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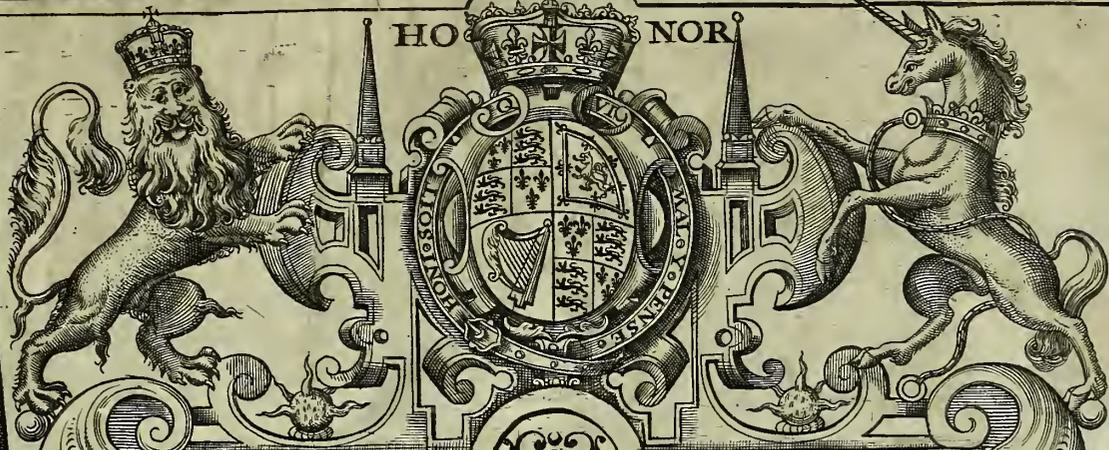
Apr 4 1849

2 leaves + 1 pair

Examine for roots



HO NOR



**TIMES STORE-HOVSE**

*Henry* CONTAINING *Brilliant*  
The learned Collections, & Judicious  
Readings, and memorable Obserua:  
tions of sundry worthy Personages,  
English, French, Italian, Spanish,  
&c. vpon diuers Subiects as will ap:  
peare by the seuerall headed in the  
page following; all of them no lesse v<sup>s</sup>efull then

delight:  
full.

PAX

NOBI:  
LITAS



**WHERVNTO**

is annexed:

A speciall Treatise of that kind of  
NOBILITY which Soverayne GRACE,  
and fauor, and Contryes Customes,  
haue made meerly POLITICALL  
and peculiarly CIVILL (neuer so  
distinctly handled before)\*

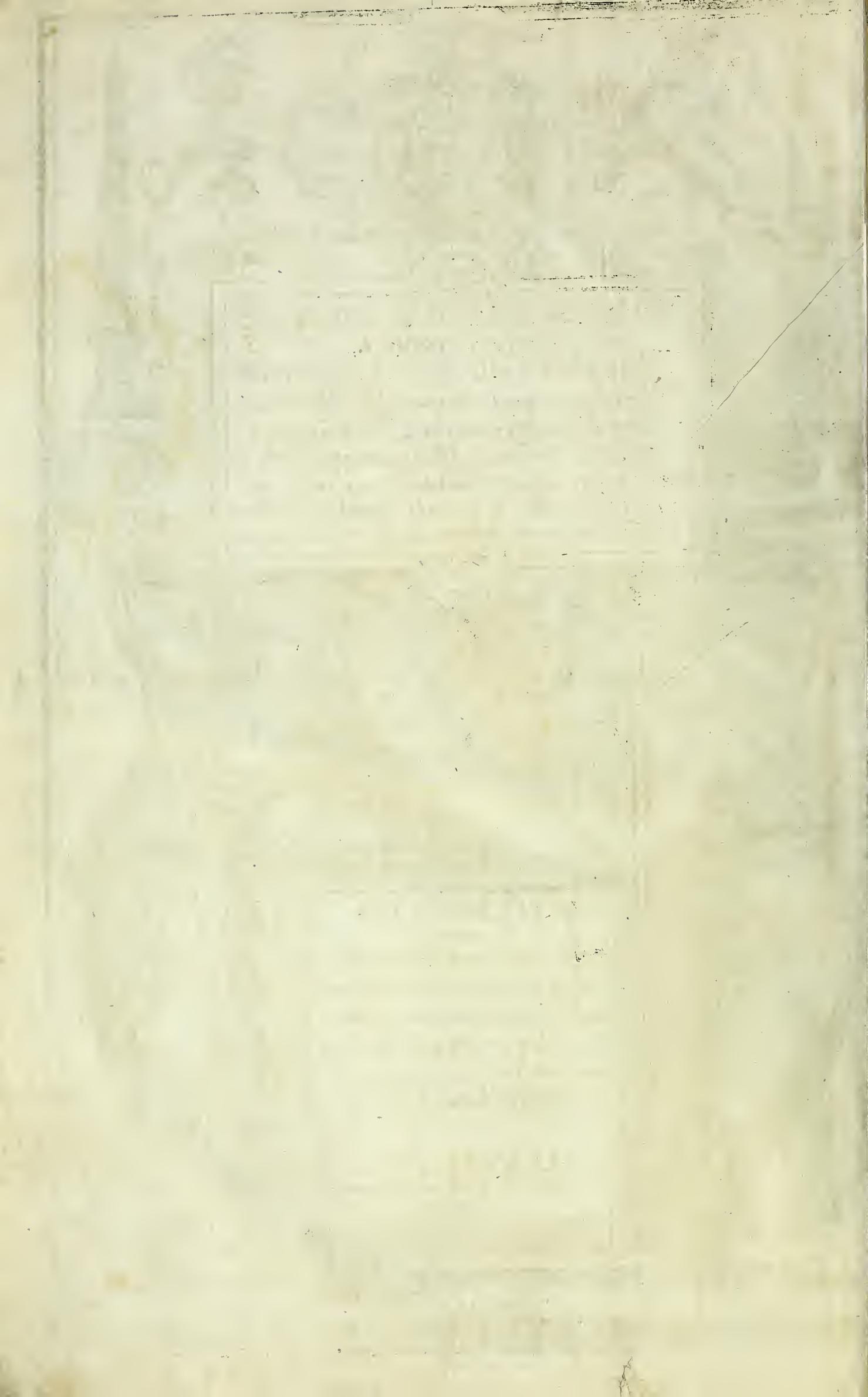
**LONDON**\*

Printed by WILLIAM LAGGARD.

1619\*

LIBERTAS

Renold Elstracke sculp.



# The Contents.

## The first Booke.



*Of the Ancient Gauls, their Original, Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies.*

*The Disciplines of theyr Druides or Priestes, to the yonger people.*

*Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Eubages, & profession of Languages, with other manners used amongst them, as wel in warre as in peace, and how they have continued and changed since.*

## The second Booke.

*Of the New Gaules, now called the French, their manhood, valor, and successeful fortunes from their beginning.*

*The greatnesse of their Kings, their many battels, and famous victories.*

*Of the names of Kings and Emperour: as also of the Originall of Royalty.*

*The Battell of Rauenna.*

*Of the learned women, called the Sybils.*

*The seuen wonders of the World.*

*Famous military Orations both of Romaines and Iewes.*

*The Battaile of Nouara, &c.*

## The third Booke.

*The originall of the Switzers.*

*The manner of Gouvernement obserued in all their seuerall Cantons.*

*What Confederates they hane, both in generall and particular.*

*Likewise of their warres and Battailes.*

## The fourth Booke.

*Of the Kingdom and Court of Spaine, with the Lawes, Customes, and manners of the Nation. Also the diuision and scituation of the said country.*

*Concerning the kingdom of Portugall, the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Lawes, Customes, and administration of Iustice therein obserued.*

*Of the Kingdome of Naples, the Antiquitie, Lawes, and Customes thereof.*

*The Originall of the Salique Law, the first Authors and inuents thereof.*

*The Originall of the Normans.*

*The first planting of the Vine, and prohibition of wine among the ancient Romaines.*

