Edward VI. He was a zealous Protestant and partisan of Lady Jane Grey. Upon Mary Tudor's accession to the throne he was committed to the Tower. Subsequently, he was pardoned and traveled abroad. In 1556, he was arrested in Antwerp and again sent to the Tower where he was "induced" to renounce his Protestant beliefs.

In a letter to Cheke, Ascham warmly praises the young Thomas Hoby:

Hic juvenis praeclare ostendit ex cujus artificis prodierit officina. Frater ejus Dominus Philippus, vir prudentissimus, utitur eo, et utitur solo ad omnes res perttractandas in hac Caesaria Aula: in qua perfunctione, tam opportune, diligenter, considerate, et tacite se gerit: ut illorum seminum quae tu in eo puero Cantabrigiae jecisti, non nascens jam aliqua spes se proferat sed florens, eaque insignis maturitas, in eo nunc adolescente facto sic emineat: ut recte quidem meo judicio ipse faceres, si effeceris, ut is intelligat, te non solum illum in hoc cursu libenter cum voluptate spectare, sed ipsum tam praeclare currentem cum aliquo etiam applausu incitare.

This youth demonstrates clearly with what master he was apprenticed.

His brother, Sir Philip, a very prudent man, used him and used him solely for the managing of all his affairs here in Caesuriae Aula.

Brussels? . In performance of these duties he bore himself so opportune, diligenty, circumspectly, and tactfully that the promise of those seeds which you sowed in him as a boy at Cambridge shows itself now no longer in the bud but flourishing, and that that remarkable maturity should thus emerge in him, having left adolescence behind, that you would do rightly in my judgement, if you brought it about that
he should realize that you not only look favorably and with pleasure
upon him in this pursuit, but also even urge him on (with some applause)
who is progressing so well.

99/9 John Ponet or Poynet (1514-1556). He was the Bishop of Winchester
after Gardiner was deprived in 1550 until 1553, when Gardiner was
restored.

100/13 House of Farnese: An Italian noble family that ruled Parma and
Piacenza from 1545 to 1731. In the twelfth century the Farnese held
several fiefs in Latium. They became one of the most prominent families
in Rome and were Guelph supporters of the papacy. In 1534, Alessandro
Farnese became pope as Paul III. Paul III's illegitimate son, Pier
Luigi (Alois) (1503-1547), was created Duke of Parma and Piacenza in
1545. He attacked fiscal and judicial abuses and thereby gained the
hatred of the nobility and was assassinated. In his foreign policy he
maintained an ambiguous attitude toward the Holy Roman empire, and the
resentment of Charles V probably favored the conspiracy of the nobles.
Pier Luigi was succeeded as Duke of Parma and Piacenza by his son
Cttavio (1520-1586). He had been married to Charles V's natural
daughter Margaret of Austria in 1542, but when Cttavio succeeded to
his father's title Charles V caused Piacenza to be occupied. Cttavio,
however, refused to surrender Parma to the Holy See and reacted with
energy and ability to his difficulties. He finally became reconciled
with Charles V's son Philip II of Spain, who at the Treaty of Ghent
(1556) gave Piacenza back to Cttavio. Cttavio then made Parma his
capital instead of Piacenza and continued his father's work of internal
consolidation and the struggle against the feudal lords.
entred by composition": to reach a mutual agreement for cessation of hostilities; to call a truce.

William Hoby of Wakes, county Gloucester. Mardon or Merdon was a manor of Sir Philip Hoby's near Hursley. (E.P.)

"my booke," i.e., The Booke of the Courtver (q.v. 81/26, 103/1.)

"Cowrtisan," i.e., The Booke of the Courtver, (q.v.81/26, 101/17).

Petrus Ramus or Pierre de La Ramee (1515-1572), French logician noted for his writings against Aristotelianism. In 1551 Ramus was established in a chair of rhetoric and philosophy at the College de France. In the religious wars of the period he attached himself to the reformers and fled to Germany in 1568. He returned to Paris in 1570 and was killed in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Ramist logic markedly influenced Francis Bacon, John Milton and others.

