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

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"A BOOKE OF THE TRAVAILLE AND LIEF OF ME THOMAS HOBY, WITH
DIVERSE THINGES WOORTH THE NOTINGE, 1547-1564:
A MODERN EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES."

by

Steve Masello

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-Preface-

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.

Upon completion of his M.A., Mr. Masello was appointed the Assistant to the Associate Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Loyola University's Rome Center campus. He remained in Rome for the next two years.

Returning to Chicago, he was admitted to Loyola's Ph.D. program in English in 1975 as a teaching fellow. He completed his doctoral course work in July of 1977 and for the academic year 1977-78, he held a full-time instructorship in the Department of English, teaching composition and poetry.

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.

Currently, Mr. Masello is a research assistant to the Dean of the Graduate School at Loyola University. Mr. Masello is married and lives in Chicago with his wife, Mary Joan.

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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 diavolo incarnato,"¹ 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.²

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

¹Roger Ascham, The Schoolmaster, in The Whole Works, ed. Rev. Dr. Giles, 4 vols. (London: John Russell Smith, 1865), III: 156.

²Ibid., 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

¹Ibid., p. 157

²Ibid., p. 158.

³Ibid., 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

¹Walter Raleigh, ed., The Book of the Courtier by Sir Thomas Hoby (London: David Nutt, 1900), p. lxiv (hereafter cited as Raleigh, "Introduction").

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.¹

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 Bulls pardons, and pasquills in Rome: to tire your feete in rüning 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.¹

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 whō you shal 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

¹James Cleland, The Institution of A Young Noble Man (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1948), p. 251.

²Ibid., pp. 261-62.

vertues you will admire: nether Doubt I of anie Princes
 Curtesie in Italie, if you goe to the; but I will not
 counsell you to staie anie long time there, after you
 have gone frō Rome to Venice. That Cōuntry is so danger-
 ous, that albeit you could be no more wōuded then Achilles,
 yet the pleasures and diverse allurements to sinne are
 so frequent, that you cannot escape the poisoned darts
 of Paris Alexander,

Barbatos licet admoneas 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,

1 ¹Ibid., p. 266.

2 ²Ibid., p. 270.

3 ³Erasmus, Erasmus and Cambridge: The Cambridge Letters of Erasmus, trans. D.F.S. Thomson with Introduction, Commentary, and Notes by H. C. Porter (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 14.

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.

²Erasmus, The Correspondence of Erasmus, trans. R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, annotated by Wallace K. Ferguson, 4 vols. (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1974), I: 235.

³Robert Blackley Drummond, Erasmus: His Life and Character, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1873), I: 159.

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

¹Raleigh, "Introduction," pp. xlvi-ix.

²Ibid., p. xlvi.

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 assighned them the bedsted on which my wiefes waiting wemen did lie, and laid them on the ground.¹

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 supper was done everie mann was brought 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 curioslie wrought with needle [needle] worke.² (fol. 82^v-83^r)

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."³

¹Thomas Sackville, The Works of Thomas Sackville, ed. R. W. Sackville West (London: J. R. Smith, 1859); quoted in Raleigh, "Introduction," p. xlviil.

²Thomas 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. 82^v-83^r. All folio page numbers are to this manuscript. Hereafter cited in the text.

³Raleigh, "Introduction," p. xxvii.

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 Strasburg 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 gentlman of the citie. The occasion was this: the Duke cuming in a brave maskerye with his companions went (as the manner is) to a gentlwoman whom he most fansied among all the rest (being assembled there a l or lx). This gentlwoman was wyff to an M. Michael Venier. There cam in another companye of gentlmen Venetiens in an other maskerye: and on of them went in like maner to the same gentlwoman 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 gentlman owt with his dagger and gave him a strooke abowt the short ribbes with the point, but it did him no hurt, bicause he had on a iacke of maile. The Duke ymmediatlly feeling the point of his dagger, drue his rapire, whereupon the gentlman 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 gentlman, 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 gentlman was of the house of Giustiniani in Venice. (fol. 17^v-18^v)

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. 28^r) 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 throughlie searched owt such antiquities as were here to bee seene 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.
(fol. 38^r)

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. 31^v) 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 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. (fol. 83^v)

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 receave 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 cheeflie 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 folishnes was never better spied owt then it is now, nor less observed in all places, thowghe manie perforce bee kept blinde still. (fol. 91^r-91^v)

Although Hoby rarely speaks emotionally in his journal, the unique beauties of Italy obviously moved him. Some attractions of Italy arouse particular enjoyment: 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. 69^v-70^r) Finally, it seems to be the natural beauty and charm of the South of Italy that most impresses Hoby. He describes the Neopolitan 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. 51^r)

He finds the Amalfi coast remarkable:

...we entred into a bote to go a long the faire coost of Amalfi, which is prayed 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, plummes, poungearnetts, cherries, 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. 81^r-81^v)

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 painstaking 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.

¹Raleigh, "Introduction," pp. xxix-xxx.

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.i) 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 Travailleurs*. . . .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."¹ 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 wrate in Greke, the Romains in Latin, Avicenna and the other in Arabike, which were their own proper and maternall tongues."² Again, he wrote The Boke Named the Governour (1531), "the English counterpart of the Cortegiano,"³ in the vernacular rather than the accustomed

¹Clare 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.

²Thomas Elyot, The Boke Named the Governour, 2 vols., ed. H. H. S. Croft (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1883), I: cxiii. Quoted from the "Life of Elyot" prefixed to this edition.

³Fritz Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 85.

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 tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borowing of other tungen...."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 "thowght 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 owt 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

¹John 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 vesselles to take the passinger vesselles that goo betwixt Roome and Naples." (fol. 39^v) 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. 39^v) 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 throughe a woode verie thick and jeopardous to passe called Bosco di Santo Mazzio, which hath the 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, whiche were the deathe of manie a man. (fol. 67^r)

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 outweigh 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,

¹From Sir John Davies' Poems, ed. A. B. Grosart, vol. ii, p. 40, Clare Howard in English Travellers; see p. 95, n. 1.

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, outragious, 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, banquetings, dice and idlenes, 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.¹

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-weale, no man more worthily and with greater profite of the citizens, promoted to those glorious honours of publique 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....²

To pursue the greater wisdom acquired by travel it is well worth "contemning all difficulties and dangers."³ 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..."⁴ It is,

¹Thomas Coryat, Coryat's Crudities: Reprinted from the Edition of 1611: with His Letters from India, 3 vols. (London, 1776).

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

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 heroycall 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 govermes 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 one-self 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,

¹Lipsius, Direction for Travailers.

²Ibid.

³Robert D. Essex, Sir Philip Sidney, and Secretary Davison, Profitable Instructions (London, 1633).

or behavior."¹ 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."² 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."³ 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."⁴ 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

¹Lipsius, Direction for Travailers.

²Essex, Profitable Instructions.

³Coryat, Crudities.

⁴Quoted in George B. Park's Introduction to his edition of William Thomas' The History of Italy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963), p. xvii.

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,

¹William Thomas, The History of Italy, ed. George B. Parks (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963), p. 3.

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, prowesse, 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, wherein 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 Ephemerides in readines to write everie night, what you have observed that daie: and so with Gods grace; you shal returne home againe sufficientlie instructed² 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.

²James Cleland, The Institution of a Young Noble Man (New York: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1948), pp. 254-55; 261.

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,

¹Ibid., p. 259.

²Thomas Nashe, Pierce Penniless . . . The Unfortunate Traveller and Selected Writings, ed. Stanley Wells (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1964), p. 244.

Henry II, recipient of the Order of the Garter, entered Nantes with his queen in glittering majesty. Hoby 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, Hoby'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 162^F-169^V have been omitted in my edition since they are the original works of other authors. Hoby inserts in the journal an analysis of the waters written in Italian by Maestro Gerardo di Boldieri 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 Hoby 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 169^v)

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."¹ "To Italy all nations of christendom do flock."²

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 overflowe the roome with his murmure.³

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?

¹Lewis Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England (New York: Columbia University Press, 1902), p. 130.

²From Edwin Sandys' Speculum Europae, A Relation of the State of Religion, sig., M, 2b, quoted in Einstein's The Italian Renaissance in England, p. 130.

³Coryat, 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 possest,
 A diepe discoursing head, a noble brest,
 A Courtier passing and a curteis Knight,
 Zelous to God, whos 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 possest 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 discharged 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.¹

T.B.

¹Quoted in Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., and Macmillan and Co., 1858), pp. 242-243.

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

¹J. H. Plumb, The Horizon Book of the Renaissance (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), p. 314.

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

¹Dennis Mack Smith, "Federigo da Montefeltro," The Horizon Book of the Renaissance (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), p. 324.

²Ibid., 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

¹Vespasiano Da Bisticci, The Vespasiano Memoirs, trans. William George and Emily Waters (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1926), p. 83.

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.¹

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."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."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 Giogio, 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.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."⁴

The properly educated Renaissance prince or courtier would

¹Ibid., p. 104.

²Ibid., pp. 104-5.

³Dennis Mack Smith, "Federigo da Montefeltro," The Horizon Book of the Renaissance (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1961), p. 327.

⁴Vespasiano, 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-

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

²Vespasiano, Memoirs, p. 94.

³Cicero, De Officiis, trans. George B. Gardiner (London: Methuen & Co., 1899), p. 18.

⁴Ibid., 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.

³From J. H. Whitfield's Introduction to Hoby's translation of The Book of the Courtier (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1974), p. ix.

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.¹ 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 verve mansion place of Myrth and Joye"² and it is in II 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 II 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

¹Raleigh, "Introduction," p. xv.

²Thomas Hoby, The Book of the Courtier, with an Introduction by Walter Raleigh (London: David Nutt, 1900), p. 32 (hereafter cited in the text).

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 particuler 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 lovyng 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 foolyshnesse 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 nonchalance¹ in his manner. The Italian concept of "sprezzatura" is most important.

¹I think that Charles S. Singleton's choice of "nonchalance" best captures the Italian concept of "sprezzatura." See his edition of The Book of the Courtier (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), p. 43.

Count Ludovico defines just what characterizes this grace: "Therefore that may be said to be a very art that appeereth 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 sweetnesse of letters, cannot know how much is the greatnesse of glorie...." (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 mishandled 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--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 drawe oute countrys, plattefourmes, ryvers, brydges, castelles, houldes, 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 discreation...." (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 displease 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 sophisticated 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 "sonnettiere," 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 Company, 1906), p. 42.

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, Florino da Cellino, who had served under Julius Caesar!

¹ Ibid., p. 41

² Ibid., 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 Firenze;' 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 good¹ 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

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 bombardiers 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

¹Symonds, "Introduction," p. 14.

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 Buonarroto, 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 somewhat 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 Il 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 be beside the three great ones that we have named, of whom it may be hoped it, that be longeth to the high degree of a perfect Prince," it is only too clear that the English requires some unscrambling.¹ At one point in the journal, Hoby philosophizes in what proves to be the most obscure passage of all:

About the beginning of Lent all humane things not keeping 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'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, 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. (fol. 97^r-97^v)

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

¹F. O. Matthiessen, Translation: An Elizabethan Art (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 36.

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. 1 xxiv, 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 asseheades," 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 erreoure" 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,

¹Cf. 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 Courttyer. 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.

¹Matthiessen, 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 5^r-182^r, 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 34^v a note reads: "My fathers departure from Rome towards Naples."

Doctor Nowell, deane of Poules. 1584." (fol. 183^v-184^v) 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. 185^r) (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 186^r-202^r 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^v-36^v), at Naples (fol. 42^r-50^r), at Messina (fol. 70^r-71^r), at Catania (fol. 74^r) (a modern hand, probably that of a nineteenth-century librarian,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^r-113^v), at Mantua (fol. 158^v), and at the Baths of Caldiero, near Verona (fol. 162^r-169^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^v) and 2) the analysis of the waters by Gerardo di Boldieri da Verona is dated "1473," not "1474" (fol. 164^v).

Hoby prefixes to the names of the many towns and cities through which he passes a number of obscure symbols: J , E , Δ , E , E , E , E . 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

¹On 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 "Bassan" (Bassano) 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. 10^v) 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 WOORTH THE NOTINGE

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

But he beleeveth not in God w^t placeth not in him onely y^e con-
fidence of all his felicitie.

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

A BOOKE OF
THE
TRAVAILLE AND LIEF OF ME THOMAS HOBY

MY JOURNEY FROM THE TOURE OF LCNDON IN THE MOONETH OF
5 AUGUST A 1547, 2 E^d 6, INTO GERMANIE WITH JOHN ABELL.

From Calice to Gravelings.

from thens " Dunckerke.

" " " Newport.

" " " Brugs.

10 " " " Stekin.

" " " Antwerp.

" " " Lovain.

" " " Peroway.

" " " Corsiale.

15 " " " Richfort.

" " " St. Hubert.

From thense to Burwaye.

" " " Verdune.

" " " Novyliacon.

20 " " " Vylserlon.

" " " Metz.

" " " Senterfure.

" " " Aynchming.

" " " Solwerden.

25 " " " Sabern.

" " " Strasburgh.

Here I arryved the xvjth of October and remayned 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'
 5 Fagius in Hebrue, and Dasipodius in Greeke, who in their faculties
 were the best learned of their time. Abowt the moneth of December
 Mr. Peter Martir, Bernadinus Olchinus, and Jhon Abell went into
 England together. In January 1548 William Thomas cam this waye owt
 of Italye towards England. Also S^r Thomas Wyat arrived here to go
 10 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 throwhowt the wholl
 Universitie of Cambridge, both with orations and all kinde of verses
 15 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
 20 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.

25 Electors of th'Empire by inheritance and succession are these
 folowing:--

The Archebisshoppe of Mentz and Maddeburg, highe chauncelor of
th'Empire;

The Archebisshope of Collen;

The Archebisshope of Trier;

5 The Phaltzgrave of the Rhyne Duke of upper and nether Bavire;

The Duke of Saxonye landgrave in Duringen and Marques of
Meysson, highe Marshall of th'Empire; The Marques of Brandenburg,
Duke of Stetin Pomern. and Wenden, highe chamberlain of th'Empire.
And yf of these sixe, three holde of on side and the other three of
10 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
15 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 electorshipp.

1548

When Bucer had finisshed the little treatise he made unto the
20 churche of England in answeere to Stephan Bisshoppe of Wynchester's
railing epistles unto him, I translated it ymediatlly 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 assembye of the
25 Electors and other princes of Germanye begann a diete at

Ausburghe, where they concluded among them the 'Interim' to be used from thence furth throughout 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
 5 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 differred and lingred from time to time), and afterward the people returned to their accustomed preach-
 10 ings 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 Auspurghe, I departed
 15 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
 20 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 lise him, as they did at lengthe:
 25 for he went from thence into England.