*Examples by Birds, Fflies, and other Creatures, for the leading of a vertuous life.*

*The Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted, and what a Triumph is.*

*Of the Crownes and other recompences, giuen by the Romaines to noble deseruing Soldiers, &c.*

## The fifth Booke.

*Of the Nobility of England, Politicall and Ciuill.*

*The Rites and Ceremonies used in the Creation of Barons by Charter.*

*The Kings Charter for the creating of a Viscont The Charter Royall for the creation of an Earl, a Marquesse, Marchionesse, as also of a Duke, and the manner of creating them: being all liuely represented in their seuerall habites, by Figures cut in Brasse.*

*The Kings Charter for creating the Prince of Wales.*

*The Crowning of the King, as well in former times, as now.*

*The order of the Parliament pompe.*

*The maner of restoring blood once tainted.*

*The Order of the Knights of the Garter, by who instituted, when, and how.*

*The Collegiate Society of Heralds.*

## The sixth Booke.

*Of the Commonwealth of the Gennes or Geneweyes, with the Gouvernement and administration of Iustice there used.*

*An excellent Relation, concerning the estate, Religion, and Common-wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.*

*Of their three Sects, (viz:) the Pharifies, the Sadduces, and Essæans: their Originall & maner of life.*

*Of their three Families: The first being the posterity of Iesus: The second, the Asimoneans: & the third, Antipater the Idumæan of Afcalon: with a clearing of doubts in diuers Authors.*

*Of Ceremonies used by the Romaines, before they moued any warre, &c.*

## The seuenth Booke.

*The Common-wealth of Luca, with their Lawes and Constitutions.*

*Of diuers accidents, seruing as diuining Auguries in elder times, whereby to iudge of things to happen.*

*Against*

# The Contents.

*Against the permission of Duells, or single Combats.*

*A true module of Government in any Commonwealth, deriued from the communitie of Bees.*

*The three Conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes, and Normanes.*

*The three famous battailes of Gaza, Grand Cayer, and at Nylus.*

*The first inuention of wearing Rings, with the vertues and properties remaining in precious stones.*

*Of the Septuagint, or 70. Translators of the Olde Testament, out of Hebrew into Greeke.*

*The admirable vertues and properties of the Ant.*

*A briefe suruay concerning the Netherlands, diuided into 17. Prouinces, with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there raigning, from Thierry the first Earle of Holland and Zeland, to this instant time.*

## The eight Booke.

**O***F the Venetians, and the manner of their policie.*

*The foundation of Venice.*

*The liues and memorable acts of their Dukes and Princes.*

*Of Gun-shot, and other fiery Engines.*

*Of Physicke and Physitions.*

*Of the seuen Sages of Greece.*

*The first foundation of Ierusalem, what fortunes befell it from time to time, and what Kings reigned there.*

*Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare, as also of ancient and moderne figures represented by them, with diuers other misteries beside.*

## The ninth Booke.

**C***oncerning the Countrey of Moscouia or Russia, and of the seuerall commodities which the land yeeldeth.*

*The Linage and descent of the Russian Empe-*

*perour, his Enstalment and Inauguration.*

*His manner of Government, Parliaments, Laws, Customes, Warres, &c.*

*His power for warre and Military Discipline.*

*What Orders, Rites, Sacraments and Ceremonies are obserued in the Moscouian Church.*

*Of poysons giuen to kill at a certaine day, whether they can doe it, or no.*

*Of erroneous and vile opinions, yet beleued for sound truths.*

*What language they shall speake, that neuer heard any speech.*

*That a man or woman borne deafe, is necessarily dumbe also; and he that is borne among dumbe people.*

*What the reason is of a childes being so tardie in knowing how to speake.*

## The tenth Booke.

**T***He Kingdome of Ireland, the Originall of it, and how.*

*By whom it hath beene inhabited and Governed from the beginning.*

*How those parts and Countries, commonly called The New World, were first found.*

*The excellencie and dignitie of Marriage.*

*Of the Doctors of Sorbonne, and their first Originall.*

*The reason why some Princes and Commonweales haue prospered in the time of Warre, and runne to ruine in peacefull dayes.*

*Of those qualities and behauiours necessarily required to be in a Prince.*

*That the eldest sonne ought alwaies to be aduanced and preferred before the younger.*

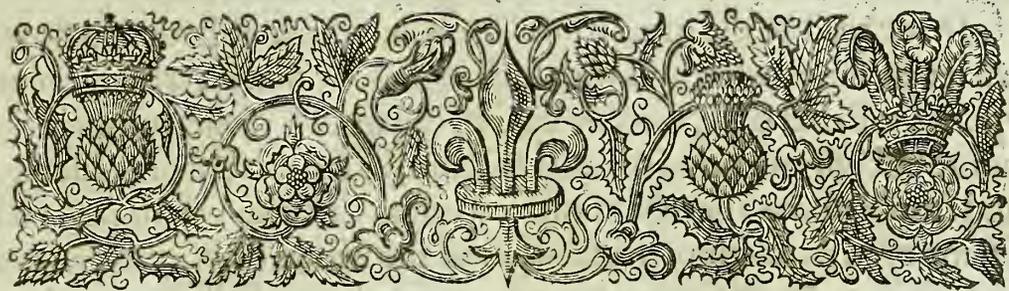
*Concerning the great Monarchy of the Cæsars or Romanes.*

*Of the Bezars stone.*

*A learned Tract, concerning the generation of Pearles.*

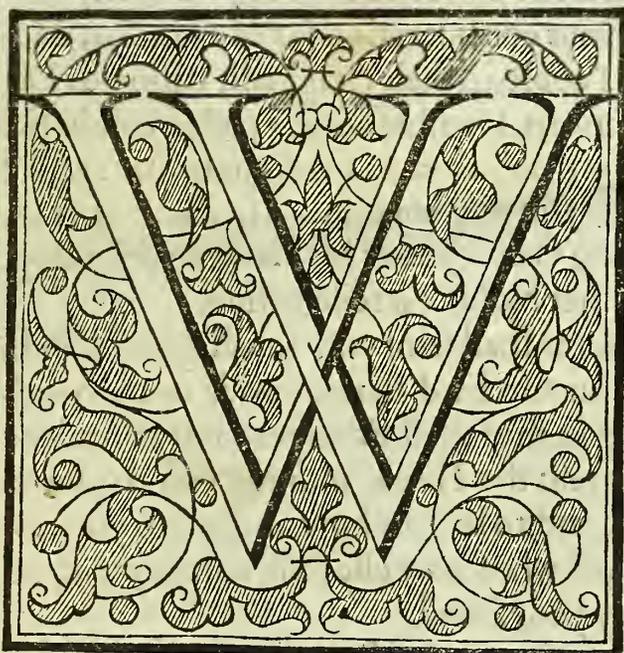
*With many other excellent and memorable discourses.*

FINIS.



To the most Noble and Twin-like paire,  
*of truly Honourable and compleat perfection; Sir PHILLIP*  
 HERBERT, Knight of the Bath to our dread Soueraigne  
 King JAMES, at his Royall Coronation; Lord Baron of  
 Sberland, Earle of Mountgomery, and Companion in the  
 vnparaleld and famous Fellowship, of the  
 Order of the Garter.

*As also, To the truly vertuous and Noble Countesse his Wife,*  
 the Lady Susan, Daughte to the right Honourable Edward Vere, Earle of Oxen-  
 ford, Viscount Bulbec, Lord Sandford and of Badelesmere:  
 and Lord High Chamberlaine of  
 England, &c.



