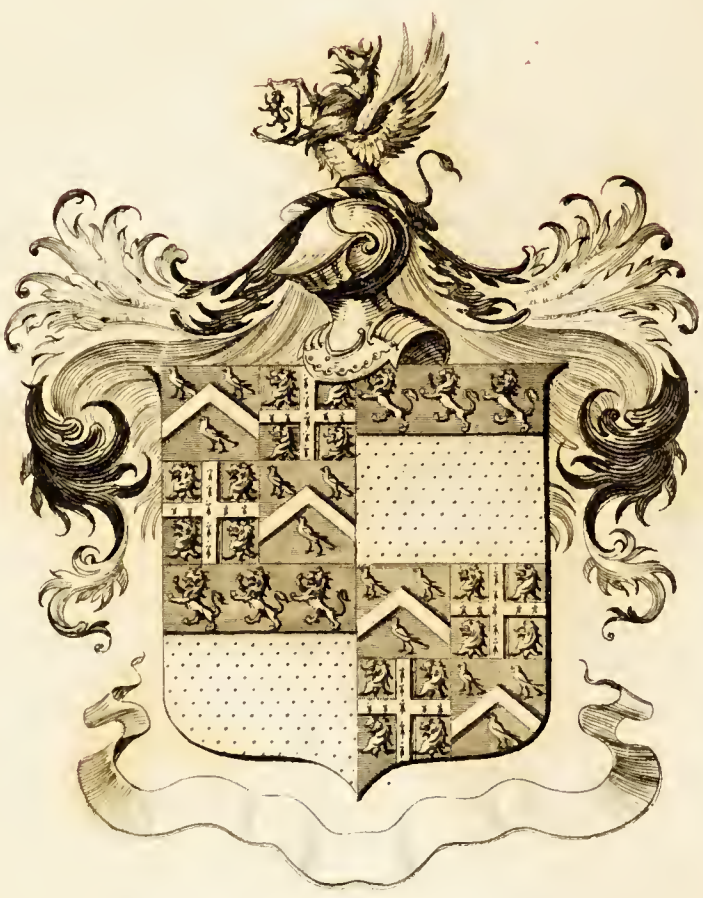


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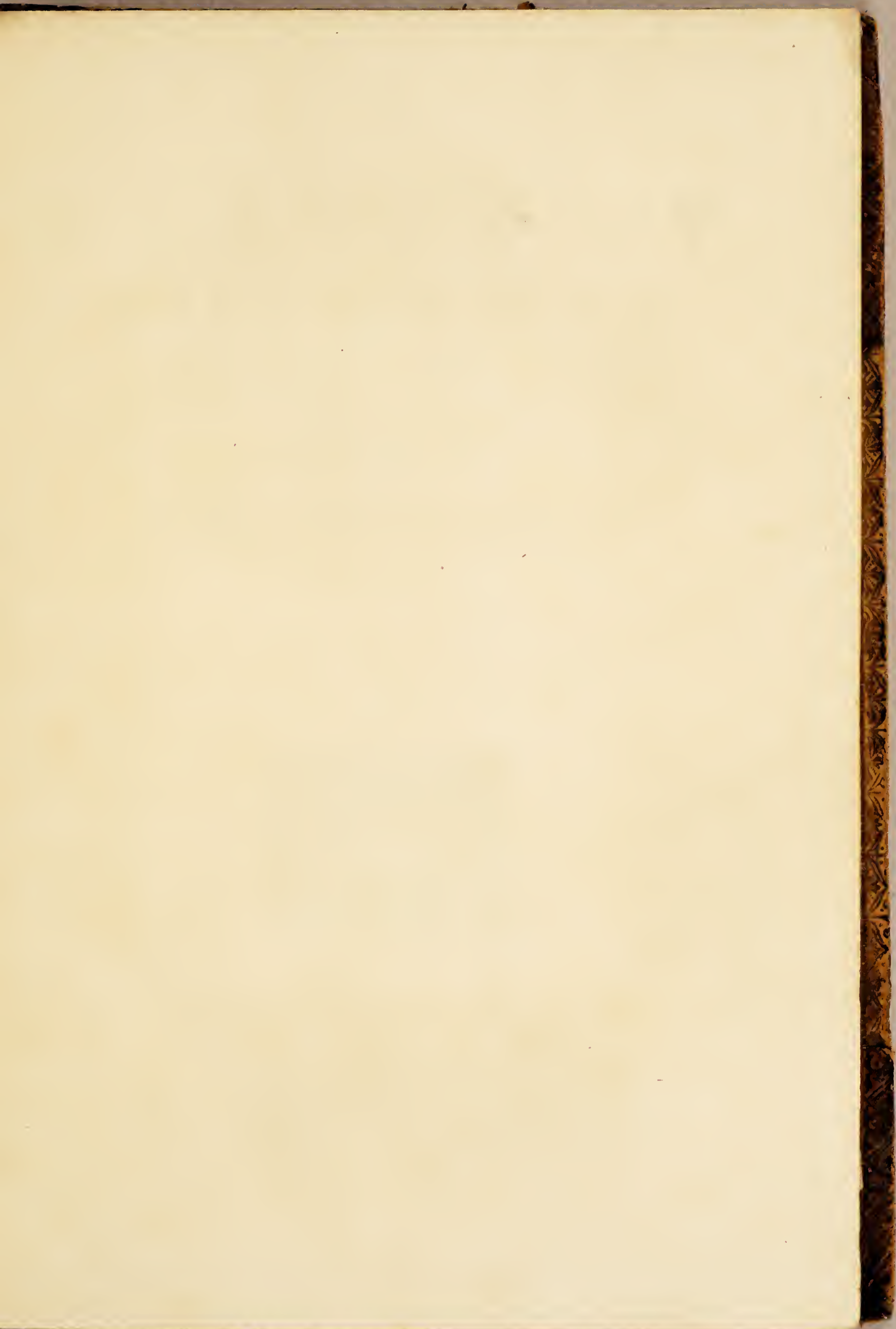
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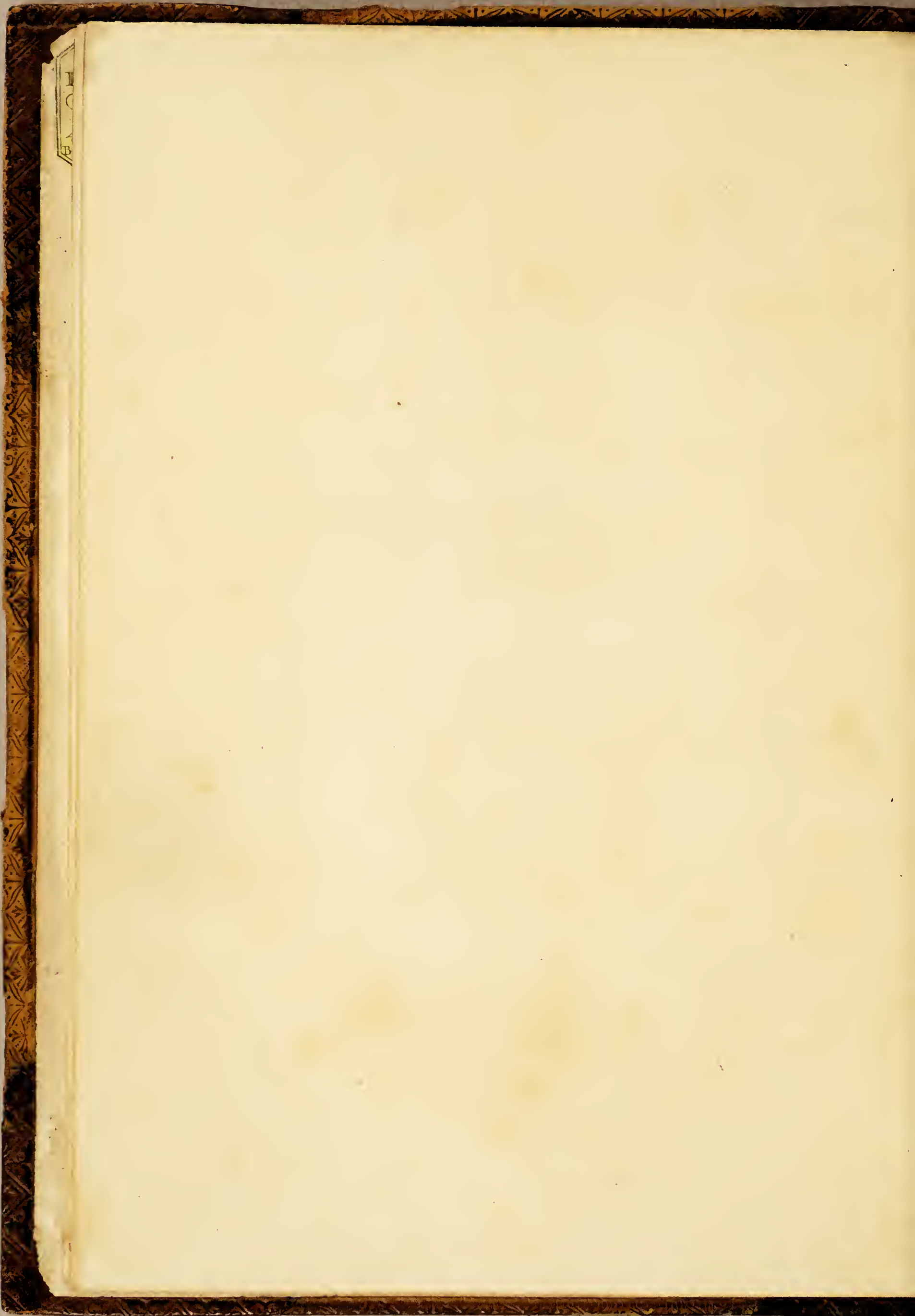


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A
SURVEY OF
THE GREAT
DUKES STATE
of *Tuscany.*

In the yeare of our Lord
1596.

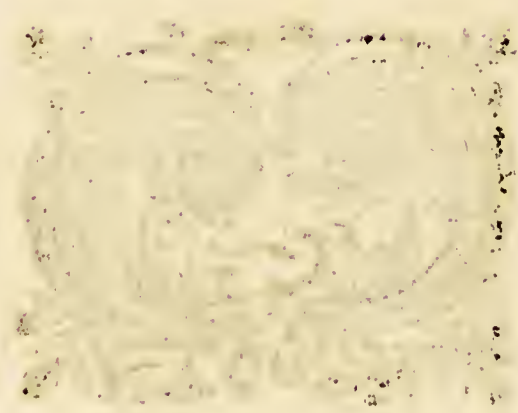


AT LONDON
Printed for *Edward Blount.*
1605.

H
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A
SURVEY OF
THE GREAT
OAKS STATE

In the year of our Lord
1831



AT LONDON
Printed by James Bland
1831

RPJCB



To my worshipfull good friend
Maister Robert
Dalington.

Sir:



Being well assured that this your worke
(out of your owne protection) would in
the end present it selfe to the generall
view; and likely enough some one that
loues you not so much, nor knowes you at
all, might haue the passing of it: I haue
put my selfe in the way of your reproofe;

and am become a theefe of this nature, to steale no more from
you then I will againe giue to you. If I could perswade you
there were a fault in modesty, you would bid me publish the
vertue which you tye vp in too straight bonds. My fault is, I
haue done that which would haue beene done; and the
offer is so full of loue, that it lookes for a
punishment accordingly.

Edw: Blount.

The Analysis of this discourse.



THE SURVEY OF THE great Dukes State of *Tuscany.*



Tuscany, anciently called *Hetruria*, lieth **The**
vnder the Regiment of *Sol*, in the fifth Cli- **Climate.**
mate, betweene the Degrees fortie one,
and fortie foure: a Countrey almost e-
qually distant from the Equinoctiall and
North-pole, and therefore by consequent
of an ayre temperate, were it not that the

Montaines cause some little excesse of both the passible qua-
lities, heate and colde. Of this in winter, by reason they bee
mantled with snowe, whereby the winde vieth with a more
piercing sharpnes: of that in sommer, by the repercussive force
of the Sun-beames from the sides of those Hilles, at the foote
whereof are most their Citties seated. Not hauing any valleys
so large but that the scituation of the Towne therein, makes it
communicate in the passion of both these extreames. For as
writers well affirme that the hills *Appennines* are one fourth
part of *Italy*: so is it also determined that they & their Spurres,
are three fourth parts of *Tuscany*.

It is in length, if you measure along the Sea-coast, two **The length.**
thousand five hundred furlonges, which make three hundred
and twelue myles: but if you measure by the *Diameter*, accor-
ding to *Ptolomey*, assigning it three Degrees, and forty seauen
miles to a Degree, then it is some hundred fortie and odde
miles: if according as the ordinarie Roade lies, which is neither
somuch about as by the coast, nor so direct as by the *Diame-*
ter, it is one hundred and seauenty miles. And thus doth *Le-*
ander Alberti the latest and exactest Surueyour of *Italy*, recon-
cile the authorities of *Strabo*, *Plyny*, and *Ptolomey*. But allowing
sixtie miles to a *Degree*, it is in length one hundred and nintie
miles, which is now the receaued opinion.

It is in bredth, one hundred where least, and in Circuite sixe **The**
hundred **breadth.**

hundred and twenty, or as *faccio uberei* saith, seauen hundred.

*Il giro suo per quel che si ragiona,
E' misurato settecentu miglia,
E Roma qui, l'honor che l'incorona.*

The li-
mits.

It is limited, West, with the Riuer *Magra*, and Mountaines of *Lyguria*, East, with *Tyber*: North, with the Mountaines *Appennines*. and South, with the Sea.

The con-
fines.

It confineth South with the *Terra di Roma*. South-east with the Dutchy of *Spoletu*, East with the State of *Vrbine*, North-east with *Romagna*, North with the State of *Bologna*, North-west with *Lyguria*, West and South-west with the Sea.

The anti-
quity.

These are the limits set downe by *Polybius*, *Plyny*, *Pomponius*, *Mela*, *Solyms*, *Ptolomey*, and all other ancient writers: neither are we to enlarge this countrey so farre, as they that affirme the *Tuscans* possessed all betweene the *Adriatick* and *Mediterranean* Seas, from *Nola* in the kingdome of *Naples*, to the Mountaines *Rheti*, which is now the *Grifons* Countrey, and they say are come of the old *Tuscans*. True it is that these *Tuscans* were a mightie and powerfull people, such as oftentimes forced the *Romaines* to create a Dictator (which but in great extremities they might not do) to defend themselves from them: vntill the foure hundred and seauenth yeare after the foundation of *Rome*, when they were vtterly ouerthrowne at the Lake of *Vadimone*, as *Lycie* in his ninth booke affirmeth. Nor did the *Romaines* bring home onely glory, triumph and spoiles, from the conquered *Tuscans*, which argued the greatnesse of this nation: but they brought with them also (which argueth their antiquity) the habite of their youth, called *Pratexta*, the roabe of their elder age called *Toga*, the twelue Bundles of Roddes and Axes carried before the Consuls, called *fascies*: the seate of their *Prators* and other Iudges carried vpon wheeles, called *Sedes curulis*. the Robe of the chiefe Magistrate, triumphall ornaments, and many other such ensignes of auncient greatnesse and Maiestie; all which were brought thence to *Rome* by *Tarquinius Priscus*: whereof *Sylvius Italicus* in his 8. booke reporteth, confirmed by *Dionisius Alicarnossens*. From this Nation likewise whom the Greekes called *Tirrhemi* of *Tirfos* their poore kinde

kinde of *Cottage*, and the *Romaines* first called *Hetrusci* of their religious worshipping the Gods, did the *Romaines* also bring many of those rites and ceremonies which they afterward vsed in their religion.

As *Delphos* is called by *Ptolomey Umbelicus Mundi*, the Na-
uile of the world, so may we say of *Tuscani*, that it is *Umbelicus* The Scits.
Italia: howbeit in a Geometricall proportion, that is, in the
middest of the forces of *Italy*: hauing on th'one side the *state*
Ecclesiastike, the kingdome of *Naples*, and Dutchy of *Vrbyne*:
and on the other counter-peasable to these, the States of *Ve-*
nice, *Myllan*, and *Genoa*, the Dukedomes of *Ferrara*, *Mantouia*,
and *Parma*, and this State in the middest of the ballance, on
which side soeuer it inclineth, ouerweighing the other.

This is that which *Guiccardine* saith in the very entrance of
his Historie, that the wisdom of *Lorenzo Medici*, and the sci-
tuation of the state of *Florence*, *Mantenero le cose d' Italia bilan-*
ciate, vpheld th'affaires of *Italy* in equall Ballance. On which
ground also *Lodouico Zforza* Duke of *Millan* layeth his foun-
dation, for the reason he vseth in the third booke of the said
historie: who very ieaious of the *Venetians* greatnesse, hauing
now vndertaken the protection of *Pisa*, and fearfull withall of
the *Frenches* returne into *Italy*: he laboureth the Pope and
King of *Aragon*, to enter into a confederation with the *Flo-*
rentines, and to re-ineest them of *Pisa*, inferring, that by this
meanes the French forces might be diuerted, which otherwise
with the helpe of this state (being seated in the middest of *Ita-*
ly) might effect matters of preiudiciall consequent to all three:
so fitly stands it either to dispeople the enemies forces, or to re-
inforce their owne. And therefore *Guiccardine* very iudicially
determineth, that it was a powerfull estate, rather *per l'opportu-*
nità del sito, che per la grandezza del Dominio, by the fitnessse of
the scituation, then by the greatnesse of the Dominion.

But if we define the middest of *Italy* in an Arithmetical pro-
portion, that is, the center equally distant from both extreames,
it will appeare to be true which *Pliny* and *Varro* report, con-
firmed also by *Beander Alberti*, concerning *Lago di pie del luco*,
which *Tacitus* in his first booke calleth *Lacus Velinus*, in *Sabina*

which they hold to be the middest of *Italy*.

The Ri-
uers.

Concerning the Riuer of worth there be few, of name many: for the *Italian* hath a name for euery ditch, whereof if we allow them not *Tiber*, *Arno* is their chiefe: This Riuer was so named by *Hercule Lybicus*, whose surnames were *Libarno*, that is, the Lyon of *Lybia*: and *Musarno* that is, the learned and valiant, for *Ar* in the *Arabian* tongue signifies a Lyon. He was the sonne of *Osyris* and *Isis*, called *Iupiter* and *Iuno* by the Greekes, and grand-childe of *Iannus*, called by the Greekes *Ogyger*, and by the Chaldeans and Hebrews *Noah*: wherevpon stand the Citties of *Florence* and *Pisa*, *Serchio* which runneth by *Lucca*: *Ombrone* by *Pistoia*, *Bisenzio* by *Prato*, *Chiana* which passeth by the vale of *Arezzo*, and falleth into the *Arno*: *Mognone* which runneth neere *Sinita vecchia* into the Sea, *Fiore* which deuideth the great Dukes state and the Popes towards the *Tuscan* sea, & *Paglia* which deuides those two states towards the *Appennine*; ouer which we passe by a bridge built by *Gregory* the 13. in our iourney from *Florence* to *Rome*, betweene *Radicofani* and *Aquapendente*: that, belonging to the great Duke: this, to the Pope. True it is, that *Guicciardine* in the 4. booke of his History, and namely in that part of the booke which by order of th' inquisition is left out of all allowed copies, (because in this place, though himselfe were the Popes creature, and had great charge vnder him,) yet he fully, learnedly, and truly sheweth how by little and little, and by bad meanes the Church grew to her greatnesse, how she came not onely to quit her obedience to the empire, but to haue also a power and stroke in the election of the Emperour himselfe, not onely to make the Pope gouernour of *Rome*, but to incroach also vpon the Territories and Citties of *Romagna*, the Marquisate of *Ancina*, the Dutchie of *Spoletum* and *Beneuentum* the superiority ouer the kingdome of *Naples*, and the possession of that part of *Tuscany*, (now called the Patrimony of *S. Peter*) he I say, diuideth the Popes state in this Country from the rest of *Tuscany*, thus. *E terminata dal torrente di Pescia & dal Castello di San Lursico nel Conrado di Siena da una banda: & dall'*

State of Tuscanie.

5

dali' altra dal Mare di sotto, & dal fiume di Tevere : that is : it is limited on the one side with the Riuer *Pescia*, and the Castell Saint *Luirick* in the territories of *Siena*, and on the other, with the Riuer *Tyber*, and the *Tyrrhene* Sea. But I rather tie my selfe to the former limits, for that the *Paglia* is farre beyond Saint *Luirick*, whether the great Dukes state now reacheth. There is also *Cecina* which riseth a little aboue the Cittie of *Massa*, and so passing along the Countrey of *Volterra* falleth into the Sea, with many such other, which in England we rather call Brookes or Riuerets; for of all these there are few fit either for burthen or Boate in Summer, except the *Arno*, yet heere often times scarce water for a Mill, as by their deuises at *Florence* to penne it vp appeareth. The reasons that the waters of this State are so small, be two: the former is, the violence of their downefall from the hilles, the better is because their heads are so neare to the Sea as they cannot haue space to be enlarged by the receipt of other lesser Brookes: by which meanes onely all Riuers grow great, as namely the *Rheine* and *Danowe*, whereof this last hath from his head, which is in the Forrest *Nera* to the *Mare Maggiore*, where he payeth his tribute aboue two thousand miles, and receaueth into his bed by the way three score nauigable Riuers.