Maurice of Saxony (1521-1553) became duke of Albertine Saxony during the Reformation. Although a Protestant, he was probably more swayed by political than by religious motives, because in 1546 he made an agreement with Charles V by which he was to receive, in return for deserting the Protestants of the Schmalkaldic League, the lands and title of his cousin, Elector John Frederick I of Saxony. He fought for Charles and after the battle of Muhlberg (1547) he received the electorate. However, Maurice's disgust with the Emperor's ill-treatment of the Protestant leader Philip the Landgrave of Hesse (1504-1567), and his still unsatisfied ambition, led him to turn against Charles. After raising an army for the execution of the ban against Magdeburg, Maurice formed an alliance with Henri II of France in 1551. In the war that followed, Maurice nearly captured Charles at Innsbruck. He
forced Charles to free Philip and to conclude the Treaty of Passau in 1552. In 1553, Maurice was killed in a battle at Sievershausen against his former ally, Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Kulmbach (1522-1577). Hoby explains in his journal (q.v.107/16) why Albert broke with Maurice and how he (Albert) had sworn vengeance.

117/4 In La Vita, Cellini claims to have killed the Constable himself, while stationed high atop the Castel San Angelo defending Rome.

119/25 Godfrey of Bouillon, born at Baisy, in Brabant, c.1061, he died at Jerusalem, July 18, 1100, as leader of the first Crusade. He was made duke of Lower Lorraine (Bouillon for its capital) by Henry IV of Germany in 1088, and in 1096 joined the Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher.

122/33 Thomas Thirlby (1506?-1570), the first and only (by letters patent dated December 17, 1540, the king erected the abbey of Westminster into an episcopal see. Thirlby was appointed to the new diocese.) bishop of Westminster, and afterwards successively bishop of Norwich and Ely. Thirlby served as an ambassador at Brussels with Sir Philip Hoby in November of 1549.

123/3 Nicholas Wotton (1497-1567), Dean of Canterbury and York. He was one of the most able and intelligent diplomats of his time, serving successfully under four sovereigns.

123/3 Thomas Chaloner (1521-1565), diplomat, author, translator. He was Clerk to the Privy Council of Henry VIII, and afterwards was sent as ambassador to the Court of Spain in October of 1561.

123/22 Richard Morison (d.1556). He served as ambassador to the Hanse Towns in 1546. In July of 1550 he was first sent as ambassador to
Charles V. Roger Ascham was then his secretary and companion. The Emperor did not altogether like Morison and his friendship with leading reformers must certainly have made negotiations difficult.

125/17 **Lady Marie.** Mary Tudor, (1516-1558), Queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon. When her mother was divorced, she forcibly signed a declaration that her mother's marriage was illegal. She assumed the throne in 1553. In 1554 she married her cousin, Philip II of Spain, who forced England to join with Spain in a war against France in 1557 that ultimately led to the loss of Calais in 1559, England's last possession in France. Resolved to restore Catholicism, she made her reign notorious for religious persecution. She acquired the name Bloody Mary. Among her most famous victims were Ridley, Latimer, and Archbishop Cranmer.

126/5 **Sir Richard Shelley** (1513?-1589), was the last Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John in England. He was a great traveller and was employed in many diplomatic missions. (E.P.)

126/6 **Lady Jane.** Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554), the daughter of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk, and, through her mother, Lady Frances Brandon, great-granddaughter of Henry VII of England. She was the pupil of Bishop Aylmer and of Roger Ascham. At the age of 15 she was able to write in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, and was studying Hebrew. She was married to Lord Guildford Dudley in May, 1553, as part of a plot for changing the succession of the crown from the Tudors to the Dudleys after the death of Edward VI. She was proclaimed Queen on July 10, 1553 and reigned for only nine days. Hoby includes in his journal a transcription of the famous dialogue between
Lady Jane and Feckenham, Mary Tudor's confessor. On February 12, 1554, she was executed.

126/11-12 Sir Thomas Cheyney, Lord Warden 1513. Treasurer of the Household. Cf Shurland, Isle of Sheppey. His tomb is in Minster Church; ob. 1559. (E.P.)

126/12 Anthony Browne (1526-1592), first Viscount Montague. A statesman and soldier, he was a staunch Roman Catholic, yet his loyalty to the Crown was above suspicion, and he enjoyed the confidence of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth.