Orthily might I bee con-  
 demned of arrogancie,  
 (most Noble Lord & La-  
 dy) because, hauing past  
 the Pikes in a peece of the  
 selfe-same seruice (follow-  
 ed with fauour and kinde  
 acceptation) I should  
 therefore presume vpon  
 the like successe: know-  
 ing the inconstant nature  
 of Times, that as they al-  
 ter, so do mens humours  
 & dispositions with them.  
 For, that which carrieth

liking and allowance to day, falles into loathing and contempt to  
 morrow; Opinions being more various in the case of Bookes, then  
 are the Arguments whereon they discourse, because carping curio-  
 sity will haue his censure. But, as the Last for *Hercules*, was not fa-  
 shioned to fit euerie foote, nor his Lyons skinne to be worne by any  
 base Lout; euen so the sublimitie of true iudgement (in matters of  
 such industrious and painfull labor) should be left to the Learned;

Ignorance will  
 alwayes be  
 bold vpon the  
 learnedst la-  
 bours.

The first Vo-  
 lume of this  
 Trealurie,  
 published a-  
 bout 5. yeares  
 since.

# The Epistle Dedicatorie.

not to euery course and mechanicke conceite, capeable of nothing, but of such occasions as are suteable to his owne condition.

I haue read of the great Riuer \* *Euripus*, which ebbeth and floweth seuen times a day, and with such violence; that it carrieth Ships vpon it with full sayle, directly against the winde. Seuen times in an houre ebbeth and floweth rash Opinion, in the torrent of indiscreet and troublesome apprehension: carrying Criticke calumnie, and squint-eyed detraction, mainly against the winde of Wisedome and Iudgement; because their braines are no better ballast, nor their capacity of further reach or extendure.

And yet, if the saying of *Hesiod* be true; *That nothing can bee more pleasing, then variety, which is the soules cheefest solace*: Then (not fearing folly, but speaking to peerelesse Noble nature) giue mee leaue to tell you, that there can hardly bee any especiall subiect imagined, but one Argument or other heere meeteth with it. From Sacred Diuinity (the most solide and supream of all other) through all other Artes and Sciences whatsoeuer, euen to any lowly, and the meanest (worthy) profession; here is some notable marke or Monument thereof (if it be either Ancient or Moderne) stored vp in this Treasure, for future Ages to delight in, and to receiue no meane benefite thereby.

Then (Honourable Lord and Ladie) all these blessings beeing Yours (as also my selfe, in endlesse dutie and seruice) when any subiect of great, graue, and serious consideration (as of Nations, Monarchies, Kingdomes, and People, in their Originall, Rising or Declining, by Warres, Dissentions, Combustions, or otherwise in the like occurrences) shall seeme troublesome or tedious to you: walke on but a little further, & then you may enter into a spacious Forrest, affording all choise of pleasing Game, either for Hawking, Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, or any other Noble exercise beside.

When those Forrest pleasures shall faint you (as all delights dull, by too much continuance) an Orchard standes wide open to welcome you, richly abounding in the fairest Frutages: not to feed the Eie onely, but likewise to refresh the Heart, inuiting you to plucke where, and while you please, and to bestow how, and when you list: because they are all yours, and whosoever else shall taste of them, do enioy such freedome but by your fauor.

There is one especiall recreation more (Gracious Madam) which remaineth soly to your selfe, and such as may enter by your admittance; in a goodly large Garden, abounding with all kind of the fairest Flowers, that open with the cheerfull mornings Sun, and shut againe at his sad departure, all sweet, and all soueraigne. And, because Ladies of elder times (as many haue had the like delight in our more Moderne daies) were singularly skilfull in Physick and Chirurgery: there is not a vacant place in the whole Garden, but it is fitly furnished

\* A narrow sea betweene the Hauens Aulis of Bœtia, and Eubœa.

*Hesiod. in Lib.*  
3. Cap. 7.

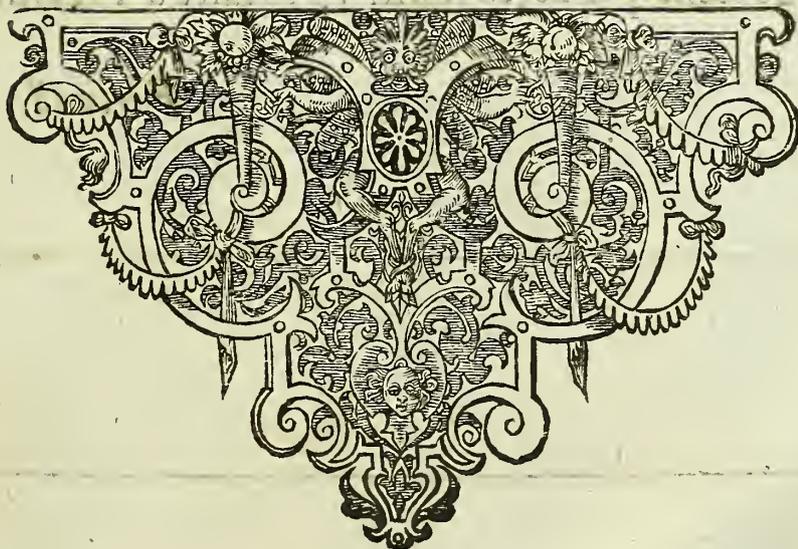
Comparing all the Volumes together.

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

shed euerie where; the verie common walkes (euen as if they were Bride-like strewed by hand) are couered with the choifest Simples, purest distillatorie Plants, and wholesome Herbes of euerie Vertue: for which, the Garden was purposely founded, and not for fruitlesse idle vanity.

And were you all alone, without companie, and by your selfe, yet can you not so continue there: For, you may meeete with a faire Beuey of Queenes and Ladies, at diuers turnings as you walke, and euerie one will tell you the Historie of her life and fortune (rare examples of Vertue and Honor) as themselues can best, truly & plainly discourse vnto you. Some other also you shall see, sadly sitting vnder Eughe & Cipresse trees, with Garlands of those leaues wreathed about their heads, sighing out their diuers disasters: whom your Noble nature cannot choose but commiserate; as greeuing to see a scratch in a cleare skin, and a bodie beautified by Nature, to be blemished by vnkinde Destiny.

From manie remote Kingdomes and Countries (where naturally they spake those seuerall Languages) are all these variable pleasures come hither, onely to kisse your Noble hands. It was no mean infelicitie for them, to find no fitter a Tutor, that might haue taught them to speake more eloquent English; which (indeede) also was my fault, seeing none else would tie themselues to so hard a Taske. But howsoeuer it may prooue, your rich iudgements, and all-sufficient ability in the Languages, as also my weakenesse, will (I hope) bury all defects in your fauor, & beare out from scandall my willing endeouour, that I may finish the other (yet remaining) eleuen Bookes behinde, to perfect so rich and rare a Treasurie.





☞ The Printer to the  
Reader.



Some few yeares past, I intended the whole Worke of *Pedro Mexia*, with some other Authours on the like Arguments of variety. I then published nine Bookes, with intention to haue made them vp fifteen, for the first Volume: but being preuented by sicknesse, I finished but the first nine Bookes; and finding the good acceptance of them, I haue aduentured now on ten Bookes more, of the like Ancient and Moderne Times: sauing only, some particular Heads but lightly touched, are now (by the same Authors) more at large illustrated. And may this finde equall fauour vnto the former (without any harsh censure, or vnkinde discouragement:) the other eleuen Bookes shall follow with all conuenient speede, to finish vp so faire a Treasury.