I departed towards Ausprughe the fourthe of Julye in mye
 jorneye as folowethe:--

| | | |
|----|------------------------------|---------------------|
| | From Strasburghe to Bisshont | ij ^{le} |
| | " thense to Ingamnaught | i ^{le} |
| 5 | " " " Rostat | ij ^{le} |
| | " " " Etlingen | ij ^{le} |
| | " " " Fortzon | ij ^{le} |
| | From thense to Hamerting | ij ^{le} |
| | " " " Canstat | ij ^{le} |
| 10 | " " " Geppingen | iiiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Halbec | iiiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Geinsbrucke | ij ^{le} |
| | " " " Ausbrucke | vj ^{le} |

Here I arrived within fowre dayes after my setting forwardes,
 15 where I found my brother lodged in a house that was onse a monas-
 terye called St. George. By this was a church 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
 20 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 few protestant churches which at
 25 time of service were replenished 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 vth of August set forward thitherward as folowethe:--

MY JORNEY INTO ITALYE

| | | |
|---|------------------------------------|------------------|
| 5 | From Ausburg to Lansberg | vi ^{le} |
| | " Lansberg to Fietze | vl ^{le} |

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

| | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| | From Fietze to Barbist | v ^{le} |
| 10 | " thence " Innspruck | v ^{le} |
| | " " " Matra | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Stertzing | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Prixen | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Klausen | ij ^{le} |
| 15 | " " " Culman | j ^{le} |
| | From thense to Botzen | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Nuenmark | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Trent | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Pergini | v ^{ml} |

20 Here beginn the miles and accompt v^{ml} to the Dutch league.

| | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| | From thense to Lievigo | v ^{ml} |
| | " " " Borgo | viij ^{ml} |
| | " " " Castel Novo | ij ^{ml} |
| | " " " Grinio | vij ^{ml} |
| 25 | " " " Scala | v ^{ml} |
| | " " " Symon | iiij ^{ml} |

From thense to Carpinea vj^{ml}
 " " " Bassan vj^{ml}

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

5 From thense to Castelfranco x^{ml}
 " " " Treviso xv^{ml}
 " " " Margera xij^{ml}
 " " " Venice by water v^{ml}

Here I laye in Mr. Edmund Harvell's house, Ambassador resident
 10 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 Padoa
 and Mr. Fitzwilliams with me, which was the xvth of August. In this
 towne laye manye Englishmen, as Sir Thomas Wyatt, Mr. Jhon Cotton,
 15 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
 20 town was Lazarus Bonamicus in humanitie, whose lectures I visited
 sometimes, Mantuan, Turnellus, and Caniolus in the civill lawe, and
 Claudius Tolomeus a senest in the Italian tung, and in logick
 Tomitanus.

The towne of Padoa is very auntient, built by Anthenor, as this
 25 epitaff upon his sepulcher, which is bye St. Laurence Churche, without

the olde walles, makethe mention.

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

5 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 owt of Padua: their reason is bicause ther are
 sundrie antiquities found under those hilles. As for this his
 10 sepulcher they say hathe bine placed here by the Longebardes, who
 found som certain monument of his, and here did erect this tounge
 of marble in his memorye, for the letters are suche as the Longo-
 bardes did accustome to use in times past, neyther dothe the stile
 of the verses seeme to bee of anie probable authoritie or antiquitie.
 15 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
 20 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 Liuiæ

An image of brass

T.F. Quartæ L. Halys

An image of brass

25 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,
 5 with two sucking babes. Underneth 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.
 10 Tu famam aeternam Romae patriaeque dedisti.
 Huic oriens, illi fortia facta canens.
 At tibi dat patria haec et si maiora liceret,
 Hoc¹ totus stares aureus ipse loco.

T. Liuius Quarto imperij Tib.
 15 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 cawses and matters are pleaded here: it is full
 of clarkes and notaries that are continuallie writing. At the on
 20 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."

souldiers 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
 5 offices belonging to the Syniorye of Venice, and not much inferior to Candia and Cyprus. No man weareth 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.
 10 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 doo, nor yet taken owt of his house. These rectors graunt owt
 15 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 scholarshipp bound to no lectures, nor nothing elles but what he lyst him self
 20 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 journey to Ferrara to espouse the Duke's daughter.

1549.

25 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 received by don Fernando Gonzaga, the
 governar. The vijth of January Mr. Edward Murphin, Mr. Henry
 Killigrewe and I departed owt of Padoa towardes Mantoa, to see him
 5 make his entrie there, which was the xiiijth 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 entrie an howre within night, riding under
 10 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 about his necke a
 whitte staff in his hand.

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

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

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

Carolo V^{to} Coes. August. Afri. Germa. Impera optimo. Regi op-
 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:

25 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;

Bono Eventui.

Genio Principis.

- 5 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:

- 10 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 holdding in eche hand a great pillar,

- 15 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:

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

Stories do witnesse that Ccnus 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.

- 25 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, about the evening, he went owt
5 of the castle to visitt the olde Dutchesse in the olde palaice where she laye somewhatt 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 sumptuous house in the house called il Palazzo dell'Abate. Fiderigo Badoero cam in ambassag
10 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, wherupon 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
15 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 among the rest of his companye.

20 The towne of Mantoa is almost an yland compassed about 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
25 Padoa by land.

Within ij or iij 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
 5 his beastes as a sheppherd. Five miles owt 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
 10 Venice, where as after the entrie of the Prince into Trent, Duke
 Maurice th'elector with the Cardinall of Auspurghe 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
 15 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
 20 gentlemen, where he with his companions in Campo di San Stefano
 shewed great sport and mucche pastime to the gentlmen & 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
 25 of sweete waters and damaske poulders. 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 gentlman of the citie. The occasion was this: the Duke cuming in a brave maskerye with his companions went (as the 5 maner is) to a gentlewoman whom he most fansied among all the rest (being assembled there a l or lx). This gentlwoman was wyff to on M. Michael Venier. There cam in another companye of gentlmen Venetiens in an other maskerye: and on of them went in like maner to the same gentlwoman that the Duke was entreating to daunse with him, 10 and somewhat shuldredd the Duke, which was a great injurie. Upon that the Duke thrust him from him. The gentlman owt with his dagger and gave him a strooke about the short ribbes with the point, but it did him no hurt, bicause he had on a iacke of maile. The Duke ymmediatlie feeling the point of his dagger, drue his rapire, 15 whereupon the gentlman 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 20 lyved about two dayes after this stroke. There was no justice had against this gentlman, 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 gentlman was of the house of Giustiniani in Venice.

25 Aboutt 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 enemies th'on to th'other, Della Turre and Soveragnani. Of th'origion of this hatred betwixt them I could never gather other reason than this: at such times as the Venetiens
5 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 mucche slawghter
10 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 certaine 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 wrowght and gylt. The
15 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
20 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 repaying to thes justes there shuld no hurt be done. Notwithstanding as they
25 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 hooping for a reveng at
more leyser. This matter was taken upp by the Siniorye of Venice,
and their sureties that were thus bound for them were handled to the
5 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 remaine
10 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,
15 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
20 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
25 they were nor yet whither they went. The deade bodye was brought

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 could never make
 5 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. Abowt the ascention daye the Duke
 and Dutchesse of Urbin cam to Venice, where the Dutchesse, Cardinall
 10 Farnese syster, for that she was never there before, was mett a mile
 or two withowt 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 accomanie
 herr to the Duke herr husbände's palaice within the citie. There a
 15 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 withowt, besides manie other pretie
 vessells full of minstrelsy daunsing and maskaries. After herr
 arrival she was greatlye feasted, and before herr departure thense
 20 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 lackethe litle of a mile in compasse, she
 was broughte into a larg room where she had a costlie bankett pre-
 pared for herr and all her companie richlie served of all kinde of
 25 dilicaties. Yt was in the after noone abowt fowre of the clocke.

Herr cuming to Venice was to see the Sensa, 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
 5 a litle from the land they have a wonderous great ceremonie about the marying of the see. For the Duke takethe 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 contineue to
 10 diminishe 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.

15 I departed owt of Padoa towards Venice the vijth 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 about that time returned. After I had taried a yere sometime in Padoa and sometime in Venice, and obtayned some understanding in the tung, I
 20 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 about fowre score and tenn miles. This citie upon the east side and
 25 the sowthe side hathe the great river called Po running by yt. The countrey is verie plaine and plentifull round about yt. Duke of

yt is Hercules da Este the second, who married Renier, King Lewes
of Fraunce the xij his daughter, by whom he hathe had iiij children,
Alfonse, Lewis, the dutchesse of Guise in Fraunce, and Lucretia.

From Ferrara to Bologna xxx^l

5 This citie is placed at the rootes of the hill Appennine. On the
sowthside yt hathe the Appennine, on the east the river Savena, 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 Neopolitane. It is a verie famous Univer-
10 sitie throwghe owt Italye bothe for the lawe and other sciences,
frequented with scolars from all places.

From thense to Loiano xvj miles

" " " Scaricalasino iiij miles

It is so named because when asses passe bye this waye with their
15 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^{ml}

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

From thense to Scarperia x^{ml}

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

25 From thense to Firenza xiiij^{ml}

This faire citie of Florence is built upon the river Arno, which
 runneth through it; and the river is passed over by iij bridges
 in iij sundrie places. It is compassed on the east and the northe
 side with pleasant hilles full of frutefull trees. On the west side
 5 yt hathe a verie bewtifull plaine so full of faire houses that yt
 appeareth 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 lillie in a white feelde, but now yt is under Duke Cosmus de
 Medicis, second Duke of yt, which mainteynethe all virtue in yt.
 10 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,
 15 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 among the plesant and delicate wines of
 20 Italye. In this citie I remayned vj or vij dayes with Mr. Christopher
 Alen.

| | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| | From Florence to San Casan | vij ^{ml} |
| | " thense to Tavernille | vij ^{ml} |
| | " " " Poggibonzi | v ^{ml} |
| 25 | " " " Siena | xij ^{ml} |

I arrived at Siena the *iiij*th of September. This citie standethe upon hilles as the citie of Roome did in the olde time. It is counted *vj* miles compasse about the walles. The countrey about verie frutefull. The people are much given to entertaine strangers gentlie.

5 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 with-

10 owt as within, which may be reckoned emong the sumptuous woorkes of Europe. The great Hospitall 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, dis-

15 burse at their first entring *lx* or *lxxx* crownes, to the great refresshing 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

20 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

25 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 enterteyned.

5 Besides these I founde in the towne Mr. Peter Whithorn, Mr. William Barkar, Mr. Edward Clere, Mr. Thomas Grynwaye, 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.

10 Th'occasion that this citie of Siena is som time under the Frenche King and manie times under th'Emperour appeareth 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,

15 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 knowen 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;

20 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

25 shulde equallie and indifferentlie have the preheminece, dignitie, superioritie, and rule over the commune weale, which were called

by a new name, Reformatiori. Their issue and posteritie multiplied so in processe of time that there arose 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 5 then eyther the Gentilhuomini or Popolo, drawing by amitie, consanguinitie, 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 heades together, eyther to displace them, or to find owt at the least some meane that the hole government might 10 not alwais rest in this posteritie. The matter was long a debating before the Reformatiori (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 one of thes three parts three parsones, which were 15 called Nuovi for that they were nine, and thus had this fowrthe part his beginning even like the third. They and their posteritie continued 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 20 among them a Siniory or counsell of sundrie heades to rule the commune welthe, as there is yet to this day, displacing the Nuovi of this dignitie against their willes, which were sore agreed at the matter, and repined greatlie against this kind of government, seeking all means to recover their former state again. For the 25 which they have bine ever sith yll beloved of the rest, and especiallie

of the Gentilhuomini and Popolo, whiche not manie years agoo banished
 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
 5 again and to their possessions, which were putt to the commune use:
 plaining there by their desire a garison of Spaniards to see them
 lyve in peace. Notwithstanding there is mucche murther emong them
 and privie hatred. This Nuovi is as great a part or greater then
 anie of the rest and most of the handsomest gentlmen in the citie
 10 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 iij partes are suffred to have anie weapons in his
 15 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
 20 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
 deathe of pope Paul, the third of that name, which diede the ixth
 25 of November. And seeing manie cardinalles resort thither dailie

towards Roome owt of sundrie parties to the election of an other, I thought it convenient to make a jorneye thither at this time being so nighe, as well to the citie as to beholde the maner of the obsequies and the fasshion how they elect an other. The xvi of the same monthe I departed owt of Siena in Cardinall Salviati his companye 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 deathe Ascanio Colonna went about to recover his state again, which the pope had taken from him, and about two hundrethe Spaniardes were conducted owt 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 ROOME.

| | | |
|----|---|---------------------|
| | From Siena went to Buonconvento | xij ^{ml} |
| 15 | From thense to San Quirico | viiij ^{ml} |
| | " " " Paglia | x ^{ml} |

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

| | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 20 | From thense to Acquapendente | xij ^{ml} |
| | " " " San Lorenzo | vj ^{mi} |
| | " " " Bolsena | iiij ^{ml} |

This is an antient towne and in times past on of the xii of Tuscan called urbs Vulsinentium. There were the xii: Gianiculum, Arinianum, Fesuli, Aringianum, Fregine, Volce, Volaterra, Carriara, Oggiano, 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 throghe the wode of Tuscane called in the
5 olde time lucus Vulsinentium or lucus Hetruriae. Abowt this towne
there growe verie good and pleasant wines, as malvoseye and such
other.

From Montifiascon to Viterbo viij^{ml}

To this towne we ride throghe a plesant valleye where it is placed
10 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 comunlie 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
15 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
20 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 ser-
vaunts, by the Veienti, as Lyvie makethe mention in his second booke.
Here is a wood called Silva Mesia in times past.

25 From Baccano to la Isola vj^{ml}

From thense to Roome viij^{ml}

When we arrived in Roome we saw daillie in St. Peter's church 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 about him. About the
5 later end of November, at the certain time limited for all cardinalles
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 among them, entred into the conclave
according to the accustomed maner; that is to save, into suche rowmes
10 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 without anie light at
all, except so muche as he lettethe in by the pinninge uppe of the
15 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
20 dore and wyndowe where anie yssue was in anie place round about 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. Throwghe

this dresser everie cardinale's owne provision, brought 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 brought thither. In this sort
5 remayned they a good space attending for viij or ix cardinales owt of Fraunce, for before their arrivall the Cardinall of Ferrara with the rest of the French partie would goo about nothing. When all were cum and convayed in emong the rest they remaine thus shutt uppe untill suche time as by agreement of the most part they have elected a new
10 pope, except they find themselves yll at ease, as iij or iiij 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
15 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
20 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, paied 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
25 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 much gentleness. There were besides in Roome that came after us Sir Robert Stafford, Mr. Francis Peto, Mr. Edward Murphin, Filpott, Christophersonn,
 5 Harding Boxwell.¹

The citie of Roome is in circuite about 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 florished. There are twenty gates now, whereas were in times past xxxiiij. The better half of the
 10 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
 15 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, because 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
 20 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 Maggiore, Santa Croce in Hierusalem, these within
 the walles: and Saint Paul, Saint Laurence, and St. Sebastian without
 5 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
 10 fayrest and perfectest antiquitie about Roome. The Triumphall Arkes
 of Constantin, Vespasian and Septimius. The Coliseo, or Amphitheater.
 The beawtifull 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 therof I leave to the searchers
 15 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 ghesed 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
 20 again as occation served. For Vopiscus writethe that in the time of
 the emperor Aurelianus the citie was in circuite fyftie mile. And
 Pliny saithe that it was in his time twentie miles compasse. In our

¹Folios 32^v-36^v 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 throughlie
 5 searched owt suche antiquities as were here to bee seene 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
 10 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 seene
 Cardinall Poole proclaimed pope, he had lost by the Cardinall of
 15 Ferrara his meanes the voice of manie cardinalles 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
 20 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
 25 the Emperiall Cardinalles that were within the conclave, but the

Frenche partie was against him. Upon this we determined in the meane
 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 towardes Naples the x of Januarye; the same night
 5 we laye upon the Tever. The next morning we cam to Ostia, a verie
 auntient citie, which folowing 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
 10 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
 15 jeopardie onlie, but also sumtime certain are swallowed 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
 20 and may bee seen farr of. In a litle 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 yf we
 had cum bye yt by daye as we did by night, we had bine all taken
 25 slaves. From hense we sayled to Galeta, 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,

30 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 towardes the seea, at the entrie
 wherof on the left hand is a litle chappell wherin 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
 5 buried which died 1527 at the sacke of Roome. There is also a place
 within the rocke 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 throughe this
 clyft we cum into a litle larg rowme where is founded a chappell.
 10 They say here yt clave in sunder at the verie time when our Savior
 Christ suffred his passion, and yt is comunlie 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,
 15 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 owr
 20 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-
 25 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, wrought
 5 owt of the hard stone by force of hand, a wondrous matter to beholde.
 And Castello dell'Ovo somewhat without 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,
 10 parlements and tearmes are kept on th'Emperors and the citie's be-
 halfes. 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 howses. The on is called Seggio Capuano,
 bicause of the streete that goethe by yt unto the gate towarde Capua,
 15 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 to-
 gether to sitt upon and to debate among them the matters of the citie.
 There be few princes, dukes, erles or barones within the realm which
 20 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
 Salerno's, whiche is also verie faire.