128/1 Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury. He was charged with treason for his support of Lady Jane Grey in 1553 but pleaded guilty and was pardoned. In 1556, he was degraded and charged with heresy for which he was burned at the stake. He is remembered as one of the chief engineers in the divorce of Henry VIII for Catharine of Aragon.

128/20-21 Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk. After the collapse of his daughter's nine-day queenship, he was imprisoned in the Tower, but was released through the influence of his wife. He took part in the uprising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, was captured, and executed in 1554.

129/8 One may also find this dialogue between Lady Jane and Fecknam printed by Foxe in his Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Days (popularly known as the Book of Martyrs). The first English edition came out in 1563. There are slight differences between Hoby's and Foxe's transcriptions.

129/8 John de Feckenham or Fecknam (c.1518-1556), English Roman Catholic divine, last abbot of Westminster (1556). He was the private
chaplain and confessor of Mary Tudor (q.v. 125/17).

138/9 Ferrante Gonzaga (1507-1557), generalissimo of Charles V in Italy, France, and Flanders.

138/23 Cardinal Pole was cooley received by the Emperor for his candid expression of dislike for Mary's husband, Philip II of Spain.

139/1 Thomas Chamberlain had been the English envoy to the Low Countries for Edward VI, and was ambassador to Spain in Queen Elizabeth's time.

140/11 "a fountain of sharpe water": "sharpe" in this Renaissance sense means "rapidly running."

141/14 Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), German scholar and humanist, second only to Luther as a figure in the Lutheran Reformation; he was a friend of Erasmus.

150/9 The word "Dutch" as used by Hoby in this Renaissance context meant "German."

151/21 Thomas Wroth (1516-1573), politician. Through Cranmer's influence he was appointed gentlemen of the chamber to Prince Edward. A favorite of the young king, he was knighted on February 22, 1546 or 1547. He later escaped from England in fear of arrest as being connected with Suffolk's second uprising, remaining abroad with the Protestant exiles, chiefly in Strasburg and Frankfurt, until Elizabeth ascended the throne.

151/21-22 Sir Henry Neville, of Billingbear, Berks, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI. Knighted 1551. (B.P.)

151/22 Mr. Bartye, probably Mr. Richard Bertie (1517-1582), who married, in 1552, Katharine (q.v. 161/13) widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. They were both exiles on account of religious views. Foxe
gives an account of their adventures in his *Acts and Monuments* (E.F.)

151/26 Anthony Cooke (1504-1576), a man of very great learning, tutor to Edward VI, Knight of Bath. He was committed to the Tower on July 27, 1553 on suspicion of complicity in Lady Jane Grey's movement, but in May of 1554 he arrived in Strasbourg and attended Peter Martyr's lectures there. On Elizabeth's accession he returned to England. His daughter Elizabeth was the wife of Sir Thomas Hoby. (q.v. 12/3-4)

155/19 Julius III (Giammaria Ciocchi del Monte), born 1487, Pope from 1550-1555. He was a President of the Council of Trent in 1545. As Pope he withdrew from political affairs in Italy and made some attempts at ecclesiastical reform.

155/20 Cardinal di Santa Croce, Marcellus the Second (Marcello Cervini degli Spannochi, b. 1501), had been one of the three presidents of the Council of Trent. His papal reign was short indeed. A reformer, he lived only 22 days after his investiture and the suspicion is, as Hoby himself remarks, that he was poisoned.

156/8-9 Paul IV (Giovanni Pietro Caraffa), born 1476, Pope from 1555-1559. A leading reformer, he organized the Inquisition set up by Paul III. He was sternly ascetic and his extreme views alienated Catholic rulers. He repudiated the settlement between Mary I of England and Reginald Cardinal Pole, and he later declared Elizabeth I to be illegitimate.

160/16 John Hales or Hayles (d. 1571), miscellaneous writer. Upon Somerset's fall, he fled from England, and in 1552 was at Strasbourg. On the accession of Mary his property was confiscated. He then retired to Frankfurt, and with his brother Christopher, was prominently engaged
in the religious contentions of the English exiles. He returned to
England upon Mary's death.

160/17 David Whitehead (1492?-1571). Soon after Mary's accession he
fled to the Continent and became pastor of the English congregation at
Frankfurt. On Elizabeth's accession he returned to England.