*Farewell.*

# A Table of the Authours Names, that alledge and ap- prooue the feuerall Arguments, contained in this Booke.

S.  Mbrose  
S. Augustine.  
Anselme  
Ansonius  
Adon. Epif.  
Vienna

Aristotle  
Ammianus Marcellinus  
Auenzoar.  
Appianus  
Agathias  
Aletius  
Aulus  
Arrianus  
Albertus Strasbourg  
Aucenne  
Auerroes  
Athanasius  
Antonius Sabellius  
Arehytas Tarentinus  
Antoninus  
Annius de Viterbo  
Annales Constantinop.  
Annales Treuirensis  
Auror de Bel. Affric.  
Arnoldus Lisiens  
Adrianus Imperat.  
Aymonius  
Aleinus  
Agapetus  
Aulus Gellius  
Egisippus  
Elianus  
Eneas Syluius  
Eschylus  
Eschines  
Emilius Victor  
Etius  
Elius Lampridius  
Emilius Macer  
Asperarius  
Atheneus  
Asinius Pollio  
Apuleius Panifis  
Alexander Alexandrinus  
Alexand. Aphrodisens  
Apolonius Thyaneus  
Alphraganus  
Anthony du Lebrix  
Aristander  
Antonius Nebricensis  
Albertus Magnus  
Aristomachus  
Achilles Statius

Aristophanes  
Andronicus Athenensis.  
Ansonius Lombardus  
Aretine  
Acamathius  
Antoninus Syl.  
Alphonsus Rex Hisp.  
Attalus  
Accurtius  
Azzo  
Alexand. Trallianus  
Atteius Capito  
Asconius Padianus  
Appianus Alexandrinus  
Archilocus  
Arnoldus Ferronius  
Amatus  
Aristarchus  
Antoninus Arch. Floren.  
Antisthenes  
Anaximander  
Albertus Crantzius  
Alexand. Gueguinus  
Anaximenes  
Abbas Siculus  
Almadaetus Arab.  
Augurellus  
Anthenor  
Annales I. Stow  
Actuarus  
Aurea Historia  
Asserius Meneuensis  
Alfridus Beuerlacenensis  
Adam Merimont h  
Alliances genealogiques des  
Rois & Princes de France  
Annales de Aquitaine  
Annales de Bourgoigne  
Annales du France.  
Annales rerum Flandricarum.

**B**

Biblia Sacra  
S. Basile  
S. Bernard  
Boterus Benefus  
Baldus Abbat  
Baldus Doc. Civil.  
Berosus  
Bucchanan  
Baronius  
Budaus  
Bandello

Belforrest  
Baptista Fulgotius  
Blondus  
Bartholomeus  
Boetius  
Boccace  
Bonfinus  
Barthol. Picenus  
Bartholus  
Berenus  
Barthol. Dardanus  
Beroaldus  
Baptista Ignatius  
Bellonius  
Bodinus  
Bozius  
Bachi Anchisus  
Bucholcerus  
Balthazar Castellanois.  
Bætius Senerinus  
B. Westmerus

**C**

S. Cerill.  
S. Chrysofome  
Columella  
Cedrenus  
Claudianus  
Crescentius  
Clemens Alexand.  
Cocil. Tolet  
Capitolinus  
Cornelius Tacitus  
Cicero  
Ciaconius  
Chrysippus  
Cardanus  
Cleomedes  
Collenutius  
Conradus Episc.  
Cnaus Epidius  
Cornelius Agrippa  
Caclus  
Censorinus  
Celsus  
Ceanthes  
Chalcidius  
Cælius Rhodiginus.  
Claudius Victor  
Charles de Molin  
Comment. Cesar  
Constantinus Cesar  
Calmatheus.

Cheremonius  
Chronerus Pol.  
Cassiodorus  
Cornelius Mess.  
Cratinus  
Ctesippus Alexand.  
Crantzius  
Colophonius  
Count Balthazar  
Cælius Calcagnin.  
Cuspinianus

**D**

Dion  
Dicaarchus  
Diodorus Siculus  
Dionif. Halicar.  
Dionif. Areopag.  
Diogenes Laertius  
Dioscorides  
Demosthenes  
Democritus  
Diocles  
Diogenes Cynic.  
Damascene  
D. Pedro Epif. Leon  
Demetrius Alexand  
Du Bartas  
Dictis Cretensis  
Dares Phrygius  
Damasc. Sigierus  
Dionif. Lycinus  
Donatus  
Dionif. Cassianus.

**E**

Eumenius  
Ephorus  
Ecdarius  
Eusebius.  
Eucherius  
Eumenides  
Epiphanius  
Estuan de Garibay  
Eghimbard  
Ennodius  
Euripides  
Eratothenes  
Ennius  
Eustatius  
Eutropius  
Erasistratus

# The Authors Names.

Ebulus  
Euclides  
Elpacus  
Euanthes  
Epicurus  
Empedocles  
Erasmus Roter.  
Essatus  
Eginus  
Empolemus  
Elpagoras  
Eupolis  
Episc. Tyriensis  
P. Ereb. de Reip. Ind.  
Egnatius  
Euagrius  
Euans  
Estien Pasquier  
Epictetus  
Euchirid. Er. af.  
Epicharmus

F

Froissard  
Fortunatus  
Fauchet  
Fenestella.  
Frontinus  
Fabius Pictor.  
Flavius Episc.  
Fasciculus Temp.  
Fernelius  
Flores Poetar  
Fran. Georgius  
Fabianus Prator  
Fran. Philadelphus  
Functius  
Festus Pompeius

G

S. Gregory  
S. Greg. Nazianzenus  
Guliel. Tyriens.  
Geminianus  
Guil. de Nauis  
Gennadius  
Greg. Floren.  
Greg. Turonnens.  
Gregor. Papa  
Gesner  
Guicciardine  
Gaudentius Merula  
Geber  
Glareanus  
Gontierus  
Gualt. Monach.  
Garcias d'Orta  
Gaulfrid Monumet.  
Guylas  
Gyrald. Cambrensis  
Guliel. Malmes.  
Gemma Frisius

Galen  
Galioeus de Nargni.  
Geor. Trabexon  
Guliel. Budens  
Galerus  
Guydonius  
Guydo Bonatus  
Genebrardus  
Geor. Leontinus  
Gregor. Giraldus  
Gregor. Rech.  
Gueuata.

H

S. Hierom.  
Hist. Miscellan.  
Homer  
Herodotus  
Hirtius  
Hermannus  
Hesiodus  
Heraclides Ponticus  
Hermolauus Barbar.  
Hugo de S. Victor  
Hierocles  
Heliconiensis  
Hippocrates  
Harpocratio  
Hist. D. Villamont  
Herodianus  
Horace  
Hermes Trismegist.  
Hermocrates  
Helscus Tasius  
Heraclius  
Heraclides  
Hen. Huntingdon  
Hist. Poland  
Hallian. Chron.  
Hall  
Holmsbed  
Hostiensis  
Hermippus  
Herophilus  
Hincmarus  
Hier. Osorius  
Hinibaldus  
Houllier  
Hephestion Grec.  
Heliodorus  
Haly ben Razel.  
Hier. Conestagio

I

Iulius Pollux  
Iul. Caf. Comment.  
Innocentius Papa  
Iosephus  
Iuuenall  
Iulius Florus  
Iulius Secundus  
Iustine

Ioan. Feraldus  
Ioan. de Imola  
Iulius Capitolinus  
Io. de Sacrabosco  
Io. Lincolnensis  
Io. Agricannus  
Io. Bale  
Iulius Frontinus  
Isidorus  
Iamblichus  
Ingulphus  
Iulius Pelagius  
Iustinatus  
Isaac Rab.  
Io. Rouse  
Iulian Imperat.  
Iustin. Martyr  
Io. Scotus  
Io. Alexandrinus  
Iulius Firmicus  
Io. de Mons Royalis  
Io. Driodonus  
Isens  
Io. Math. Tierinus  
Io. Uasaus  
Io. Saxonius  
Io. Magnus Arch. Hispal.  
Isocrates  
Ireneus  
Io. Capgrane  
Iornandus  
Io. Monachus  
Iacques Bossus  
Io. Damascenus  
Io. Baptist. Egnatius  
Io. de Maulmont  
Iacques de Maguntia  
Io. Boccace  
Ioachim Uadianus  
Ioel. Med. Alexand.  
Ioubert Med. Gal.  
Io: Camertes  
Io: Carion  
Io: Cantacuzenus  
Io: Fernelius  
Isaac. Indaicus  
Iouianus Pontanus  
Io: Lasteus  
Iacobus Faber  
Io: Annins.