The Lakes in this State, are neither many nor great, nothing so faire or fruitfull as those of *Lombardy* namely *Lago di Garda*, *Lago d' Isei*, *Lago d' Como*, and *Lago Maggiore*: the chiefe in *Tuscany* are these, *Lago di Trasimene* vnder the Pope, who letteth it out to diuers Farmers for ten thousand Duckets the yeare, which haue the fishing, whereof it is very fruitfull and yeeldeth them also no little gaine. The profit which the Duke of *Ferrara* raised by the Lake of *Comacchio*, who they say in *Venice* made thereof yearely foure-score thousand Duckets, makes this more probable. But this Lake of *Trasimene* now called *Lago di Perugia* is much more renowned for the notable ouerthrow giuen there by *Hanniball* to the *Romaines*, neare wherevnto is that faire plaine called *Ossaia* of the bones of the dead there flaine by the rashnesse of *C. Flaminius* the Consul,

The Lakes

as *Polibius* in his third booke, *Livy* in his two and twentieth, and *Plutarcke* in the life of *Hanniball* auowe. The other memorable blow giuen them (if it be not here impertinent to remember) was that at *Canne* in *Puglia*, called by *Livy* in his twentieth and one booke *Cannussum*, where was slaine *P. Emilius*, the Consul *L. Acilius*, and *L. Furius Bibaculus* the Quæstors, one and twentieth Tribunes of Souldiers, fourescore Senators, fortie thousand foote, two thousand and seauen hundred horse, all *Romaines*, and as many Anuiliaries, as *Plutarch* in the liues of *Hanniball* and *Scipio*, and *Solinus Italicus* in his ninth booke confesse: There are diuers Lakes betweene *Pisa* and *Liorno*, but small and of no name: There are more not farre from the Cittie *Colle*, *Lago di Bolsena*, called by ancient writers *Lacus Vulsinensium*, *Lago di Bassanello* anciently called *Lacus Vademonius*, where the *Romaines* vtterly subdued the *Tuscans*, *Lago di Bracciane*, called formerly *Lacus Sabbatinus*: *Lago di Vicco*, called by *Virgill* in his seauenth *Ænead*, and *Solinus Italicus* in his eight booke *Lacus Cimini*, of the Mountaine so called, standing betweene this Lake and the Cittie of *Viterbo*, *Lago di Monte Rosa*, not large but deepe neere *Rome*, with few others.

The
plaines.

The *Plaines* are also few, (for they before are allowed but one fourth part) the chiefe are these. That of *Florence* wherein liue aboue two hundred thousand persons: that neere *Arezzo* called *Vald' Arno*, because the Riuer passeth by it the most fruitfull: that of *Pisa* the most lowe and therefore subiect to the ouer-flowing of *Arno*, whereof it hath tasted this present Winter to the Countries great losse: That of *Lucca* enuironed with Hilles, and the Cittie in the midst like a center in a circle: That of *Carfigniana* vnder the Dukedome of *Ferrara*. And lastly the *Plaines* of *Maremma* in the State of *Siena*, the most large, and whither for the Wintering of their Cattle they are sent in October from the Mountaines. It hath the name of *Mare* the Sea, and therefore we may well English it the *Marshes* of *Siena*, it runneth along the Sea-coast almost seauentie miles in length, betweene the two Riuers *Cornia* and

Pesna,

State of Tuscanie.

7

Pesua, not much inhabited with people through the badnesse of the ayre.

The Portes are, *Ciuita Vecchia* in the Popes State, for *Ottia* The ports is on the other side of *Tyber*, *Orbitello*, *Port-ercole*, *Telamone*, *Castiglione* in the *Maremma*, howbeit vnder the King of Spaine, as is also the *Monte Argentaro* and the Port of *Piombino*. The onely Porte of worthe vnder the great Dukes State, is that of *Liurnae*, capable of any Fleece whatsoeuer.

It is rather to be called a Roade then a Harborough, and to be obserued that this Sea neither ebbeth nor floweth. Here his Highnesse daily buildeth, meaning to make it a Cittie, the walles and fortifications being almost finished. It is in forme fixe square, in circuite a mile three quarters, the length of the Curtaine is two hundred and sixteene paces, the face of the Bulwarke, is one hundred thirtie and eight. From the *Spurre* which is fifteene paces thick, to the *Flanker* which is so many broade, are eighteene paces. The Diameter of the *Piazza* is foure hundred and fiftie. This proportion no doubt swarueth from the strict rules of fortification, neither can I warrant the relation true by the line; I was forced to passe it in hast, and *tanquam aliud agens*, to auoide all ielousie; whereof I thought fit to aduertise the curious Reader, and to preuent the enuious detracter. Here is bestowed great cost, being indeed the onely Keye by which all commodities are transported and brought in, not onely for the vse of *Tuscany*, but euen for the most places of *Italy*. so that it bringeth in a very great enrate to the great Dukes coffers, as I must more particularlie and more fitlie aduertise hereafter.

The Princes and States interessed in *Tuscany* are these. The Pope, who possesseth all from *Tiber* to *Fiore*. and so right vp from the Sea to the ridge of the *Apennine*, which is some fourth part of the whole. The Spanish King hath the coast of *Maremma*, and the Portes thereof as is abouesaid, wherein he keepeth garrison, besides *Pontremolu*, and one other Forte or two on the side of *Liguria*. The Dukedome of *Ferrara* hath the valley of *Carfigniana*. The State of *Genoa*, *Serezana*. The state of *Lucca* hath

Princes
interessed
in *Tuscany*.

hath all her possessions herein. The Dukes of *Urbino*, *Parma*, and *Brauiano* haue also each of them a Peece (howbeit most of this is in the church part which is called the Patrimony of Saint Peter.) There is also the *Signior di Pcombine*, the *Marquesse di Massa*, and other inferiour Princes interested in this Country of an other fourth part. So that there remaineth a Moitie vnder the great Dukes gouernment, whereof I haue vndertaken to giue this superficiall suruey which followeth.

The great
Dukes
state.

Castels.

This State, besides that it is enclosed with the Mountaines as with a wall on three-sides, and with the Sea on the fourth, and so consequently by scituation passing strong: it hath also many Castles and Fortresses, as *Radicofany*, *Monte-falcon*, *Peligrine*, *Charole*, *Sansabastiano*, *Lusignano*, *Monterisine*, *Empoli*, *Castrocaro*, *Sassa*, and diuers others, to the number of thirty, wherein is garrison more or lesse: But of others which stand rather to shew the manner of fortifications in elder ages, and the force of time by which they are ruined, then for any vse of the time present, there are aboue three hundred. By which number may very probably be coniectured their many and diuers States in this small circuite in former times: for as it appeareth by Historie, not onely *Florence*, *Siena* and *Pisa* (which of late yeares were reduced into one gouernment) but also *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, *Volterra*, and almost all the Citties now vnder the great Duke, had euery one their seuerall and distinct state. Wherevpon it was necessary, each State should haue her Castles and Fortes to affront those that confined vpon them. As for those former wherein is garrison, the most of them in the iudgment of men experienced, haue their defect either in their forme and manner of fortification which is *All' Antica*, or in their *Piazze*: which are very little, and so thought vncapable of sufficient number to defend them. But besides these he hath in each cittie a Cittadell, and therein a garrison, which are all very moderne and strong: the vse of which Peeces are not so much for defence of the Townes where they be, as to keepe in awfull termes the citties themselues; as by the cittadell at *Florence* and *Fortresse of Siene* appeareth.

State of Tuscanie.

Of Citties there be sixteene, the one halfe in the state of Flo-
rence, the other in that of Siena: of the former state these be
the names. Florence whereof is an Archbishoprick, his name
that now is Alexander Medici: Pisa an Archbishoprick also,
his name Carolus Antonius Puteus: Pistoia, Arezzo, Volterra,
Cortuna, Burgo san Sepolchro, and Monte Pulciano. Of the other
state are these: Siena an Archbishoprick, his name Ascanius
Piccothumineus, Motalcino, Grossetto, Chiusi, Soana, Pienza, Mas-
sa and Colle christened a cittie five yeares since. Many of these
I saw not, and therefore presume not to speake of at large: in
the foure chiefest, Florence, Pisa, Siena and Pistoia. I spent some
time, and hold them worthy of some little remembrance in
this discourse, before I come to speake of the generall parts of
this state.

Florence is seated at the head of a very faire valley, and en-
wironed with high Mountaines, especially towards Bologna, it
hath the streetes very long, streight, large, and faire, paved with
a broad stone which they call *Lastra*, so as no weather makes
them foule: it is beautified with many stately Pallaces, which
haue more *del Reale* then *del Cittadinesco*, as that of the *Signio-
ria*, that of the *Pitti*, where is alwayes the great Dukes court:
that of the *Medici*, that of the *Strozzi*, and many others: it is
graced with many large *Piazzes*, and in them many *Statues*,
some of Brasse, as that of *Cosme*, the first great Duke, and others
very many and very curious; some of Marble, some of Alaba-
ster: it is diuided with the Riuer *Arno*, and vpon this foure
faire Bridges of Stone to passe from one part of the cittie to
the other. It is adorned with many faire Monasteries and
churches, but aboue all with the most magnificent and admi-
rable Fabrick of the *Duome*, the workmanship of that excellent
Architeck *Brunelleschi* dedicated to *Santa Maria del Fiore*, and
is (they say) the true Modle of the church of *Santa Sofia* in
Constantinople. The body of this church from the West to the
Cupula, is one hundred paces. the bredth fortie fixe: the *Cu-
pula* is in circute three hundred paces, with a guilt Ball of
Brasse on the toppe, wherein twenty men may stand vpright.

All the outside and pavement are of Marble, and the *Campanile* (a steeple) without, wherein the finesse of the stuffe & the rarenesse of the worke are both so excellent, as *Charles* of *Austria* said it was pittie, it had not a Mantle to keepe it from foule weather. Not farre from the West Portaille of the *Duomo*, is the auncient Temple of *Mars*, round in forme, and now dedicated to *S. Iohn Baptist*: where, besides the excellencie of the stuffe & workmanship, is a very rich Font, and a double leaved Gate of fine metall, and finer worke, whereof is not the like in *Europe*, hereof writes *Uberti*:

*To viddi molti luoghi riufti e cari,
Ma sopra tutti mi piacque il Battista,
Che d' intaglio di marmo non so il pari.*

These and other such ornaments haue worthily got this Cittie the name of *Firenze la bella*: which the said Prince of *Austria* well confirmed, who vpon exact view taken of all the graces and beauties of this Towne, said, *ch'ella era una città che non si doueua mostrare, se non ne' giorni solenni*: that this was a Citty not to be shewen but vpon holy-daies. The beauty of this Towne was the *Medius Terminus*, vpon which the vaine-glorious *Florentine* grounded the reason of his induction, who argued thus: My house is the fairest Pallace in all the *Strada larga*: this the fairest streete in *Florence*: this, the fairest Cittie in *Italy*: this, the fairest countrey of *Europe*: *Ergo*, my house is the fairest Pallace of *Europe*. Much like this argument of *Themistocles*: My little Boy ouer-rules my mother; she gouernes me; I command all *Greece*: *Ergo* my little Boy commands all *Greece*.

The walles of this Towne are of rough stone, two & thirty foote high, not thick, but with a reasonable Rampart, herein one hundred and fiftie Towers built, all *Antica*, and in circuite five miles: there are neither Ditches of vse, nor Suburbes at all: there were of these Suburbes vntill the yeare 1528. and they almost as big as the whole Cittie, as *Leander Alberti* testifieth: at what time they were vtterly ruined, and now no memorie of them remaining. This carrieth the greater credit, for that *Boccace* in the beginning of his *Decameron*, describing the great plague

plague of *Florence*, saith, there dyed in one yeare aboute one hundred thousand persons: more then are now in all the Cittie, the Suburbes being gone.

Vpon the North-west of this Wall is a Cittadell begun in the time of *Alexander Medici* first Duke, by the motion of *Clement* the 7. as in the last booke of *Guicciardine* appeareth. The end of building this Perre, was to bridle the Towne, for which vse it is still manned with a strong garrison, and prouided of Powder, shott, munition, victuall, and all things necessarie. Right against this on the South-east of the Cittie is the Fortresse of *San Miniati*, and on the South, the new Forte, which standeth on the hill right ouer the Great Dukes house, both to defend the same, as also to retire into, if neede were, with all his treasure, and lastly to commaund the Towne; for which three vses it fitly serueth.

It may here be obserued of *Florence*, as also of most of the Cities of this state, that few or none of them can be said to be strong, except either in respect of their Scituation among Lillies, as *Siena* and *Volterra*: or by reason of those Cittadels, by which they may recouer the townes being lost, as we say of *Brescia* and *Bergamo* in the state of *Venice*: True it is, that in *Venetian* dominion yee haue other strong townes in other respects; some by good fortification, good walles, thick Rampars, deepe and large ditches, capable and defensible Bulwarks, and in a moist soile, as *Treniso* and *Lignago*; others are therefore strong, because besides these fortifications, they are so great in circuite, as they cannot be besieged but by a mightie Armie, as *Padia* and *Verona*: and others by reason of their scituation vpon the Sea as *Corfu*, whether the *Venetians* being Lords of that Sea, may alwaies send succours vpon occasion. But concerning the Cities of *Florence*, none of them can be said to be strong in any of the three last respects.

There are forty foure Parish Churches, twelue Priories, seauentie six Monasteries of men and women, and thirtie seauen Hospitals. There be religious people of all sorts 24000. so many of others as make the whole number 90000. In the Cloisters

of the Church of *San Lorenzo* is a very faire and beautifull Librarie, built and furnished with Bookes by the familie of *Medici*: the rooffe is of Cedar very curiously wrought with knots and flowers, and right vnder each knot is the same wrought with no lesse Arte in the pauement. In this Library I told three thousand nine hundred bookes very fairely bound in Leather, after one sort, all bound to their seates, which were in number sixtie eight: and, which is the greatest grace and cost also, very many of the bookes were written with the Authours owne hands. There is also at the farther end of this Librarie one other of prohibited bookes, which I could not see.

The great Seale of *Florence* is the *Lyon and Hercules*: their Armes were in former times a *Flower de Lise* argent in a field gules, but vpon the banishment of the *Ghibelline* faction, they are altered to the contrary; the Field to the colour of the flower, and the flower to the colour of the field. Within these hundred yeares haue beene of this Cittie three Popes, *John* and *Innius Medici*, *Leo* the tenth, and *Clement* the seauenth, and *Hippolitus Aldebrandini* called *Clement* the eight that yet liueth. Here haue also flourished many famous men in matter of learning, as *Francesco Guicciardini* for a iudiciall Historiographer: *Nicolas Machiavelli* for a worldly Politician; *Michel Angelo* for an excellent Painter; *Petrarche* and *Dante* for singular Poets; and *Boccace* for his pleasant garbe and refining their language, and many others.

Hauiing gazed your fill vpon the beauties of this Towne, if for varieties sake, and your better recreation, you will walke abroad into the *Villa per spasso*, as the *Italian* saith; you shall haue there in view, so many, and such goodly Pallaces, for the space of six or seauen miles compasse, as (they say) would make one other *Florence*. But about all, the great Dukes Pallace of *Pratolino*, built by his brother *Francesco*, is the most admirable, not for the Pallace it selfe, or manner of the building; for there are many can match it, if not excell it: But for the exquisite and rare inuention of Water-workes, wherein it is excellent, and thought to exceede *Tiuoli* by *Rome*, so much in this kinde commended.

mended. The house it selfe is built in forme of a *Romaine T*, the head of the letter which is the front of the house, being in length seauenty paces, & the other part fifty foure: the roomes for offices of Court, and lodgings are seauenty, whereof these are all of one bignesse, forme, and furniture: with three goodly Halles richly furnished, running along the middest of the Pallace, from the one end to the other, and the one opening into the other, so as according to the winde or sunne, he may giue his intertainment for the best ease of them he feasteth: It is seated betweene two high Hilles, vpon a third lower then they, from which hilles yee descend some quarter of a mile, by a way set with quick-set, & kept after our English fashion: yee mount vp to the *Terreno* of the Front by twelue staires, very faire of Stone, directly wherevpon, at the head of a Garden set round with Statues of the Muses in a ground sencibly ascending, is seene a huge Giant cut out of the maine Rock, with all his parts, as armes, hands, legges, and feete, symmetricall to his head, wherein may stand a dozen men: In it are kept Pigeons; the loouers whereat they come in and out, are his eares; the windows which giue light to the roome, are his eyes. Out of his mouth falleth into a very fine poole, all the water that serues the worke on the other side the Pallace, among which are many sights yeelding very great content, as *Noes Arke* with all kinds of beasts, *Hercules* fighting with a Dragon, Birds artificially singing, Organs musically playing, showers of Raine plentifully downe powring, and infinite sort of such deuise, more delightfome to be seene then pleasant to be discoursed of. To conclude, the deuise so good, the workmanship so rare, and the charge so great, as it is said constantly that it cost Duke *Francesco* three hundred thousand Crownes.

The great Duke hath another Pallace, two miles from *Florence*, called *Castello*, onely for pleasure, but not so beautified nor full of water-workes as this of *Pratolino*: an other distant 10. miles off, called *Il Poggio Imperiale*, more profitable then they both, in forme quadrangular, fifty six paces square; Where besides the pleasure it yeelds of hunting, it yeeldeth also sum-

mering and Haye for his Horses, and keepeth the great Duches a dairie of three hundred Kine: a commodity worth the remembering in this state, where in three-score miles are not seene three-score head of Cattle; nor so much good pasture ground (that I saw) in the whole countrey.

I am now before I proceede to the other chiefe Citties, to remember in a word, how and when the *Florentines* came impatronized of diuers other states of *Tuscany*, and what forme of gouernment they had in former times, vntill *Leo* and *Clement*, for I must there needs begin, when I shall come to speake of the great Dukes title.

This Cittie of *Florence*, after many conflicts with the olde Cittie of *Fesula*, (whereof now almost remaineth no memory, but the hilles whereon it stood) getting the vpper hand, and many of that olde towne following the fortune of the winner, comming hither to dwell, it grew to beare the name of a great and rich Cittie: which till then (euer since the time of *Sylla*, by whom they say it was first founded and made a Collony of the *Romaines*) bare rather the name of a Bourough, then otherwise. And after a combination of these two Citties into one Comminalty, they quartered the Armes of *Fesula*, which were a Moone Azure in a field Argent, with those of *Florence*, being a *Flower de Lise* Argent in a field Gules. It was afterward subiect to diuers sackings and subuersions by the *Gothes*, *Gaules*, and *Lombards*, partaking with other Citties of *Italy* in those miseries which these Nations inflicted. Insomuch as there was nothing remaining of their auncient glory, but ruines and desolation, & what the barbarous crueltie of such an enemy could not tyrannise vpon. In these tearmes *Charles* the great found it, who caused it to be reedified, appointing for the gouernment thereof two Consuls, and a Senate of an hundred. After this, they altered the gouernment, conferring it vpon ten called *Antiani* Aldermen, (as I take it) in the yeare 1254. Shortly after in the yeare 1287. they wanne the Cittie of *Pistoia*, and about the same time they purchased their liberty of the Emperour *Rodolphe* for three-score thousand Duckets: And againe changed their forme of gouernment,

ment, to eight *Priori*, and a *Gonfalonier* of Justice, who was to hold his place for 2. moneths only. Presently after they bought *Arezzo* of *Mastino della sala* for forty thousand Duckets. And in the yeare 1471. they wan by force *Volterra*, one of the 12. first Citties of *Tuscany* and honoured with the birth of the Poet *Persius*. They got also *Pysa* & the whole State thereof, of whose reuolt, and recouery, what parts taking there was, & what time was spent, and how many Millions it cost them to be repossessed thereof, *Guicciardine* very fully discourseth, and were here too tedious to be particularly related. The gouernment of a *Gonfalonier* was altered by *Gualteri Francese* Duke of *Athens*, who at the Citties request requiring aide, was sent thither by *Robert* king of *Sicilie*, and at his first comming deposed the *Gonfalonier* and *Priory*, & vsurped himselte; but he was quickly expelled, and the former officer reinuested: till the time of Pope *Alexander* the sixt, whose sonne *Cesar Borgia* duke *Valentinois* sought to bring in the three banished *Medici*, *Piero*, *Giouanni*, and *Giuliano*; wherevpon the *Florentines* made *Piero Sederini* their *Gonfalonier* perpetuall, as *Buonacorsi* an approued *Italian* writer, & *Guicciardine* in his fift booke doth testifie. These alterations haue been since the restauration of the city by *Charles*, (which notwithstanding) *Guicciardine* lib. 1. car. 17. saith, was openione inueterata benche falsa, che *Carlo l' hauesse reidificatv*, an old but false coniecture, that *Charles* did reedifie it: besides those also which it suffered afterwards, which shall more fitly be remembered hereafter.