160/17 Richard Turner (d. 1565?), a Protestant divine, Prebend of
Windsor (1551) and Vicar of Dartford. On the accession of Mary he fled
to Basle and then to Frankfort. On the accession of Elizabeth he re-
turned to England, and in 1559 was restored to the vicarage of Dartford.

161/13 Catharine, widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Baroness
Willoughby d'Iresby in her own right; born at Parham, Suffolk, 1519;
made, 1552, Richard Bertie (q.v.151/22). The boy mentioned here was
born October 12, 1555, and named Peregrine. (E.P.)

162/24 Punn. If Bonn is meant here it should have been put between
Linz and Zonta. (E.P.)

163/16 Allhaloutide (allhallowtide): All Saint's Day, November 1.

163/18 Evesham was an estate belonging to Sir Philip Hoby. (E.P.)

163/22 Nicholas Ridley (c. 1500-1555), English bishop and Protestant
martyr. He was the chaplain to Henry VIII and to Thomas Cranmer. He
insisted on Lady Jane Grey's claim to the throne, was condemned for
heresy under Mary Tudor, and burned at the stake with Latimer on
October 16, 1555.

163/22 Hugh Latimer (c. 1485-1555), English prelate and reformer. On
the accession of Mary Tudor he was excommunicated and burned for heresy.
His last words to his fellow sufferer, Ridley, are famous: "Be of
good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light
such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." (See Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*)

163/25 **Candlemas**: the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary celebrated on February 2.

164/4 **Whiteson weeke** (Whitsun week): this week beginning with Sunday, the seventh Sunday after Easter.

164/5 "to set up images": an "image" here means a statue or sculptured figure. (Often applied to figures of saints or divinities as objects of religious veneration.)

164/11 The "new building" to which reference is here made was not completed till 1561. It no doubt included most of the Tudor work on the north and south of the Hall. In the Tapestry Room, south of the Hall, the arms of Thomas Hoby, impaled with those of his wife, are carved over the fireplace. (E.P.)

165/2 Philip Hoby's will is dated May 1, and proved July 2, 1558, in the Prerogative Court (*Noodes, 34*), and is a lengthy but interesting document. (E.P.)

165/12 "findinge...office": "findinge" here refers to the action of maintaining or supporting (a person or an institution); Thomas Hoby was apparently settling his brother's business affairs.

165/21 **Ferdinand I** (1503-1564), Holy Roman emperor (1558-1564), king of Bohemia (1526-1564) and of Hungary (1526-1564). In the war against the Protestant Schmalkaldic League (1546-1547), he was an important figure. It was he who negotiated the religious truce between the Emperor and the forces led by Maurice of Saxony at Augsburg in 1555.

166/1 Probably **Eric XIV** (1533-1577), king elect of Sweden. (E.P.)
He proposed unsuccessfully to Elizabeth I and later (1568) married his peasant mistress who was subsequently crowned queen.

168/5 Puddings. In the particulars for Weldon's lease there is mentioned "one grove and pasture called Podyngs conteyning by estimacion" "xv acres," and next to it on the list is "le More," containing 6 acres.

Aug. Off. Misc. 3ks. 185, 57. (E.P.)

168/11 Gabriel Goodman (1529-1601). He was created D.D. in 1564 as a member of St. John's College. On September 23, 1561, he became dean of Westminster. He was a man much interested in charitable and educational schemes.
LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AND QUOTATIONS

Because the Latin inscriptions have little, if any, literary merit, I have given a literal translation, even though the phrasing is often awkward. I desire only to inform the reader of the content of these inscriptions. I have added punctuation only when the meaning is obscured without it, and I have also inserted articles and connecting words when necessary to clarify the passage. Translations of classical authors are my own, with the assistance of Mr. James DeVoto of Loyola University's Department of Classical Studies. My very special thanks are due him for his kind and indispensable assistance with this appendix.

9/2-5 "Renowned Antenor[a voice striving for quiet?] brought Venetum here and the exiles of Troy. He drove out the Euganians and founded the city of Patavia. A man for whom a home cut from humble marble here holds." Possibly Hoby made some mistake in transcribing this, as the first line does not seem right. (E.P.)