L

Lucian  
Lucius Fruentus  
Leo Imperat  
Lucius Plotius  
Latinus Pacatus  
Lucane  
Lactan. Firmianus  
Lupus Episc. Troi  
Liebondus  
Lodonicus Vines  
Leo Affricanus

Lactantius Grammas  
Leonardus Camillus  
Laonicus Catebond.  
Licinius Macer  
Lucas Tudensis  
Lazaro Soranzo  
Lucretius  
Leo Hebraico  
Lodonicus Coelius  
Leo Sophist.  
Labeo Antistius  
Linus  
Lateranus  
Lucius Florus  
Laurentius Surlius  
Lopez de Castagned  
Lucas Marinus Sic.  
Lampridius  
Lazarus de Baif.  
Lodo. Valentinus  
Leo Papa  
Lucas de Tny  
Leirus  
Lysias

M

Maron Sper  
Marcellus  
Marcus Varro  
Molina Hispa.  
Marinens Sicul  
Martianus Capellus  
Martin du Bellay  
Macrobius  
Marianus Scotus  
Martiall  
Manetanus  
Messala Augurinus  
Metrodorus  
Marcus Aurelius  
Moschionus  
Marbodens  
Messala Cornutus  
Macchiannell  
Moyse Bar: Cepha  
Marsilius Phicinus  
Mathens Palmerius  
Martinus  
Marcus Manilius  
Marcus Paulus  
Metasthenes  
Mathew Paris  
Manethon  
Maspens  
Mathew Westminster  
Manser  
Marcus Valerius  
Mathiolus  
Monsieur de Uillamont  
Marcus Damascenus  
Musaeus  
Monsieur de la Noue  
Mesius

# The Authors Names.

Mes. Angelo Catho.  
Marullus  
Mer, Gal. Bcl.

N

Nodgerus  
Nazarius  
Neuius  
Nauclerus  
Nico. Boyerus  
Niceph. Gregorius  
Nico. de Lyra  
Nigidius  
Nico Secus dimus  
Nicander  
Nito. Monardus  
Nico. Rassaus  
Nictas Coniates  
Numenius Pythag.  
Nico. de Cusa  
Nico. Myrepsic.

O

Ozorius  
Oppius  
Optatus  
Onid  
Onuphrius  
Orosius  
Orontius Phineus  
Orphens  
Otho Aechiepif.  
Olradius  
Olaus Magnus  
Olaus Arc. Uspal.

P

Pausanias  
Procopius  
Paulus Polonius  
Paulus Diaconus  
Ptolomeus  
Pontius Paulinus  
Phæbadius  
Prosper  
Pub. Ter. Varro  
Phaorinus  
Petrarcke  
Polybius  
Plato  
Plutarke  
Pliny  
Pomponius Mela  
Phadrus  
Possidonius  
Petrus Lombardus  
Petrus Abayelard.  
Philostratus  
Petrus Bellagus  
Petrus Iacob.  
Paul. Warnefridus

Paul. Iouius  
Phil. Commines  
Pisonius  
Paul. Orosius  
Platma  
Pet. Martyr  
Pedro Mexia  
Paul. Emillius  
Phlegonius Grec.  
Paul. de Castro  
Politianus  
Pindarus  
Paul. Aginetus  
Pet. Gellius  
P. C. Radianus  
Plinius Secundus  
Pittacus  
Parmenides  
Polydor Virgil  
Petosyris  
Pedro de Albano  
Pachymerius  
Phil. Melancthon  
Posidius  
Praxagoras  
Procleius  
Philemon  
Philo Indai  
Pet. Olinerius  
Pet. Comestor  
Pet. Crinitus  
Porphyrius  
Philippides  
Pythagoras  
Propertius  
Pausanias  
Pius 2. Papa  
Pomponius Latus  
Perseus  
Pontanus  
Pet. de Aliacus  
Policrates  
Pegasus  
Pontin. Verunnius  
Platearius  
Probus  
Palemon  
Paul. de Nola  
Pomp. Lenus Libert  
Plantus  
Piduxius  
Poggius  
Popinierus

Q

Quintillian  
Quintus Curtius  
Quint. Septimius

R

Ronsard,

Rustic  
Rutil. Numation  
Ritius  
Roder Xsmenes  
Rabanus  
Rog. Honeden  
Rabbi Isaac  
Rogerius  
Rupertus  
Ruffinus  
Raph Volateran.  
Regino Chron.  
Rabbi Helie  
Roder. Toletan.  
Rondeletius  
Renclin  
Rablaie

S

Suetonius Tranquil.  
Solinus Polyh. h. f.  
Surianus  
Salust  
Salnianus  
Sernius  
Symmachus  
Scaliger  
Sigonius  
Stephanus  
Suggerus  
Strabo  
Socrates  
Sidonius Apollonar  
Sieur de Ionuille  
Seneca  
Snydas  
Sylins Italicus  
Seleius Bassus  
Solon  
Sophocles  
Sebast. Munster.  
Scopas  
Sim. Simonens  
Stoflerinus  
Sannazar.  
Simonides Melli.  
Sabellicus  
Spartianus  
Surius  
Sethius  
Serapion  
Sextus Aurelius  
Saxo. Grammat.  
Sieur de Pybrac.  
Sext. Pompeius  
Stobeus  
Schonerus  
Serenus  
Sigif. de Herbest.  
Stoeflerus  
Sinesius  
Sammonicus

T

Trebellius Pollio

Theophrastus  
Trogius Pompeius  
Titus Linius  
Timagenes  
Thomas Aquinas  
Theodosius  
Tertullian  
Themistocles  
Theopompus  
Tabithens  
Tetellus  
Toninus  
Tibullus  
Thales Milesius  
Theod. Gaza  
Timocrates  
Titbalmanus  
Tranquillus  
Theuetus  
Theodorec  
Theophrastus  
Tuditanus  
Theod. Bibliander  
Thucydides  
Tritemius  
Tilius  
Theophanes  
Terentius  
Theodotus  
Themistius  
Thomas More  
Tarcog. Hist. Mand.

V

Virgill  
Vitruuius  
Vopiscus  
Varro  
Valerius Max.  
Velleius Patercul.  
Vincentius Lyranens.  
Valturinus  
Venerab. Beda  
Vegetius  
Valer. Flaccus  
Volatteranus  
Vipianus  
Valentinus Barruchius.

Z

Zenophon  
Zenocrates  
Zonarus  
Zozimus  
Zeno  
Zuricanus  
Zarmanochegas.





# THE TREASVRIE

## of Ancient and Moderne TIMES.

### THE FIRST BOOKE.

*Of the ancient Countrey of Gaule, now called France; what Lawes, Customes, Ceremonies, and other manners were used among the people of that Nation in their first Originall: and how (since then) they have continued.*

#### An Introduction to the whole Discourse.



**L**N ancient times, the Countrey of Gaule was enclosed within the limits of the Rhein, of the Alpes, of the Mediterranean sea, of the Pyrenean Mountains, and of the Ocean sea. But after that the *Gaules* had passed the Alpes; all the Countrey which was from the Mountains, so farre as the riuer \* *Rubicon*, along by the coast of the *Apennines*, and so vp into the high Sea (which at this day is called the Gulfe of *Venice*) took the name of *Gaule*: as *Gabatia* did the like, after that wee had subdued some people of *Asia*. That *Gaule* then which is in *Europe*, being halfe parted by the Alpes, is diuided into two parts; the one on the hither side of the Mountaines, and the other beyond. That which is on the further side, yet concerning vs, was called by the Romanes \* *Togata*: as *Romane*, in regard of

the habit of the Romanes, being commonly called a *Gowne*, and which they then did vsually weare. That on the hither side, was (by themselves) named properly *Braccata* (by a certain fashion of garment then worne by them, termed *Breeches*) and partly \* *Comata*, in regard that the haire on their heads was verie bushy. *Braccata* in the time of *Iulius Caesar*, had his extendure from the Alpes, so farre as *Rosne* or \* *Rhodanus* bending towards the Pyrenean Mountaines, where were comprized the *Volca*, *Armoricanes*, *Rhutheni* or *Rhynteni*, and *Heluetians*, as it is to be seen in the seuenth Book of *Caesars* Commentaries. This country was one while called *Prouence*, and then againe *Narbona*, after the name of *Narbona*, then the chiefe and capitall Citie of the country. In *Comata* dwelt the *Aquitans*, which are they of *Guienne*, euen from the Pyrenean Mountaines, so farre as the riuer \* *Garona*: on the hitherside whereof are the Celts, inhabiting so farre as the Riuers of *Sena* and *Marna*. All the rest of the country extending toward the North, is possessed by the Belgians.