From *Florence* I must passe to the Cittie *Pistoia*, seated at the other end of this valley, 20. miles off. But the Castle of *Pratu* being in the way, and commanding the passage, I dare not but salute it; the rather for that I spent foure moneths in that Towne.

There are in *Italy* among I know not how many thousands, *Prato*. foure principall Castles aboue the rest reputed, as *Leander Alberti* in his view of *Italy* discourseth: *Barletta* in *Puglia* in the kingdom of *Naples*; *Fabriana* in *Marca Anconitana*, vnder the state of the Church; *Crema* in *Lombardia*, vnder the *Venetians*,
and

and *Prato* in *Tuscania* vnder the great Duke. It is heere to be obserued, that these are called Castles, not that they be onely Fortresses and places of strength, but that they be large townes fortified with wall and Bulwarke, and haue their Territories; they onely want Bishops Sees, wherein they differ from Citties. It standeth in the middest of this Valley vpon the riuer *Bisen- sio*; it is in forme sex-angular, at each corner a Bulwarke *alla Moderna* very defensible; the walles in circuite two miles, with an olde peece at the East built (they say) by *Frederico Barba- rossa*. The *Contado* (the Territory) of this Towne is in length eight miles, in bredth foure, in circuite foure and twentie, within which compasse (with those within the Towne) are fiftie nine Churches, eight and thirtie Monasteries, and other religious houses, and of all sorts of people sixteene thousand, whereof two thousand are religious. Here is (they say) the Girdle of our Lady brought thither by a Marchant from the Indies, whether it was first carried by *S. Thomas* the Apostle, a Relicke which they hold in high esteeme, keepe with very great care, come to see with great deuotion, and is shewed to the people with great reuerence once in a yeare; that is, on our Ladies day in Septem- ber, in the time of their Faire, and when is most concourse of strangers. There came that day in deuotion (to see me, not the Girdle) two English Gentlemen my friends; we obserued (if it be not impertinent here to remember) that there were in view vpon the Market place of people at the shewing of this Re- licke, about eighteene or twenty thousand, whereof we iudged one halfe to haue Hattes of Strawe, and one fourth part to be bare legged; that we know all is not gold in *Italy*: though ma- ny Trauellers gazing onely on the beautie of their Citties, and the painted surface of their houses, thinke it the onely Para- dize of *Europe*. But if they would with me,

————— *sordida rura*

Atq; humiles intrare casas & visere gentem:

they would surely graunt, that pouertie and famine had not a greater kingdome in those countries where *Crassus* starued his Armie, then they haue heere. But no maruaile though *Prato* be
poore.

poore being so vniustly and cruelly sacked in the yeare 1512. by the Spaniards vnder the conduct of *Raymondo Cardona*, for want of pay which the *Florentines* ought him and his Souldiers: who most vilely gaue the sacking of this pretty (and then rich) towne, to the barbarous insolencie of the proud *Spaniard*, and came themse'lues with bagges of Crownes to purchase the lands of the poore harmlesse *Pratesi*, wherewith they were forced to redeeme their liberty, after the rauishing of their wiues, killing of their children, robbing their shops and houses, and other such insolent out-rages; whereof *Guicciardine lib. 11.* complaineth, that from their auarice, lust, and cruelty, nothing was safe. And *Buonacorsi* saith, that they spared neither virgin, infant, nor church, & *Paulus Iouius* affirmeth, that the Spanish cruelty in this sack of *Prato*, did farre exceed that of the *Dutch* and *French*, at the sack of *Brescia* so much detested. Hence is it that at this day the name of Spaniard is there most odious, for among all other names of infamy and reproach, when they haue called one *Poltrone*, *Furfante*, *Manigoldo*, *Traditore*, and all that naught is, they end alwayes in this *Spagnaolo* intending (it should seeme) that there is not a worse name vnder the sunne.

But leauing them expostulating this iniurie of the *Florentines*, and bewailing their owne miseries, I will proceed to the Cittie of *Pistoia*.

It is seated at the West end of the Valley, in circuite two miles and a halfe, the walles old and weake, built by *Desiderius* king of the *Lombards*: Howbeit the Bulwarkes are very moderne and strong, with a Cittadell built by Duke *Francesco*, and manned with a sufficient garrison to keepe the towne in awe. This Towne is called of *Cato* and *Pliny*, *Pistorium*; and of *Ptolomey*, *Pistoria quasi Pestoria* (saith one) of the pestilence that there raigned among the souldiers, which remained of *Catelines Campe* after he was ouerthrowne, who (they say) was the first builder thereof. Others will haue it called of *πῆσις* and *ὄπος*, that is the faithfull Territorie. Others because it is the doore of the Mountaines which the word also signifieth, for from hence is away to passe through the *Apennines* into *France*: by which

the *French* forces passed into *Tuscany*, and so to *Naples*, in the time of *Charles* the eight, as by the historie appeareth. All which are either false coniectures and carry no correspondencie of trueth with history, or at least are idle suppositions, and carry with them no matter of import. For what reason is there that the *Grecians* should giue names to townes in *Tuscany*, who neuer came ouer the Riuer *Tener*? or that they should christen this and no other? or that a *Romaine* should be the Father, and a *Greeke* the Godfather: but were it so, it little importeth, and therefore I haue purposely auoided these fruitlesse etimologies: else could I haue said before, that *Florence* was called either (*Fluentia*) because it stands betweene the two waters *Mognone* and *Arno*, or (*Fiorentia*) of *Fiore* a flower, because it is the flower and beauty of *Italy*: or (*Firenze*) which *Giambolare* one of their writers deriues from a *Caldey* word, and signifies (he saith) a valiant Souldier; as who would say the *Florentines* were such: which I haue not yet read, and I am sure they of *Siena* will not confesse: who will not let to bragge how often they haue beaten them in the field. Indeede I well remember, that writers giue them th'attribute of (*Ingenious* and *wise*) as namly *Macciauelly* in his *Florentine* history, and *Guicciardine* in the very beginning of his booke *Cart. 2.* Howbeit I could easily condescend to the opinion of *Imbalt* a French commaunder, who vpon good experience *Guicciardine lib. 5. cart. 144.* *Non sapena doue consistesse, lingegne tantu celebratu de Fiorentini* could not finde where that great witte of theirs laye. So likewise these word-founders will haue their Cittie *Arezzo* to be so old as that it was built when for want of a fit name they were faine to call it (*Earth*) for so in the Hebrew tongue it signifieth. But seeing that *Tully* and *Varro* call it (*Aretium*) and not (*Arezum*) me thinkes they might better deriue it from *Mars* (which the word well beareth) for I am well assured, that historie makes the *Arrettines* and their neighbours the *Perugians*, farre better Souldiers then the *Florentines*.

But I will not ouer-charge this short discourse with deriuations, I had rather leaue them with the capriccious Antiquaries
of

of *Tuscany*, and returning to *Pistoia*, say : that though it be very little, it is very rich, as hauing a *Contado* full of oyle and wine : insomuch as it is said, they presse yearly one hundred thousand Barrells of Wine, whereof they send the one ha'fe to *Florence*, of which the great Duke hath (*gabell*) a custome one *Guilio*, (six-pence sterling) for euery Barrell, at the entery into euery Cittie gate, besides the tenth leuied vpon it before, and an imposition after vpon euery tauerne, as shall more fitly in the discourse of his entrate be aduertised.

This Towne is famous, or rather infamous, for the two factions of the *Bianchi* and *Nery*, which ruined themselues, and troubled the peace of *Florence* also : it began thus. Two young Gentlemen of the towne falling out, and so proceeding from words to blowes, it chanced one of them receiued a light hurt, The father of the other (because he would kill all motions to a farther quarrell) sends his Sonne to aske pardon of the Father and Parentage of the other whom he had hurt : but he causing his seruants to lay hold on him, commaunded his right hand to be cut off, and sent him away with this answer, *Va dal tuo Padre & digli, che le ferite non si curano con parole ma col ferro*; Goe to thy father and tell him, hurts are not cured with words, but with the sworde. Herevpon grew that great and bloody enmity betweene those two houses, which drew into it all the great families of *Pistoia*, as also them of *Florence*, where the *Donati* banded with the *Neri*, and the *Circhi* with the *Bianchi*. Since which faction, there hath also another risen no lesse dangerous then the former, betweene the *Cancellieri* and the *Panzadici*, scarce yet so composed, but that vpon euery small occasion it is ready to breake out.

This Towne pretendeth to be much priuiledged aboue all other Citties vnder the great Duke, for at the time when they yeelded to the State of *Florence*, it was among other Capitulations concluded ; that in any *Bando* (Proclamation) whatsoever except the Cittie and *Contado* of *Pistoia* were expressly named, it was to be vnderstood exempt & freed from the same, which indeed is still obserued, howbeit a course is taken neuer to leaue

that clause out: so that I see small reason they haue to bragge so much thereof. The people in and without the Citty are supposed sixtie foure thousand: the Religious are much about the the rate of them in *Prato* an eight part.

I cannot passe the direct way from hence to *Pisa*, whether the course of this discourse directs me, vnlesse I passe vnder the walles of *Lucca*: which being no part of this State, I know not how I may speake of; that haue vndertaken to write of nothing else: and yet passing so neare, I know not how to auoide some mention thereof, that am likewise to aduertise of what I haue seene. Wherefore betweene a doubt which is lesse fault, to digresse in my narration, or be diuerted out of my way, I will speake so little, as if it be a fault to digresse, it may be excused, because this little is nothing, & if it be a fault to write so little, it may be answered I durst not digresse.

Lucca.

The Citty of *Lucca* was anciently called *Fredia*, and afterwards being the first of the twelue old Citties of *Tuscany* that receiued the Christian faith, & light of the Gospell, it changed the name of *Lucca*, a *Luce*. herewith accordeth *Fuccio Uberti*;

Ma perche alluminata della fede

Fu pria, ch' altra Cittade di Toscana,

Cangiò il suo nome, e Lucca le si diede.

It is seated (as is before said) like a Center in a Circumference, in the midst of a faire and pleasant valley, enuironed with wast and huge Mountaines: The walles in circuite two miles, are of Brick very new, strengthened with a very thick Rampart, and fortified *alla moderna*, with very many and defensible Bulwarkes. Insomuch as it is thought, that when the Bulwarke that is now in the making at the North-west of the towne is finished, with one other at the East which is already purposed, and the *Terra-pieno* (Rampart) of this East side made answerable to the rest, which is also intended, it shall then haue in all, eleuen Bulwarkes, and will without exception be one of the best fortified townes in *Italy*. They keepe in the towne a garrison continually of three hundred Souldiers, and are able (they say) to drawe into their Cittie at two daies warning out of their owne territorie, thirtie thousand able mē for seruice; for which nūber they

they haue prouision of armes, victuals, and all things necessary vpon occasion. I was in their Granaries, where I saw, as they credibly rated it of Wheate, Rie, Beanes, and Chestnut Meale the quantitie of six hundred thousand Staies, which of our measure maketh about fifty thousand quarters, besides so much more kept in diuers conuents and Monasteries of the towne which they call their *Prouisione d' Abondanza* (store). All which prouision is able (in case of a Siege) to maintaine the Citty for two yeares, at the number of three-score thousand people, allowing twelue Staies a man the yeare; a proportion in those parts, and such cases very large. The reasons of these fortifications, garrisons, and prouisions which they make, is the iealous feare they haue of the great Duke, of whom all their State which is somewayes fittie miles in length is euery way enuironed, whose greatnesse is nothing pleasing to the *Lucchesi* neither can they well digest that his title (*di Toscana*) and therefore the *Signoria* of this State, sending letters of congratulation (they say) but it is more probable about some other their affaires to *Cosmo Medici*, presently after his creation of great Duke, they stiled their letters thus. *All' Ilmo e Eccsimo principi Cosmo Medici gran Duca (m) Toscana*. To which garbro of theirs the *Italian* rime also alludeth, which saith thus;

S' il Duca hauesse Lucca e Serezana,

Saretbe il gran Duca (di) Toscana.

Implying that it is no reason he should be intituled great Duke of the whole, hauing no more but the one halfe. But howsoeuer this towne stand *pronista* as it braggeth, and are able to keepe him out of themselues two or three yeares together, more then probable it is, that the feare of the *Spanish* King, to whose protection it is recommended, doth curbe his desire in attempting the action, watching ouer this pretie State with an ambitious and couetous eye, come *Lo sparuiere alla quaglia*, as the Hauke ouer the Quaille, hoping one day for an oppertunitie.

I am now by order leauing *Lucca* to looke to her selfe, to *Pisa*. passe the Monte *Saint Iulian*, and arriue at *Pisa*: a Citty in former times very populous as any in *Tuscany*, now so dispeopled

as there are not iudged aboue foureteene thousand persons, though in circuite it be little lesse then *Florence*: the Walles for the most part are of Bricke, but in some places of square Stone, the Ramparts conuenient, the Bulwarkes not many nor correspondent: the peece of cheefest import is the Castle vpon the South-west of the towne, wherein is a garrison of fiftie, with munition and other necessaries, for the vse as is abouesaid of keeping the Citty in awe. The scite hereof is in a Plaine vpon the Riuer *Arno*, which passeth through the middest thereof with one bridge onely, and falleth into the Sea some fixe miles belowe; whereby it appeareth that the land hath lately gotten much vpon the Sea on this coast, as we finde in diuers places vpon our coast in England, for that in the time of *Strabo* he reporteth, it was but twenty furlongs off, which is two miles and a halfe distant from the Sea.

Out of this Riuer is cut a Ditch from this Towne to *Liorno*, fifteene miles long, for the more conuenient carriage of such wares as arriue in that Roade, and are thence conueyed by water from *Pisa* vp to *Florence*; and so by land into other places of *Tuscany*, *Romagna*, *Lombardia*, and *Rome* also. The Boates wherein these wares are carried are but small, in number betweene six and seauen hundred, which our English Marchants *Burlando* (gibing) call the great Dukes fleete. The nature of this plaine is for the most part marish, though in times past it was fit either for pasture or tillage, as by the commoditie thereout reaped for the maintenance of the cittie appeareth by *Guicciard*. But since that the Citty being conquered by the *Florentines*, and most of the auncient *Pisani* departed, some into *Sicilia*, other into *Sardegna*, *Corfica*, and other places, preferring a voluntary bannishment, before a forced subiection: the Towne hath beene so desolate as there haue not beene people sufficient to maintaine this plaine against the fury of *Arno*, whereby it hath beene much wasted, as hath partly beene said.

There are, besides the commodity of the seat, lying betweene *Florence* and *Lynorno*, three other causes, that this Citty is frequented, otherwise it would be very desolate. The first is the
espe-

especially fauour of the Prince himfelfe, who because he was here borne, beareth an extraordinary affection to the place, as by his often coming and long tarrying appeareth. Another is, for that it is the place where properly the order of *S. Stephen* is resident, where the Knights of this order haue their Pallace, Officers, and other dependances. The last, for that there is a studie as they call it in *Italy* (a Vniuersity) erected by *Cosmo*, and is reasonably frequented.

In this Towne among many other Churches and Monasteries, is that excellent Fabrick of the *Battisterio*, built (they say) in fourteene dayes: It standeth hard at the West-end of the *Duomo*, which for the beauty thereof might haue compared with that of *Siena* so much commended, had it not by mishap beene burned in the yeare 1595. in October; it is now in the repairing at the great Dukes charges: Howbeit in lieu hereof, he hath raised the price of his Salt five *Quatrini* in the pound, throughout this State for the space of ten yeares: and it is to be thought (by examples too many of like nature in other places) that being once granted, it shall not then be ended. On the North of this Church is the *Campo Santu*, as they call it, their *Golgetha* or place of buriall, the earth whereof was brought in ships from the *Terra Santa*, as their Histories record: & as they affirme, the dead consume there in foure and twenty houres. Not farre from this place is an old ruinous Tower, called by them (*Torre di fame*) in memory of the mercyleffe crueltie of *Ruggiero* the Archbishop, who vpon suspicion of treason immured therein *Conte Hugolino* a Noble *Pisano*, and his foure children, causing them to be starued: of whom *Dante* the Poet in his 33. chapter *dell' inferno*, very elegantly discourseth, faining, that there for a torment due to such a fact, the *Conte* lieth vpon the Bishops-head with a neuer satisfied greedinesse. Here is also an Arsenall wherein the Duke hath two or three of his Gallies in mending, but no new in the making, neither Artillerie or any thing els worth the remembrance. Heere the great Duke hath a Pallace, but so ill contriued, and so vnworthy the presence of so great a Prince, as it is said, the deuiser thereof
looking

looking for great praise at the Dukes hands for his rare plotte, and finding after that it disliked his Highnesse, in a melancholie discontent threw himselfe into the *Arno*: he hath also another lesser house lately built, wherein are many small Statues of Marble and Mettall, many Medalles and Pictures, some painted, others of Feathers very exquisitely artificiall. Besides peeces of Vre vntried both of golde & siluer, Corall vnpolished, whereof yee shall see some growe vpon the Sculles of dead-men, with infinite such like, more delightfull to be seene, then needfull to be related of. Vnto this building is adioyning a Garden of Simples, not much inferiour to that of *Padoa*: But the thing of best vse and greatest cost, and therefore vnfittest to be forgotten, is a Conduict of water vpon Arches into the Towne from *Valdeculci* five mile off, wherewith the better part of the Cittie is serued. Other buildings I remember not, worth the remembring; except the *Campanile*, which Architecture hath this varietie, that the top thereof by a line perpendicularly downe-falling to the ground, and sheweth that it is prominent or hanging ouer the *Basis* ten or twelue foote by the square. As for the Cittie it selfe, it is the greater halfe voide, wherein is nothing but Gardens of hearbes and rootes; the houses that there be, are for the most part so old and ruinous, as that the great Duke hath lately giuen commandement, that euery one according to his abilitie, should either build new, or at the least repaire and trim them on the out-sides for the better grace of the towne. So vnlike is *Pisa* to it selfe; which in former times was able to wage battaile at land with the *Florentines*, at Sea with the *Genoese*; yea and with *Venice* also: And before that, to conqueere *Sardigna*, to ouercome the King of *Carthage*, and bring him prisoner to *Rome*, to recouer *Palermo* in *Sicilia* from the *Sarazens*, to assist the *French* with a mighty Nauie in their voyage to the holy land, to send fortie ships to the recouery of *Alexandria* for *Almerick* King of *Ierusalem*, to aide th' Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa* against the state of *Milan*; besides many other their famous and victorious conquests; wherevpon one saith: *Erat Pisa, altera Roma fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium, nunc seges*
vbi

ubi Troia fuit.

To speake of the diuers gouernments of this Towne, and the many alterations it hath suffered, were a discourse, though not altogether needlesse or impertinent, yet so large or rather tedious, as would be altogether disproportionate to my former breuitie: I will leaue it therefore altogether vntouched, and go forward my iourney to *Siena*.

This Cittie chalengeth the title of much Antiquitie, being Siena built by *Sanesius* the sonne of *Remus*, *Romulus* his brother, which may seeme to carry some matter of truth, for that the Armes of the Cittie is a Wolfe, with two Infants sucking vpon her: which Armes are to be seene in diuers places of the Towne both in Marble and Mettall. It is called by *Pliny*, *Colonia Senensis*, and by *Tacitus* in the 20. booke of his Historie, but whether it was built by *Sanesius*, or the *Galli Senones* that went with *Brennus* into *Italy*, I leaue indifferent to the Reader: this last is alleaged out of *Ptolomies* Fables, though I rather subscribe to the former. It is seated vpon the tops of diuers small hills, very neerely meeting together, which with their declinings makes the Scituation very vneuen, and such as I haue not else-where seene: by reason whereof it is iudged infinitely strong, as not hauing any commanding hill neere, whereby it might be prejudiced, nor any way by which forces may be brought before it; saue onely at the two gates towards *Rome* and *Florence*: & yet there so narrow, as there cannot possibly come aboue ten Souldiers *alla filata* in rancke. So that as *Liorno* is the key by which all forces must passe that by Sea would approach *Florence*, so is *Siena* the Porte or gate by which they must enter, that eyther from *Naples* or the Churches state would come to annoy it. For from the way of *Romagna* or *Bologna*, there is very hard passage for an Armie, so sharpe and inaccessible are the mountaines, which being well considered by *Cosmo* (then Duke) of *Florence*, no maruaile though he neuer rested till he had got the towne and whole state of *Siena* into his hands.