The streetes in Naples are for the most part narrower then in
 25 anie other citie, notwithstanding they are of a good lengthe and verie
 straight. Wythin the citie is an Universitie, unto the whiche

scholars repaire from manie places, and the same that was wont to be at Salerno is now brought to Naples and made all on. On the seea side southward by Castel Nuovo is the faire pire made in times past by Charles the second, King of Naples, for the safgard of shippers.

5 This citie is abundant with all things that are behouffull for the lyff of man, and in yt is plentie of delicate wines, as vino Greco, a verie strong wine, which as I beleve is so called bicause of Torre del Greco, where it is shipped to be transported unto Roome and other places, and not because yt cam owt of Greece, as som hold opinon;

10 also Maniaguerra, a sweete wine of a verie highe 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 throwhwt

15 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 pallice with a pleasant gardin hard by the towne. The citie of Naples is very auntient and was alwais (as T. Livius saith) faithfull and very obedient to the senat of Roome.¹

20 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 42^r-50^r which follow in the manuscript have been omitted here.

revenues are belonging unto yt, and a great multitude of people
alwaies within yt.

After we had taried a season within the citie and searched out
whatsoever there was worthie to bee seen, we thought it behouffull to
5 mak now and then a journey about the countrey called in times past
Campania, and now Terra di lavoro, so much spoken of and renowned 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
10 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 seea on the sowthe.

It is named of Pliny Campania foelix, bicause of the frutefull
feeldes within yt whiche are large and pleasant, and the hilles are
15 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 infirmities of the
bodie as for pleasure and disport. And the fertilitie of the countrey
20 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,
25 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
 5 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 foun-
 taynes of Baia, Lucrino and Averno, the pleasure of the seea; the
 mountaynes and hilles decked with pleasant vines, and among the rest
 10 Gaurus, Falerum, Masicus and Vesuus more excellenter than the rest,
 which striveth with Aetna to cast owt fire. There are also on the
 seea side Formia, Cuma, Puteolis, 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
 15 Carthage. This mucche saith L. Florius.

Departing therfor owt of the noble citie of Naples there
 appearethe before owr 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
 20 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 owt 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
 25 times of on of them they make two hoggesheades 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
 5 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
 10 buried according to these verses.

Mantua me genuit, 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
 15 Puzzol, 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 notwith-
 standing is verie dark, and wondrous full of dust: who first made
 this Grotta is uncertain, for there are dyverse opinions.

20 From hense in the hie way to Puzzolo there is a lague called
 Lago di Agnano, 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
 25 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 pasethe that, yf it have lyff in yt, yt hath not
onlie no power at all to sturr from thense, butt yt fomethe at the
mowthe and fallethe to the ground ymmediatlle. After it is thus
5 fallen, take yt owt again and wash it in the lague, by and by it re-
liveth, yf 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 beastes. Byyond this we cum by certain ruines where
as Lucullus was wont to have his abiding place, and there cutt
10 throghe the rock to lett the sea 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 flames
15 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
20 appearethe to be round, but it entreth farther under the hill then
cann be discerned. Whatsoever is cast in here, is pluckt owt again
immediatlle 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,
25 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
 5 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
 10 the eyes, to heale the greefe of the stomake, to helpe barren women
 to conceave, to drive away the agues and to heale scabbes. Of these
 hilles of brimstonn the bisshope of Puzzolo hathe great revenues
 yerelie.

A litle from these hilles we cum to the towne of Puzzulo,
 15 situated on the seea side upon a litle hill and almost compassed
 about with the seea. Betwixt this and Baia, whiche is three miles
 and a sixe hundrethe pases, we may discern xiiij foundations in the
 seea for the arches of a bridge, whiche th'Emperor Gallicula had
 made to passe the next way unto Baia: there appeare yet sum of the
 20 arches, but they are wonderousllie 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
 25 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 seea, yet
 hathe it no tast of the salt water.

Keeping along by the seea side we com to a place called
 Tripergola, where there is a hill covered with great sharpe stones
 which lacketh litle of two miles in height and iij in compasse..
 This hill arrose sodainlie owt of the plaine sandie ground upon St.
 5 Michale's daye in the yere of owr lord 1538 with suche a terrible
 noise and suche violence that it cast stones as far as Naples, not
 without the great terror of manie a man, yea and abundance of asshes
 caried by the violence of the winde fell at St. Severino, which is 24
 miles from Naples: this hill a good space after burnt in the toppe
 10 and cast furthe stones, but yt hath ceased burning of late dayes.
 After this we cum to Baia, whiche beeing in lengthe is likened unto
 an arm or a finger: in this place are the notablest ruines to be
 descerned that are in all the rest of Italye. For a number of faire
 and plesant cities as were Baiæ, Cuma, Linternum and such other,
 15 there is now nothing but desolation and a sorte of olde ruines. Of
 this place speaketh Horatius:

Nullus in orbe locus Baiis praelucet amoenis.

The notablest things here to be seene are these, Piscina Mirabile,
 which is thought was Lucullus' sommerhowse, Cento Camerele which
 20 were under the ground to kepe water in, like chambres passing by
 narowe dores owt of on into an other. And baynes communlie called
 Bagni de Cicerone, where at a certain time in the daye and likewise
 in the night there yssueth owt of the rocke warm water (with a great
 smoke) according to the increasing or diminishing of the moone. Upon
 25 the toppe of these baynes in the rocke, ascending upp by certain
 stayeres of stone, we find a long hole made artificially within the

rocke, sixe foote highe and five brode, which is sommwhat croked;
 within the whiche if a man stand on foote he shall feele a hott aere
 about his face and ymmediatlly shall begin to sweat, thinking at the
 first entree his breath shall be taken from him. But yf he then fall
 5 upon his knees and encline to the paviment where he stoode, he shall
 contrarilye feel a verie cold aer. This sweating place in these
 baynes is said to be verie soveraign 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
 10 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
 15 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 about with
 highe 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
 20 five miles long compassed about 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 mon-
 strous matters there is a cave or hole under the earthe called Grotta
 25 di Sybilla, which is a wondrous thing to beholde, cutt owt of the
 verie rocke tenn foote brode and as manie high and five hundrethe
 long, wrougth within wondrous artificiallye round about which

appeareth to be mosaicall worcke. 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 Baia, whiche is not likelie there shuld suche great cost and curious worcke be bestowed
5 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 about xij miles from the seea standeth Capua upon the river of Vulturno, which is not the olde Capua so much spoken of by all writers, but yt is built of the ruines of yt. The
10 olde Capua is about two miles from yt, and standethe not upon the river. It is now called Santa Maria Maggiore. There are to be seen great ruines of mightie walles, towres, amphitheatres, 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 about
15 yt is such a pleasant and bewtifull champaign countrey that yt ys not written for nowght how Hannibal 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
20 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 about 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
25 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 palaice of Poggio Reale, where so manie gardines of pleasant and sundrie frutes are, with sundrie conveyances of water, we cum to a towne called Aecerra, eight miles owt of Naples, wherof Livie makethe mention in
 5 manie places, also Virgil in these verses.

Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Vesevo
 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
 10 stretchethe thither, where we passe through them into a valley called Valle de Gardano; compassed abowt 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 ix^h book: 'After the straitte passe betwext two hilles there is a faire plaine
 15 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 throghe the middle of this feelde; and so cummeth 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
 20 in was before. At this narrow passage there is latlie built a litle 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
 25 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 owt of Naples. This is a verie auntient citie. It was first
built of Diomedes, and onse yt was named Maleventum. Yt is situated
5 at the verie end of a hill and from the castle whiche is on the toppe
of the hill yt is always 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
10 and in other places abowt yt, which are belonging to the towne, to
the number of 18 thowsand menn that were banished owt 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
15 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 among other
there is a round churche called San Stefano with the gate of brasse
which is not muche inferior to Santa Maria rotunda in Roome. Yt hathe
20 (like unto that in Room) a hole in the toppe 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 workmanshippe may be compared to anie in
Roome: Yt is now on of the gates of the citie comunlie called
25 Portaurea. On bothe sides wherof is the inscription verie legible:

Imp. Caesari divi Nervae filio
 Nervae Traiano optimo Aug:
 Germanico Dacico Pontif. Max. trib.
 Potest. XVIII. Imp. VII. Cos. VI P.P.
 Fortissimo Principi Senatus P.Q.R.

5

The countrey abowt under the citie named Valle de Benevento a verie pleasant and delectable plaine, verie fertile and wondrously inhabited, and full of clere and bewtifull springs of freshe water.

Cumming back again from the thense there is on the left hand the
 10 towne of Nola, a famous citie in times past, within 14 miles of Naples, which hath a goodly plaine countrey round about yt, closed on the one side with the hill Tisata that cummeth from Capua, and on the other with the hill Vesevus, communlie called Monte di Somma. Betwext Nola and Naples there is standing on the side of Monte di Somma a towne
 15 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 groweth 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 abowt
 20 to serche owt the cause of yt and was smodred in the smoke. On the east side of Naples abowt 8 miles owt of the citie is a towne called Turre del Greco at the verie rootes of Monte di Somma by the sea side, so called bicause it was in times past built by a Grecian. And here is the wine Greco shipped to be transported into sundrie places
 25 of Italie. Betwext Naples and this towne is a faire palaice called Pietra Bianca, where Don Francesco Deste, the Duke of Ferraræ'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 bisshoppe belonging to yt whose name was
 5 Paulus Jovius, which diede aftereward in the yere of our Lord 1553, a
 famous writer.

Departing from hense we passed throghe 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
 10 pleasantlie, gardines & prospectes abowt it in great quantitie bring-
 inge furthe all kindes of frutes in grete abundance, as oranges,
 lemons, pougarnettes, 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
 15 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
 20 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
 25 journey upon me to goo throghe 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 owt of Englishemenne's companie for the tung's sake.
 And the xi^h of Februarie I departed owt of Naples on this jorney as
 followethe:

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| | From Naples to Nucera | xxij ^{ml} |
| 5 | From Nucera to Salerno | ix ^{ml} |
| | From Salerno to Mollere | vi ^{ml} |
| | From thense to Eboli | xviiij ^{ml} |
| | " " " the Scafa | iiij ^{ml} |

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

| | | |
|--|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| | From thence to Cicignana | xiiiij ^{ml} |
| | " " " Auletta | vj ^{ml} |

This towne belongethe to the Erle of Congia.

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| | From thense to Pola | iiij ^{ml} |
|--|-------------------------------|--------------------|

15 Here beginnethe the pleasant vale called valle di Diano, which
 takethe his name of a castle therbye called Diano. At the entring
 into this vale on the right hand there is a cave or denn within the
 rock whiche is abowt 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
 20 altar which they call Altare di San Michael, and the water is so
 abundant abowt it, that is appeareth to be a litle lague. Of this
 great abundance of water hathe a river his beginning called Negro,
 which makethe a great rumerous noise untill he cumethe into the middes
 of the vale. This vale is xx miles in lengthe and iiij in breadthe.
 25 The hilles abowt it are so inhabited as it is wonder to behold. Yt
 bringethe furthe marvelous plentie of corn and all kindes of frutes.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| From Pola to Ateno | iiiij ^{ml} |
| From thense to Sala | iiiij ^{ml} |
| From Thens to Padula | iiiij ^{ml} |

To this town of Padula stretcheth the principallitie 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 Ferraræ's brother who
 married 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 hath confirmed yt unto Don Francesco. Without this
 10 towne of Padula there is hard by the walle's side a monasterie of
 charter friers called San Lorenzo di Padula, which is walled about
 and seemeth as bigg as the towne of Padula, which hath within yt
 pleasant gardines and faire rowmes, with princelie conveiance of things
 all about yt. This monasterie may dispend in revenues three pounds
 15 of gold a day, which ammounteth 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
 20 hundrethre three score and fowre. They have in the monasterie officers'
 servannts attending upon them and dailie laborars two hundrethre.

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 ^{ml} |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|

25 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
 5 the yere by them.

From Casal Nuovo to Lago Negro viij^{ml}

From thense to Luria viij^{ml}

Here be sharpe mountaynes to passe and wonderous to beholde on
 all sides with infinit springs of water..This towne, th'inhabitants
 10 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 jepardous as the first, called Bosco di Castelluccio or as som say,
 Silva de Lusillo.

From Luria to Castelluccio viij^{ml}

15 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
 20 into verie sharp and stonie hilles.

From Castelluccio to Rotonda xiiij^{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
 25 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 towne of Murano.

5 From Rotonda to Murano xij^{ml}

Rotondo and Morano bothe do belong unto the prince of Bisiguano.

From Morano to Castro Villare iij^{ml}

Th'Emperor made duk of this town, Giovan Battista Cariati, Count of Cariati and surrnamed Spinello, who had Don Pietro de Toledo
10 in great indignation which was vicere of Naples, for keaping his syster as his concubine, making him beleave 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
15 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.

20 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
25 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 . . . xxij^{ml}

This vale is verie long but somewhat narrowe. In the middle of
yt runneth the river Grati, whiche is augmented on everie side with
5 other litle 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 inhated with townes and villages.

10 From thentrie into the vale to Cosenza . . . xxij^{ml}

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
15 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 litle
hilles. And for this the armes of the towne are vij hilles. Upon the
toppe of the hill on hige towardses the sowthe there is a strong castle,
20 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,
25 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 greate church of S^t
Dominik wherein is this epitaff upon a tumbe.

Hoc sita sunt Petri Rodorici membra sepulcro
Ultima preclarum quem tulit Esperia.
5 Praetor erat Calabris vita, set febris ante
Heu quam Praeturae munera functus obijt.
Quo pietate prior nemo et ferventior aequi;
Famam orbis, ossa solum, spiritus astra colit.

Livi makethe oft mention of this towne, and in on place he saithe
10 how the people called Brutii were yelded to Hannibal, and C. Servilius
Consul made a peace with Consentia and the other people.

The river Grati, called in old time Cratis, hathe his beginning
about a six miles above Cosenza on the est side owt of a plentifull
fountain of water. When it cummith to the towne yt is faire and larg,
15 and there entrethe into him before he cummeth under the bridge the
river called Busento; which two waters, as th'inabitants report, have
two sundrie vertues. For thone, that is to say Grati, yf a man washe
his heade or silk in the water of yt, the heare and the silk becum an
aubern or flexie colowr. And the water of Busento on the other side
20 makethe yt to becum sumwhat black and of a dark colowr: 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 helthsom for manie infirmities.
25 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 xvj^{ml}

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 standethe upon a hill and hathe a verie straitte, sharp and
stonie way unto yt. Above the towne is a fair large castle where the
count liethe 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
5 situated upon a verie rock. Cwt of this castle there is a faire
prospect over all the hilles and plaines 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
10 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
burnethe like a torche, beeing kept drie. The wines here are to ex-
treme colde to be dronk of suche as are not accustomed to them. Be-
15 fore we cum to St. Biasi wee ride throghe 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 yf they sawe a number ride so stronglie
20 together that they thought not themselves able to mak their part in
good, they had emong the trees certain peices of artillarie to dis-
charg at them, whiche were the deathe 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
25 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
 aboutt yt well tilled and verie plentifull, which is a great delite
 5 to beholde.