9/22-26 "Titus Livy[sends greetings] to Livia: L. Halys[sends greetings] to T. F. Quarta, to her and all her friends, himself a kindred spirit of the Patavian." This is a conjecture at best; the ellipsis and abbreviations are too severe to admit of definitive translation as it stands.

10/8-16 "All citizens have set your bones and head to rest here, in a generous spirit. You gave eternal renown to Rome and your father-land, coming from the latter and singing the brave deeds of the
Your fatherland gives you these things; were it permitted to give greater things, you would stand in this place completely in gold."

"Titus Livy departed from life in the fourth year of Tiberius' reign at 75 years of age."

12/17-18 "We admire the greatness of spirit and hope for the happiness of Philip, son of the king of Spain, in whom we perceive the image of his father."

12/21-22 "To Charles the 5th, the most excellent emperor of Africa, Germany, Caesar Augustus. To Philip his son, most excellent king of Spain, a magnanimous prince, the hope of the century."

12/25 "Like an eagle summoning its chicks to flight."

13/2 "I pledge all worthy things to your gigantic undertakings."

13/4 "For a good outcome." "To the spirit of the prince."

13/7 "Public riotousness."

13/10 "To the happiness of the times."

13/12 "For the safety [health?] of the Empress."

13/16-17 "Herakles made the decision, but Caesar carried it out. But you shall progress sooner than your father, if it be right."

13/19-21 "With the capture of Thebes, the prophet, foreseeing what war to come under the auspices of the princes of Austria, specified that the future city be founded in perpetuity by Ccnus, his son."

Ccnus was the legendary founder of Mantua.

13/26-29 "The families of Gonzaga and Paleologa wanted to erect an eternal monument to Charles 5th, Emperor and Caesar Augustus, upon the arrival of his son Philip, prince of Spain, for his generosity
in pursuit of great honors."
34/30-31 "You also Gaieta, nurse of Aeneas, in your death give eternal glory to our shores."
38/13 "Fruitful Campania."
40/11-12 "Nantua gave me birth, the Calabrii snatched me away, Parthenope holds me now; I sang of shepherds, country scenes and heroes."
41/11 "Xerxes clad in a toga."
42/1-3 "In Italy, sulphur is found in the countryside of Campania and Naples in the hills which are called Leubogabi which is dug up by rabbits and completed by fire."
43/17 "No place on earth outshines the pleasures of Baiai." Baiai, near Naples, was a famous Roman resort town—especially for lovers.
46/6-7 "Such a field rich Capua plows, and with a yoke, neighboring Vesevo, and Clanius unequal to empty Aecerra."
48/1-5 "To Nerva Trajan son of the divine Nerva most excellent emperor, Caesar Augustus, conqueror of the Germans and Dacians, high priest with tribunician power 19 times, field marshal 7 times, consul 6 times, bravest leader of the Senate and Roman people." This arch could have been erected by Nerva, but it is dedicated to his son, Trajan.
55/3-8 "In this tomb are located the last remains of Peter Roderich, the famous man whom Spain produced. He was the commandant of Calabria, but alas he finished life before the duties of his command due to fevers. There was no one superior to him in loyalty or more
ardent for justice; the world nurtures his renown, the soil his bones, and the stars his spirit."

55/22-23 "Cratis shares a boundary with this place, Sybaris with our shores. They make hair like gold and electrum."

59-60/24-2 "I am the royal palace founded with the zeal of trusty kings by coursing over the sea-bay and the beautiful shore. Frederick, a trusty king and outstanding friend of highest virtue, displayed the beauty [of the palace] which you see now in the year of our Lord 1329."

64/23 "What reason is there for your exile? Why should you be the sacred spring of Arethusa?"

64/25-26 "Delia broke the ground; I, submerged in dark caverns, am carried to Ortygia." Ortygia is the harbor at Syracuse.

65/2-3 "Just as Claudius removed Arethusan Syracuse by force of arms."

67/11-12 "Scylla, eternal monster, with the drug of Circe tames the rabid hounds about her groin."

67/17-19 "At first a human face and a maiden with lovely breasts on the verge of adulthood, but finally a monster of huge body, combining the tails of wolves and dolphins at her belly."