The meanes thus; The Cittie about fortie five yeares since, being besieged by the forces of the Pope, *Charles* the fift, and

E

Cosmo

Cosmo Duke of *Florence*, rendered it selfe at length to the Emperour, and receaved a garrison of *Spaniards*, but keeping still their manner of gouernment which they before vsed. The Emperour by earnest sollicitation of the *D. d'Alua*, in whom the Duke of *Florence* his purse (they say) had got him great interest, was content to render it into the Duke of *Florence* his possession, for certaine summes of money to be paid, besides a yearely rent, with a recognition that it was holden of him, and certaine other couenants which some say were neuer performed, as also that this contract was made without the consent of *Philip* king of *Spaine* that now is, whereof were not his hands full of actions in other places, it is thought some stirre might arise. So that *Cosmo de' Medici* the second Duke of *Florence* vnited that state with this of *Siena*, which is by estimation bigger then the state of *Millan*, and the most fruitefull part of all *Tuscany*. Wherevpon he altered his Stile which before was *Dux Florentia*, and intituled himselfe *Dux Florentia & Senarum*.

The ornaments of speciall note in this towne are three: The first is the *Duomo*, no great but a faire and rich Fabrick, all the out-side of Marble, so is the Pauement, the rooffe gilt; & at the foote thereof, are very curiously cut in stone and gilded, also all the Popes from the first till within these eighty yeares. The second is the Citterne, a place, whereout of the Rocke floweth abundance of waters, and haue their Citterne and Pooles very well cut of Stone to receaue the same. The last is the *Piazza*, one hundred and sixtie paces in length, and one hundred and ten in breadth, vety steepely descending. At the head hereof is a very faire Fountaine, and at the foote is the Pallace of the *Signoria*, round about it are very faire and high houses. I haue not seene a Market-steede, excepting that of *Santo Marco* in *Venice*, so beautifull. The fairest Pallace of this Cittie, not excepting the great Dukes, is that of the *Piccol' homini*, begun by *Pius Secundus* and ended by *Pius Tertius* both of this family; which needs not much enuie the most stately of those in *Florence*. The walles of this Cittie, as also the houses and streets are all of Bricke.

They

They haue here (they say) the arme of *S. Iohn Baptist*, which they very religiously and with much reuerence hold as a relick; It was sent by the Turke to *Aneas Silvius Piccol' huomini*, being Pope, by the name of *Pius Secundus*, in lieu whereof, this Pope sent him the halfe Moone for a Crest.

The arme of *S. Iohn Baptist*.

There is a Fortresse at the North-west of this towne, reputed strong: howbeit the forme being Quadrangular and therefore the angles not so obtuse as in those of five or more; it is iudged of moderne Enginers, as namely of *Maggi*, a late Italian writer in the subiect of fortifications, not to answer the reputation it hath in generall. The Artillery herein (they say, for we may not enter it) much and good: the garrison but five and twentie at this present, the end, is to command the towne vpon any occasion.

The Fortresse.

The Artillery.

This Citty like that of *Pisa*, is noted to be much decayed since their subiection to the family *Medici*, there not being now aboue two and twenty thousand persons, where in times past were alwayes aboue fiftie. The Gentlemen of this Citty are noted to be generally more ciuill, affable, & courteous to strangers then they are in other places. They liue altogether vpon their reuenues, without exercising any trade of Merchandize or exchange vpon the Banck, which course notwithstanding, all the Nobilitie of *Florence* and *Pisa*, euen to the great Duke himselfe do take: as likewise they of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Rome*, and generally all places and states of *Italy*, except *Naples*.

People decayed.

The Gentric.

Their course of liuing.

Hauiug in brieft discouered of three chiefe Citties of *Tuscany*, *Florence*, *Siena*, and *Pisa*, which deserue so to be called, either for that each of them hath in times past had her seuerall State, or for that they be the Seates of three Archbshopricks: it now remaineth I aduertise of the commodities of this countrie, beginning with the Mountaines and their fruites, which because they be for the most part craggie and barren, as they allowe those that possesse them but little profit; so they yeeld me that write of them but little matter: no maruaile then though the discourse be like the hilles themselves, barraine.

The three chiefe citties, and why?

Commodities out of Mountaines.

There is digged out of these hilles a kinde of Free-stone,

Free-stone.

Diuers colours.

Marble diuers colours.

passing hard, of colour according to the nature of the place whereout it is taken, white, redde, and black, or to say more properly, enclining to these colours: of all which sorts there be in *Florence* and elsewhere, very gallant and stately Pallaces builded. They haue also in many places, pitts of Marble, white, blew, and party-coloured excellent good: namely in the Territory of *Massa*, but especially in the Mountaines of *Carrara* and *Lunigiana*: hence dayly they dig for the building of their Churches and Pallaces of *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Bologna*, *Rome*, and *France* also, whereout might be digged enough to serue a world of building, if the transporting it into other places were not so chargeable, or rather the impossibility to bring it from the pits where it is digged, to the Port where they should load it, by reason of the cragginess of the Rocks. Of these Marble Pitts *Iuuenal* seemes to make mention, where he saith:

*Procubuit veluti qui saxa ligustica portat
Axis.*

And *Vberti* in his sixt Canto saith thus:

*E vedimmo Carrara, oue la gente,
Troua il candido Marmo in tanta copia,
Che n' assai haurebbe tutta l' oriente.*

The building of Italy fairer then ours, and why.

This is the reason the buildings of *Italy* so farre exceed ours, especially their Churches: as for any other thing in that land, the truth is they can no way compare with vs, nor make good the great opinion the world hath thereof.

Acornes.

The other fruites of these Mountaines which are indeed vse-full and necessary for the sustenance of the inhabitants, are Acornes, Oliues, and Chesnuts: of Acornes especially in the state of *Siena* are very great store, wherewith, ouer and besides those they eate themselues, they feede their Swine, not hauing of Beanes or Pease to spare for this purpose; The great Duke maketh yeerely of certaine woods he hath in this State aboue a thousand Duckets.

Oliues.

They haue also Oliues, but not in such plentifull manner as to be able to send any Oyle into other parts: for they want hereof to serue their owne turnes; being a commoditie so necessarie,

necessary, as without it, it were not possible they should liue, feeding as they doe vpon nothing els but cold fruites and rawe herbes; insomuch as the *Villano* and poorer sort feedeth not vpon flesh once a moneth, and then most sparingly; as for Butter and Cheese, were it not for *Lombardie* they should scarce know what it meant.

Their scarcity and necessity.

The third benefit of the hills is the Chesnut, the countrimans bread, as water is his drinke, who (except he be sick) which we then refuse, drinketh no Wine, and except very seldome eateth nothing but those Nuts; the sterility of the countrey being such as not to afford bread of corne for one fourth part of the yeare. Such is the wretched penurie of this Nation, abounding in nothing but in quaint termes, which discover their humour, but satisfie not their hunger; whereof shall be more fitly discoursed hereafter. It may heere suffice to inferre that the greater part of this State being hilles, and the most of those barraine, & much of these other nothing but Stone: no maruaile then, though they build like the *Agrigentines*, and liue like the *Scythians*, though they dwell like Princes, & feed like Pefants, though their houses be great and their tables small, though the women haue in one day more riches on their back then they spend in three ages on the sustenance of their body. And yet that glory and wealth there is, is in the Cittie, and in the hands of few, to whom all the fruites of the country are conueyed: as for the Artificer he can doe no more but liue, whereof scarce one in a citty euer groweth rich, and the poore *Contadines* life is such, as if naturally he were not proud in this extreame miserie, it would moue any stranger to pittie his estate.

Chesnuts.

Their vse.

Corne scarce.

I haue stood in my lodging on a market-day, when the countrey hath come in, and when commonly they attire themselves in their best robes: yet haue I obserued seauē or eight bare legged, for one otherwise, and in this proportion haue they passed for two or three houres, the rest of their apparel holding suitable conformity therewithall; yet cannot this people talke but with his hatt on his head, and with his hands by his sides, with action also and words, either be seeming none at all, or at least one in better clothes.

But to leaue the high minds & low fortunes of the *Tuscans*, the great hilles and small commodities of their countrie, vpon which we may well turne the Prouerbe, *Paruuriunt Montes, exit Mus*; I will discend into their valleys, which indeed (not to defraude them of their right) are like Gardens, whether you respect the small quantitie of each mans seuerall, or their diligence in their keeping, or to say truth, the variety of the fruites thereof.

For the first I can auow, that going vp with another English Gentleman to the top of a steepe hill, some two miles high right ouer *Prato*, to giue our eye the view of that pleasant valley, we could not discerne any one peece of ground aboue one Acre and a halfe in our opinions, (except the great Dukes pastures about his Pallace of *Poggio*) all which ground being bare and the hedges greene with the Vines, gaue a very pleasant and delightfull prospect, resembling very fitly a Checker table. Now if the good Starres raise one of them to the fortune to be possessed of one of these garden-plots, and a *Cappannuccia* (a silly shelter couered with Reedes) therupon yee shall neuer get him from the discourse of his *Villa*, his *Podere*, and his *Entrata*, his farmes, his lands, and his rents; that one would thinke him Lord of some goodly Pallace, and as much land at the least as a Nag might well pace about in a day; when, if we come to see it, it prooues not God knowes aboue the *Giornata* (a dayes journey) of a Snail, and she poore beast is taken *domage faisant* in danger to be seized vpon to the Lords vse of the soile; for Snails, Frogs, Hedg-hogs, and such like, are accounted among the *Delicatezze*, the delicates of *Italy*.

As for their diligence in digging, setting, sowing, manuring and weeding of their ground, it is such as therewith the Dutch diligence in their Roote-grounds may not compare. And lastly for the variety of those commodities which these Valleys yeelde, it shall suffice to comprehend them vnder these three heads; Fruite, Herbage, and Graine, with particular mention of such as I remember, howbeit in *Italian* names, because many of them growe not, nor are yet Christened in England.

State of Tuscanie.

*the skull
flow, rousidre
id use ul
cut -* Fruite.
edung Uue.
ff, yf Fichi.
phila Aranci.
ff fine Albicocchi.
of Pesche.
and Mele.
and Limoni.
mba Cedri.
villau Manderle.
nuu Noci.
id of Albatre.
a the Cotogne.
me Poponi.
and Cedrioli.
fall Cocomeri.
fruce Zucchi.
thofe Mele granate
it hon Ceriegi.
not Pere.
to Nespole.
and Susine.
e of Cypolli.
take Agli.
light Mori.

Herbage.
Finocchio.
Lattuga.
Inuidia.
Cicerbita.
Borragine.
Fiorancio.
Aneto.
Bietola.
Canolo.
Spinacci.
Basilico.
Radici.
Porri.
Carotte.
Rape.
Fior di Vellato.
Nepitella.
Menta.
Cardi.
Gobbi.
Selerii.
Pastinacchi.

Graine.
Formento. *at we* *indue our*
reidre in feeding
over a little rough land
Orzo. *made i y forme of dilord*
rat: for what faid
Segala. *paritit, althys one yf*
men gowment e feeding
Miglio. *and hays e palatid mad*
Sagina. *of lime or fine, befat*
with wolle duellid and
Panico. *of hospitaliy e for what*
Fane. *in the day wether wood*
Ceci. *i y hays for for wolle*
Faginoli. *nor litor for chawell*
Piselli. *of wolle e fine wolle*
Riso. *e befat wolle wolle*
Farro. *nor you you fole e fole*
Gioglio. *wolle, muller - one*
Mochi. *why do wolle wolle muller*
Vena. *of wolle e wolle wolle*
Spelta. *so few, small e leane*
for wolle e fole wolle
wolle e wolle e wolle
e wolle e wolle e wolle
poor wolle e wolle e wolle
pi 223 e
one wolle wolle wolle
wolle e wolle e wolle
dia. fole wolle fole (thoye bill
ae and) wolle wolle
frulle wolle e i wolle wolle
wolle wolle wolle wolle

magnified my duty in Europe + when you read
to deuce glondor, you shall find it only
Coase, fole fole wolle
or - but he must ut
thoye wolle
appropiate
to y of wolle
part e
wolle wolle
wolle e
wolle wolle
frulle wolle
wolle wolle
thoye he haw
of his wolle
but fole
e wolle
These are the fruities of the earth whereof they feed, for of others I speake not: and to giue these their due, many of them be very delicate and pleasant; as their Uua Moscutella, and Rimaldesca, their Figs, Apricocks, Musk-mellons, and such like: howbeit considering either the little time they last, or the small quantitie they haue thereof, the benefit is not so great as is imagined; for none of these last named lasteth aboue two moneths, except it be the grape, whereof some few are hanged vp in the Palco rooffe, to serue the richer sort in Lent. As for the poorer, their chiefest food is Herbage all the yeare through. *of wolle* Indeed *306*

Indeed for the moneths of August and September, while Grapes be ripe, he keepeth a continuall feast, making them his onely food.

The Vine.

The Vine which without comparison is the greatest commodity of *Tuscany*, if not of *Italy*, hath these vses. Of the Grape they feed, of the iuyce they make Wine; of the shreedings they make small bundles, like our Fagots of gau'e in *Cambridge*, & sell them for two *quatrini* a peece for firing: of their leaues they feed their Oxen, or else dung their land; & lastly of the stones they feed their Pigeons, which after the Vintage they riddle out of the Grape being dryed, and these they sell at 20. *soldi* the *Staic*.

There are diuers sorts of Grapes, the names of such as I remember are these; *Vua Canaiola*, good either to eate or for Wine; *Passerina* a small Grape, whereof Sparrowes feed, good onely for Wine; *Trebbiana* the best sort of white Grapes for Wine, whereof they make their *Vin Trebbiano*, *Zibibbo*; these are dryed for Lent: *Moscattella* with a taste like Muske, not for Wine, but to eate; *Vua grossa* not to eate, but for Wine; *Rasserutta*, of it selfe neither to eate, nor for Wine, but a few of these put among a great vessell of Wine, giueth it a colour, for which vse it onely serueth; *San Columbana* and *Rimaldesca* a very delicate Grape, either for Wine or to eate; *Lugliola* which hath his name of the moneth of Iuly wherein it is ripe, better to eate then for Wine; and lastly *Cerisiana*, named for the taste it hath like a Cherry, better for Wine then to eate.

They haue also as many names for their Figs, the best are the *Brugiotti*, which being needlesse to recount, as also to stand thus particularly vpon all the rest, I will omit to speake: onely in a word I will speake of the Mulberry, for that the mention thereof draweth consequently therewithall the discourse of the Silke-worme, which being another of the greatest commodities of *Tuscany* I may not forget.

Silke-wormes.

In the two moneths of May and Iune this worme laboureth, the rest of the yeare they be onely seedes kept in some warme & close places, where they may neither be indangered by cold

So I of our goods (admittedly of respect of cause & effect of life) nor
in most parts of Europe) as being rulinous & so dangerous (as I
would suppose) all these edibles & herbs with a skin, with a
a wall on it was used for a rulinous & life of things for
France, Italy or was much questioned have none gloryed on
I would not have any one broode of words

as for their *Sagina*, *Panico*, *Miglio*, *Surgo Turco*, and such like, they are fine names, but make but course meale and bread only for the poorer sort, who, (might they not want thereof) would thinke their market much amended.

Haruest.

Their haruest is in *June*; they mowe their Wheate and Rie, & reape their Barley, quite contrary to the common course in England: they cut their corne while it is somewhat greene, I take it; least it should shill: they suffer it afterwards to stand in shocks till it be well withered and dryed, then making a flore on the ground where it grew, they presently thresh it; & stack vp the Strawe for their necessarie vses: the same ground which hath carried this crop, if it be in heart is againe presently tilled, and sowed with *Miglio*, *Panico*, *Sagina*, or some pulse or other, which againe they reape in September. They measure their corne by the *Staiio*, as we ours by the Strike or Bushell, it containeth in weight fiftie five pounds, at twelue ounces the poūd. And as we measure our land by the Acre, so they theirs by the *Staioro*, which taketh his name of the *Staiio*: because one of these parcels of land, if it be on the hilles, will aske a *Staiio* of corne to seed it, otherwise in the valleys euery measure will ordinarily seed foure *Straiora*, I suppose that six of these make one of our Acres. The country-man will stirre of them (as we call it) eightene with his two yoake of Oxen; the one yoake feeding while the other laboureth in one day. He hath for his labour foure *Crazie* a peece, which is three-pence sterling; so that he and his beasts earne some foure shillings six-pence sterling the day: how this agreeth with our rate in *England*, I cannot say, I went not out so good a husband. The *staioro* doth ordinarily yeeld scauen and eight *staiia* crop, which is little short of the proportion of foure quarters an Acre.

Soile.

The nature of the soile is generally light and sandy, laid in small ridges like the fields of *Norfolke*, which as I take it, argueth the lightnesse. But by reason of the Citties & great townes neare, and the number of people, it is much forced, and made more fruitfull. For there are those who all their life time doe nothing but with their Asse go vp and downe the cities, gathering

or by ground by y^e stalle for small purpo^{ses}, but rather to leaue y^e vp
managing of affairs to superiours eye & iudgement as we say for many
other by y^e stalle as an asse, or by y^e stalle as an asse, for y^e good y^e a
dilly or by y^e stalle as an asse, for y^e good y^e a
for y^e good y^e a
for y^e good y^e a

vp the dung in the streetes, and carrying it to the land of those with whom they haue bargained, paying out of euery Asses burthen one *quattrino* to the Duke before they passe the gates, but this is a discourse for another place.

It remaineth to speake of the Salt, another comoditie which they haue here in *Tuscany* in some reasonable manner. It is very white and good, much better then that of the Churches Salt, which hath almost the colour of Saw-dust, or that of *Liguria* which is little better. The two places from whence they haue this comoditie, is the Citty of *Grossetta* in the *Maremma*, and the pits not far from the Citty of *Volterra*: howbeit they make of it at these pits in greater measure; where it is reported are daily made throughout the yeare twenty foure *Moggie*, euery of these measures being foure and twenty *Staiia*, that is of our measure some sixteene Strike a peece: so that there are dayly made 48. quarters. They know when it is sufficiently boiled by the throwing in of an Egge, for if it sinck, then is it not yet perfect, but if it swimmeth (*a galla*) then they boile it no longer. There are not farre hence (may I digresse so farre) waters of such a scalding and sulphurious nature, as if a Dog or such like creature be tied to a rope and throwne therein for the space of a quarter of an houre, yee pull out nothing but the bare bones. And true it is, that the aire here abouts sometimes of the yeare is so contagious, as the inhabitants abandon their homes. The place being so dangerous, I will dwell no longer vpon the discourse thereof, but returne to the Salt-pits, out of which the great Duke maketh no small benefit, considering he buyeth it at one *quattrini* the pound, and selleth it againe at twelue, and in some parts of his State at fifteene, which being bought at this rate commeth to two Duckets the *Staiio*: Howbeit, it is said of some, that it costeth him five *quattrini* the pound, which I rather belecue, and so his gaine is but two third parts. Sure I am that there is a *Bando* vpon a great penaltie, that none presume to buy but of his officers onely. And seeing here is mention made of the great Dukes impositions vpon Salt, I will also annex his gaine raised by Wheate, though I must confesse their

Salt.

Sulphurious waters effect.

Handwritten marginal notes on the left edge of the page.

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Wheat en-
grossed.

place more proper when I shall speake of his Reuenew.

After the *Raccolta*, (haruest) when wheate is at the cheapest, a note is taken of euery mans particular croppe, how much he hath, what will seed his ground; and serue his house; the rest the officers will buy at the price of the Market; he is not (as I take it) (directly forced to sell it: but a *Bando* is sent forth, that no man shall buy, and so by consequent, because he must needs haue money, with an vnwilling willingnesse he is content they shall haue it. This is bought vnder pretence to haue the Citties well stored, whether it is carryed into the great Dukes Granaries, in which places for any accident either of dearth or of warre, (though for the one the countrey is well secured) here is very good store to be found. It was reported in the *Magizini* (Store-houses) at *Pisa* when I was there, there was no lesse then one hundred and fiftie thousand *Staiia*. And it was likewise holden for certaine, that some yeares of plentie, he buieth eight or nine hundreth thousand, at the rate commonly of foure or five *Liners* the *Staiio*, (a *Liner* is nine-pence sterling) and selleth it againe as this yeare he did for aboue ten. Now by buying such an infinite Masse, and selling it at such a rate, the gaine is easily computed to be almost as many Duckets as were *Staiia* bought. His subiects will tell vs of a Millions gaine some yeare, but that were infinite. Now least when the new Corne comes into his Granaries, he should not vent the old, as being fustie, or hauing some other fault, a *Bando* is sent out, that the Bakers shall bake no other. There is another inconuenience stranger then this, a case wherein a man may not serue himselfe of his owne, which had it not beene tolde me by a Gentleman *Sanese* of good credit, I should hardly haue beleued, much lesse haue aduertised to aduertise thereof. If a Gentleman of *Siena* haue a *Villa* in the Territory of *Mont' Alcina*, neare by; and therein good store of Wheate to serue his turne for the maintenance of his house in *Siena*, and whether, it may be with little cost brought, as not being farre off, and where perhaps he cannot well spare money to buy of others: notwithstanding he cannot be suffered to bring of his owne to his house, but must there take of the

*Answer you have not any surplus of peace but a great
 portion of the report of singular & are not to be refused with a
 double of strange foreign relations & so from a willfull neglect of
 our own worth and will not be held as how we will nor magni-
 fy our nobility of our houses in dependence*

great Duke to make his provision. How hurtfull these Monopolies and ingrossings are, the lawes made against them in well governed states doe witnesse, and the people where they be practised doe feele.