Now the search would bee very great; and hard to be performed by any mā, that

B would

The first limits of Gaule

\*A Riuer in Italy, rising out of *Apenninus*, & running betwene *Areminum* and *Raucennas* into the *Adriatique* Sea.

The 3. diuisions of *Gaul*.

\**Togata*, calld also *Citerior*, & new *Lombardy*.

\**Braccata*, containing *Narbō*, *Prouence*, or *Dauphinie*.  
\**Comata*, comprehending *Belgica*, *Celtica* and *Aquitane*.  
\*A Riuer rising out of the Alpes.

In *Caes*, in *Comment*, lib 7.

*Prouence* calld *Narbona*.

\*A riuer parting *Celtica* from *Aquitania*.

The Authors speeches in his owne defence concerning his purpose in this History.

would (with a certaine history of all the times) set downe the fashions, manners, and customes which the ancient *Gaules* had held and obserued, vntill the daies of *Julius Caesar*, and their nouell qualities from those dayes to ours. But such as can content themselues with that diligence, which generally may be deliuered by the proofes of good and sufficient Authours, worthy of faith and sound credit; perhaps shall finde their expectation well fitted, both with honest pleasure and profite in their reading. And with this intention am I determined to make (summarily) a collection out of many writers, that haue carefully imployed their paines, concerning the manners and behaiour of the *Gaules*, according as matters might be remembered, in such diuersity of distant places. And first, we will select out the most Ancient: afterward (if wee can bring our purpose to full effect, and as our endeour shall nothing be wanting) we will as diligently seeke for the nouell customes.

*Caesar* hath comprehended a certaine forme and semblance of *Gaul* in her ancient dayes; especially in the sixt booke of his Commentaries, of the warre in *Gaul*: albeit he hath sown many other things throughout his Bookes: which I hauing collected heere and there, and from infinite places in other Authours, so that the whole may serue to encrease and fully illustrate the course of our purpose; wee may the more reasonably accomplish that which shall serue to make knowne our full aime and scope. Neuerthelesse, I am not to learne, that the *Greekes* which haue followed *Caesar*, were it that they vnderstood not the latine tongue, or were it through carelesnesse and negligence; haue declared in many places, that they scarcely vnderstoode the matters contained in his Commentaries. Wherefore we will first of all imitate *Caesar*, as the most great and singular Author and master of our history: and then pursue others, according as they haue borrowed any thing of him, or as they serue to make the whole subiect vnderstood.

But in regard that the principall parts of *Great Britaine*, as also of *Germany*, haue bene seized by the *Gaules*, as shal appear in due time and place; and forasmuch as there hath bene great resemblance of the *Britaines* and *Germanes* with the *Gaules*,

as will bee declared by that which *Caesar* hath writren; I imagined with my selfe, that it would very conueniently sute with our purpose, to compare such fashions as carried any coherence in these Nations. Considering that *Caesar* thought it fit, to compare the customes of *Gaule*, with them of *Germany*. And *Strabo*, perceyuing the *Germanes* to be called so by the *Romanes*, as true brethren to the *Gaules*, by resemblance of their manner of liuing, when he wrote the fashions and customs of the ancient *Gaules*, he reprovued them, and began with the *Germanes*. But although that *Tacitus* hath sayd, That they were named *Germanes*, by an appellation proper to their Nation, and such as they pleased to stile themselues; yet notwithstanding, howsoeuer at first they receiued that name, there may be discerned in the a great *Germanity*, or (for our better vnderstanding) a *Fraternity*, both in behaiour and customes, answerable one vnto another.

For our better beginning then, we will conclude on certaine kindes of manners, to the end, that each thing may be carried as may be most conuenient. *Plato* sayeth, There are three principall parts in the body of Man, wherein are lodged the three principall powers of the soule; Concupiscence in the Liuer, Anger in the Heart, and Reason in the Head, as in a Citadell. In like manner, there are three seuerall kindes of vertues that do command & gouerne them: Sobriety or Temperance, to ouerfway Concupiscence in the Liuer; Courage, against Anger in the Heart; and Wisdome, in thinking and iudging with Reason. The common consent & agreement of all which, is the faithfull dutie of each one, euen as it were with diuers voices, & worthily may be called Iustice. *Caesar* and *Diodorus*, *Titus Linius*, *Strabo*, and others, who are as interpreters of *Caesar*, do declare many things of the *Gaules* & if I would haue set down at large in my Discourse, according as they are written by them: I should rehearse one and the same matter too many times. Wherefore I will rather imitate their intention in each place, then bee constrained to alledge their multiplicity of words.

CHAP.

*Jul. Cæs. in com. lib. 7.*  
*Strabo in li. 9.*

*Cornel. Tacitus lib. 4 cap. 3.*

Resemblance in customee and manners; betweene the *Gaules* and *Germanes*.

*Plato in lib. 1. de legib.*

Three cheefe parts in mans bodie.

Three especial kindes of ver uero gouerne the powers of the soule.

*Diodorus, Titus Linius, Strabo,* and other Interpreters of *Caesar*.

*Jul. Cæs. in com. lib. 6.*

Diuers other good Authours compared with *Caesar*.

Errors in *Greeke* Authours that followed *Caesar*.

*Caesar* followed as Father of the history.

The cheefest place in *Great Britaine* and *Germany* possessed by the *Gaules*.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Temperance in eating and drinking used among the Gaules: as also of their Marriages and single condition of life.*

**T**O enter then on the behalfe of Temperance, wee might speake of their abstinence in eating and drinking, resort to women, theyr manner of speech, their modesty in Garments and lodging; their sportes, delights and assistance, which they affoord to one another in such things as they haue. Concerning the eating and drinking of the ancient Gaules, they liued for the most part (according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*) on white meats, and diuers kinds of flesh, & principally on Porke fresh and salted. They vsed to haue standing by their fires, pottes full of boyled flesh, and spits well loaden with roasted flesh; the better part whereof they would giue to men of worth, to doe them honor: as *Homer* writes, That the Grecian Captains did to *Ajax*, when he had won the victory against *Hector* body to body. *Cæsar* granteth the selfe-same manner of life to the Britaines, and to the Germanes. The Britaines (saith he) which dwell furthest vp into the Countrey, the most part of them do not sowe any corne but liue onely vpon milke and flesh. Neuerthelesse, they hold in detestation (by what religious opinion I know not) to taste of an Hare, of an Hen or Chicken, and of a Goose. Hee saith also the very same in his seuenth book, speaking of the Germanes; That they do not addict themselves to any kinde of labour, and that their very greatest nourishment is vppon white meats, cheefe and flesh. But *Tacitus* hath written much more amply concerning the manner of life amongst the Germanes. Each mother (saith hee) doth nurse her childe with her owne brest, and neuer trusteth it in the hands of their seruants, or other Nurses. Thou canst not know the Master from the Varlet, by any kinde of more delicate feeding. They liue nakedly and slouely, euen amongst their Heards or droues of Cattle; & lying vpon the ground, vntill such time as age

doth set apart such as are Masters, & vertue doeth auouch and make them to bee knowne. Their viands are simply dressed or prepared, being of wilde fruits; sometimes of fresh Venision, or curded milke, without any dainty cooking or dressing. So much for their manner of eating.