From Aiello to San Biasi xx^{ml}

This towne belongethe to the Count of Nicastro.

From thense to a river called Scala xvj^{ml}

From thense to Montelion Duke viij^{ml}

10 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 aboutt yt, of corn, frutes, wine, and in especiallie olives great
 15 abundance. Yt belongethe 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 aboutt yt, all tilled full of vines and
 frute trees. Travailing thus upon the Apennine we may discern Vulcano,
 Strongoli and the yles there aboutt within the see, and also Mongibello
 20 laden with snowe within Sicilia.

From Seminara to Fiumara del Moro x^{ml}

Before we arive here we descend somewhat from the Apennine a
 verie steepe and narrowe waye. This litle towne is situated upon a
 rock with water round aboutt yt, belonging to a barron that takethe
 25 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
 5 goeth to Reggio. Upon the side of him cumming downe we may easlie
 see into Sicilia and plainlie discern 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 iij^{ml}

10 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 passingers, to lodge the barge menn that are continuallie there
 with their vessells readie to transport passengers unto the other
 15 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, goeing still in the
 plaine valley betwext the Appennine and the seea. This towne hathe
 often bine vexed, spoiled, and destroyed. And not long sith yt
 20 hathe receaved great damage by Barbarossa: yt is abundant with faire
 litle rivers and clere springs, and besett in everie place with
 pleasant gardines replenished 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
 25 great delicacie.

From Reggio to Messina xij^{ml}

There is in this towne one 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, betwixt
 the hill and the port. Upon the hill there are two or three faire
 5 castles, kept by Spaniardes. Yt is more in lengthe then in breadethe.
 The cheffest thing for antiquitie I sawe there, were the heades of
 Scipio and Hannibal when they were yong menn, in stone. The verie
 same (they of the citie say) that in times past were sent unto the
 communeweale of Messina by the senate and people of Roome in token
 10 of the good will towards the towne, for the fidelitie and great good
 will they alwaies bore to the Romanes; presenting them with the heade
 of him that had done so muche goode to Roome, and also of him who was
 the cruellest enimie that ever Roome had. These remaine straightlie
 kept in the towne house of Messina, and not to bee seene, without yt
 15 be for friendshippe, to straungers. 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 one Giovan Angelo,
 a florentine, which to my eyes is one of the fairest peeces of worke
 that ever I sawe. This fountain was appointed to be sett uppe before
 20 the hige churche where there is an old one already. 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:

25 Regia sum regum studijs fundata piorum,
 Aequoreum lustrando sinum lithusque decorum.
 Exhibuit formam quam vides nunc Fridericus

Rex pius eximius summae vittutis amicus
 An^o M^o viceno cumque ccc et nono Dñi.¹

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

5 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
 10 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}

15 This towne is placed upon the seea side at the rootes of Mongi-
 bello. 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 brought water above ground from a farr of. And, saving of late
 20 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

¹Folios 70 -71^r 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
 5 beast to travaill upon.

This hill Aetna or (as it is now named) Mongibello verie famous
 among 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, always ascending
 10 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 always laded with snowe, and speciallie in the winter
 time, for then (they saye) within sixe mile of the toppe yt is covered
 15 for the space of sixe monthes: 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
 appeareth a far of, whereas in the on part yssueth owt smoke at a
 wide hole manie times to be descerned when there blowethe a sowthe
 20 east winde, abowt the evening like unto a litle cloud. The other
 part is always 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 without
 great quantitie of snowe neyther winter nor sommer.

Mine intent was beeing 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
5 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,
10 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 keeping his accustomed due time: and this fonde answeere was
15 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 ymmediatlly browght furthe in procession, and incontinently yt
20 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 occation whie it neyther ragethe, burnethe, flamethe nor smokethe at this present as it hathe done in thold time,
25 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 raignethe sel-
 dome eyther winter or sommer but it fillethe the toppe of it with snowe,
 5 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^{ml}

This is on of the fairest rivers in all Sicilia, called by none
 10 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 thense to Lintini x^{ml}

" " " Siracusa xxiiij^{ml}

15 This is the towne so famous in all writers both greeke and latin,
 which hath bine esteamed 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
 20 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^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 strait cumethe the seea whiche makethe a verie large
 5 and bewtifull 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. Undernethe the rocke there issuethe owt suche
 10 abundance of water and so sweeftlie that is is straunge to beholde:
 and it cumethe 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 issuethe
 15 from under the rocke as though 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 ghessed that is
 20 summeth from Arcadia, where it entrethe into the earthe and goethe
 under the seea and so ariseth again in this place, according to Cwid,
 lib. v. Metamorph:

Quae tibi causa fugae? Cur sis Arethusa sacer fons?

and again in the same place:

25 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 makethe 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,
 5 bicause 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 issuethe owt to swfitlie, to have his beginning in the litle rocke upon the whiche the towne standethe invironed with
 10 salt water. Not farr from this fountain there are certain springes 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 abowt the port, which compasseth above xii miles, where the cheef of the citie was wont to
 15 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 standethe 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 adjoining to the citie, in the toppe wherof yssueth owt at a hole owt
 20 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
 25 cutt into the hard stone. Here are the ruines of Dionsisius' palaice to be seene, and also of the Latomiae that he made to punish trespassers.

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
 5 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
 10 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.

15 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 xxiiij 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.

20 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 surges, over the which we cam with oure galie, which was beginning to turn about: but the slaves putt to great labor, so that at last we passed
 25 it, without daunger, and arrived in the port of Messina, where after iiij dayes abodd I sett forwardes in a shippe towardes 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
 5 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
 10 this sort--Ovid.

Altera Scylla monstrum medicamine Circes
 Pube premit rapidos inguinibusque canes.

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

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

20 When we were past the faro of Messina and sailed all that daye
 and the night folowing, there arrose a litle after midnight suche a
 contrarie winde that we were driven from the yland of Strongoli back
 again, and recovered the port of Melazzo, about xxx miles from Messina
 by Seea. In this port before the towne of Melazzo we taried for
 25 better winde xiiij dayes, without cumming to land at all in all these
 dayes. Bicause the maner is here and likewise in all other ports
 towards the levant, that no man shall be suffred to take land with-

owt the master of the shipp bring a certificat from whence he cummeth,
 the which we did not, thinking full litle 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 ther-
 5 for 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 causethe it to
 10 bee brought thither ymmediatlie, and after the bargain is made, the
 victualles are laide downe upon some stone, and the bringer goeth
 from yt: thin goethe on of the shippe to receave yt and laethe downe
 so much monie for yt, as ther covenant was betwext them, and so con-
 vayethe it to the shippe.

15 The occation of this is bicause the plague rayneth so mucche 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 straight.

This towne of Melazzo seemethe to bee strong for that it hath
 20 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 owt 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
 25 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'mperor's monie to entertaine good fellowes that lacked wages, and not to come to anie handstroke.

Here abowt upon certain rocks within the seea groethe plentie
 5 of course corall bothe redd & whitte. When the wether was faire and had winde at will, we departed from Melazzo and coosted the ylandes about Sicilia, and cam by Lipari, whiche is a plentifull peece 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
 10 opinion of menn is that bicause 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.

15 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 enfowrmed. 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
 20 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, among the whiche are pumishe
 25 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 seea are carried upon the coast of Calabria,
 and manie times left upon the drie land. We cam towardes Naples
 betwext the yland of Crapi and Capo di Minerva, that is on the other
 side of Baia, which two points of earthe make the golf that cummethe
 5 in to Naples. Betwext Naples and Sicilia it is reckoned as much by
 seea as by land, that is three hundrethe miles.

We cam to Naples the xxvj^h of Marche, within xvij dayes after
 owr setting owt from Messina. In the shippe I cam in there was an
 Englisheman a gunner there, called Jhon Crpinn, who was married in
 10 Naples.

After mine arrivall in Naples I found there newlie com thither
 Mr. Edward Stradling, Frauncs 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
 15 a journey together to Salerno, which they were desirous to see, and
 we departed in a bote to Castel Mare, which is xviiij miles. This
 towne standethe at the rootes of the hill that goethe owt into the
 seea to make the promonterie of Minerva. Here is great abundance of
 faire springes of water, and the countrey verie plesant, and plentious
 20 of good frutes. From hense we passe to Nucera, which is viij miles,
 and from thense to Salerno as manie. When we had seen Salerno
 sufficientlie we entred into a bote to go a long the faire coast of
 Amalfi, which is praysed to be on of the pleasantest peices of
 ground in all Italie. This coast is xx miles in lengthe, which is all
 25 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-
 fection, as arange, limones, citrons, cedar trees, olives, plummes,
 5 pougarnetts, 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
 10 called Rovello, which appeareth 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 perfect good vine
 15 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 straitte
 waye 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
 20 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 inhabitants of the countrey. At ovr arrivall
 understanding the Marques of Capistrano, the duk's sonn, to bee in
 25 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 brought us in to the
5 Dutchesse his mother to do the like towardses 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
10 verie honorablie. And there had he with him at supper the Captain of
the towne the better to entertain us all. When supper was done everie
mann was brought 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
15 the shetes curiouslie wrowght with needle worke..In another chamber
hard bie lay Stradlinge and Grinwaye. And bicause there was not pro-
vision 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
20 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 banished menn were most likelie to bee. When
25 they cam sodainlie to us at our departure declaring unto us the
Marques's will, we refused that their gentle offre occasioned by him.

Not withstanding, when we were departed (seeing them return backe again) he gave straitte 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
 5 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
 10 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
 15 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 onwarde upon owr journey. Which horses we refused, saing that we could better go downe a foote than
 20 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, comunlie called Scafaro, which passage belongethe to the Duke of
 25 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 xvj miles.

Being at Amalfi the Marquess understanding we had not as yet
 seene 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
 5 of the strongest places and worthiest to bee seene of all christendom:
 and overnight cawsed a letter to bee written unto the captain of the
 towne (which he sent me in the morning) to shew us the same, as
 cumming from him; for he is nige of kinn unto the Marquess of Pescara,
 to whom it belongethe. So we made this journey to Ischia by seea,
 10 which is xvij miles from Naples: where after owr arrivall, presenting
 unto the captain this letter from the Marquess, we were lovinglie re-
 ceaved and gentlie entertayned. There went with me thither Mr. Strad-
 ling, where we laye that night. The next daye we were shewed the
 situation, strengthe, fortification and ordre of the towne of Ischia.
 15 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 towardes the maine yland it hath
 a bridge made of a heape of stones within piles to go in and owt at.
 The towne standethe upon a rocke and the castle on hige upon the
 20 verie 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 iij 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
 25 continue untill we cum a hige upon the rocke where the towne standethe,
 where there is a verie open aere to looke all abowt both by seea and

by land. Within the towne there be iij 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
 5 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 towardes Naples again in a vessell, owr leave
 first taken of the Captain, who had so gentlie entreated us at owr
 10 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-
 15 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
 20 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
 25 in the realm. The citie itself is replenished 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 comunlie 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
 5 there arrived a shipp which had brought 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
 10 were convayed 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 peeces, 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
 15 morning arrived there from Genoa the Prince Andrea Doria with xl galies, to go on his jorneye towardes 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 xv^{ml}

20 Hard by this towne of Patria appeare 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
 25 less.

Emong the ruines here there is a fountain or spring of sowre

water, whiche th'inhabitants saye is good for the headache, and yf a mann drink unordinatlie of yt, yt makethe him dronke as wine dothe. .

Before we cum to Mondragone we pass through a great woode which is verie parellous for theves and robbars.

5 From Patria to Castel Mare di Vulturno x^{ml}

This is upon the river Vulturno that cummethe from Capua and where Terra di lavoro hathe his beginning. In this place stooede onse the auntient citie of Vulturnum.

From thense to Rocca di Mondragone v^{ml}

10 This castle standethe upon the hill called in time past Mons Massicus, a mile from the seea.

From thense to the passage of Garigliano x^{ml}

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

15 This river was named in time past Lyris.

At the passage of it we may discern the old ruines of Minturne, where the generall counsell was kept in the yere of our Lord 297, where there is to bee seene a theater almost hole, and a sumptuous aqueduct with dyverse other antiquities.

20 From Garigliano to Mola x^m

This towne may be so called from the abundance of milles within yt that are driven by the force of the swyft springes that cum owt of the hilles there. The countrey here abowt is faire and pleasant, full of bewtifull gardines. Here it is thought was Ciceroe's villa

25 Formiana, which he speakethe of 2 lb. de oratore, that Scipio and Laelius beeing wearie of studie refresshed their mindes with sportes

and pastimes. And Martial also makethe mention of yt.

O temperatae dulce Formiae littus.

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

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

10 Imp. Caesari Divi Hadriani f.
Divi Trajani, nep. Divi Nervae
Pronepoti Tito Aelio Hadriano
Antonino Aug. Pio Pont. Max.
Trib. Pot. xj Cos. iij P.P.
Formiani publice.

15 And in another peece of marble like unto that:

L. Brutio L. F. Pal. Celeri
Equo Public, Praes. Coh. III
Aug. Thrag, Equit.
20 L. Brutius Primitivo Pater et
Justeia Mater
filio optimo
P.S.P.L. D.P.P.

And in suche an other, this that followeth:

25 L. Varronio L. F. Pal.
Capitoni Scribae Aedili C. Velato II
Viro Quinquen. Curatori aquarum Patrono
Coloniae ordo, Regalium quorum honore
Contentus sua pecunia posuit. L.D.D.D.

From Mola and Castellone to Fundi xxiij^{ml}

30 All this waye we go upon Via Appia, which was made of faire larg
stone. This towne standethe in a plaine, with a frute full countrey
abowt yt, where are verie delicate wines, which Martial could not have
kept till they bee old, as he saith:

Hoec Fundana tulit foelix autumnus opimi
Expressit mulsum consul et ipse bibet.

So dothe Strabo and Plini also praise the wine of this countrey mar-
velouslie: this citie was sacked by Barbarossa, captain on the seea for
5 the Turke, anno 1534. It belongethe now to the prince of Salmone.

From Fundi to Terracina x^{ml}

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

This towne is built upon a rocke besides the hige hilles, com-
passed abowt 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.
15 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
frindes and servantes: and it was so sodainlie that Tiberius himself
had much to do to skape. The countrey abowt is faire and pleasant,
20 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 owt 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
25 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 xvj^{ml}

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

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

From thense to Sarmineta xij^{ml}

This towne standethe 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
10 Scripture Tres tabernae was here, and not betwext Ostia and Roome.

From thense to Velitri xvj^{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
15 the auntientie of yt, as for that the predicessors of themperor
Octavius Augustus had their beginning here. The wine here abowt
Velitri is muche praysed.