Of their Pastures and feeding for Cattell, I shall not need to speake, for they be not herewith acquainted, as not being able to spare one *Staiora* from tillage, except in the *Maremma* and lowes of *Pisa*, which being little and soone spoken of, and not hauing whereof to be spoken, but that it is little, I will leaue: as also all other things to be obserued in the Countrie it selfe, and proceed to the gouernment.

Pastures.

The Gouernment (to speake in one word, and not to vse a harder terme) is meerey *Despoticall*. The Prince himselfe is of stature meane, of colour by complexion browne, by age grised, of body corpulent, of age somewhat aboue fiftie, his name *Ferdinando*, who (till his brothers death) was Cardinall, which dignity he hath since renounced, hauing attained this Scepter, whereof he had not beene capable, if he had before entered the order of Priest-hood. He is of the familie *Medici*, a noble house of *Florence*, the first raiser whereof was *Lippo*, not three hundred yeares since (whose Father, though a Colliar) yet he by his vertues and his posteritie also succeeding from time to time, aduanced the reputation of this name to the greatnesse wherein now it is: whereof hath beene many Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other personages of great place; besides two Popes, two and twenty *Gonfaloniers*, and foure Dukes: of these, three haue had the title of (Great) as elsewhere is shewed.

The gouernment.

The prince

His name.

His family.

The discent of this Prince might be deriued from *Lippo*, but for breuities sake I will omit foure or fiae, and begin at *Giouanni* the Father of the first *Cosmo*, because from him come the two houses that haue had the *Signiory* of this State, as in this table following appeareth.

His discēt.

you be a stranger... The

The line Masculine of the familie Medici.



The

The discent and issue of the great duke appearing in this table, it remaineth that I speake of his parentage. His Highnesse His Parentage. matched in the house of *Lorraine*, with *Madama Christina* that Dukes daughter *Don Cesare d' Este*, base sonne to *Alphonso* the second, the Duke of *Ferrara*, that now is married to his Sister. *Don Virginio Orsini* Duke di *Bracciano*, that now with the Dutchesse his wife, sister to the *Cardinal Mont' Alto* is in Court, is sonne of another of his Sisters. The Duke of *Montona* married *Madama Leonora* of this house; he hath also neere alliance with the family *Zforza*: And it was said in the Court at my comning from *Livorno*, that *Ranuuio Fernelse* Duke of *Parma*, should marry *Maria* sister to *Leonora*, both daughters to *Francesco* his brother: Howbeit it was afterwards reported that he should marry the sister of *Cardinall Mont' Alto*, neece to *Sixtus Quintus*, (whom since he hath married: and *Maria* is wife to *Henry* the 4. King of *France*.)

His Armes are six Apples or Balles of gold in a field Azure, His armes vnto which some say is added since his obtaining the Scepter, the Armes of *Florence* the *Flower de Lise*. But hauing the authoritie of one so approued as is *Guicciardine* to the contrary, I rather say with him, that this addition was giuen of speciall fauour to the familie *Medici* by the house of *France*; by whom in his first booke page 16. it is plaine, that when *Charles* the eight entended his voyage for *Naples*, he sought (as a league much importing that action) the friendship of the *Florentine* State, and that as he there saith, if they would not ioyne with him in the seruice, yet at least they would grant him passage for his armie, and victuals for his money: whereto he laboured by letters both the State in general, and *Piero Medici* in particular, in which his letters to *Medici* he putteth him in minde of the manie fauours and honours done by *Lewes* the eleuenth to *Lorenzo* his father, and to his auncestors: that they had giuen molte dimostrazioni per conseruation della grandezza d'essi. Many proofes of willingnesse to preferue the *Medicis* greatnesse: and that they had honoured in testimonio de benenolenza, l'insegne loro con l'insegne proprie della casa di *Francia*, in shew of their

G loue

loue, their armes with theirs of *France*.

His Aile.

Concerning his Stile, it is to be obserued, that since the gouernment came to the hāds of this familie, it hath altered foure times: for first, when by *Clement* the 7. his meanes, who was a *Medici*, *Alexandro* had obtained the signory of *Florence*, he was entituled Prior perpetuall: after that matching in the house of *Austria*, he was created Duke of *Florence*. The title yet changed twice more in the person of *Cosmo*, father to this great duke now liuing, for hauing vnited the States of *Florence* and *Siena*, he was entituled, *Dux Florentia et Senarum*: And after by *Pius Quintus* he was created *Magnus Dux Hetruuria* for some special seruice done to the Church.

This title of Duke is not of any great antiquitie in *Italy*; for although *Titus Linius* speaketh of *Duces*, yet he meaneth Captaines of Souldiers, or rather such as had the leading of an Armie by the Senates appointment, and not such as haue absolute authoritie ouer Citties and Countries. The first bringer in of this name into *Italy*, was *Longinus* King of the *Lombardes*, one hundred sixtie sixe yeares after the declination of the *Romaine* Empire. By him at the first were created foure, which bore their title of these places; *Beneuentum*, *Turine*, *Fruily*, and *Spoletto*: At which time also were instituted the two Marquesatts of *Ancona* and *Treniso*, which still liue in the names, though dead in the persons that should haue them: and it should seeme in some sort, this title of Marquesse was better then that of Duke. For in their language (saith *Biondo*) it signifieth *Perpetuum Magistratum*, because they might leaue their title and Signorie to their heires, which the Dukes could not doe, but by the leaues of the Kings of *Lombardie*. Some say this word of *Marques* is deriued from the *French* (*Marque*) which signifieth a Prouince; as that a *Marques* should signifie the President of a Prouince. Others thinke it is deriued of the *Dutch* word (*Marchk*) among whom this title is in great honor, & signifieth a *Signor* ouer a Country to some limit or marke, for so *Altimeri* in his *Scholia* vpon *Cornelius Tacitus* interpreteth. As for this title of great Duke, there neuer was any before in *Italy*, nor I thinke in *Eurpe*, but he of *Musconia*:

Of

Of Dukes there be diuers in this Countrey of *Italy*, as the Dukes of *Ferrara*, *Mantoua*, *Parma*, *Urbino*; besides foure and twenty in the kingdome of *Naples*.

Concerning his claime and right to the Crowne, it is beyond His title.
the compasse of a bare relation, (as this is) to dispute how good
it is, but rather to discourse what it is, neither to determine how
iustly his Predecessors got it, but how lineally it is deuolued
from thē to him. The meanes how this house rose to such supe-
rioritie in a cōmon-wealth, where was alwaies maintained such
equallitie, is by the *Florence* historie easily discerned to be their
popularity & insinuatue stealing into the peoples good opini-
ons; ouer whō they oftentimes in cases of insolencies & oppres-
sions by the nobler sort, vndertooke the Patronage, & became
as it were the *Tribunes* of the people in *Rome*, or the *Auogadori*
del Commune in *Venice*, who (as I take it) are *Advocates* & *Inter-*
cessors for the citizēs, preferring their sutes to the Courts. How-
beit there is a difference, for this is an office instituted, that was
a fauor enchroched vpon, this is by law limited, that was by mān-
nature so infinite, as it staid not running on this plausible race
till the wished goale was gotten. *Venice* hath beene wise in this
case, where it hath been danger for a great man to deserue too
well, and be loued too much; for which cause only (as in their
Annals appeareth) some of thē haue lost their liues, fearing what
this popularitie of theirs might effect, if it were put to the triall:
& holding belike that principle good in a cōmonwealth, which
is a ground in matters of the Church, which saith; *Melius est pe-*
rire unū quā unione) It is better one perish then vnitie: factions
being as dāgerous in the one, as schismes in the other. To which
purpose *Athens* and *Rome* can afford many fit examples, & in-
deed so many, as it were needlesse to recount, either that of *Scil-*
la and *Marius*, *Cesar* and *Pompeius*, *Octanius* and *Anthonyus*:
or any other particulars, either of the one state or the other.
And but that the (colours Noble and Popular) were in seuentie
sixe in good time vnited in the Citty of *Genoa*; there had not
wanted at this day an example in that Citty also, eyther of the
family, *Doria*, *Spinoli*, *Grimaldi*, or *Fieschi*, as by *Oberto Foglietta*,
a very iudiciall writer of these times is proued.

But to returne to the history of the family *Medici*, it is to be understood, that *Lorenzo* grand-child to the first *Cosmo*, who for his well deseruing of the Common-wealth was fir-named *Pater Patria*, & vnclē to *Clement* the 7. who for deserts cleane contrary merited the title of *Ruina Reipub*: He I say, after the death of his brother *Guigliano*, who was slaine by the families *Saluiati* and *Pazzi*, gouerned the State of *Florence* with all wisdom, grauitie and moderation, without respect of any particular aduancement of his house, but onely of the weale publick. To him had all the States and Princes of *Italy* recourse in all their matters of controuersie to be ended, and of counsell to be guided: insomuch, as in his dayes, *Florence* seemed another *Delphos*, and he another Oracle: as he would, were all officers chosen, all families preferred, and all common actions of the State carried. So that as in *Genoa* the *Adorni* and *Fregosi* were by the people exalted, to curbe the vnbrideled insolencies of the *Colone Nobile*: as in *Siena* the *Petrucchi* were made great to restraine the disordered humours of some aspiring Citizens: as in *Perugia* the *Baglioni* were aduanced to impeach the proud designs of the *Raspani*, of whose proceedings the Citty grew ieaalous; and as in *Bologna* the *Bentiuogli* were preferred to extraordinary honours & authoritie, through the hate they bore their Nobles: So likewise the first raising of this familie *Medici*, was their plausible carriage towards the meaner and baser rancke of Citizens, by whom they were chosen for a head against the greater and more powerfull sort. And not contented with this prehemencie, their desires rested not: vntill (as in the person of *Alexander* shall appeare) one of their house came to be Duke of so great a State, brother to a King of *France*, and sonne in law to an Emperour. So ordinary and naturall a thing it is in the minde of man, in matter of ambition and greatnesse, to keepe no mediocrity, that when yee giue him the authority and commaund ouer few, and in small matters, he cannot list his vast thoughts within the limits prescribed, but is so carried beyond himselfe with a desire to rule, as without consideration either of vertue by which, or of friends by whom, he was aduanced;

uanced; he is violently driuen with the streame of that his ambitious passion, to oppresse aswell those by whose meanes, as those for whose cause he was at first aduanced. Which ambitious humour of raigning (though it rained not in this good *Lorenzo*, who with the reputation of a great wise man, and no lesse good Cittizen dyed in the yeare 1492. with whom saith *Guicciardine* dyed the glory and peace of *Italy*:) yet it made the way to those garboiles and troubles which his childrens greatnesse (by his desert) and aspiring minds (by their owne corruption) did afterwards cause in *Florence*. For leauing behind him three sonnes, *Piero*, *Giouanni*, and *Guigliano*; the first succeeded his father, but not with like moderation in that authoritie wherein his fathers vertues left him in: but asserting a lordly superiority and sole gouernment, and as my Author saith; *Con consiglio dirittamente contrario à consigli paterni nè comunicato cò cittadini principali*, with a counsell quite contrary to that of his father, and kept still secret from the chiefe Cittizens; he sought to carry all matters after the vnbrideled sway of his owne affections, so greatly to the dislike of the Cittizens, and to the preiudice of their liberty, as he with his brothers were worthily banished; who after many attempts to be reimpatiate, yet still repulsed, were notwithstanding at the last by the meanes of *Ferdinando* King of *Aragon* and *Naples* restored (I meane the two younger brothers, for *Piero* was now dead) *ri-pigliando quell' antica grandezza de Medici ma gouernandola piu imperiosamente, e con arbitrio piu assoluto di quello che si solena*: taking vpon thē againe the former greatnes of the *Medici*, & carrying it more lordly, and with a more peremptory swinge then they were wont, *Guicciard. lib. 11. car. 318*. This restoring of the *Medici*, & subiection of the Cittie, was in the yeare 1512. after they had beene eightene yeares banished, in which lordly course of carrying thēselues, they continued fiftene yeares, till 1527. when *Clement* the Pope being in danger at *Rome*, & fled into the Castle *S. Angelo*, the *Florentines* taking aduantage of the time, attempted the recouering of their liberty; Howbeit at the Popes instance, the Emperour *Charles* the fift made

Alexander Medices Prior perpetuall, And after in 35. (as hath beene before said, speaking of his Stile) hauing matched in the house of *Austria*, he created him duke, causing an emblematical statue to be made of Brasse in the chiefe *Piazza* of the towne, with this inscription in the name of the Emperour, *Te fili si quis Leserat, ultor ero.* My Sonne I will reuenge thee, if any dare to hurt thee, as a threat to the Citty if they offered to recouer their liberty. This *Alexander* fyrst Duke of *Florence*, being murdered by his cosen *Lorenzo*, and hauing no issue, the gouernment fell to *Cosmo* son to *Giouanni de Medici* & *Maria Saluiati*, heire in the next line, & Father to this great duke that now liueth, to whom by the death of his elder brother *Francesco*, this state is deuolued.

His Court.

Concerning his Court, it is the generall opinion, that it is greater then of a Duke, lesse then of a King; which compared with other Dukes of *Italy* is true: howbeit if it be considered either what number of persons are therein, or what prouision there is made, I thinke it may hardly compare with the houses of the Nobility of *England*, comprehending in this nūber none but such as liue and haue their dyet in Court, whereof there be very few. For this Court doth yeeld two sorts of courtiers: *della bocca*, & *della Casa*, (of the mouth and of the house) that is, of such as feede there, and of such as retaine onely. Of the first sort is the great Duke himselfe, the Duke *Bracciano*, their Dutcheses, their children, and some few seruants besides to the number as I haue creadibly heard not aboue foure and twenty: of the other sort are other officers of Court, which notwithstanding liue at their owne priuate tables, as *Monsignior Puteo* Archbishop of *Pisa*, and thereto his Highnesse, by whose counsell he is especially aduised, *Il Signior Piero Vsimbaldi*, *il signior Cavalliere Concino*, *il Signior Beliaro Vinta*, *il Signior Cavalliere Serquidi*, *il signior Piero Conti* his Secretaries, & diuers others his officers. To these if we adde *Don Giouanni* & *Don Antonio*, both *Medici*, the one his brother, the other his Nephue illegitimate, *Il signior Camillo del Monte*, generall of the foot, *Il signior Conte Gherardesca* Collonell of the horse, *Il signior Francesco Montanti* generall of his gallies, besides the *Luarant' Otto*, & diuers others Countes and Nobles of *Florence*, you shall see a very honourable

ble and noble presence.

The order of this discourse requireth that in this place I briefly aduertise of the order of *San Stephano*, whereof his highnesse is grand-master, which was first instituted by *Cosmo* his father, and confirmed by *Pius Quintus*. But because the ordinances & statutes therof be very many, as well concerning the inuestiture as degradation, & for that there is a booke written thereof intituled *della Religione di san Stephano*: I will only remember that the *Gran Maestro* conferreth diuers other offices belonging to this order, and of chiefe accoupt, vpon persons of principall qualitie in his state: as the office of *Gran Comandator*, *Gran Conestabile*, and *Gran Priore*. There be three degrees of this order; the first is of *Cauallieri guerrieri*, the second are *Ecclesiastichi*; the last *Seruienti*. Of the first sort haue beene made (as in their Pallace at *Pisa* appeareth) about one thousand and twenty. The second are Priests & persons of the church, not so honourable as the former. The last are such as haue baser offices either about the Pallace, or about their lands, and receiue annuall wages for their paines. The *Cognisance* or badge of this order, is a crosse, in forme like that of the knights of *Malta*, but differing in colour, for that of *Malta* is white, this is red. They are bound to weare it alwayes vpon their vpper garment, which the great duke himselfe also obserueth. They are bound also to serue at Sea in the *Grand Maisters* warres for six yeares (as I take it) if need be, whereas they of *Malta* are bound to serue against the Turke all the dayes of their life. The Knights of this order may marry, and hold temporall possessions, which they of *Malta* may not. This order is lineally to discend from the father to the eldest sonne, without any more creation, like the Titles of honours in *England*, vnlesse his father vpon demerit be formerly degraded. What other priuiledges they haue, in the booke thereof writtē appeareth, & what vse the *Grand-master* hath of their seruice in all his occasions, is as easily coniectured.

It followeth to speake somewhat of his riches: a matter whereof one may discourse by probabilities, but can determine nothing of certaine: for if they which marry our rich widdowes

in *England* be many times deceiued in the reckoning, finding the accoumpt fall farre short of that the world iudged, & they themselues hoped: how easie a thing is it to erre in the valuing of so great a Prince as the great duke of *Tuscany*? Besides if one should vndertake to write of euery thing he hath seene, & giue it the *Italians* valuation (who in matters of their owne, euer speake *alla larga*) I assure my selfe he should be very much deceiued, and gaine the imputation of a notable Gull for his credulity, & a notorious Bugiarde for his deliuey, against which, note his farre trauaile neither giues him warrant nor *supersedeas*. I was in a *Florentines* gallery, who hath sometimes beene in our Countrey, where besides one table of Tutch, and three other of Serpentine, Agate, and such like, very curiously wrought and bordered with flowers of their naturall colours (which might be painted for ought I knew): howbeit he protested they were all the naturall colours of the stone, and of the infinite charge it cost to cut so many, before they could finde such as should giue the true lustre of the flower, which surely is there done most liuely: and besides many Statues of Marble, Alabaster & Brasse, he shewed vs a Cupbord of Boxes yet vnfinished (which he said) hath already cost foure and twenty thousand crownes: we see also diuers Medalles, at the least fiue hundred, which he valued some at twenty and thirty crownes the peece: for the value of his Cupbord I know not, but for his Medalles I am sure, that in *Venice* a man may buy as good and as Antique of a *Montibanck* for two gazets a peece, which is not two pence sterling. Now if one had swallowed this Gudgion of one hundred and twentie thousand Crownes (for so much he said these toyes in this Gallery did cost) he must needs either haue surfeeted of a fulnesse, or else haue discovered his infirmity by venting it to others.

But to returne to the great Dukes riches; in the Gallery at *Florence* where is his *Guarda-roba*. his Wardrope, and Armory, there is very much and massie Plate, with one Cupbord of pure gold, the value I cannot estimate. There is also one Table in making for the Emperour, which hath already cost (they say)
twenty

twenty two thousand duckets set with very many & very faire Stones. There is one Deske worth (as they dare affirme) one Million. There are likewise *Rapiers* with hilts of gould, and in their *Pomels* either the Spheres or Clockes very curiously wrought. There be swords so artificially made, that they may be throwne out the length of three, and being at the full length, it dischargeth a Pistoll: there is the Sword of *Charlemaine* greatly prized. There be Targets which with a Pinne turned make Daggers flie out of all sides. There are besides the diuers weapons of most Nations, with many other things for the richnesse and rarenesse worth the remembring, as also the great Dukes chaine of Diamonds, and the great Duchesses chaine of Pearle which they weare dayly, two iewels no doubt of exceeding value: besides all other their iewels & treasures not seene. But the thing which most argueth his Riches, and whereof he and other Princes haue their daily vses, and whereby they be valued, is ready Money and Coine; which the world (and no doubt vpon good reason) iudgeth to be very great: insomuch as the *Neopolitan* calleth him the King of coine: for in their play at *Primer* (their foure sutes of cardes being *denari*, *Coppe*, *Spade*, *Picche*, *Coyne*, *Cuppes*, *Swords*, *Pikes*) when (as the manner is) yee aske him for what Carde he pulleth, if he pull for a *Denaro* he answereth; I pull for the great Duke of *Tuscany*. And truely I am of opinion (submitting my selfe to better iudgments) that as in *France* there be foure great Riuers farre excelling the rest of that countrey in generall, and yet one another in some one particular: *Loyre* the greatest, *Rhone* the swiftest, *Sayne* the richest, and *Sone* the sweetest. So in *Italy* there are foure great States, aboue all the other without exception, which notwithstanding in some one particular compared together, exceed one another. The Pope greatest in authoritie, the kingdome of *Naples* greatest in land-forces; the *Venetians* mightiest at Sea; and this great Duke mightiest in purse. Of whose present money some let not to say that he hath thirty millions of Duckets, others talke of fife and twenty, none vnder twenty; but how truely, must be left to euery mans pleasure to iudge, as a thing vtterly vnknowne, except we may guide our coniectures by

this inference, which may thus be collected.