As for their drinke, that amongst the Gaules, and termed *Zythum*: This (sayth *Diodorus*) was made of barley and water, hauing passed thorow diuers honicombs. *Tacitus* writeth almost the very same of the Germanes. They make a drinke (saith he) of water mingled both with barley & wheate, disguised into some resemblance of wine. They which dwell on the Sea-coasts, do buy wine. The most part of the Gaules (as *Diodorus* & *Strabo* doe both write) vsed to sitte on the ground and to eat their food, sitting on the skinnes of Dogges or of wolues: being serued with earthen vesselles, which were strong and massiue, and wrought about with branches of flowers; and they were alwayes attended and serued by their young children. In like maner *Tacitus* recordeth, That the Germans so soone as they were awake and risen (which they vsed not to do till it was day:) they laued and washed themselves with warme water, because winter continued in their region for the most part of the yeare; and at comming foorth of the bathe, they went vnto their foode, each one hauing his table and seat alone by himselfe. Thus then was their ancient and rude simplicity, which caused the Germanes to be so big membred and corpulent, whereat *Tacitus* seemeth to maruell greatly. And thence likewise ensued the selfe-same greatnesse of bodye which was among the Gaules, vwho for their huge corpulency, and regarding onely their owne bignesse of stature, held the smaller constitution of the Romanes in contempt, as may be seene in the 2. book of the wars in *Gaul*.

But *Plato* reprehendeth the Gaules for their intemperance and drunkennes with wine; and *Diodorus* writeth the very same. They affected Wine so excessiue, that when the Merchants brought it to them, they dranke it wholly new as it was; and then becomming drunk, by hauing taken ouermuch, they lay downe to sleepe, or behaued themselves like mad men. And this was the reason that many of the Italian

The Authour beginneth with Temperance.

The eating & drinking of the Ancient Gaules  
*Diodor in lib. 4*  
*Strabo in lib. 2*

*Hom. Iliad, lib 4*

*Iulius Cæsar in comment lib. 6*  
Of the Germanes.

*Corn. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 1.*

Of Mothers Nursing their owne chiidre.

The drinke vsed by the ancient Gaules  
*Diodor in lib. 4*  
*Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.*

*Diodor in lib. 4*  
*Strabo in lib. 3.*

Their manner of eating their meate.

*Cornel. Tacitus ubi supra.*  
Of washing their body in warme water.

The reason of corpulence & big stature of the Germans and Gaules.

Intemperance and drunkennes amongst the Gaules.

Italian Merchants brought wine to the Gaules.

Diodor. in lib. 4 The Gaules hazarded their liues vpon sodaine quarrels.

Corn Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 5.

The whol day & night spent in nothing but drinking amongst the Germanes.

An Order amongst the Gaules against this badde custome.

Cesar in comment lib. 2

Most valiant & fierce people about Tury.

lian Merchants for the gaine which they got both by sea and land; brought wine in great plenty thither, and for a smal vessel of wine, receyued (in exchange) foure times the value. And the same Authour not onely blameth their drunkennes, but also the quarrels which accompanied this excesse. They obserued (saith he) as a custome, at their feeding, for the least debate of words, to rise presently from the Table, and desie one another to the combate, hazarding their liues without any discretion. Thus you see how the Greeks haue reprooued the ancient Gaules; and Tacitus calleth the Germanes their Brethren in the same vice, accusing them equally to bee drunkards and quarrellers. They vsed not (saith he) any such temperance against thirst. For they held it no dishonor, to spend the whole day and night in drinking, so they might bee suffered to drinke their fill, furnishing them with so much as they would haue: you shold find them no lesse easie to bee conquered by their vices, then by armes. The quarrels which rose very often among them, as among people subiect to Wine, was no sooner mingled with iniuries of the mouth; but (for the most part) did end with blowes by the sword, to the expence of their blood, yea of their liues. Such was the blame which the Germanes receiued by making no more account of so bad a custome; euen as if this vice had bene no vice among them, or did any way shame them.

But the Gaules vsed themselves in better manner: for by a publicke ordinance this vile behaiour (in particular persons) was verie greuously and rigorously punished. Let vs heare then from Caesar the cause of the magnanimity of the Gaules; which was, by knowing how to keep themselves from this disorderly kinde of life. The most magnanimous of all (saith he in his first Booke, speaking of the Belgians, Celts, and Aquitanes) are the Belgians, because they are furthest off in the countrey, which is carefully husbanded, and strangers doe but sildome trafficke with them, to bring them that which serueth to no other end but to effeminate their courages.

In the same book speaking of the Neruians, as of the most couragious of al the Belgians; he saith; Caesar making enquiry

of them, what might be their naturall disposition and manners, hee found, That Merchants did not trafficke with them, & that they would not suffer (by any means) that wine should be brought among them, or any thing that serued for delicacy. For they held (as an infallible opinion) that such things wer the cause of abasing their courage, & that their natie vertue would thereby be much weakned. Whereby we may perceiue, that the intemperance of some particular men, was condemned by a generall and publicke decree; and that sobriety & temperate carriage was greatly respected and honored in those parts. Strabo sayeth, That by the perswasion of Cenus, a graue and wise man, the Getes rent and pluckt vp all the Vines in their country, yet vsed some wine in the time of their childrens nursing. But our Ancestors did much better, because they would neuer permit or suffer, that any Vine should be planted among them, or wine to be brought them from any other place. Wherefore Diodorus had good reason to say, that in his time there came no vvine at all into Gaule Comata.

Caesar in his fourth Booke, maketh the Sueues, a people of Germany, equall in temperance to the Neruians that were in Gaule. For they would not suffer that any wine should bee brought into their countrey, because they were perswaded, that it made men lazie, effeminate, and vnapt to endure any labor. Thus we may obserue then, what was their sobrietie in eating and drinking, wherein their greater part of vertue is commended; for abstinence from lewd and wanton women. And albeit that Diodorus, Strabo, \* Bardesanes, according as Eusebius reporteth; being all of them Grecian Authors, haue reproued this vice as frequent and common among the Gaules, and which is as innated (if credite may bee giuen to Aristotle) in warlike actions; whereby the fable was fained, of conioyning Venus with God Mars: yet notwithstanding, Caesar speaketh nothing therof, but giueth great commendation to the Germans for their temperance, contrary to them that haue written otherwise of them.

Such as haue continued in virgin estate the longest while among them, and without the knowledge of any other but their owne body, receiued the very greatest respect

Wine & wanton meats the hinderers of manly corage

Strabo in lib. 3 Of the Getes

No vines planted amongst the Gaules.

Diodor. in lib. 4

In Caesar in comment. Lib. 4. Sueuia, bordering on Bawaria, Halfaria the riuier Rhine, & the Alpes.

An Historiographer of Babylon. Euseb. in histor. Eccles. l. 4. c. 28

Arist. in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 9

Off such as liued longest in virgin estate of liue.

spect and praise. For they held it as a most villanous thing to haue knowledge of a woman, before the age of twenty yeeres. In all which time they did not hide themselves, but bathed daily together in the riuers. And this is the reason rendered by *Herodotus*, speaking of the nature of children, wherefore haire commeth much sooner to some then it doth to others: because the vse of *Venus* maketh the flesh more loose and flabby, and openeth the skinne, which affordeth the easier passage to the haire; contrarywise, such Children as are gelded, haue neuer any haire at all. *Tacitus* hath not omitted the selfesame attribution of praise to the Germans. Yong men are long time before they haue any knowledge of women: and that is an especial reason why they lose no part of their yourhfull strength, and therefore make no hast at all of parting with their virgin condition. Young Laddes, and such (of like stature) as are gelded, do make triall of their agility together, and their children do (commonly) partake of their Parents strength.