78/2 "O Formiae hugging the sweet shore." This is the modern city of Mola di Gaeta.

78/9-14 "To Caesar Augustus Antonius Pius, great grandson of the divine Nerva, who was grandson of Trajan, who was the son of the divine Hadrian, also called Pius, that is Titus Aelius Hadrianus, High Priest with tribunician power 11 times, consul 4 times, the citizens of Formiae publicly dedicate this monument."

78/16-22 "To Lucius Brutius the swift, a Thracian knight of Augustus, son of Lucius Palatinus, commander of the third cohort and mounted
at public expense. Lucius Brutus the father and Justelia the mother
dedicate this monument to Primitivo, a most excellent son."
78/24-26 "To Lucius Varronius, son of Lucius Palatinus and to the
scribe Capitito, and to the aedile Caius Veletus in the second year
of his five-year term as curator of the water works, the order of the
Colony, content with the honor of its royal members, sets up this
monument with its own money."
79/1-2 "These Fundana wines the fertile autumn richly bears; the
consul squeezed out the young wine and drank it himself." En. xiii,
113. ":ustum" is the usual reading, not "mulsum." (L.P.)
80/4-5 "Driven from his kingdom due to arrogance and haughty power,
when Metabus departed from the ancient city of Privernus."
80/10 "Three inns."
121/16-17 "To the bedchamber even the graces of Diana have come."
(left side)
121/16-17 "Why? Because whatever [she?] does, grace is always
present." (right side)
121/19-30 "To France's Henry II, king of Italian, German and British
Christians." (left side of journal page)
"For matters in Italy, Germany, and Britain bravely and successfully
accomplished." (left side of journal page)
121/19-29 "With the Republic of Sensens restored and Alba,
Aquitania and the whole region at the foot of the Alps across Pada
protected." (right side of journal page)
Unintelligible as it now stands. (right side)
122/1-8 "The affairs of farther Britain having been settled, the
towns of Norinorum, Jononia, and nearby towns received as well and
finally Hediniun...." (left side)

122/1-6 "The empire having been extended to the Rhine and the neighboring folk of Mosa and Mosella added to his sway...." (right side)

122/10-16 "Having been released into the liberty, the leaders of the Saxons, Hessians and cities of the Holy Empire...."

153/16-19 "We venerate the spirit of Mantua in its citizen P. Vergilius Maro. Marius Aequicola [dedicates this] to the poet."
This glossary comprises words and phrases that might puzzle the modern reader. Hoby’s spelling appears first, followed in parentheses by a more common spelling if appropriate, and then a brief definition suitable to the sixteenth-century context. All definitions for the English terms are from the *Oxford English Dictionary*; all definitions for the Italian terms are from the *Cambridge Italian Dictionary*.

accompt: accounted

agletts (aglet): a metallic tag, pendant, or spangle worn as an ornament on the dress.

arkebuse (arquebuse): a French term for the precursor of the rifle.

bagni: Italian for "baths."

baynes (bain): a hot or medicinal spring.

bourding: to bourd, to say things mockingly.

cabbin (cabin): a small room, a bedroom.

caskett (casket): a chest containing valuables.

catarres (catarrh): an inflammation of the mucous membrane, often attended with sneezing, cough, and fever.

citrons: juicy tree-fruit.

communes: territorial divisions.

condescending: consenting, agreeing.

consistorie (consistory): a council of ecclesiastical heads.

copia cornu (cornucopia): the horn of plenty.