Duke *Francesco* in the yeare 1576. reported to the *Venetian* Embassador, that his father *Cosmo* dying, left him in debt eight hundred thousand Duckets: for the paiment whereof he was forced to take vp great summes of the *Genoeses*, at vnreasonable interest. Notwithstanding it appeareth by the relation of the said Embassador, that within ten yeares after he was cleared of that debt, and had imbursed to his coffers five Millions. It may then be probably argued, that if in ten yeares there were six nullions encrease, in twenty yeares more, there be at least twelue more added. But if it be obiected that Duke *Francesco* in the terme of those ten yeares had many hundred thousand duckets confiscate to his coffers by the treason of *Pucci*, who with his complices had plotted to enuite the Duke, the Cardinall, and *Don Piero* to a feast, and there to murder them all, and so to recouer their liberty; It may hereto be answered that he was likewise a Prince of very great expences, and that for instance in that very time, he built the Pallace and water-workes of *Pratolino*, which cost him at the least three hundred thousand duckets. As for this great Duke now liuing, his expences are small for so great a Prince, as by the small number of them which liue in Court may appeare. And yet euery *Carnenale* time he retirith himselfe from *Florence*, where is much to be spent, to *Pisa* where is somewhat to be gained: he saith he doth it for the affection he beareth that towne; his people say, for the loue he hath to spare; our English Marchants there say, it is for loue of their commodities, which about that time arriue, and are brought vp by his officers.

It is likewise knowne he hath great summes of money in banck, which must needs bring in their yearely gaine, besides three-score thousand duckets entrate, which he yearly detaineth from his brother *Don Piero*, who liueth in *Spaine*, & the gaine of Wheate before remembred; all which with his yearly reuenuue may make one strongly perswaded, that his ready money is little lesse then that which is iudged of them. which rate it at the highest. I should surely thinke it an incredible masse, but that I haue read for certaine, that in the yeare 1592. the ready money

of

of *Amurath*, father to *Mahomet* the third, the great *Turke* now living, was at the least fifty millions. And although the disproportion of their Entrates may seeme much to weaken the force of this comparison: yet I see not, considering on the other side as great difference in their expenses, but that it may carry some good shew of likelyhood. To conclude this point, it appeareth, that the great Duke hath two Reuenues whereby he groweth rich; that is, great impositions, and great sparing (for sparing is a great reuenue.) There yet remaineth two other meanes to make him absolutely rich, the loue of his subiects, and their private wealth (for the wealth of the Subiect is the wealth of the king, and where the people is rich, the Prince is not poore. But sure it is that he hath neither the one, nor they the other.

It is to be thought that he which hath money such store wanteth no forces (for money is called the sinews of warre) I will therefore to this short discourse of his Riches, adde in a word what is thought of his forces. His strength at Sea is not great, for he hath not aboue six Galleys, neither hath had since the ouerthrowe that the *Turkes* gaue him at the little Ilands *Forniche*, where he lost two of his best Galleys and one Galleon. In these that remaine he hath besides Munition ordinary, (that is eight or ten a peece,) about two hundred Souldiers and eight hundred slaues. He hath also much good Munition, and a competent number of Souldiers in his Fortes of the *Porto Ferrario*, in the Iland of *Elba*: of which place his Father was im-
His forces.
Porto Ferrario.

patronized by the Lord thereof, the *Signor di Piombino*, with the consent of *Charles* the fift: both because the Patron thereof was not able to defend it against the *Corsari*, which daily robbed and spoyled it: as also, because for the small defence it had, it might haue fallen into the hands of the *Turkes*, and so by reason of the Scite (standing very fitly for such a purpose) it might haue preiudiced the whole country of *Italy*. Notwithstanding all the reuenue of the Isle is left free to the Lord of *Piombino*, & vnder his command are all other the towns & vnfortified places. In this Port which is capable of what fleet soeuer, do all ships that trade from the *Leuāt* westward & contrariwise touch,

touch, as in a place as necessary, fit, and secure, as are the *Terse-
res* to the *Spaniards* sailing to the West-Indies : so that if he
with this Isle had also a good number of Galleis, and a purpose
to offend, he might very easily infest all the Seas vpon the coast
of *Barbary*, vpon *Pronence*, *Lyguria*, *Tuscania*, and all that side of
Italie, and in a manner make himselfe Lord of those Mid-land
Seas. He hath also (as is reported) one hundred Soldiers, & good
Artillerie in a Fort he holdeth at *Marseilles* called *Castle dite*; by
the sufferance of which peece the *Genoeses* ship was in *January*
last taken, (wherof the parties griued complained lately to the
great Duke) where besides foure hundred *Spaniards* put to the
Gallies, was also found foure hundred thousand crownes, sent
thether from *Spaine*. He hath also in those thirty Castles and
Fortes before spoken of (wherein are garrisons but very small,
as in some fiftie, and in others fve and twentie, in others not
aboue fiftene & in some fewer by reason of the good tearmes
he standeth in with his neighbours Princes, or at least by the
good fauour of the time, for that they be otherwise diuerted,
that would be busie, to the number of six hundred in all. He
hath likewise in all his sixteene Citties, garrisons of Souldiers
more or lesse, as in the Cyttadell *S. Miniato*, and the new For-
tresse at *Florence* one hundred & twenty, in *Pisa* fiftie, in *Siena*
twentie fve, in *Liorno* two hundred and twenty, &c. In all
which places he is said to be very well prouided of Munition,
Armour, weapons, Powder, shott, and such like military proui-
sion; the certaine quantity wherof I cannot certainly enforme,
because, but vpon especiall fauour, and by commandement,
they dare not let one come into their Fortes. And to write what
others say, were to erre himselfe and seduce others. I was by
good meanes in the Castle at *Liorno*, where I told of field pee-
ces three-score and foure, wherof (they told me) that twelue
were canon, and demi-canon; by which proportion it is to be
coniectured that he is very well furnished.

These Souldiers of whom is already spoken, are all in pay;
he hath also a *Rassegna*, his trained Souldier (as we in *England*
call them) about the number wherof there is great difference,
between that which is writtē by way of relation, & that which

is by way of conference reported. Relations (thē which nothing is more false) write that there be thirty six thousand: but I talked with a Captaine, who hath the mustering & charge of three hundred within the precincts of *Prato* (then whom no man should know better) and he tolde me but of fifteene thousand. In this diuersitie of report I haue no other guide to direct me, to whether of these I should giue credit, then by a rateable proportion of the part with the whole, to inferre whether of these two commeth nearer to the trueth, in this manner. It is now certainly holden, that the number of people in the States of *Florence* and *Siena* vnited together, are about eight hundred thousand, and that they which reckon six in the one & five in the other, and so make one million and one hundred thousand, do somewhat ouershoot the true number, much more they that reckon 800000. in the state of *Florence*, and 600000. in that of *Siena*, not considering that the people of *Siena* and *Pisa* with their precincts are much decayed, as hath already beene partly said. Now then if sixteene thousand people (the number of thē within the *distretto* (the precincts) of *Prato*) do allow the great Duke a *Rassegna* of three hundred, which I haue seene foure times trained (for they muster and are exercised once a month throughout his state) then eight hundred thousand will allow fifteene thousand after that rate. But if it be answered that vpon the frontiers of the church and in the *Maremma*, there is a greater *Rassegna* then in other places, and so the proportion not to hold, I reply, to answer this with sufficient recompence, there is no mustering of Souldiers nor any *Rassegna* in the cittie of *Florence*, which is a good part of the whole. So that of this I am sure, that in *Florence*, *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Pisa*, & their territories, there are not in all aboue two thousand two hundred: I should therefore thinke it strange and very disproportionate, that there should be aboue twenty thousand in all. It may be demanded why they of *Florence* are not trained aswell as the rest; the reason is; *manet alta mente reposta tyrannis Papa, & consensus Imperatoris*, Pope *Clements* vsurping, and *Charles* the fifts consent, sticks still in their stomacks. For they haue not yet forgot that their fathers were free & commanders ouer others; & therefore

they are not onely prevented of this meanes which peradventure at sometime or other they might take, but they be also debarred the hauing of any Armes in their houses, or of wearing any weapon by their sides, except he be a knight of the order, or a trained Souldier, or an officer, or one that hath especiall licence for the same, whereof there be many Gentlemen in *Florence*, according to the fauour they haue with the Prince, and as he is secured of them. The like is through the whole state, inso much as many will sue to be trained Souldiers (a thing which with vs they would gladly auoide) because they might be priuiledged to weare weapon, but especially (which is also a freedom granted to men of this profession) because they might not be arrested for debt.

His forces at Sea and land are these already remembred, beside one hundred Launces which he keepeth in *Siena*, & some fiftie light horse in his owne stables at *Florence*, besides foure hundred more in other places of his state.

His entrate

His *Entrate*, is by diuerse men diuersly estimated, some say one Million and a halfe, others one Million and a hundred thousand, and some there be that say it is as much as both these summes. Howsoeuer it may be thought that the least of these is a great matter for so small a State, whether we call it small in regarde of the circuite, the number of the People; or lastly the barrenesse of the soile, out of which the Subiects wealth and Princes Taxes should be raised. This may well be proued by comparing this state with that of the Duke of *Ferrara*, which is not much lesse in continent then this of the great Duke, and the soile generally much more fruitful, yet is the reuenue of this great Duke almost thrice as much as that other. An apparant argument of the ouer-charging of his people by Taxations & impositions more then their neighbours: yet are the subiects of the state of *Venice* lesse charged then these, & they vnder the Duke of *Parma* least of all; onely they of the kingdome of *Naples* haue as much cause to complaine as the *Tuscans*, or any other subiects in *Italy* whatsoeuer. As for the trueth of those three opinions, which of them hath best interest therein I dare not determine; I will onely adde to these generallities such
parti-

particulars as are commonly knowne, & of all confessed, with some other specialties which are of most men either purposely (because vncertaine) omitted, or else negligently related.

The opinion of them that rate his Reuenuē at 1100. thousand Duckets, is directed by this particular:

He hath say they, out of the <i>Gabell</i> or Toll of the		} thousand Duckets.
Gates of <i>Florence</i>	100.	
<i>Dogana</i> or Custome-house at <i>Florence</i>	100.	
<i>Gabel</i> vpon Salt through that State	120.	
Vpon Corne through that State	120.	
Vpon flesh through that State	80.	
Vpon <i>Dowers</i> and Bargaines	70.	
Vpon condemnations and Suites in law	65.	
<i>Pisa</i> and <i>Linorno</i> yeeld yearely	70.	
<i>Pistoia</i> yeeldeth yearely	60.	
<i>Arezzo</i> yearely	20.	
<i>Volterra</i> yearely yeeldeth	15.	
<i>Cortona</i> yeeldeth	20.	
<i>Monte Pulciano</i> yeeldeth yearely	10.	
<i>Fiesole</i> a desolate Cittie yeeldeth	2.	
<i>Colle</i> a Cittie of five yeares old yeeldeth	3.	
The Cittie and State of <i>Siena</i>	240.	

All which together make the summe of 1095000. which within five thousand Duckets agreeth with the said sum.

This accompt shall appeare not to swarue much, if we examine each particular. First for the Toll of the gates of *Florence* and custome out of the *Dogana*, it is apparently knowne that the great Duke lets it out at two hundred thousand Duckets the yeare at the least, reckoning withall of all other impositions one fourth part of that whole State, which is probably supposed to be gathered hereout. There is paid also throughout the whole state, eight in the hundred for marriages, as if the womā's portion be a thousand duckets, the Prince hath thereout eighty. The like proportion is paid for buying & selling of houses or land. But the letting of houses or land payeth the tenth: for Cattell bought and sold, he hath also a *guiglio*, that is six-pence Sterling in euery two Duckets, and though the Beasts be bought

Burdello.

bought and sold twice in one houre, he hath still after the same rate. Furthermore, besides his impositions vpon the Bancks, he hath at euery alienation eight in the hundred; that is, when the father or possessor dieth, the sonne or next heires payeth after this rate for his patrimony left him. He hath also an entrate out of the *Burdello* stewes, which is thought at the least thirty thousand crownes a yeare in *Florence* onely. there being some eight thousand Curtizans in the towne, these pay euery moneth a liuer nine-pence sterling to the great Duke, because heere the market is somewhat quick, though in *Siena* they pay but a *guiglio* monthly, they pay also a *Liner* a moneth not to weare the yellow list the badge of their trade, if they stand out of the *Burdello*, if they be priuiledged to go to any mans lodging, or if they weare mans apparell, for each of these priuiledges they pay *Gabell* also. The Iewes here also from fifteene yeares vppward, pay two Duckets the yeare.

Bread.

Concerning the *Gabell* vpon bread, true it is, that he hath vpon euery Stay that is ground two *Crazie*, three halfe-pence of ours, so that by this rate he hath of euery quarter of our measure, the summe of eighteene-pence of our money. If then it be supposed that euery one in the state of *Florence* eate twelue *Staiia* a yeare, which is as before a proportion ordinary, the summe will not much differ from the rate of one hundred and twenty thousand Duckets.

Flesh.

Concerning the flesh, it is to be vnderstood, that the great duke hath for euery pound that is eaten five *denari*, wherof 20. make a *Crazia*, so that he hath of euery Stone that is eaten of our weight, the value of three-pence of our money.

He hath vpon euery pound of Salt spent, ten *quattrini* gaine, that is three halfe-pence of our money: so that after the rate of foure and twenty *Moggia* the day, for three hundred dayes in a yeare, allowing the other sixtie five for holly-dayes, he gaines two hundred and sixteene thousand, seauen hundred sixtie one Duckets, whereof allowing almost one halfe for the state of *Siena*, because there he hath no imposition vpon Salt, the sum will accord very neerely with the particular abouesaid.

As

As for the *Dogana* of *Lyuorno*, being the Gate as it were through which all marchandize passe into those parts of *Italy*: and for *Siena*, being the roade from *Venice* and *Florence* to *Rome*, it is to be credibly supposed, that both the one and the other yeeld no lesse benefit to the Prince then is aboue rated; the like is to be thought of the other Citties.

But ouer and besides all this, it is to be considered, that in the whole state of *Siena* he hath a *Gabell* by the Pole as we call it in *England*, that is vpon euery head a certaine rate, (I thinke eightene-pence) besides an allowance for feeding of their cattell, whereof in this State is reasonable good store, much more then in that of *Florence*, whose wants it supplyeth, especially of Swine, by reason of their great store of Mast, for which they pay halfe a ducket the Swine, whereas in times past they paide but one *guiglio*: they pay also for the killing eightene-pence, and other such like impositions. Infomuch as talking with two Gentlemen of *Siena* concerning these matters, men of good qualitie and experience, they auowed that the great Duke had as good as a Ducket vpon euery mastred Swine before he come to the owners table. They farther alleaged, that howsoeuer they were exempt from the *Gabell* of the *Macina* as they call it, that is of paying for their Meale, Salt, and Flesh, yet notwithstanding all things considered, their burthen was no whit lighter then their neighbours of the other State, that paid all these. To which purpose they protested, that of their *Villa* which they let to halfe to the *Contadino* (the labourer) there fell not in the reckoning, (all taxes, tallages, and impositions defalked) aboue one third to themselves, another to the *Fermar*, and the rest to the Prince. A strange proportion we may thinke, that liue in such blessed happinesse, and farre beyond all Taxes, Subsidies, and Priuy-seales whatsoeuer. But what compare I the heavy *Dinasty* of small *Tuscany*, with the flourishing Monarchy, and happy gouernment of great *Brittany*.

He hath also no small matter of the *Camere Locande* lodgings for strangers, and the Innes in the State; of some fortie, of others fiftie, & of some foure-score Duckets, euery third yeare:

Dogana of
Lyuorno.

Gabell by
Pole.

Camere
Locande,
and Inne-
keepers.

he hath also in some places his Bake-houses, where the Inne-keepers are enioyned to take their bread of him. Though this exaction be so great vpon the Innes at *Florence*, and in the road way to *Rome*, notwithstanding in *Pisa* the yoake is not so heauy, there the manner of raising the *Gabell* is thus. At euery three yeares end, all the Inne-keepers in the Cittie are to appeare at a Court in the *Dogana* kept for that purpose. There it is cryed by the Officer, that such, and such an Inne, paide these last three yeares so many Duckets to the Prince, who biddeth more? There is a Candle set vp light, and while that lasteth, it is lawfull to lone and bid for the same, and he that biddeth most shall haue it. Wherein this one thing may seeme more strange, then that which hath bene already enformed concerning a mans Corne, that in some cases he cannot make his prouision of his owne; for here if another will giue more for the Inne then I, though the house be mine owne, he shall haue it, paying me onely my rent, and I shall be forced to seeke another. I haue onely this priuiledge aboue another, that I offering as much as he, I shall be first serued. The Inne-keeper of *Pisa* where lye our English Marchants, auowed this to be most true; he paieth for these three yeares forty Duckets. His Highnesse hath also vpon all things sold in shops, a *Matricula* (as they call it) which is not to be paid euery yeare, but onely once, when the shop-keeper setteth vp; which in some shops commeth at least to an hundred duckets. One that selleth stockings, trusses, shirts, sockes & such trash, told me that at his first beginning he paid his *Matricula* for Wollen cloath twenty *Florens*; for Linnen cloath as much, and for Buttons Silke and Threed as much, which in all commeth to thirty gold crownes. To conclude this point, there is not that trade, nor that man or woman whatsoever, but of them this Prince hath his Tribute, more or lesse, not so much but the poore feely widow, which the whole yeare Spinneth, payeth seauenteene Solls, that is about eight-pence Sterling.

Lazaretto. I haue not heard of any that are free but the *Lazaretton* or Hospidall, & the begger that goeth from doore to doore only; for

for (which hath partly beene said) there is not that poore Asses burthen of dung that goeth out the gates, nor that Radish roote that commeth in, that paieth not his *Gabell*; except they haue the cunning to deceiue them that keepe the gates, men whose eyes will pearce what *Valigia* or basket soeuer: and if it chance they be detected, they loose the thing hidden without redemption. I saw a poore *Contadina* Countrey-woman, who coming to the gate to pay her tolle for a Basket of Lettice she brought in: one of the foxes, who I thinke could sinell a goose, for he could not possible see any, searched vnder the hearbes, and finding one dead without feathers, sent the poore woman away ha'fe dead for sorrow, without her goose. And they told me, that if a Gentleman of *Siena* should come out at *Florence* gates; with a chaine of gold new bought about his neck, howbeit worne betweene his doublet and Jerkin that it might not be seene to saue the *gabell*, that being discovered he should not loose his Chaine onely, but his horse also.

Concerning all the taxes and impositions, certaine it is, that they which rate the great Dukes *Entrate* at eleauen hundred thousand Duckets, comprehend onely such as are ordinary & certaine but of the rest which stand on casualty, and are vncertaine they cannot determine. And sure I am of this, that besides many particulers heere remembred, as also the Rents and Reuenues of his proper lands belonging by many descents to him, of others not accounted in this valuation of his yearely *Entrate*, there is yet one thing behinde vntouched or thought of by others, which will appeare no small matter, and is this.

In euery Citty and towne corporate (as I may say) in *Tuscanie* there was before their subiection to the family *Medici* a *Cōmunità* that is, an *Entrate* in cōmon of the Citty, by which all publick charges were defrayed, all officers maintained, and many other good and charitable workes performed. This *Entrate* arose vpon the Tenth & Tithe of euery mans crop or fruite: (for in *Tuscany* the parish Priest hath them not, he hath onely his offering & Church-rights, with a house and some certaine ground thereto belonging, as yee would say *Glebe-land*.)

Impositions
and Taxes
ordinary.

Casualty.

Cōmunità

It grew also vpon the bread and flesh, thus; euery file of bread as they terme it, cost a *quattrino* the signing, euery Bullock cost foure *Liners* the killing, euery Swine two, euery Weather cost two *guigli*. There were also in times past people of charitable disposition, who dying without children made the *Comunità* their heire to their goods and land, which they call the *Entrate* of the *Ceppo*, that is, the Stock, and is a member of the *Comunità*. Now that which did yearely remaine of the *Entrate*, all charges deducted, was put to the common Treasurie for to helpe in time of dearth or warre, or such like publick necessity. An example hereof I will take the towne of *Prato*. Here the *Entrate* of the *Comunità* is twenty six thousand Duckets the yeare, the *Entrate* of the *Ceppo* is eight thousand, in all thirty foure; hereout they allow the *Podesta* one thousand, the Captaine of the trained Souldiers, six hundred, the Chauncellor five hundred, they allow for a feast euery two moneths among the eight *Pricori* at the choosing of their *Gonfalioniere* twenty duckets. They allow their Iudge, who is a Doctor of the Ciuill law, five hundred, also the wages of the *Bargello* and *Sbirri* (as one would say the Vnder-shirffe and his Sergeants) the wages of the Trumpeters, the stipend of foure Schoole-masters, the salarie of two Physicians and two Chirurgions, the keeping of ten Schollers at the Vniuersitie in *Pisa*, also the maintaining of two Hospitals, one of Bastards th' other of sick, aged, and impotent persons, whereof there are in all to the number of three hundred and fiftie: besides the giuing of portions to poore maides that are married from hence, or to young boyes that are put to some occupation, as also the Almes euery Friday of fourteene *Stai* of Corne, two barrels of Wine, and one of Vineger giuen to the poorer sort. And lastly that which they giue to the *Poueri Vergognosi*, that is, such householders as are poore and are ashamed to beg, whereof there is consideration had by the foure that are in office for that purpose: These and all other their common charges, as trimming of Churches, repairing of Bridges, mending of high wayes, and such like, being defrayed, it is certaine; that there yearely remaineth one fourth part at the least:

Ceppo.