From Velitri to Marino viij^{ml}

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

From thense to Roome xij^{ml}

The countrey abowt is faire and plaine on all sides, full of
25 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 xxvth yere. And ymmediatlíe after the pope
 was created he gave the first stroke at the wall in St. Petre's
 5 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 gevethe the first stroke here in St. Petre's Churche, so be
 there cardinalles appointed to the like in the other vj principall
 churches about Roome: then the first stroke ons geven, there be masons
 10 readie to digg it downe, and so it standethe open all that yere: at
 the yere's end it is closed upp again. Whosoever will receive 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
 15 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 folishnes was never better spied owt then it
 is now, nor less observed in all places, thowghe manie perforce bee
 kept blinde still. And especiallie in Roome itself where they have
 20 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 towardes Sienna the vith of May, the verie same journey
 I cam before by Viterbo and Bolsena, which is rekened an hundrethe
 miles, where we arrived in the ix^h of May.

25 At my return to Siena I found there Mr. Parkar and Mr. Barkar.
 And after I had settled my self sumwhat to my book I continued there

but a while, beeing sent for by letters from my brother to repaire
towardses 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
5 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 willes, 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
10 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.

15 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
20 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, complayning
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
25 great lacke.

From Venice to Margera v^{ml}

From thense by Mestre to Treviso xij^{ml}

By this citie hathe all the countrey about his name Marca Trivigiana, bicause therewas a Marquess sett there by the Lombardes, and gave him to his title the citie and territorie of the same, whiche
5 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}

10 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 humantie Lazarus
15 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.

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

I arrived in Augusburg the vth of August; where th'Emperor laye being a litle before returned owt of the lower countreys. The King of Romanes his brother, the Quene of Hungarie regent of Flaunders his
25 syster, the Prince of Spaign his sonn, the Dutchess of Lorrain, 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 succede him in his roome with th'Emperor.

Th'Emperor had now made great alterations in this citie, bothe
 5 of politike government and also of the exclesiasticall jurisdiction, exiling and banisshing the preachers owt of the precinct of th'Empire. And as all things maintaynedd with force endure not long, so was this alteration but for a time; for when he thought him self at the point to have brought his pretended purposes to pass, he was then farthest
 10 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
 15 afterward a mann might gather by their countenance, for they seemed to bee alwais 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
 20 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 xith of Novembre.

| | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| | From Auspurg to Canstat | xvj ^{legs} |
| 25 | " thense to Vayhingenn | ijj ^{ls} |
| | " " " Bretten | ij ^{ls} |

From thense to Rainhausen iiij^{ls}

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

From Rainhausen to Wormes vij^{le}

From thense to Mens vij^{le}

" " " Bachraghe vij^{le}

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

From thense to Covlense v^{li}

" " " Winter vj^{li}

" " " Bann ij^{li}

15 " " " Colain iiij^{li}

" " " Disteldorf v^{li}

This is the Duke of Cleve's towne, wherein he hathe a faire
 palaice; 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
 20 bote to us, my brother not going to land at all him self, but sent
 Mr. Hampton with an other.

From thense to Kayserswert j^{le}

" " " Resse vij^{le}

" " " Nimega in Geldres vj^{le}

25 " " " Ryell iiij^{le}

Here we rid by land and the bote cam after against the river.

From thense to Hertzukenbusse iiiij^{le}

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^{le}

5 " " " Antwerpe vij^{le}

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 vij or viij dayes. And at last we had a verie yll passag, of a crare and two hulks; the violence
10 of the winde was such that we in the crare recovered Dover; but the hulks, wherin the horses were, were dispersed; the on was driven to Sandwich and the other to Rochester. And the report was they were seene upon Goodwinn Sands, which feared we not a litle.

Upon Christmas day in the morning abowt ix a clocke we arrived
15 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.
20 Duke Maurice at th'Emperor's comaundment 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.

25 Upon Newyere's Daye my Lord Marquiss of Northampton, Lord William Aparr, receaved me into his service at Grynwhiche, and upon

Tweluf Yeuen had me with him to my Lord Cobham's house of Cowling Castle, where he disported himself a while with my Lord of Rutland, my Lord Braye, Mr. Nicholas Throgmorton, and dyverse other, and returned again to the Cowrt.

5 About the beginning of Lent all humane things not keaping ever-
more 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'occation of great
10 heavines and much sorowe, yea and a great deale more then did owt-
wardlie 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
15 a meerie countenance sorow and lamentation hidd in the heart. But
it was not so oppressed nor so heavie before, as afterward the con-
tentation 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
20 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 rejoyce suppliethe their roome; so
dothe the sodain joye please mucche more when it cummethe by a chaunce
unloked for before.

25 THE VIAGE OF MY LCRD MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON UNTO FRAUNCE.

The xvth daile 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 Hoby, knight, Sir William
 Pickering, knight, Sir Thomas Smythe, knight and Mr. Doctor Olyver,
 5 sometime dean of Frideswide 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 gentlmen: the Earle of
 Worcester, the Earle of Rutland, the Earle of Urmund, the Viscount
 10 Fitz Walter, the Viscount Lile, sonn of th'Erle of Warwicke, the Lord
 of Burgayne, the Lord Braye, the Lord Yvers, Mr. Nicholas Throgmorton,
 Mr. Henry Sidnay, gentlmen 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,
 15 and prinncipall 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 Rudgetragon, persevant at armes. Of my Lord
 20 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.
 25 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 thense the xxix of May he went to Bullain, where he was received right honorablie with gunnshott and other triumphes; and where also mett with him on Mons^r di Mendotsa, a Spaniard evermore trayned and browght 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.

| | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 10 | From Calice to Boulaing | xx ^{ml} |
| | " thense to Monterol | |
| | " " " Abvile | x ^{le} |
| | " " " Aminens | x ^{le} |
| | " " " Breteul | vj ^{le} |
| 15 | " " " Cleremont | vij ^{le} |
| | " " " Lusers | viiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Paris | vij ^{le} |
| | " " " Charters | x ^{le} |
| | " " " Estempes | x ^{le} |
| 20 | " " " Turye | xij ^{le} |
| | " " " Orleans | xvj ^{le} |

This is an Universitie standing in a good aere. Here my Lord Marquess both cumming and going was honorablie received, 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 gentlman of the French King's Privie Chamber, who had prepared

against his cumming diverse vessells to transport him, the commissioners,
and all the whole traine unto Nantz in Britaign, by the river of Loyre.

From Orleans to Lozans vij^{le}

From thense to Bloys x^{le}

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

From hense to Ambois x^{le}

From thense to Toures vij^{le}

10 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 xiiij^{le}

" " " Pont de Sei x^{le}

15 In this towne we encounterd 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 loding, upon the bridge,
and had taken upp the towne for him self and his traine before our
arrivall.

From thense to Ansenis xiiij^{le}

20 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^r de Chastillon, who accompanied him unto Chasteaubriant, where
the King lay, and by the way was greatlie feasted by him.

From thense to Chasteaubrian x^{le}

25 At his cumming towards this towne there mett with him Mons^r
d'Anguien, the Duke Vandosme's brother, with xxx or xl horse. And a
litle without the towne gate mett him Mons^r Delmal 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 brought upp into the Chambre of Presence, where the King remayned for him, accompanied with the Cardinall of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise's
 5 brother, the Cardinall of Chastillon, Mons^r 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 courtiouslye and all the noblemen and gentlmen of England, wheras my Lord presented him his
 10 letters of credence from the King's Majesty. And afterward my Lord tooke his leave of him and was brought unto his chambre within the cowrt, which was uppon Friday, the xixth of June.

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

Uppon Sunday, the xxi of June, Mr. Garter and Mr. Chester brought 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
 20 their robes, and Mr. Garter the King's Majesty's cote of armes, and going before the two knights brought 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
 25 the King's Majesty, whereunto the Cardinall of Lorraine 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
5 a chaine of gold of two hundreth French Crownes.

At the cumming furth of the King owt of his Privie Chamber everie gentlman and nobleman tooke his place before the King unto the chappell. First the gentlmen of Fraunce and England, and then the noblemen of the order of Fraunce, and the Commissioners of England, where Sir
10 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
15 Cardinall of Lorrain 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 fasshion, with holie water and holie breade, etc. After service was done they returned unto the King's chamber of estate, wheras dined with the
20 King my Lord Marquiss and the Cunstable. The other nobles both of England and Fraunce dined together in a great chamber at on table apointed for them.

Uppon Tuisdaye, the xxxth of June, the French King removed his Cowrt towards Nantz, wheras upon Sunday, the xij of Julye, he made
25 his entrie. All this time my Lord Marquess, with certain lordes with him, was with the King, and all the rest of the lordes and other of the traine remayned at Nantz against his cumming.

The Castle of Chasteubriant standethe 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, bewtifull prospects all abowt, and verie helthsom aere. It
 5 belongethe 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^r de Chasteubriant when he died, full litle thinking
 he shuld then have departed owt of this world.

TH'ENTRIE OF THE FRENCH KING AND QUEENE INTO NANTZ, THE HEAD TOWNE
 10 OF BRITAIN.

The French King (as the maner of Fraunce is) is after his cor-
 onation receaved with great triumphe 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
 15 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
 thowsand in all.

Secondarile, three score townesmenn on horsbacke.

20 Thirddie, three score redd cotes which cam before the provost
 a foote, and after them the provost of the towne, accompanied with
 1 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
 25 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
 5 trapt with imbroderment of silver, riding under a canapie born by
 iiiiij gentlemen. Next to the King rid the Prince of Rochsurion with
 Mons^r Danguien; and after them the Lord Marquess of Northampton, having
 on the on side of him Mons^r Delmal, and on the other side Mons^r Denemurs.
 Then folowed other Erles of England and Fraunce, the Erle of Worcester,
 10 the Erle of Rutkland, with other French lordes and gentlemen 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
 15 them the Captain of the Castle with his band, wherof were xxxij
 vellute cotes, and a great number of noblmenn and gentlmenn on hors-
 backe. Three pages of honor, they and their horses all in white
 vellute imbrodered with redd and sylver: wherof the on caried behinde
 him the Quene's great Caskett coverid with white vellute and imbrodered
 20 with redd and sylver; an other ridd on a doble horse for the Quene, all
 embrodered sutable as beefore: also there were two spare horses for
 the Quene, all trapt and imbrodered as the rest.

The Quene herrself rid in a littar born upon two great horses,
 and uppon them two pages all with colowrs and imbroderies sutable
 25 with the rest. And so was the Quene herr self. Ymmediatlie after
 the Quene folowed xx gentlwomen, of the which fowre were apparelled

all in blacke, and xvj 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
5 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 towardes 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
10 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 dansing in the great hall, and sometime
15 musike in the King's Privie Chamber. He shewed him the like at Nantz
with skirmisshes sometime upon the river with bottes and vesselles
furnisshe warlike.

| | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| | From Nantz to Ansenis | vij ^{le} |
| | From thense to Angiers | x ^{le} |
| 20 | " " " Salmure | x ^{le} |
| | " " " Toures | xvij |

From Chasteubriant to Toures are xv postes. Upon 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
25 on Pilgromag a foote to a place called Nostredam de Clery, which he
dothe accustomable use onse a yere.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| From Toures to Amboise | vij ^{le} |
| From thens to Bloyes | x ^{le} |
| " " " Crleance | xvij ^{le} |

From Toures to Orleans are viij postes.

5 A three leagues from Bloys there is a statlie place of the King's, somewhat owt of the hige waye, called Chambray, a verie bewtifull palaice and curiouslie built with great conveyance of roomes 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
10 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
15 him to serve him at table.

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| From Crleance to Tury | xij ^{le} |
| From thense to Estemps | x ^{le} |
| " " " Chartres | v ^{le} |
| " " " Paris | x ^{le} |

20 From Crleance 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 Mons^r Mendotsa presented him a cupbord of plate, on the French King's behalf, of the value of two thowsand Crownes. There was brought also for my
25 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^r 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, Mon^s de Bies, who was
5 committed to prison in this King's father's dayes, for the matters of Boulaign, was committed to perpetuall prison and disgraded 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
10 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
15 after owr departure from thense S^r 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.

20 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 | xv ^{le} |
| | From thense to Amiens | xii ^{le} |
| 25 | " " " Monterol | xx ^{le} |
| | " Monterol to Boulaign | |

Mon^r 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
 5 after he tooke shippe; and in the morning betwext iij and iiij of the clocke he arrived at Dover, which was a long and troblsom 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
 10 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
 15 Horse Sir William Herbert Lord Herbert and Erle of Penbruke; 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
 20 force of wether in England, where she was honorablie received 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 apparelled for herr. The next daie after she was
 25 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.

5 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, 10 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 Darcy, was appointed my brother, then being on of 15 the Privie Counsell to the King's Majesty and Master of th'Ordinance. Within vj weeks after he was brought to his arraignment to Westminster Hall, where he acquitted 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 20 fellonie was that he pretended the death of the Duke of Northumberlande, beyng a pryvy counsellor,¹ which by stattute was made felony.

¹As 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 journey of my Lord Marquess into Fraunce was as well to conclude a marriage betwene the King's Majestie and the French King's eldest dawghter, whom we sawe and saluted at Bloys, and to ratifie and establishe the peace and amitie betwext the two princes,
 5 as to bring unto the King the Order of the Garter.

At our 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 married his bastard daughter,
 10 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
 15 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 gentlman
 20 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.

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
 5 the Duke of Northumberland's deathe. My lord Pagett was disgraded of the Order of the Garter, which after the King's deathe was restored unto him again, and he made of the Quene's Frivie 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 Marden. At
 10 this time was my brother appointed to goo in parson to transport and paye in Flaunders a certain sum of money borowed 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'occaton of my tarying at home, and when I had remayned a season in the country
 15 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 married to
 20 my Lord Clinton.

From the xviiij of May until the xvj of June I continued in London, tarijng 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
 25 his place (who helped me afterward to convaye over two gheldinges which I brought with me into Fraunce to Mr. Francs Caro), I departed

owt of London, and at Dover passed the seeas with Sir Anthonye Aucher and Sir Henry Palmer. At Calice I had a pasport of the Lord Deputie, the Lord Willoughbye, to pass into Fraunce, and likewise of the Treasurer, Sir Maurice Denis, to pass without searche.

5

MY JORENEY INTO FRAUNCE.

I departed out of Calalice 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 thens by water toward Roane.

10

From Paris to Roane are lx leagues.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| From Paris to Poxsie | xxij ^{le} |
| From thens to Mantoe | vj ^{le} |
| " " " Vernune | vj ^{le} |
| " " " Undely | v ^{le} |

15

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

From thense to Roane xxj^{le}

20

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

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

¹Folios 112^r-113^v 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.

5 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 menn of most fame and renowme in this Universitie of Paris were these: Silvius in phisike, Crontius in the mathematiks, Ramus in
10 humanitie and philosophie.

This yere the French King had taken Metz, in Lorraine, 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
15 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 brought it into th'Emperor's subjection, as other cities
20 of Germanie than were, bicause they of the citie wold neyther receive 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
25 captivitie and Germanie thus daile oppressed and brought from the accustomed libertie into untollerable bondage, laide their heades

together and entred 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 anie farther and bredd to a
 5 greater scabb. They entred into a new confederacie privillie to for-
 sake th'Emperor and to serve the French King, his ennemie, thinking by
 that meane to obtain the sooner wherby to maintein 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,
 10 they putt in practice. And as it was divised betwext them Albert went
 privillie into Fraunce to open this practise of theirs unto the French
 King, and to persuade him to this kinde of enterprise to aide and sus-
 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
 15 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: offring him
 sufficient hostages in that behalf.