cost (coast): To go or pass by, along, round, etc.
cowrsar (corsair): a pirate.
crare: a small trading vessel.
culverines: large canons, very long in proportion to the bore.
damaske poulders: damask (rose)-scented powders.
dropsie (dropsy): an unsound collection of water in the body.
faro: In Italian, a strait of the sea.
fawtors (fautor): aiders, partisans, supporters.
fistles (fistula): long, sinuous, pipe-like ulcers.
flankers: a flanker is a fortification projecting so as to flank or defend another part, or to command the flank of an assailing army; also, a canon posted so as to flank an enemy. It is unclear by the text which meaning Hoby intends.
foistes: light vessels or galleys propelled both by sails and oars.
fonde: foolish
forged: To forge, is to fabricate, frame, invent (a false story, lie, etc.).
George: the jewel of the Order of the Garter, with a figure of St. George armed, on horseback, encountering the dragon.
gheldings (gelding): castrated male horses.
guccia (ghuccia): Italian for "post."
gyrdle (girdle): a belt worn round the waist to carry a weapon.
hackbutt: the English equivalent of the French "arquebuse," a precursor of the rifle.
hackbutts a croke: hackbutts supported on a rest by a hook of iron fastened to the barrel.
hoggesheades (hogshead): a caskful of liquor; a liquid measure containing 63 old wine-gallons (equal to 52½ imperial gallons). Abbreviated hhd.
hulks: large ships of burden or transport.
humors: in ancient and medieval physiology, the four chief fluids of the body (blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy or black choler), by the relative proportions of which a person's physical and mental qualities and disposition were held to be determined.

indented: to indent is to enter into an engagement by indenture; hence, to covenant, stipulate, agree about, promise.

justes (joust): tournaments.

lantern: lighthouse.

leagues: a league is a measure of distance usually estimated at about 3 miles.

Levant: in geography, the countries of the East, specifically the eastern part of the Mediterranean, with its islands and countries adjoining.

manna: a sweet, pale yellow or whitish concrete juice obtained from incisions in the bark of the Manna-ash, chiefly in Calabria and Sicily.

maskerye: masquerade.

meete: fitting, proper.

mori: Italian for Mulberry-trees.

palla malla (pall-mall): a game in which a boxwood ball was driven through an iron ring suspended at some height above the ground in a long alley.

pinaces (pinnace): small light vessels, generally masted, and schooner-rigged.

pipe: a large cask.

pistolese: a short broadsword.

plasshes (plash): shallow, marshy pools.

Ponent: in geography, the countries of the West; the occident.

postes (post): a post is the distance between two successive posting houses (stations where post-horses are kept for mail relays).

poungarnetts (pound garnett): pomegranates.

practise: a scheme, or plot.
praetorium: In this sense (p. 79), the tent of the commanding general in a Roman camp.

quartan ague: a fever or ague characterized by the occurrence of a paroxysm every fourth (in modern reckoning, every third) day.

recognizance: a bond or obligation entered into and recorded before a court or magistrate.

rewmes (rheum): a cold in the head or the lungs.

roode (rude): rugged, rough.

roome (room): an office, function, post.

rumorous: resounding.

sacres (saker): an old form of cannon smaller than a demi-culverin, formerly much employed in sieges and on ships.

santo: Italian for "saint."

schelm: In German, a rascal, knave, scoundrel.

skutchin (escutcheon): shield-shaped.

siniories (signory): lordships, domains, territories.

sluce: This word is used several times by Hoby to mean a castle or fortified place, as "schloss" in German. (E.P.)

sodd (p.t. of seethe): boiled.

soveraign: of remedies, etc.: efficacious or potent in a superlative degree.

stile (style): to name or address with honorific titles.

stroke (handstroke): a stroke or blow with the hand. "To come to handstrokes" ("handy strokes"), is to come to blows or hand-to-hand fighting.

sudatorium: steam baths.

sweating sickness: a febrile disease characterized by profuse sweating. Highly and rapidly fatal epidemics of it occurred in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

tearmes (term): the periods (usually three or four in the year)
appointed for the sitting of certain courts of law.

Terra di Lavoro: land of labor.

tilt: a combat for exercise or sport between two armed men on horseback with lances.

timpanie: a swelling, a distention of the abdomen caused by gas or air.

varlett: servant, groom.

vawte (vawght: obs. form of vault): a burial chamber, a crypt; a deep hole or pit.

victell (victuals): food or provisions of any kind.

vittayled: supplied or furnished with victuals, especially with a store to last for some time.

whay (whey): the serum or watery part of the milk which remains after the separation of the curd by coagulation, especially in the manufacture of cheese.

windlass: a mechanical contrivance working on the principle of the wheel and axle, on a horizontal axis, consisting of a roller or beam resting on supports, round which a rope or chain is wound.


Cooper, Charles Henry and Thompson Cooper. *Athenae Cantabrienses*. 213


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APPROVAL SHEET

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date: July 19, 1979
Director's Signature: Catherine A. Jarrott