Catchpols.

which now goeth not to the common treasure, as in times past, but to the great dukes coffers: the like is to be said of all other places in this Dukedome.

But it is to be obserued, that before this money which resulteth of the *Comunità* be carryed to *Florence* to the dukes Exchequer, it is put into the *Monte di Pietà* the Bancke of Pitty: a place where any poore man may pawne his household stufte, or cloathes, or whatsoeuer els is worth money (prouided alwayes the gage be worth more then the money) he taketh this money he hath for a day and a yeare after five in the hundred. And if at the time he returne not to redeeme the thing engaged, it is sold by Trumpet, for what can be gotten where-out the principall and interest being taken, the poore man shall haue the rest. So that the great Duke hauing this ouerplus, for now it is their Prouerbe, *Il Duca è la Comunità* in euery Citty and great towne, and the vse besides for the money, which will amount to a round summe through the whole State (for there be of these Banckes in euery place) it is to be coniectured, that his whole *Entrate* is a greater matter then it is ordinarily taken for, of them who esteeme it at one Million and one hundred thousand Duckets, I should rather condescend to them, that rate it at one Million and a halfe.

Concerning his expenses it is harder to guesse at, then his *Entrate*. those of the Duke *Francesco* were supposed about five hundred thousand Duckets; these of this Duke they say be much lesser. And as the Duke his brother had diuers Captaines and men of commaund his Stipendaries, who receiued of him some three thousand five hundred duckets the yeare, some three thousand, some two, and some lesse, according to their nobility, and the qualitie of the place, wherein they had charge, so is it to be thought, that the Generall of the foote, the Collonell of his horse, the generall of his Galleis, and other inferiour Commanders, who vpon occasion are bound to serue him in their places, are with sufficient pension rewarded, each particulers pension, how much it is, without more certaine information then I had, I dare not presume to say: choosing rather to be defectiue

Monte di
Pietà.

His expenses.

in a generality, then being too particuler to erre.

His expēce
on horle.

As for his expence vpon his troope of horse, the Lance hath
7. *Piastras* (1. five shillings 3. pence a peece) a moneth, the light-
horseman hath three now in the time of peace, in warres a bet-
ter proportion. The Souldier in all his garrisons hath foure *Pi-
astras* a moneth, the officers proportionate, each in his place to
this rate. As for the trained Souldier, he is (in peace) no charge
to the Duke for he findeth himselfe shot, powder, armour, wea-
pon, and all things necessary, and is bound to keepe them in
good order; the Captaines and officers of these are paid out of
the *Communità* as hath beene abouesaid. The charge of his
Galleys allowing (as *Don Antonio Doria* in his discourse how to
resist the Turke at Sea doth proportion, that is,) each moneth
five hundred gold crownes a Galley, cometh in the halfe yeare
which time they be commonly at Sea, to the sum of eightene
thousand gold crownes. The charge of his Court, as by the
number of persons therein aboue enformed, may be collected,
cannot be great. I haue heard one of his seruants say, that the
Steward is allowed for *Spezierie*, Spicery, fifteene thousand
duckets, & that all other charges may treble so much more. As
for all officers of Court, but these few before remembred, they
feede at their owne tables; His Pages (which are Gentlemens
sonnes of the Citty, or other places) in number as I take it six-
teene, are at his charges kept at Schoole & at dyet in the Citty:
His *Staffieri* or Footemen are allowed six *Piastras* the moneth,
they are about thirty. His garde of *Swisses* haue foure *Piastras*
the moneth; both these and they feed at their owne charge, or
foiorne at some place, for they haue no allowance out of the
dukes kitchin, not so much but the Cookes as I haue heard, ha-
uing done their office, go to their owne houses to meat. A buil-
der this duke is not at *Liorno*, where indeed is very great cost
bestowed, & very many daily working: howbeit considering
the labour of his Galley-slaues, which all the winter are there
imploied, and of many poore men in the country which vpon
light faults are thither confined, whose labour he hath paying
nothing, it may appeare the charge is not halfe so much as it
would

would cost another. There are also to be considered these expenses, which they call *spese segrete*, secret charges, & no doubt are very great, for that this Prince maketh his way to many effects of much importance by money; as namly in the Court of *Rome*, where although the Pope that now is was chose without the good wil, or rather quite against the desire of this Prince, & although the family *Aldobrandini* was alwaies an empeacher of the *Medicis* greatnesse, and though likewise the father of this Prince executed the father of this Pope; and albeit lastly this Pope desireth nothing more, then that by his meanes his natie countrey might recouer her former liberty yet notwithstanding so strong is this Princes faction in that Colledge, and so many his friends by meanes of his money, as he resteth secured from any such danger. The like intelligence it is said he hath in the *Spanish* court by presents and pensions to the *Infanta*, & others of the Counsaile, so as by his money he is able to diuert what purposes soeuer. He hath also at his maintenance secret espials in *Florence* for his better securitie, as not yet forgetting the treason of *Pucci* in his brothers dayes.

Concerning his Coines, there is the gold crowne of eight *Liners*; the Ducket of siluer seauen *Liners* (which is there called *Piastra*, and so much must you value the ducket in all this discourse; the halfe Ducket, the Testone, two *Liners*; the *Liner* one *Ginglio* & a halfe; the *Ginglio* which is six-pence sterling; the halfe *Ginglio*; all these are of siluer. The *Crazia* of Brasse, with a surface of siluer, the value three-farthings sterling; And lastly the *quattrino*, which is the fift part of a *Crazia*: there was also in times past the *denaro*, the fourth part of a *quattrino*, wherof one hundred & three-score were sixpence sterling, but now there are few of them to be seene, none to be paid. They of the countrey will complaine that now they haue none but *Moneta grossa* great money: It was a good world say they, when we might haue chaged a *quattrino* into 4. *denari*; & with these haue bought herbes, vineger, oile, & Salt, the 4. substantiall parts of a sallet, & this the better part of an *Italian* dinner; whereas now it wil cost the so many *quattrini*: a great alteration, a grosse sum.

As

His absolute rule.

As touching the manage of matters of state, the administration of Justice, and the disposing of Offices, true it is that the great Duke, though all matters do absolutely and plenarily depend vpon his will and pleasure, yet notwithstanding he will for the most part haue the iudgement and counsaile of the Archbishop of *Pisa*, a man who for his dexteritie of wit, and experience in matters of State, hath purchased himselfe great credit and reputation with his Prince; next vnto him he hath other his Courtiers, to whom sometimes he will communicate some causes, but neither all, nor alwayes: which causeth the Prince to be more absolute, procureth his Counsels a more secret proceeding, giueth his actions a more speedy dispatch, and peradventure also a more happy issue: so that it cannot properly be said of this Court, that there is a Counsell of state, but that euery thing immediatly hath his motiue, processe, and ending of the Princes will and pleasure.

Administration of Justice.

Concerning the administration of Justice, and election of officers, it differeth not much from the auncient custome of that Cittie when it was free, the diuers Magistrates and the manner of new choosing them is this.

The Magistrates.

There is in the Cittie of *Florence* the *Gran Consiglio*, the Seminary as it were out of which all other Magistrates are chosen. Of these some are elected by the great Duke himselfe, as the *Quarant' Otto* of the chiefe Cittizens, and such in whom his Highnesse most affieth. Of which nūber there must alwaies be one at the least in any other of importance. But the Lieutenant of the Cittie, and the *Sei Consiglieri* must be all out of these fortie eight, and these also chosen by the Duke, as likewise the *Dodici di Collegio*. Other Officers are chosen by *Ballot*, as the *Commissari*, the *Proueditori*, the *Capitani*, *Vicari*, *Podestà*, and diuers others. For all they that haue office & place of command throughout this state of *Florence*, are Gentlemen of that Cittie, as they of the other are all Gentlemen of *Siena*.

Gl' otto di Guardia.

There is also in *Florence* the *Gl' Otto di guardia e balia*, an office of great authoritie, for these onely giue sentence of life and death, and iudge in criminall causes, these haue their place only
foure

four moneths . In this office the Prince hath alwayes a Secretarie, a *Beneplacito*, his name now in place, is *Buoninsegni*, who euer goeth to his Highnesse to enforme him of the matters in the Court, before they be by the *Otto* determined, and this office hath intelligence of all matters in all criminall Courts in the state, by whom the Courts haue directions from the Prince before they proceed, to the iudgement or execution of the malefactor.

Buonin-
segni a Sec-
retarie.

An instance of this we had this January last past, which I the rather remember to make knowne, what care his highnesse hath to giue our countrey good satisfaction, of whom all English Gentlemen receiue very gracious fauours, as to be admitted to the presence at any *Veglia*, Reuells, or other time of extraordinary sight, also to haue the priuiledge to weare Armes, and other such like. An *English* Gent'eman was by a base groome of the house where he lodged, throwne into the *Arno*, for the money he was supposed to haue in his lodging; the offender, vpon suspition being apprehended, and receiuing the *Strappado* diuers times, and in the highest degree, notwithstanding persisted obstinately in the deniall. The lawe is there, that except he confesse the fact he cannot be executed, how pregnant so euer the presumption be against him; insomuch it was thought he should haue beene discharged: wherevpon the court sent to his Highnesse for direction; he returned them order to vse all manner of torments which possible, or in any cases that court could inflict, and if yet he would not confesse to torture him till he dyed. According to this commission they gaue him the *Sueglia*, a kinde of torture, where hauing receiued a drinke to procure sleepe, the Tortures euer when he noddeth whip him with small plummetts, he sitteth bare vpon an Yron like the back of a knife, and hott Bricks vnder his feete to burne him, if he would ease himselfe that way. It is reported he endured this also, till they came to giue him *L'Arco* the Bowe, at which he confessed. This done he is carried before the court, there freely to say, whether he confessed for feare of torment, or that it is the very truth he said: if he auowe it, they proceed to iudg-

The dukes
kinde re-
spect of the
English.

ment, if otherwise, he is returned to the torture; for this is the onely way to proceed as is before said, how apparent soever the matter be, vnlesse it be proued by two witnesses. As for witnessse, it is there hard to be had, being holden a dishonourable thing to be a witnessse, or an enformer, a *Spia*, as they terme it. In somuch as if an offence be committed in the streetes in the view of diuers Gentlemen, though they were not of the action, no nor of the company, notwithstanding they shall haue the *Strappado* to confesse the matter, which rather then doe, they will suffer. So that to haue the *Strappado*, in *Florence* is no disparagement, except the cause make it so. But to returne to this matter, which I haue of purpose remēbred, to make it appeare how these courts euen in small matters receiue directions from the Prince. After this fellow had auouched to the Court that he did the fact, they sent againe to his Highnesse to know how they should proceed. He returned, that the malefactor should loose his right hand at the doore where was the Gentlemans lodging, and from thence to be drawne to the place of Execution, there to be hanged and quartered, which was accordingly performed.

Other of-
ficers.

To discourse thus at large of each other officer and Court in this City of *Florence*, would be ouer tedious: I will therefore onely name the rest, or at least with one word or two passe the ouer. There is the office of the *Proconsolo*. The six *Capitani delle parti*. The six *Vffiziali de Monti*; the *Vffizio delle Prestanze*, *Linone*, an office of great authoritie, without whose especiall licence, no man may arrest or commence sute against a Courtier or a Souldier, or a stranger. There are the *Otto Conservatori delle leggi*. There be the six *Giudici della Ruota*, which iudge in all causes ciuill, these onely may not be *Florentines*. Also *Li sei della Mercantia*, before whom come all matters of paying or receiuing of debts, these onely haue authority to commit to prison for debt. There be also the *Maestri della zecca*, Mint maisters, *La Banca de Pagatori* these pay all Courtiers, souldiers, & other *Prouisionati* & seruants of his highnesse. Furthermore, the *Vffizio d'Onesta*. These haue authority ouer all actions & pleas of con-
trouersie

trouerie arising in the *Burdello*: here the whore shall haue remedie against her customer that denieth paiment of the price agreed vpon. and if he alledge her vnworthinesse, she shall be searched, and according as the Court findeth, sentence shall be giuen: with much other such stuffe, which better beseemeth that Court, then this discourse to treat of. The office *de Pupilli*; the office *di Cambio*; the offices *della farina del sale, della grafia, dell'abondanza, delle decime* & many such other; besides the offices of the seau'n companies, the *Doganieri* in the Custome house; the *Gabellieri* at the gates; the *Buon'huomini dello stinco*, to prouide for Prisoners; the *Buon'huomini di san Martino*, to prouide for the poore, & infinite such other inferiour offices.

Concerning all these offices abouesaid, me thinkes that some of thē may fitly be called officers of the Crowne, because they be appointed by the Prince in all chiefe townes of his state to gouerne & to looke into the counsels and actions of others, as hauing places in them, but no voices. These hold their office for a yeare, and then are either vtterly discharged, or else remoued to some other. Such officers of the crowne we may call the gouernour of *Siena*. the Commissary of *Pisa* and *Pistoia*, the *Podestà* of other places.

Officers of
the crowne

As for all other officers, they may well be called of the body politick, because they retaine the same number, order, and proceedings (with some little difference already touched) which they did when it was a free state. Thus doth the great Duke serue himselfe of persons to administer Iustice, & to command vnder him with names, such as in former times they had, that by this small shadow of auncient liberty, in some sort he might satisfie the ambitious humor of the cittizens, which desire to be in authoritie, and also pleasure them with profit & gaine, which by these honours and publicke offices they doe make.

Officers of
the body
politique.

Concerning their law it is emperiall, intermingled notwithstanding with some exceptions and *prouisoes* Municipall. As touching their punishments, which be either crumenall or criminall of the purse or of the person, they haue partly ben remēbred already: there be also others as of condemnation to the galleis, of confining, of banditing and such like: but omitting

The Lawr.

what else here in might be said, I will end this discourse with a word or two of the last branche of this relation, namely of the people themselves.

The Peo-
ple.

The consideration of the ciuill fashion and honourable carriage of the Nobler and better sort of *Tuscans*, & of the sauage and Gotish behaviour and insolence of the Pesant, makes me of opinion with *Lipsius*, that those are of the race of auncient *Romaines*, retaining still a relish of their vertue from whom they are deriued: and that these are descended from the barbarous *Goths* and *Cymbrians* (who sometimes swarmed in *Italy*) hauing still the tainte of their inhumanitie. True it is, that this iudgment holdeth generally more in the Pesant thē the Nobility, for that we find these more to decline from vertue, then those to swarue from the vices of their Progenitors. And to proue that this is true, I will without any further censuring referre you to the report of an *Italian*, who being their countreymā should know them better, or at least (I am sure) be more partiall. *Boterus* in his vniuersall Re'lations, speaking of the *Florentines* saith; they be, *Parchi, ritirati, poco amici da forastieri, tenaci del denaro, prouidi dell' auenire, cupi, cogitabondi, d' animo sempre riuolto all' interesse, intenti al quadagno*: and in an other place he giueth them *Sottigliezza d' ingegno, parsimonia, accortezza, dilligenza, attitudine all' Arti vn procedere per appunto, vn star sul vantagio, vn non trascurare cosa alcuna*: that is; they be niggards they liue to themselves, they loue no strangers they are close-fisted they haue an eye to the back-dore, they are hard to be sounded, they are euer biting the lip, their minde euer on their penny, their study still how to gaine. Also, they are men of a shrewd wit, of a spare dyet, of a warie and discreet carriage, very industrious, very apt to learne, they proceed for an inche, they stand vpon the advantage, they will not loose the droppings of their nose. This writer hath gotten (and worthely) for many his ouersights in that booke, the imputation of a notable lyar, and for his egregious partiallities on the *Spanish* side, the note of a notorious flatterer. But sure had the rest of his Booke beene able in the Ballance of truth to haue holden counterpeasable to this iudiciall

ciall report of the *Florentines*, he had well deserued the Pasport of *Seene* and allowed, *Cum Priuilegio*.

And yet by his leaue I cannot beleue without some good His witts. reason, that the *Florentine* generally hath such a perlous wit, & such a subtill conceit I would sooner subscribe he had a subtill dyet: for as hath before beene said, I am of that *French-mans* minde, that could not finde where that great witt of theirs lay, whatsoeuer either by *Maccianell* his report in his historie, or in his person may to the contrary be alleadged. I haue heard of some *English* Gentlemen, whose abode hath beene there longer, and therefore their experience greater, & meanes also very good to entertaine conuersation, that the *Florentine* will be very affable and ready to obserue vs with all possible complement, so long as we will consort him to the *Bardello*, & giue his loose and lasciuious discourse the hearing, which is euer of his Mistrisse, if not of a worse theame: But if at any time we offer the occasion of any better talke, & would discourse with him about some matter of pollicie, or historie, or Art, or such like, he straight shakes vs off with a shug of the shoulder, *actū est, scilicet*, we haue lost our companion: in this onely wise, that he will not talke because he cannot. For who will thinke that this people which do all things *alla mostra*, and speakes alwayes *alla grande* (witness their great houses and small furniture of the one, their great words and small matter of the other) would be squeamish of their knowledge if they had it, that haue such quintessence of termes to grace it? Indeed I verily thinke, that when the *Florentine* was Lord and Patrone of *Pisa, Pistoia, Volterra, Arezzo*, and those other Citties, that then he had wit. But now I see not why we should not say of him, as we vse to doe of young vnthrifts, that were left rich, and haue foolishly spent or lost it (*They were well if they had had wit to keepe it*) I dare say, that if *Maccianell* were againe liuing, and should see them, that were wont to rule a state, now not to bring a few Lettice from their *Villa*, but at the gate to toll for them he would vn say that which he had formerly said, and sweare they had no witte. I would not haue said thus much, but that their writers will needs

all of them put the (witte) vpon them, and they forsooth will needs take it. As though witte were confined to *Florence*, and bandited frō all other citties. Let it be concluded of *Florence* as of all other places (without this singularitie) that there be some wise men, but more fooles, and so I will leaue them.

His aptnes. As for their aptnesse to learne, whereof this author speaketh, if he meane mechanicall Artes, it is not seene in their shoppes, where yee shall almost haue nothing handsomly done, except workes in cloath of golde and siluer. And as for their liberall Sciences, it is not seene in their Schooles, where in one Vniuersitie yee shall scarce finde two that are good *Grecians*, without the which tongue, they holde in our Schooles in England a man neuer deserueth the reputation of learned. Indeed it cannot be denyed, that in two faculties this towne hath had famous men in Painting and Poetry: and I verily thinke that herein *Italy* generally excelleth. And no maruaile, when all their time is spent in Amours, and all their churches deckt with colours.

His curtesie. Their nature (he saith) is close and retired, but sure it is, that after some small acquaintance (especially if he hope to gaine any thing by you) his manner is to offer you all possible courtesies, his house, his seruants, himselfe, and what not, he will proffer you his Iewell, or any thing which liketh you, and euer importune you to dine with him, with all ceremony and complement; (for here they grow) marry he holds it for the greatest discourtesie in the world, and a *mala creanza uille*, manners to accept any his offers, it is not the fashion of *Tuscany*: for were this custome of taking once vp, the complement of offering would soone downe.

His industrie. What else *Boterus* saith I hold most true, either of the *Florentines* industrie & greedy gaining, or of his parsimony & thin feeding. Especially at his owne table, or at his Inne, where he paieth according to his feeding; but let him come to another mans table, or to a certaine ordinary, and he will hold the last vie with the tallest Trencher-man of all *Mediâ*. Of whom one may rightly say, as the Poet speakes of the harlott in the
Come-

Comedy : at their owne borde, *Nihil videtur mundius, nec magis compositum quicquam nec magis elegans*, but at anothers cost yee shall note, *illorum ingluuiem, sordes, inediam*. Though concerning the place it is quite contrary, for the harlots do *pitissare* abroad, and *deuorare* at home.

As touching their apparell, it is both ciuill, because black, **Apparell.** and comely because fitted to the body.

For their names, they be those of the old *Romaines* onely altered with an Italian pronounciation and determination. **Names.**

Concerning their language, it is the best of *Italy*. As for those **Language.** vngratefull *Tuscans*, that in no case will acknowledge to be beholden to the *Latines* but will eyther haue it a mother tounge of it selfe, or at the least the daughter of the *Caldean* tounge, for that it hath the *Afixa* as *me, te, se, ne, ve*, and such like, very agreeable with that other language, I dare not giue them credit: for if it were plumed of the *Romans* feathers, I thinke it would be but a naked language. True it is, that from the *French* and *Dutch* tongues it borroweth much, and somewhat from the *Greekes*. As *abbassare, allogiare, auanzare, comminciare, donna, gagliardo*; and infinite others from the *French*, *Arnese, becco, brano, brindisi, elmo, fiasce, fresce, giallo*; and many moe from the *Dutche*. They haue also from the *Greekes*, as *Battezzo, catedra, catarro, golfo, gamba, mottegio, rimbombo, rio, &c.* So that if the *Gothe* and *Vandall* had also theirs, I thinke this *Tuscane* tounge would be left nothing but her quaint *diminutives*, wherein consisteth her onely grace; as of *Pouero* the plaine song, she runnes a descant of *Poucrone, Pouerino, Poueretto, and Poueraccio*, and so almost of any worde whatsoever. This Language also challengeth to haue a singular grace in her vocall terminations, as in such words as these, *Rinfrescatoio, Temperatoio, Cuoio, Ascugatoio*, and such like; which they of *Tuscany* say are of a more sweete desinence then any of the *Latine*, and so I thinke, howbeit they must needs acknowledge the borrowing of this elegancie from one of the *Greeke* dialects, for what can be more like to *μεγαλοιο θεοιο* and *δυσλοιο ανθρωποιο*.