When the Frenche King perceaved it to bee no lie that they
 20 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 somewhat with them. When Albert
 25 with speede was returned and had declared how acceptable their ser-
 vice was to the King, who promised them large entertainment to do him

service in Germanie, Duke Maurice and the rest with their powres
 marched towardes Auspurg, where they entred at last before th'Emperor's
 menn which he had sent thither to defend the towne. And albeit they
 arrived there before Duke Maurice, yet they of the towne desired them
 5 to stay a while without the walles untill they of the citie were at
 a point among themselves, which was nothing elles but to prolong the
 time untill Duke Maurice cam (for they had intelligence that he was
 not farr of), who ymmediatelie after his arrival entred into the citie,
 and th'Emperor's menn retired backe again as they cam without doing
 10 anie thing. When he was thus entred he restored the citie to his
 accustomed libertie again, thrusting owt th'Emperor's garison, and un-
 doing 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
 15 in Germanie, entending to go from thense to Trent, where the generall
 Counsell was appointed to bee held. Before his departure owt of
 Ausprucke he thought to make all things sure there, placing such in
 authoritie within the citie as made most for his purpose, banisshing
 and exiling the chiefest preachers of the towne, enforcing them to
 20 take their othe 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 coun-
 sailed him in no wise to dissolve the popish churches sett upp there
 by the Emperor's commaundment), and made this new alteration in the
 25 citie, leaving sufficient power there to the preservation of the
 same, he went towardes Fietse, a towne of the Cardinall of Auspruck,

the which he took ymmediatellie, and the Duke of Mechelburg with him,
 by whose meanes he wann in a moment a certain sluice of importance
 within half a league of Fietse, which was upon a rocke in a verie narrow
 passage. The Emperor lijng in Ynsprucke thought himself sure inowghe
 5 bicause his trust was in that sluice, 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
 10 in the night towardses 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
 15 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 carie into Spaine. Upon these peecs the
 20 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
 25 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 should never be able to cum into anie part of his dominions again, sought all meanes possible for a peace, and caused the King his
5 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
10 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 through-
out Germanie and other kindes of auntient liberties, and also the
15 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
20 he had listed), as for that Duke Maurice did it upon his owne heade, in the name of the holle Empire, unknowen to him, the which he ought 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.

25 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 persuing th'Emperor. Upon this occation 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, enterprise 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 ymmediatlíe sett forwardes with his powre towards Ulm, where he could 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 about. 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 received 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 throught yt, went towards Strasburg, thinking to have obtained it by a like pollicie; but he was deceived, for they wold not suffre him nor anie of his to entre the walles; wherupon he was constraigned 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
 5 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 cardinalls and other
 prelats, lx bisshoppes, whiche were glad and faine to repaire to
 10 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.

15 From hense he departed, going by Strasburg and gathering on all
 sides as much powre as he was able to make, towardes the siege of
 Metz, where he had assembled lxxx thowsand men. And perceaving 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
 20 verie sharp winter (for he laye continuallie at yt the space of iij
 months), he levied his siege and withdrew himself unto the lowe
 cuntrye towardes Brusselles.

Marquess Albert continued not a moneth in Fraunce, but he was
 wearie of the French King's entertainment, and desired nothing
 25 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 mucche as to withdraue him
self owt of th'armye into anie secrete place without great espiall;
and sawe before his eyes a manifest prouf of the French King's pre-
5 tended libertie, which tourned to a private proffitt, keeping 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
10 not to declare that he was not a prince of his worde, for he per-
fourmed not one of those large offres which at the first he made to
him, and therefore he entendeth to depart and serve him no longer.
The French King answered plainlie he shuld not so depart, wherupon
ymmediatlie he sent Mons^r Delmal, captain of the light horsmen, with
15 Mons^r de Rohan to withstand him and to stoppe him the passage.

Albert escaped not withstanding and valiantlie acquitted him
self in escaping from emong them, for he tooke them bothe prisoners
with the loss of vj or vij hundrethe of their menn.

Mons^r de Rohan by the reason of a controversie betwext the
20 souldiers that equallie chalenged him, was there slaine by th'on
of the two, bicause the other shuld chaleng no part. Mons^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 displeasure he owght him, knowing him to be a good mann of
25 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 receive 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
5 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 fornissed 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
10 offender in anie point wherbie he should bee constrayned in capping or kneeling to make anie other a doo then other princis use communlie or do in his presence; also that his Majestie, whereas he had given to the Bisshoppes of Bamberg and Wurtsburg by the virtue of his lettres patents (for displeasur conceaved against him) free libertie,
15 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 agreeede unto, and the
20 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
25 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 joyned 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
 5 on both partes, not knowing who shuld have the upper hand nor by anie likelihood 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
 10 had wonn the field and slaine and discomfited and hurt iiij thousand of Albert's menn. In this battell was assembled on bothe sides all the poure they were able to make.

It is not withoutt susspition that th'Emperor, to kepe these two princes thus at debate, still for feare least they might happen to
 15 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, aboutt the monthe of June.

20 After Maurice deathe, 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 Electorshipp.

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

25 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, Lorraine, and such other.

PRINCS.

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

Governar of Normandie.

5 The Duke of Orleans, his second sonn.

The Duke of Angolessm, his third sonn.

The Duke of Vendosm. 150 menn of armes. Governar of Picardie.

Knight of th'Ordre.

10 Mons^rd'Anguien, his brother. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

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

Mons^rde 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^rde Nemours. Knight of th'Ordre, a duke.

Mons^rde Nevers. 50 menn at armes. Governar of Champaign and Brye. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^rde Guise. 100 menn at armes. Governar of Savoy and Dauphiné. Knight of th'Ordre, master of the King's game.

20 Mons^rDelmal, his brother, 50 menn at armes. Governar of Burgundie, captain of all the light horsmenn. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^rle Gran Prier de France, his brother.

Mons^rle Marquis of Benf. his brother.

25 Mons^rde Longeville. 50 menn at armes. The King's Great Chamberlaine.

Mons^rd'Estemps. 50 menn at armes. Governar of Britaign.

Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^rd'Ambugny. 50 menn at armes.

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

5 GREAT LORDS OF FRAUNCE.

Mons^rde Momorensye. Duke, Constable, and Chief Marshall of
Fraunce, Governor of Languedoc. Captain of 100 menn at armes.
Knight of th'Ordre.

10 Mons^rde Saint Andrea. Marshall of Fraunce, Cheef Gentlman
of the King's Privie Chamber. Governer of the countries of Lyons,
Beauger, Burbon forest, and Auvergn. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^rde Brisac. Marshall of Fraunce, Master of the King's
Hawks, Governor of Piemont. Captain of 100 menn at armes. Knight
of th'Ordre.

15 Mons^rde la March. Marshall of Fraunce. Captain of 100
Swisers archers of the King's Gard. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^rde Chastillon. 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
20 office he keapethe for his brother Mons^rDandalot, which is prisoner
in Millan.

Mons^rdi Boycy. Master of the Horse. Captain of 100 gentlmen
and of 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^rde la Rochport. 50 menn at armes. Lieutenant in Picardie
25 under the charge of Mons^rde Vendosm. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^rde Curton. 50 menn at armes. Knight of the Quene's Honor.

The King of Naverr. 100 menn at armes. Governer of Guyenn.

Knight of th'Ordre of Fraunce.

Mons^r Durf. Knight of th'Ordre.

Mons^r de James. 50 menn at armes.

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

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

10 Mons^r de Guiche. 50 menn at armes. Governer of Bresso. Knight
of th'Ordre.

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

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

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

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

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

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

20 Mons^r de Reullerat. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^r de Vasse. 50 menn at armes.

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

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

Mons^r de Jernac. 50 menn at armes.

25 Mons^r de Humanday. 50 menn at armes. Sonn to Mons^r d'Annebalt,
admerall, 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.

5 The Count of Villers, his brother. 50 menn at armes. Knight of th'Ordre. Lieutenant of Languedoc under the Cunstable's charge.

Mons^r della Roch du Maine. 50 menn at armes.

Mons^r de Larges. Captain of 100 archers Scotts of the King's Gard. Knight of th'Ordre.

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

10 The Count Ringrave. Coronell of the Almanes. Knight of the Order.

Mons^r de Trey. Master of the King's Ordinance. Knight of th' Order.

OF THE HOUSE OF BURBON.

15 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
20 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 married the King of Navarre's dowghter and onlie
25 heire (by whome he had yssue Henry, nowe Kynge of France and

Navarre, 1592).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
 5 before his departure owt of Fraunce married the dawghter 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 dowghter, which was married to the late Burbon that was Cunstable,
 10 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, bicause his said wyff was the onlie dawghter of the head of th'armes of Burbon.

As towching the House of Vendosm, owt of yt yssued the late
 15 Duke of Vendosm, 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
 20 Mary of Luxemburg, Countess of Saint Pole and Anguien, and ladie of manie lordshippes in Flaunders, Arthois and Henalt.

¹This 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.

OF THE STATE OF MILLANE.

Concerning the controversie about 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
5 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
10 of Orleans cleane beside it, which had married the true and lawfull
dowghter of the said Duke Galeatso.

Of this dawghter of Millan yssued the father of the King Lewes
the XII., and by his mother's side Millan appertayned to him. Wher-
upon this Lewis, being his sonn, made warr for the said Dutchie of
15 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 dawghters. 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
20 dawghter to the said Lewes the XIIth, whose father cam of the
dawghter of Millan. The other dawthter of King Lewes the XII, was
marid to the Duke of Ferrara, and is mother to the Dutchess of Guise.

OF THE STATE OF SAVOY.

Concerning Savoy and Piemont the King claymethe the Dutchie of
25 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 cronicles witsesse.

5 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^r 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-
10 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
15 to make a journey to Naples. And the cronicles 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 XIth and other kings his successors. Whereupon the French kings as erles of Province have come by these
20 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 Lorraine ye must understand it is
25 descended from Godfray de Bullion, that conquered the realm of Jherusalem.

This House hathe bine aliende 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
 5 Rene of Anger, who borowed it to drive owt the Arragonese owt of his kingdommes of Naples and Sicilia.

Of the Howses of Anger and Lorrain restethe onlie heyre Rene of Lorrain, father unto the late Anthonye of Lorrain, and Lion after the deathe of his father Claudius of Lorrain, which was
 10 called by the name of Guise.

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

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

The maner of Fraunce is that after the decease of the father,
 20 his landes and gooddes are equallie 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
 25 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'
 5 Emperor, and to th'Emperor's Court for the like entent was sent
 Sir Andrew Dudleye. And after his answeere geven him he returned
 again into England without having done anie thing in the matter.

The xiiijth of Februarij Duke Horatio Farnese was married to
 the French King's bastard dowghter, which was a verie honorable and
 10 solemn mariage. 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 among them
 were certain tables with these inscriptions in them in grete letters:

15 At the entring into the hall doore:

'Ad thalamos etiam
 Charites venere Diane.

Cur? Quia quicquid agit
 Gratia semper adest.'

On the right side

On the left side:

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

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

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

Liberatis
 obsid. Medioma
 tricibus, Parma
 Mirandula.

At the upper end of the hall:

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| 5 | Compositis Britanniae ulterioris reb. Recepta Mori norum Bononia oppidisque finiti mis; deinde He dinio. | Propagato ad Rhenum Im perio, adiectisque ditioni suae Mosae ac Mosellae accolis. |
|---|---|--|

At the lower end of the hall:

| | |
|----|--|
| 10 | Assertis in libertatem principibus Saxo num Hessorum atque Sacri |
| 15 | Imperii urbib. |

At this marriage besides the King and the Quene and the Ladie Margaret, the King's syster, there were that were latlie com from the defense of Metz bothe princs and other lords, as the Duke of Guise and Marquess of Beef, his brother, Mons^r d'Anguien, Loys Mons^r his brother, Mons^r de Nevers, Mons^r de Namours, Mons^r d'Ambugny, also the Cardinall of Roane, the Prince of Ferrara, the Cardinall of Lorraine, the Bisshoppe of Alby, the Grand Prior of Fraunce, the Duke of Guise brethren, the Constable, Cardinall Belly, Cardinall

25 Chastillon, Cardinall Farnese, Duke Horatio, his brother Mons^r Chastillon admerall, Mons^r Visdam, Mons^r 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.

30 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 ymmediatlly 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 Flaunders 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
 5 doing in that behalf on eyther partie.

MY JOURNEY OWT OF FRAUNCE TO TH'EMPEROR'S CCWRT.

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

| | | |
|----|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 10 | From Paris to Pontois | vj ^{le} |
| | From thense to Manny | vij ^{le} |
| | " " " Guy | viiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Roane | vij ^{le} |
| | " " " Boucere | vii ^{le} |
| 15 | " " " Blangye | ix ^{le} |
| | " " " Abvile | vj ^{le} |
| | " " " Monterolle | x ^{le} |
| | " " " Calalice | xiiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Bruges | xviiij ^{le} |
| 20 | " " " Bruxelles | xviiij ^{le} |

Here I arrived the xxij 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
 25 man could for a great space gather by anie meanes the truthe in
 what case he was. For not a few thought plainlie by sundrie probable
 imaginations that he was dead. Manie beleaved he was owt 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 diminsshing, he was brought in such case not able to be spoken withall. At lengthe, I being appointed to sollicite the
 5 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 indede verie feeble of his bodie and pale of his face; sitting in a chaier, laiing his feet upon an other lesser about a foote or
 10 more from the grownd. 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
 15 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.

About this time was Tournane and Hesdin taken by the Emperor's armie, wherein were manie noblemen and gentlmen of Fraunce, and
 20 especiallie in Hesdin, where Duke Horatio, that had this yere married 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
 25 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
 5 parties prisoner; and was committed to the galies. Don Pietro died
 there, and Don Garzia, his sonny, succeded 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 xith of July there arrived in Brusselles Sommersett, heralt
 10 at armes, with the heavie newes of the King's deathe, who died upon
 Thursday, the vi of this monethe.

And the xvj 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.

15 The xixth of July th'Emperor sent for the commissioners, de-
 claring unto them that he understoode they went about 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
 20 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 unknowen to them, and the occation whie it shuld bee.

25 Notwithstanding there was at their cumming furthe of their doores
 towards his Majesty a gentlman arrived in post owt of England which

may chauce to have brought 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.

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

Upon Friday, the xviiijth 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
15 space there, and Mr. Norrye, heralt at armes. Uppon Sunday folowing 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. Morisin in his room to have bine resident with th'Emperor, it was now the Quene's pleaser to have the Bissh-
20 oppe of Norwich tarie there. And likewise Dr. Wotton in Fraunce, to succeade Sir William Pickering for Mr. Chaloner.

The xxiiijth 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
25 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 Courtney, latlie before delyvered owt of the towre, was created Erle of Devonshire, being ledd betwext the Erle of Arundle, Lord Steward of the Queene's house, and the Erle of Shrewesberye.

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

Uppon Sunday the first daye of Octobre was herr Grace crowned
10 solemplic in Westminster Church by the Bisshoppe of Wynchester, latlie before delyvered owt of the towre, with th'assistance of all the nobilitie of the realm, which sware fealtie and homage unto herr Majesty, everie nobleman in his degree, beginning at the Bisshoppe of Winchester and the Duke of Norfolke and ending at the Lord Pagett,
15 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
20 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 iij and past in the afternoone.

This yere were condemned and suffred death the Duke of Northum-
25 berland, Sir Jhon Gats, Sir Thomas Palmer; and arraigned and condemned the Lord Marquess of Northampton, the Duk's fyve sonnes, the

Bisshopp of Canterburye, the Ladie Jane, Sir Androw Dudley, and Sir Henry Gats.

1554.