As

Different
speech.

As for the difference of speach among the *Tuscans*, I thinke it be as great, as was euer the difference of mindes among the *Italians*, and hath as many factions: for as we had in times past the factions *Sassadelli* and *Vaini* in *Imola*: the *Cerchi* and *Donati* in *Florence*: the *Bianchi* and *Neri* in *Pistoia*: the *Fregosi* and *Adorni* in *Genoa*: the *Lambartazzi* and *Gerenei* in *Bologna*: the *Colonna* and *Orsini* in *Rome*: the *Imperialls* and the *French* in all: So haue yee at this day one language of the *Florentine*, another of the *Sanese*, the third of the *Lucchese*, and the fourth of the *Pisan*, but the worst of the *Pistolese*. Yea and in *Florence* it selfe, the language hath now a faction *Guelphe* and *Ghibelline*. Howbeit of these diuersities it is generally held, that the *Florentine* hath the best words, but his pronounciation is somewhat too guttural; and that the *Sanese* hath the best pronounciation, but his words relish too much of the *Latine*: for so saith their prouerbe; *Fauella Florentina in bocca Sanese*: So that, he that shall haue the tearmes of the one, and the accent of the other, *Omne tulerit punctum*, shall hit the marke.

His cu-
stomes.

His iealou-
sie ouer his
wife.

His indul-
gence ouer
his childe.

His valour.

It remaineth I speake of their customes, differing from ours; The husband (for the most part) when he goeth abroad, locketh vp his wife (not because he is iealous, (he protests) but because it is the custome.) The Tutor is abused by the Scholler with all odious misdemeanour, yet dare he not correct him least his father should braue him: I know not two worse estates in *Italy*, then that of a faire wife, and this of a teacher; the one is euer a prisoner, the other alwayes a slaue; the one no better then a Birde in a Cage, the other no better then *Geta* in the *Scane*.

Concerning quarrels, they are carried thus: the party wronged (if not in some high degree) will challenge the other to fight, if they be both prouided it is presently vndertakē, otherwise it is deferred till the next day, or some such short date; the place appointed is commonly in the Cittie, and in the chiefest streete: here they encounter with a good Scull vnder their hattes, a large Maile to their knee vnder their apparell, besides their Gauntlet; so that if they had a *Supersedeas* for their face,

and

and would doe as the boyes doe in *England* (barre striking at shinnes) or as the Schollers of *Padoa* , who haue plates for this purpose : no doubt but *Dametas* and *Clinias* might thus make a tall fray. I saw two gallants in *Pisa* fight thus completely provided, where after a very furious encounter , and a most mercilesse shredding and flashing of their apparrell, with a most desperate resolution to cut one another out of his clothes ; They were (to the sauing of many a stitch) parted, and by mediation with much adoe made friends.

But if it be a wrong, whereof he purposeth a reuenge, he will waite an oportunitie seauen yeares , but he will take you at the aduantage, or else doe it by some others, whom he will hire for the purpose . In this sort were two slaine in *Pisa* , while I was there, the one a rich Marchant, the other a Knight of the Order, the one comming from his whore, the other going thether. Two also in *Siena* in seauen dayes. And at my comming hither to *Venice* , (for this is generall through all *Italie*) there were on Shroue-sunday at night seauenteene slaine ; and very many wounded : besides that they there reported , there was almost euery night one slaine, all that *Carneual* time. The occasion of most these quarrels and mischiefes arise from the *Burdeillo*. This is also to be obserued , that the party wounded , whereof perhaps in few dayes he dyeth , will neuer discover by whom he was hurt, except to his Confessor, though he konw him very well : neither will the brother or sonne of him slaine, take any acknowledgment of the doer , though by circumstance and presumptions they be very sure thereof, but rather awaite the good houre to crië quittance.

Concerning the wooing & winning of his Mistresse fauour, (I meane as our *English* phrase is , in the way of marriage) he must (as the Poet saith, *Extrema linea amare*) loue faire and farre off : he may sollicite his cause with passionate Letters , or amorous glances before her windowe , or at the Church, (the onely place where such matters are managed) but other eyther time, or place, or meanes, he hath not which are ordinary: Inso-much as many times the match is made before he know eyther

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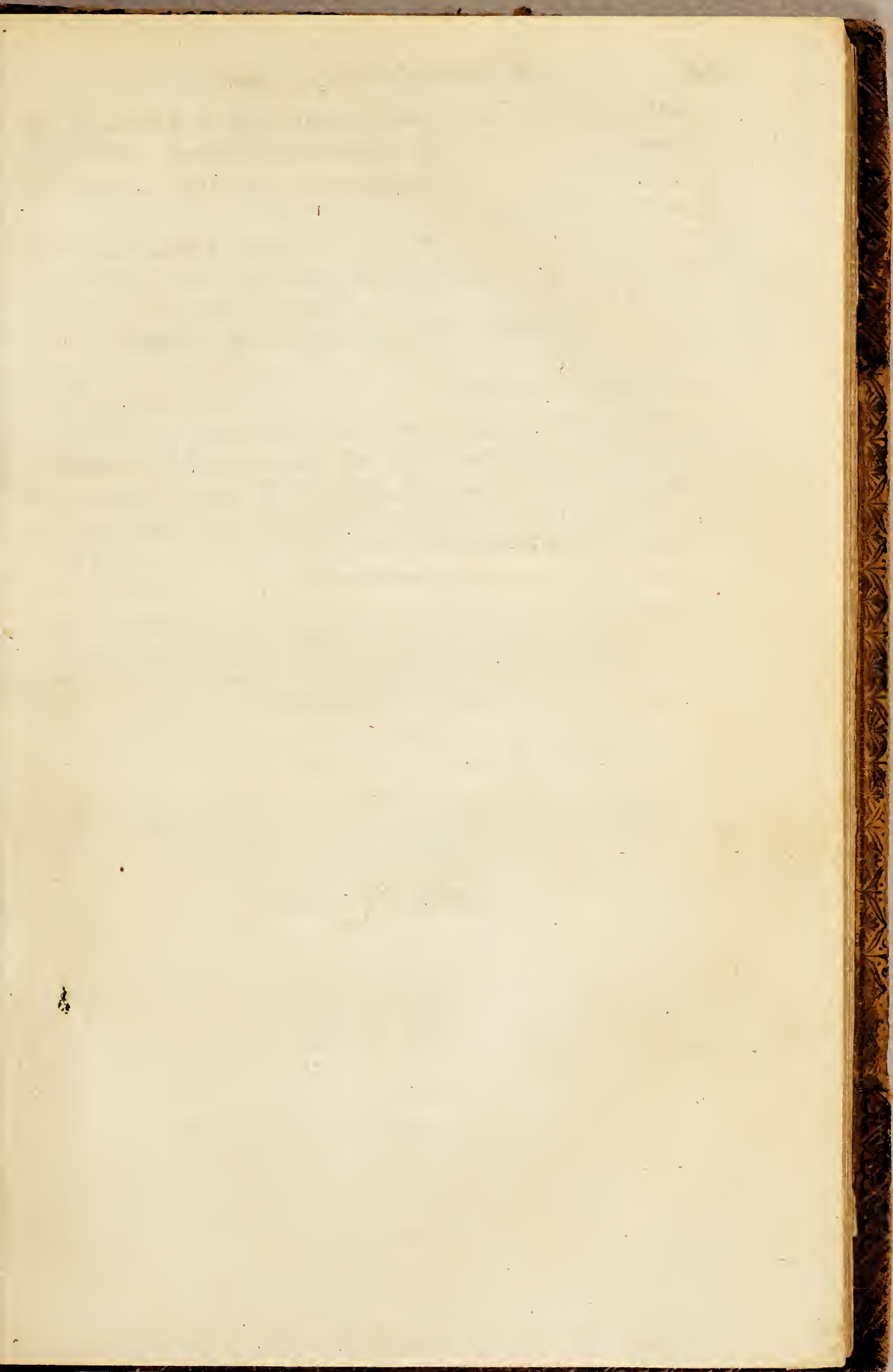
how the humour of her braine, or vapour of her stomach will be pleasing to his senses of hearing and smelling, which may be one chiefe cause why so many husbands dislike, and of their straying to forbidden fruite.

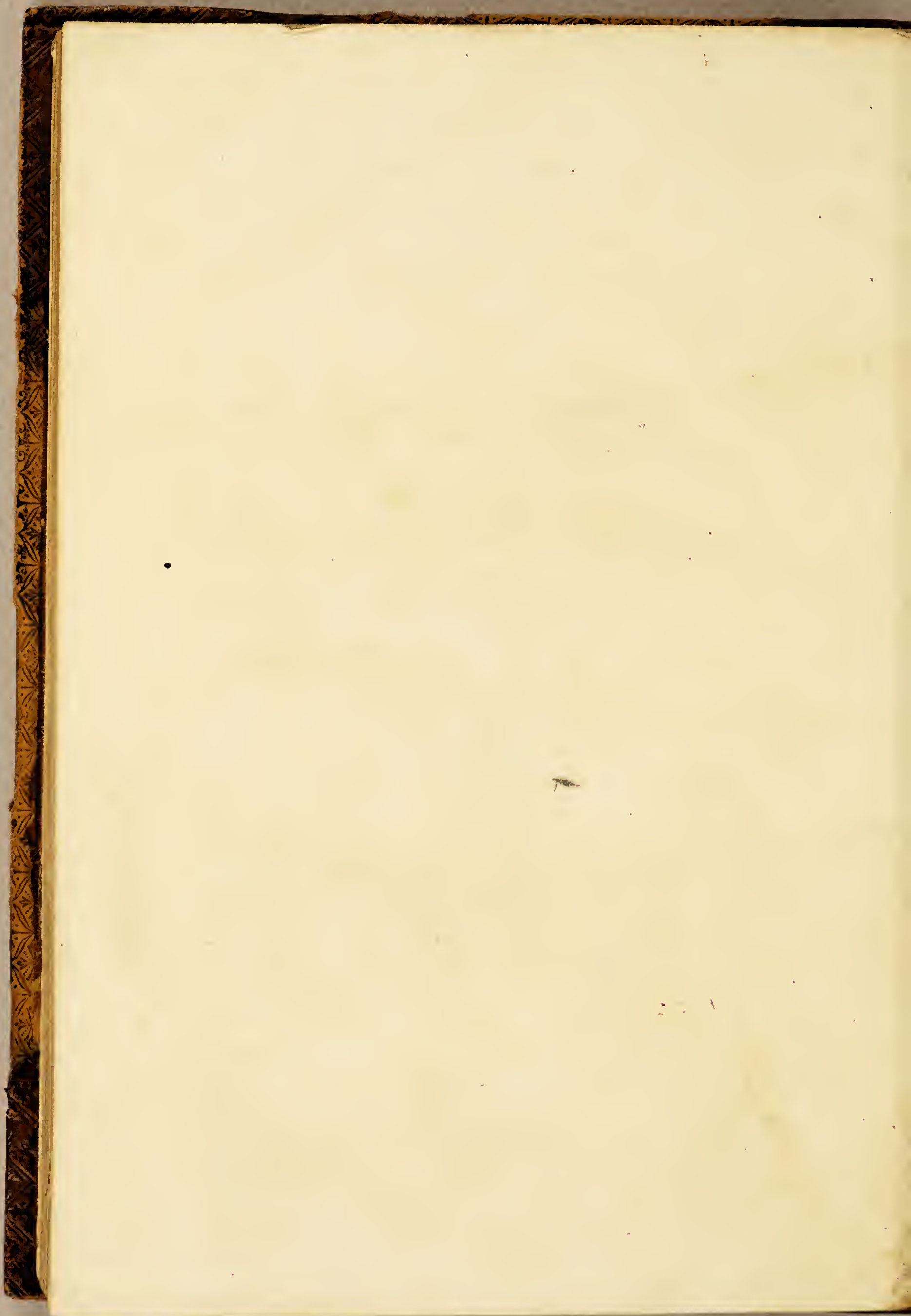
I should take the course in this Relation, which many husbands doe in their wishes, that is, presently after marrying to talke of burying; which also differeth much from ours in *England*: but if I should speake thereof being a Church action, I should also speake of other Church matters, whereof I purposely omitt to speake; as also of all other their manners and customes common with other people of *Italy*.

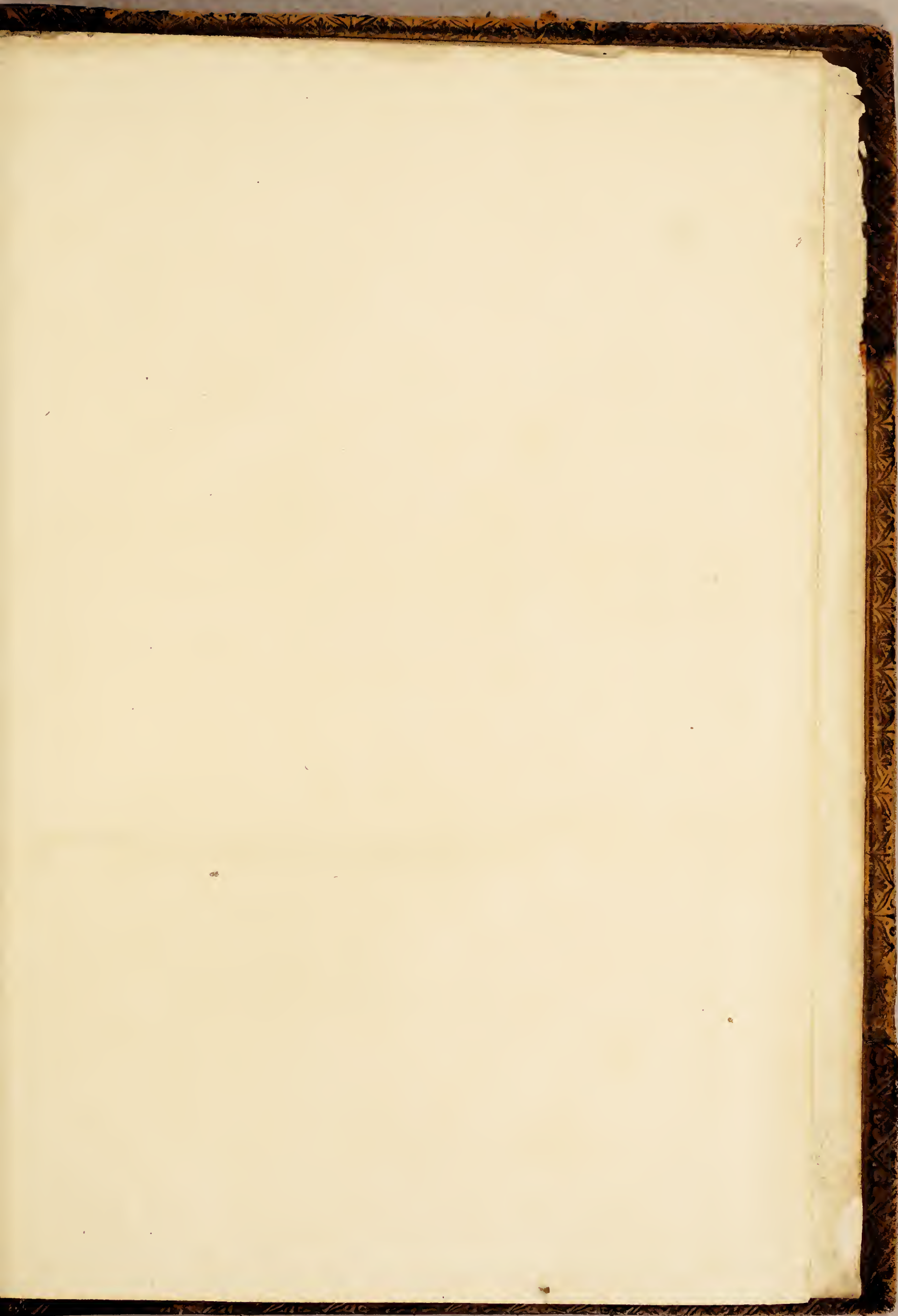
I will therefore knit vp this little Treatise of this great Duchie, with this abrupt period, namely: That this People liues much discontented, as appeareth by their daily and great, (but Priuate) complainings: hauing fresh in their mindes their former libertie, and heauie on their backes their present yoake. That this State is like a body which hath lately taken Phisick, whose humours are not yet well settled, or as a stomach weakened so much by purging, as there is now nothing left but melancholy. Concluding of this people, as of a person that liues alwayes vnder the hands of a Phisition,

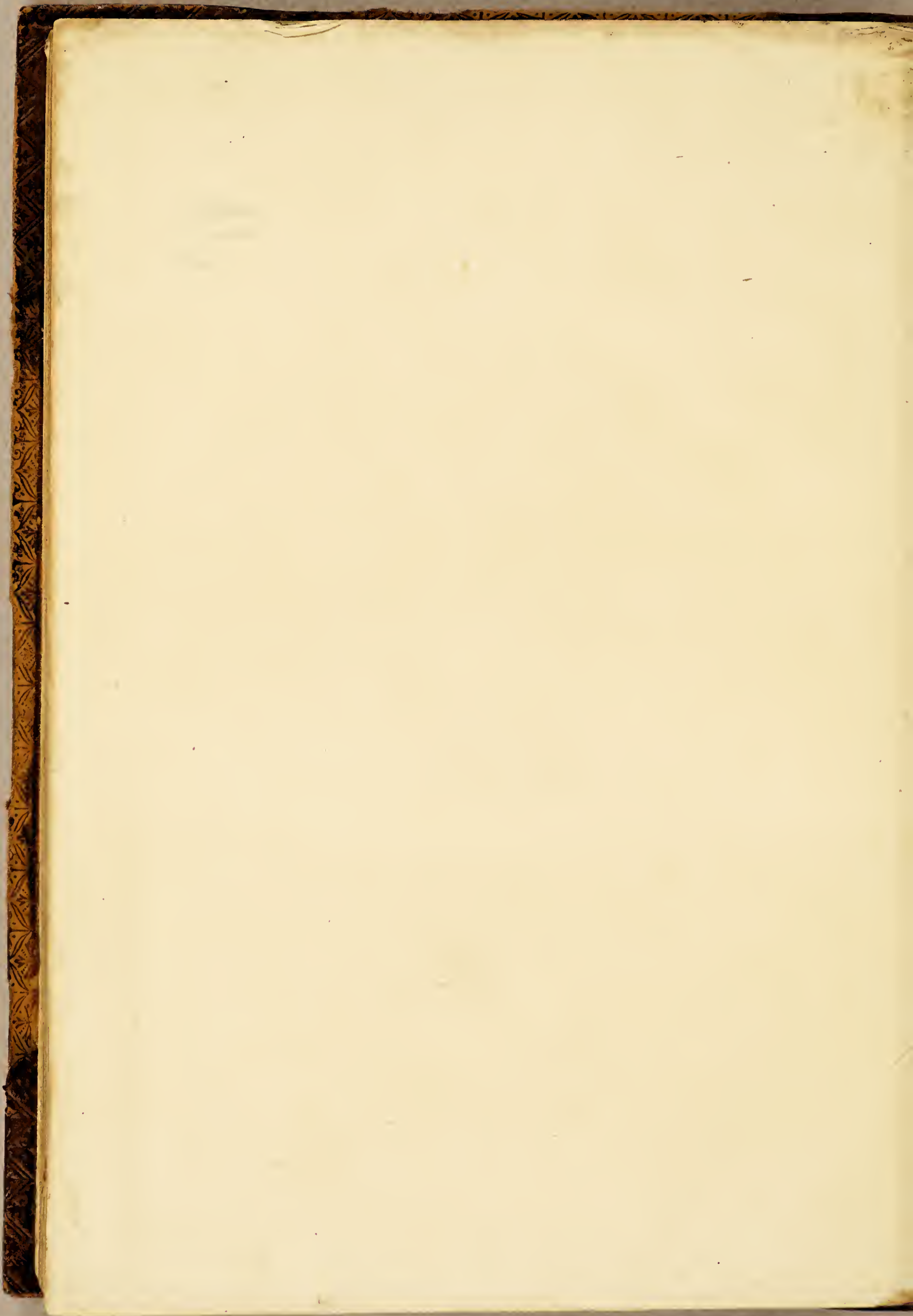
*Qui sub Medicis viuit, misere
viuit.*

FINIS.









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