The example of constancie and verie mirroure of true magna-
 5 nimitie in these ovr daies to all princis, died this yere Jhon
 Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie, a mann for his singular virtues, faith-
 full meaning, and true dealing with all menn, no less prayed among
 his ennemies than his lyff missed among his frendes, and lamented of
 bothe. And such a on as with stowtnes of mind alwais preferred an
 10 uncorrupt and stedfast lyving before the continuall threatenings of
 a shamefull death, whiche he was manie times nige unto. So that
 neyther threatnings 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.

15 My brother was this yere commaunded to make himself readie to
 goo in commission with the Erle of Bedford 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 yelded himself
 20 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 condempned for this conspiracie of Wiatt's;
 25 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 imprisonment in the Towre
 there visited herr manie times Fecknam, with sundrie other, to con-
 vert herr to the faithe of the Catholike Churche, bourding herr to
 renounce herr true and Christian fathe. And emong other times they
 5 had this communication together, written and penned with her owne
 hand:--

A DIALGUE OF THE COMMUNICATION BETWEXT THE
 LADIE JANE DUDDLEY AND MR. FECKNAM.

'FECK. What thing is required in a Christian?

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

'FEC. 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
 15 owr sowle and all owr mind, and owr neighbor as owr self.

'FEC. Whye then faith onlie justifieth not nor saveth not?

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

'FEC. Why St. Paul saith that yf I have all faith without love
 it is nothing.

20 '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.

'FEC. How shall we love owr neighbowr?

'JA. To love owr neighbor is to feade the hungrie, clothe the
 25 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 denie that, and I affirm that faith onlie saveth; but it is meete for a Christian in token that he folowethe his Master
5 Christ to do good works; yet we may not say that they proffitt unto salvation, for when we have all done we be unprofitable servants, and the faith onlie in Christe's Bloode saveth.

'FEC. How manie sacraments bee there?

'JA. Two, the on of the sacrament of Baptism and the other of
10 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
15 regenerated by the Spirit, and that wassing 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-
20 lasting kingdom.

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

'JA' No, verilie I do not beleave so. I think that at that supper I receive neyther fleshe nor blood, but onlie bread and wine.
25 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:
5 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
10 not as thowghe 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. Cn bodie was tourmented upon the Cross, and then yf they did eate an other, than eyther He had ij
15 bodies, eyther elles, yf His Bodie were eaten, it was not broken upon the Cross. Or elles yf His Bodie were broken upon 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
20 woman withowt the seede of man, and as to walke upon 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 doone so. But I say that then He minded to
25 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 whan 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? 5 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 10 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 bicause of antiquitie. Or shall I geve credit to the Church 15 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 denie to us they denie 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 20 takethe from yt and addeth to yt. To that Churche I say God will add plagues, and from that Churche will He take part owt 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 forbedd.

25 'FEC. That was done of a good entent of the Churche to avoid an heresie that sprong 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
5 things wherof we reasoned, but these bee the chief.

JANE DUDDLEY.

AN EXHORTATION WRITTEN BY THE LADYE
JANE THE NIGHT BEFORE SHE SUFFERED, IN
THE LATTER END OF A GREAT TESTAMENT
10 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 woorthye then precious stones. It is the booke, deere systir,
15 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 pros-
20 pered him 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 richness 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
25 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 alwais 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 stong
 5 in faith and yet presume not. And desire with St. Paul to be dis-
 solved 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 commethe and stealethe uppon yow like a thief in the night yow
 be with the evell servaunt found asleepe, and leaste for lacke of
 10 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 owt from the
 mariage.

'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
 15 Master Christ, and take upp your Cross. Laye your sinnes uppon His
 backe, and alwais 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
 20 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
 25 cleave to Him He will prolong your dayes to your comfort and His
 glory, to the which glory God bring me now, and yow herafter, 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 DUDDLEY.'

THE WOORDES OF THE LADIE JANE TO THE PEOPLE IN THE
5 TCWRE BEFORE SHE SUFFRID.

'Good Christian people, I am under a law, and am condempned 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 upon me this thing,
10 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 woorld then the following of Godde's commaundment, wherfor God hathe striken me with
15 this plague for my unthankfullnes towards His Majestie. But now I am hartelie sorie for my misdeades, beseaching 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 wittness that I
20 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,
25 '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
5 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 deathe, could not enjoye the same for that he was called home again shortlie after.

10 And after he had settled all things at home as he thought best he appointed owt a certain numbere 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 forwardes owt of London, the xxi of May, towardses Calice, there to abide and tarie his cumming.
15 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 iij^{le}
20 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 iij^{le}
" " " Newport French Crowne v^{le}
25 " " " Oldenburg iiij^{le}

| | | |
|---|---|--------------------|
| | From thense to Brugis, Golden Heade | ij ^e |
| | " " " Eclowe | v ^{le} |
| | " " " Caulue | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Stekin | ij ^{le} |
| 5 | " " " Antwerpe, English house | v ^{le} |

Here my brother taried ij dayes to dispatch certain busnes of his. Hitherto cam with us in our wagon Mr. Charles Morisin and Mr. Darell. From hense we departed towardses th'Emperor's Cowrt to Brussells.

| | | |
|--|--|--------------------|
| | From thense to Maklines, at the Kettle | iiij ^{le} |
|--|--|--------------------|

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

| | | |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------|
| | From thense to Vilfort | ij ^{le} |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------|

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

| | | |
|--|--|------------------|
| | From thense to Brusselles, at the Wolf | ij ^{le} |
|--|--|------------------|

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

The iiijth 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

20 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

25 graunting of subsidies, and also of his long sicknes, which had now brought 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
 5 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
 10 from Millan, and Don Garzia, Don Ferrante della Noia, with diverse other noble men.

After Duke Maurice death, which tooke upon him the defense of the bisshoppes (that Marquess Albert persued to obtain his right of them) during this quarell betwext them, the Duke of Brunswike supplied
 15 Duke Maurice rowm, and was so aided by the bisshoppes 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
 20 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
 25 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 | iiij ^{le} |
| | From thense to Tyne | iiij ^{le} |
| | From thense to Sintrur, Shipp | iiij ^{le} |
| 5 | " " " Tunger | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Trick, Horshew | iiij ^{le} |

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

| | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 10 | From thense to Falconbrige | 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 | vj ^{le} |
|--|--|------------------|

15 This towne belongethe to the Duke of Cleve, who is Duke of Culick, 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
 20 a verie bewtifull castle (hard by the walles of yt answering to the boulwarkes of the towne) both for strengthe and pleaser, which he hath begon verie princelie from the foundation, and hathe dailie a thowsand workmen abowt yt.

| | | |
|--|---|-------------------|
| | From Gulick to Coloin, Wild Man | vij ^{le} |
|--|---|-------------------|

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

| | | |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------|
| | From thens to Bonn | iiij ^{le} |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------|

This towne is belonging to the Bisshoppe of Coloin, Elector.

From thense to Wynter at an inn by the Rhyneside . ij^{le}

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

5 is but viij leagues.

From thense to Aldernach iij^{le}

This towne belongethe to the Archbisshopp of Colain.

From thense to Covelens, Helmett iij^{le}

The Archbisshoppe of Trier is bisshopp and lord of this towne, who
10 hathe a verie bewtifull 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^{le}

15 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 owr wagon to pass, and in the waye we found a verie
faire spring of sharpe water, which is thought to cum owt of the
mines of yron. A faire woodie countrey all about after we be onse
20 upp the hilles.

From thense to Creitznach, Greene Tree iij^{le}

There be three lordes 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
25 in some other none at all. The towne is divided in the middes with
a ryver.

From thense to Alezen, Helmet iij^{le}

" " " Frawzen, Oxe iiij^{le}

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

From thense to Spire iiij^{le}

5 This is a free citie of th'Empire, and is commonlie called the
Chambre of th'Empire, bicause all waightie cawses and matter of con-
troversie in th'Empire are adjudged here to be pleaded and descerned.

From thense to Rainhausen, Looking Glass half^{le}

10 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 iij^{le}

" " " Bretten, Crowne j^{le}

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

15 From thense to Vayhinghenn, Crowne ij^{le} long.

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 iij hundrethe Spaniardes after the warr of
Germany was ended to helpe to kepe the countrey in subjection; but
20 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 about the
land.

From thense to Magranige j^{le}

25 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^{le}

This towne standethe uppon the river of Necker, by the which groweth
5 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 brought to
communicate with other men. They hold opinion that the administration
of sacraments is not available, but that menn may better a great
10 deale receave them in faith than owtwardlie, and diverse other opinions
which are to long to recite. A gentlman called Zwyingfeldus was the
author of this sect among them, yet alive and wandring abrode 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
15 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
20 abowt yt.

Little more than half a league owt of this towne is Stuccardia,
the chief citie in the Duke's land, where he liethe most communlie
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
25 are Gribaldo, and Virgerius, that was Bisshoppe of Capo d'Histria,
verie famous in all Italye.

From Canstat to Esslingen j^{le}

This, among other, is also a free citie and holdethe of th'Empire,
and by it runnethe the river of Necker. Yt standethe within the pre-
cinct of the Duke of Wyrtenberge's dominion, and (as som say) have
5 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:--

| | | | |
|----|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | Collen, | Colmar, | Ravenspurg, |
| 10 | Regenspurg, | Rotenburg uppon the | Kempten, |
| | Straspurg, | Tauber, | Kauffpewren, |
| | Ausspurg, | Goslar, | Winsshaim, |
| | Metz, | Schwebischall, | Dinckelspuhel, |
| | Nurnberg, | Milhausen, | Schwebischwerd, |
| 15 | Worms, | Northawsen, | Weyssenburg in |
| | Costentz, | Uberlingen, | Nortgaw, |
| | Lubeck, | Wetzslar, | Wangen, |
| | Ulm, | Rotweyl, | Yssni, |
| | Speire, | Offenburg, | Schweinfurt, |
| 20 | Esslingen, | Haylprunn, | Alen, |
| | Frankfurt, | Gengenbach, | Bopffingen, |
| | Reytlingen, | Schwebischgmind, | Tonnewert. |
| | Hagenau, | Fridberg, | |
| | Nordlingen, | Memmingen, | 13: |
| 25 | 16: ¹ | Lindaw, | |
| | | Bibrach, | |

17:

From Esslingen to Geppingen, Starr iij^{le}

Here we arrived the xxijth of July. Withowt the walles of this towne
30 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

¹The manuscript includes a numerical tally at the bottom of each column. Powell did not include these tallies in his edition.

yt hathe bine sodd upon the fire, which is reckoned of the countrey
 about 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
 5 eyther warmed or cold at all times; and it servethe th'inhabitants
 about in steade of wine. In this water did my brother bathe himself
 the space of vij or viij dayes bothe before noone and after; en-
 creasing 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
 10 at the first, as they say, doth great hurt to the bodie and affoy-
 blethe 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
 15 therabowt. They say he that will use yt in perfection to do him good
 must bathe vj^{xx} howres in all.

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

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

From Geppingen to Geislingen, Swann ij^{le}

This towne belongethe to the lordes of Ulm.

Here hath bine a faire castle upon the hill, and was over-
thrown when Marquess Albert spoiled the countrey about Ulm to the
verie ground, that almost no sign remaynethe.

5 From thense to Halbec ij^{le} long.

This doth appertain to the lordes of Ulm.

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

From thense to Geinsbruck, Cross ij^{le} long.

This towne doth belong to the King of Romanes; yt standeth upon
10 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 ij^{le}

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

From thense to Ausspurg, Crowne ij^{le}

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
20 other which have indeed lands belonging to them, but not about the
citie. For all that, yeven to the hard walles of yt almost, belong-
ethe to the Duke of Savire and to the Cardinall of Auspurg. This
citie is verie faire built, and manie goodlie conveyancs of waters
within yt.

25 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 soleminisation 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.

5 From Auspurg to Brugk, Hartshead v^{le}

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 owt of the hie waye to see the towne of Miniken.

10 From Brugk to Miniken iij^{le}

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

20 This towne standethe 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 Minikin to Wolfershausen iij^{le}

25 This standethe upon a river called the Luese, which goethe into the Yser. After we pass thorough this village we cumm to a thick wood

of great firr trees ij leagues broode.

From thense to Laingreben ij^{le}

By this village is a great monasterye called Benedictenpeuren, verie rich in possessions. A league from hense we begin to enter into the
5 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 ij^{le}

This village is so called by the name of the lague that it standethe
10 uppon. The lague is 725 faddom diepe, which th'inhabitants affirm hathe bine proved within the memorie of mann. Yt is compassed about with highe 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 ij^{le}

15 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 Bisshophe of Frizerr, which holdeth of the Duke. Here cummeth in the hie way from Auspurg into Italie.
20 All along the valley here runnethe the river that passeth Miniken, which hath his beginning at Lovaccia, ij leagues farther of.

From thense to Seefelt ij^{le}

It is so named because there is a litle small lague by it. Before we arrive here we pass through a sluice of the King of Romanes called
25 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 Frelick iij^{le}

This is a litle towne and well built, and it is the heade towne of Tirol. It standethe uppon the river of Syene, which hath his beginning at a place in Swicerland called Engeting, and goith into the
 5 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,
 10 where abundance of salt is dailie made. Abowt the toune are dyverse mines of yron and other metalles, whiche from thense are conuayed (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.

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

Magdalena, of the age of xxiiij.

Leonora, of the age of xxij.

Margarita, of the age of xx.

20 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 brought to their presence by on Geronimo, Baron of Sprincestain, a counsellar
 25 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 iij,
 on married to the Duke of Bavire, an other to the Duke of Cleve, and
 the third to the King of Polonia, which was married to Frauncs, the
 yong Duke of Mantua, that was drowned. The King was first married to
 5 the King of Romanes' eldest dawghter, that died.

From Insspruck to Matra, Egle iij^{le}

" thense to Stertzin, Griffin iiij^{le}

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

In the middle way 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
 15 a litle river that runnethe into the Siene benethe Inspruck.

From thense to Prixen iiij^{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.

20 From thense to Klausen, Lambe ij^{le}

Here the river is named Bocer.

From thense to Culman j^{le}

" " " Botzen or Botzan, Golden Egle iij^{le}

This is a pretie towne, compassed abowt with hilles, and the litle
 25 vale abowt it is verie frutefull with vines and sundrie kindes of
 frutes.

From thense to Niuenmarke iij^{le}

" " " Salorn j^{le}

Here the river is called Eiche.

From thense to San Michael j^{le}

5 " " " Trento, Rose 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.

10 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 Pergini, Egle v^{ml}

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

15 From thense to Lievigo v^{ml}

20 Betwext Pergini 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^{ml}

" " " Castelnovo ij^{ml}

" " " Grigno, Lion vij^{ml}

" " " Scala v^{ml}

25 This village of Scala belongethe to the Venetians.

From thense to Covolo j^{ml}

This is a straight passage and narrowe betwext the hill and the river, where is a custome house belonging to the King of Romanes.

Here is a dwelling-place on hige within the rocke, unto the whiche menn and victell, or what so ever is needfull for their use, is
 5 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 down the hill with great abundance.

From thense to Sismon ij^{ml}

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

From thense to Carpinea vj^{ml}

" " " Bassano, Angel vj^{ml}

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

From thense to Cittadella viij^{ml}

" " " the passage over the Brenta ix^{ml}

" " " Limina ij^{ml}

" " " Padova, Sunn vj^{ml}

20 We arrived in Padova the xxijth 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 ij of Sir Anthonie Denie's sonnes, Mr. Henry Cornwallis, Mr. Jhon Ashley, Mr. Henry Kingsmell, Mr. Windam, Mr. Roger Carewe, and Mathew, his
 25 brother, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Orphinstrange, with dyverse other. And shortlie after here arrived Sir Anthonie 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 knowlege
 hath spread abrode a worthie fame of it self. And indede it was no
 small contentation of mind unto me to find him here, whose unfayned
 5 frendshipp I had alwais tasted of in sundrie places, and now received
 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
 10 folowethe:

From Padova to Moncelise x^{ml}

From thense to Este v^{ml}

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

15 From thense to Montagnana x^{ml}

" " " Lignago viij^{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
 20 sides with square bouldwards, 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^{ml}

" " " Muradiga vii^{ml}

25 " " " Castellare j^{ml}

This belongeth to the Duke of Mantua. Betwext Muradiga and this

towne there is a place called Fossa, which with a small distance dividethe the Venetians' countrey from the Duk's of Mantua.

From thense to Mantua, Sonn x^{ml}

Here we understoode that fewe dayes before our arrivall the Marquess
5 of Pescara (being sent by the King of England to take possession of
the realm of Naples for him) had, with great triumphe, married the
Duk's syster as he passed by this towne towards Naples.

Here we vewed diligentlye the strong site of the towne, com-
passed about with the lague and marrisshes, and fortified in the
10 weakest places verie stronglie with boulwarks and rampares. We were
ledd about 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,
15 with this inscription on the pillar--

Mantuae genium in P. Virgilio
Marone cive suo veneramur.
Marius Aequicola Poetae,
D.¹

20 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,
25 uppon the Po) to Cstia, Castle. . . . xviiij^{ml}

¹Folio 158^v which follows in the manuscript has been omitted here.

Throughte Ostia is the throwfare 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 iij^{ml}

5 From thense alonge by the Po side to the
passage over the Po called Porto del Palanton . xvij^{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 iij miles of the
10 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 fortified
15 with great walles and mounts, and not without cause counted on of
the strongest in Italye. On the other side of the Po that cummeth
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.

20 From thense to the passage over the Po at the
ferie called Ponte Vescura iij^{ml}

From thense to the passage over the on part of
the Adice at Villa xi^{ml}

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

From thense to Rovigo, Sonn vj^{ml}

This is an old towne and hath a bisshoppe over it. Throughe it runnethe a litle river that cummethe owt of the Adice.

From thense to the ferie over the maine

river of the Adice, called Anguillara . . . vij^{ml}

5 From thense to Conselve, throughe the

plasshes and marisshes of the Adice . . . vii^{ml}

From thense to Padova x^{ml}

Here we arrived again the xixth of October.

This yere, abowt the xxvijth of November, were abrogated in
 10 England by Act of Parlament all such statutes, actes, and injunctions
 as had bine in time tofore established against the Bisshoppe of
 Rome's usurped authoritie, 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
 15 being Legatus ex latere.

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

1555.

Pope July the Third died the xxith of Marche, and in his rowme
 20 succceeded 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 reformations 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
 25 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 owt enie longer yelded uppe into the Emperor's hands in the monethe of Aprill
5 by composition.

The ixth of Maye Sir Jhon Cutts departed owt of this woorldde 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
10 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 Church of Roome.

The xijth of June my Lord of Bedford arrived in Padoa, and Sir Anthonye Cooke departed towards Germanie.

15 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 owt of Padoa towardses the
20 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 162^r-169^v which follow in the manuscript have been omitted here.

owr cumming from thense, begann again to encrease.

We taried 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
 5 lague which stretcheth 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, oranges, and lymones, verie plesant to behold.

From the towne of Salo we returned backe again to Peschera,
 xviiij miles, which is a towne situated in the marisshes on the lague's
 10 side, newlie begann to be marvelouslie fortified by the Venetians.

Throghe 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 them-
 selves into clustres, and after the shape of round balles tumble owt
 15 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 iij hundrethe fadom. Within the lague is verie good
 fishe, as trowts, yeles, pickerelles, tenches, and carpioni, which
 20 (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 CWT OF ITALY.

25 From Padoa to Vicenza, Peacock . . . xviiij^{ml}

From thense to Caldero xxij^{ml}

" " " Verona, Canalietto viij^{ml}

Throwghe this citie runnethe the Adice, that passes by Trento.

From thense to Volarni xij^{ml}

5 " " " Chiusa ij^{ml}

" " " Borghetto x^{ml}

A mile or ij before we cumm to this towne we entre into Tyroll, the King of Romanes' countrey.

From thense to Rovere xv^{ml}

10 " " " Trento xij^{ml}

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
15 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 princs that were at this Diet, by their agents and not on in person, stooede exceading much upon their religion, which was the
20 onlie point and stay therof, bearing in mind the Diet had at Passa by the King and the Duke Maurice, and the conclusions there agreeede 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,
25 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 towching the astate of th'ole Empire.

Also that the bando imperial to banishe and exile within the
5 precinct 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
10 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
15 shall not enjoye their stipend and revenue yf they forsake their priesthood, 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.

20 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.

25 The last of September my brother departed owt of Auspurg and made his journey by Ulm, Esling, Stutcard, and Spire.

From Spire to Oversion iij^{le}

This is the Palsgrave of the Rhyne his towne, latlie burnt and now building.

From thens to Woormes, White Swann iij^{le}

5 " " " Cppenheim, Crowne iiij^{le}

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 Mentz, Wild Mann iij^{le}

10 Marquess Albert entring into the citie, spoiled and burnt the Bisshoppe's palaice, with certain abbayes and monasteries bothe within and withowt the citie.

From this citie certain of us went to see the citie of Franckford, iiij leagues along the ryver of Mene, that runnethe by yt, and
15 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.

20 . Here, in Mentz, we tooke bote to go downe the Rhyne into Brabant.

From Mentz to Binge iiij^{le}

" thense to Bachrach ij^{le}

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
25 Duke of Cleve, the Duke of Wirtenberg, and manie other princs that had appointed an assemblie here together for a concord and agreement

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 litle rock, standeth a house called Pfalz, wherof the Pfalzgrave of the
5 Rhyne takethe his name.

| | | |
|----|--|---------------------|
| | From Sachrach to Coulens, Helmet | vij ^{le} |
| | From Coulens to Collen, Wildman | xiiij ^{le} |
| | " Collen to Disteldorf | v ^{mle} |
| | " thense to Kaiserswert | i ^{le} |
| 10 | " " " Ursey | iiij ^{le} |
| | " " " Wesel | ij ^{le} |

Here cummeth 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
15 protection of the Duke of Cleve.

| | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| | From thense to Emmere, Crowne | iiij ^{le} |
|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------|

A league from this towne within the land standethe the Duke's chef towne, called Clef, wherof the land takethe his name.

A mile from Emmere downe the Rhyne standethe a house called
20 Toll house, wheras custom is paid for the Emperour, the Duke of Gelderland, the Duke of Cleve, everie on his severall custom. At this custom are iiij townes in Gelderland free--Tiel, Bomar, 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
25 never meete again. And here we entre into the land of Berg.

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| | From Emmere to Numegen | iiij ^{le} |
|--|--------------------------------|--------------------|

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 iiij^{le}

A league from this towne the Mose and the Wall meete bothe in on,
5 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 browght us against the streame owt of the
10 Mose unto Hertzogenbuss, a league in lengthe, which is on of the
cheffest townes in Brabant.

From Tiel to Hertzogenbuss, Host iiij^{le}

Here we sold ovr bote and rod by land to Antwerpe.

As we cam downe the Rhine we passed manie custom houses, where
15 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.
 5 " Burick " " " " "
 " Emere " " " " "
 " Tollhouse " " " " Gelderland,
 th'Emperor, and the Duke of Cleve.

" Numegen for the Duke and the Citie.

10 From Hertzogenbuss to Tylberg iij^{le}
 From thense to Holstrat iiij^{le}
 " " " Antwerp v^{le}

After ix dayes' abode in this citie we departed from thense to
 Brusselles, where the Erle of Devonshire was taking his journey
 15 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,
 20 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.

25 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
5 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 Bourn, my Lady Cecill, with
her sister, Elizabeth Cooke. Immediatlíe after their departure thens
10 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.

15 Upon Twelfday was Calice lost, where they within were taken
prisoners, and Sir Anthony Aucher, Knight Marshall, slaine with his
eldest sonn, Jhon.

The xviiij of Aprill my brother Philipp went from Bissham to
London, there to seek the aide of phisitions, where he made his last
20 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 retourned again the xiiij, taking my way by
Wimblton, where I communed with M^{rs} Elizabeth Cock in the way of
marriage.

25 Whitesonday, the xxix of May, departed my brother out of this
lief to a better, at iij 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 Bissham, being conveyed thither by water.

5 Monday the xxvij of June, the mariage 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.

10 The rest of this sommer my wief and I passed at Burleighe, 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.

15 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.

20 This yere died also Charles the Vth, Emperour, 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^r Monmerency, the Constable's
25 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.

5 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.

10 The xx day of March was my wief, at midnight, delivered of a boy, being Wenesday.

The iiijth of Aprill he was christened and named Edward. God-fathers and godmother were the Lord Windesore, the Lord Darcie, and the Lady Williams of Ricot.

15 The xiiij day of Maij my brother Richard married.

The iiij 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.

20 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 Arundell and Hertford, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Henry Seimer, Sir Roger Northe, the Lady Katharin Grey,
25 Lady Jane Seimer, the Lady Cecill, M^{rs} Blaunch Apparry, M^{rs} 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.

5 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 Matland of Ludington, with an honorable traine, emong
10 other things, to be as suters 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, bicause of the sieg of Lyth against the French in Scotland, and the taking of the same, but after the French King's
15 death this susspicion ceased.

This yeere was the turret built in Bissham.

1561.

The iiij day of June Powle's steple and the churche set on fire and burnt with lightning.

20 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. God-
25 mothers and godfather were the Lady Frauncs Gresham, the Lady

Elizabeth Nevell, and Mr. Jhon Doyle, Esquier.

This yere were the garden and orchard planted at Bissham, and the gallery made with noble men's armes, etc.

1563.

5 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 xvjth day of November was Anne borne about vij of the
10 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.

- 2/5 John Abell. A London merchant of this name is mentioned by Strype as an exile for his religion in 1554. (E.P.).
- 3/2 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.)
- 3/4 Peter Martyr, born at Florence 1500; joined the Reformers at Zurich 1542; came to England 1547; professor of divinity at Oxford 1548. (E.P.)
- 3/4 Sturmius. Jean Sturm (1507-1589), a well-known classical and theological author, and a correspondent of Roger Ascham.
- 3/4-5 Paulus Fagius, born at Antwerp 1504; came to England with Martin Bucer; died at Cambridge 1549. (E.P.)
- 3/8 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.
- 3/9 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 Muhlberg (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 unmarried 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 Matrimony."

"To his right worshypfull Brother Syr Phyllyppe Hoby Knight M. of y^e 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...Babilon": 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.

8/20 Lazarus Bonamicus. Lazzaro Bonamico (Lazzaro da Bassano), born c. 1477 or beginning of 1478, died February 10, 1552. A great Renaissance classicist and teacher. Except for short stays at Bologna and Rome, he taught Latin and Greek all his life in Padua.

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 Longebards. 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 Killegrew (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. 151/26), 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, rules of Ferrara (1240-1597) and Modena (1288-1796). The Este were celebrated patrons of the arts during the Renaissance.

21/13 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.

22/8-9 Duke Cosmus de Medicis. 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.

22/16 Hannibal (274 B.C.-183 B.C.), q.v. 45/16.

23/16 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.

24/3 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.)

24/4 Francis Feto. An Italian scholar and military writer; Fellow of Gray's Inn. (E.P.)

24/5 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.

26/23 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.

26/24 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.

30/20 "rewarded...hatt": made a cardinall of the Church.

31/11-12 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.

31/13 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.

31/13 Praxiteles (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 DCC.

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.

45/16 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.

45/17-23 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.

45/24-25 Robert Guiscard (c. 1015-1085), Norman leader and conqueror of southern Italy.

46/22 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.).

47/4 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.

47/22 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.

49/5 Paulus Jovius, born at Como, 1483, died at Florence, 1552. A famous Italian historian; author of Historia sui Temporis, (E.P.)

54/7 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.

57/9 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.

58/20 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."

59/7 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 Crion (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.

66/11 Dragout Rais. The Turkish pirate; once taken prisoner by Andrea Doria, but ransomed by Barbarossa. Killed at siege of Malta, 1565. (E.P.)

66/21 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.

67/3 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.

68/16 "loth...with": "reluctant to deal with."

76/21 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.

77/16 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.

77/26 Gaius Laelius (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. c40-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 Rogert 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.

80/13 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.

80/16 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.

80/21-22 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.

80/22 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 Courtyer (q.v. 101/12; 103/1).

84/19 Hoby's Tragedie of Free Will is the first English translation of Bassano's morality play. Tragedia del libero arkiho. 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 Parr, 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 Verdun 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.

88/4 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.

88/4 Dr. John Cliver, Dean of Christ Church, Cxford. Advanced by Wolsey's interest; died 1552. (E.P.)

88/5-6 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." (D.N.B.) 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 Cxford University.

88/15-16 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.

90/1 "against...cumming": "in regard to his coming"

91/10 "letters of credence": letters of recommendation or introduction.

93/10 "Britaign," i.e., Brittany. Brittany became part of France in 1524.

93/25 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 Elizabethhe." 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.

151/26) 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.

98/17 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 pertractandas 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 Caesuria Aula Brussels? . In performance of these duties he bore himself so opportunely, diligently, 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 Fonet 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 (Alcis) (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 Ottavio (1520-1586). He had been married to Charles V's natural daughter Margaret of Austria in 1542, but when Ottavio succeeded to his father's title Charles V caused Piacenza to be occupied. Ottavio, 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 Ottavio. Ottavio then made Parma his capital instead of Piacenza and continued his father's work of internal consolidation and the struggle against the feudal lords.

100/23 "entred by composition": to reach a mutual agreement for cessation of hostilities; to call a truce.

101/9 William Hoby of Hales, county Gloucester. Mardon or Merdon was a manor of Sir Philip Hoby's near Hursley. (E.P.)

101/17 "my booke," i.e., The Booke of the Courtyer (q.v. 81/26, 103/1.)

103/1 "Cowrtisan," I.E., The Booke of the Courtyer, (q.v.81/26, 101/17).

103/9 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.

103/17 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 Boullion, 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 (Boullion 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 Ladie 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 Ladie 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. Of 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 Ferilous Dayes (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.1518-1585), 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 coolly 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 Melancthon (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 gentleman 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. (E.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.P.)

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 Strasburg 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 Strasburg. 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 returned 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'Eresby in her own right; born at Parham, Suffolk, 1519; married, 1552, Richard Bertie (q.v.151/22). The boy mentioned here was born October 12, 1555, and named Peregrine. (E.P.)

162/24 Bunn. 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 imags": an "imag" 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. Bks. 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 fatherland, coming from the latter and singing the brave deeds of the

former. 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 Crtygia." Crtygia 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 Justeia the mother dedicate this monument to Primitivo, a most excellent son."

78/24-28 "To Lucius Varronius, son of Lucius Palatinus and to the scribe Capitito, and to the aedile Gaius Velatus 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. "mustum" is the usual reading, not "mulsum." (E.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 Senensis restored and Alba, Sulritium 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 Morinorum, Bononia, and nearby towns received as well and

finally Hedinium...." (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."

GLOSSARY

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.

farthing: the fourth part of a penny.

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 $52\frac{1}{2}$ 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 (pinnacle): small light vessels, generally masted, and schooner-rigged.

pipe: a large cask.

pistolese: a short broadsword.

plashes (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.
- rumerous: 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.
- sudatorii: 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.

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The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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