Marriages do appertaine to the rule of the same vertue: but *Cesar* hath not written carefully how the Gaules obserued it. The husband (saith hee) laide downe the vawle of so much goodes, as his wife brought with her, and a iust account being taken thereof, the whole stocke was put together. The party that furnished, enioyed the others portion, with the reuenues of all that had past. The husbands are masters and commaunders of their wiues liues, and also of their Childrens. When any Father of a Family (of note) dyeth, the nereest of the kindred do assemble together; and if any suspition be conceyued concerning his death: the Wife is committed to tortures, as they doe theyr slaues, and if she prooue to be conuincid; after they haue tormented her with fire, and all other kinds of paines, they put her to death. This law may seeme hard, that giueth the husband such like power ouer the wife and children, as he hath ouer his slaues. For, according as the Philosophers haue taught vs: the father of the family giueth command to his wife & children, as vnto free persons. Yet this is not all as one kinde of command: for hee giueth command to his wife as to one of the same Commonwealth, & to his chil-

dren as a King. The Law truly may appeare to be hard, and yet it is *Roman*, euen the like as *Romulus* made, Ordayning; That the sonne should bee in his fathers power all his life; and that the father may chastise, beate, put him to any busines in the field, sell, or kill him. The same King also appointed, That a man might punish his wife, if she had drunke any wine. *Cesar* speaketh all this in his sixt booke: and in his fift hee declareth diuers other fashions of behauiour in marriages, speaking of the Britaines.

Ten or twelue together (saith he) do hold their wiues in common, and principally brethren with their brethren, and fathers with their daughters. And such as are born of them, are auouched for children of them that haue espoused their mothers, being yet maids. So much also he relateth of the English. But *Tacitus* writing of the Germanes, giueth them most noble commendation in this point. The wife (saith hee) neuer offereth anie dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents, cousins, & kindred are present thereat, and allow of all presents passing between them. And they are no presents deuised for delicacie or delight of women, nor to repaire a new intended marriage: but they are a gift of Oxen yoaked, a horse bridled and furnished, & a Buckler or Target, with a sword and Iaueline. For these presents the husband taketh his wife; who likewise (on hir owne behalfe) presenteth him with some weapons of warre. This is the great marriage bond, these are accounted sacred mysteries, & these are the coniugall gods that they hold in reuerence.

And to the end that the wife may not thinke her selfe exempted from vertuous desseignes, nor the hazards of warre: from the very beginning of her marriage she is continually aduertised, that she is thus receiued and taken to be her husbands companion in all paines and dangers, and that (be it either peace or warre) shee must of necessity runne the same fortune. And these are plainly signified vnto her by the coupled Oxen, the furnished horse, and warlike weapons. She receiueth what she is to bestow on her children after that she hath worthily and holily nursed them vp: & such as are of most forward disposition the Father hath care of, that they may re-

*Romulus* Lawe for power in fathers.

Obseruation of marriage amongst the Britaines.

*Cornelius Tacitus*, *vbi supra*. In praise of the Germanes.

Presents giue vnto the new married Husband.

Aduertisements to the wife from the day of hir marriage.

Mysterious significations to the Wife.

*Herod. in Terp.* Of the nature of Children.

The younger men amongst the Germans

Young men children equalled theyr fathers strength

*Iulius Cesar* in comment. Lib. 6

Orders obserued in marriages amongst the Gaules.

Of suspition concerning the husbands death.

The doctrine of the Philosophers concerning the husbands power.

Education of  
their children

semble (in good quality) others of their lineage. And then they liue, keeping their chastity well defended; not being corrupted by any occasions, nor the sight of wanton pastimes, or being present at Feasts or bankets.

Women punished by their husbands for adultery

There are very few adulteries committed in so great a Nation; for the punishment thereof is very speedy, and the husband may lawfully do it. After hee hath shauen and stript her naked, the husband bringeth her forth of his house, in the presence of all his and her neereft Kindred, and beateth her with a bastinado thorow all the streetes; for there is no allowance of any pardon after that a wife hath blemished her honor; and neither her beauty, youth, or riches can afterward winne her another husband. Vices serue not there to be laughed and iested at: & one may well say, That (there) is such a world, as neith r permitteth the doing or induring of any dissoluteness. Those Commonweales are the best ordered, wherein is such permission, that the Maides onely finde themselves husbands, and marriage consisteth in mutuall accord (for a long while) in good hope, and that the Bride may haue her hearts desire. For in this case she taketh her husband as one & the selfesame body, and one life is allowed by them both: because they can haue no contrary thoughts, neither theyr desires any way wandering, but their affections doe so simpatize, as not in either to husband or wife, but to the sanctity of marriage. It is helde as a very great offence, to procure the death of any of their children, or of their kindred: And there good customes do beare more sway, then good Lawes and Ordinances doe elsewhere. Hitherto haue wee continued the writing of *Tacitus*, concerning the Germanes marriages.

No pardon granted for adultery.

Vices not iested at.

Commendation of marriage making.

Against murdering of Children or Kindred.

*Diodor* in lib. 4  
The manner of speaking amongst the Gaules.

*Diodorus* reprehendeth the Gaules for a certaine kinde of disordered behaiour in their speaking, saying; They vse a short kinde of speech, somewhat hard to be vnderstood, and without any deliberation; speaking great store of doubtfull things, yet deliuering many bragging and vaunting words; much to commend themselves and in the contempt of others. They are threatners and bad speakers, and full of ouerweening. This vauntery of theirs hath likewise bene reprooued by *Strabo* in lib.

3, And *Caesar* speaketh thereof in his feauenth Booke, and is also to be proued by diuers examples in his other books. Such is that whereof hee speaketh in his first booke, of *Diuiconus* the Heluetian, who highly extolled and vaunted the vertue of the Heluetians, and reproached the discomfiture of the Romanes; admonishing *Caesar* by menaces to beware of any further attempting; for feare, least the place where the Romanes miscarried, by a further losse of their people, after the foiling of their whole Army, should take name thereby, and so remaine as a memorie of their disgrace.

Such also was *Ariouistus*, King of the Germans, who answering litle or nothing to matters which *Caesar* demaunded of him; spake wonders of his owne valour, and that he neuer buckled with any man, but he was ruined. And *Caesar* might com to fight whensoever he pleased, but he should learne of the Germanes, that they were a people neuer vanquished, and skilfull enough in actions of armes. *Vercingetorix* also vanted in his oration, that hee would make a League with all the Gaules, and then all the world durst not make head against them. This is sufficient concerning this matter; I come now to speake of the care which they had of their owne persons.

*Iul. Caf. in com. Lib. 7.*

*Diuiconus* the Heluetian braggart.

*Ariouistus* K. of the Germans.

*Iul. Caf. in com. Lib. 1.*

## CHAP. II.

*How the Gaules vsed to weare their Haire; and what kinde of garments they vsed, with the painting of their bodyes, their Coines, &c.*



*Diodorus*, speaking of the Gaules, sayth; Albeit, that naturally they haue goodly lockes of hayre, yet doe they helpe the naturall colour thereof, by an instrument properly deuised for that purpose. They twine and twist theyr bushie lockes together, and suffer them to hang dangling downe, euen from the forehead to the necke: so that they resemble Satyres, and young vnshorne boyes. They haue practised by Art, to make their haire thicke

*Diodo* in Lib. 5  
How the Gaules vsed to weare their haire.

Cornel. Tacitus  
ubi supra.  
How the  
Sueues did  
wear their  
haire.

Of the Lords  
amongst the  
Sueues

Diod. in Lib. 5  
How the  
Gaules wore  
their beards,  
and some o-  
ther apparel.

The reason of  
calling Gaule  
Braccata.

Strabo in Lib. 4

Titus Lini. dcc.  
3. Lib. 2. cap. 1  
Diodor. in L. 5.  
Iul. Cas. in com.  
Lib. 7.  
Of the anci-  
ent Britaines.

thicke and hard, that little difference appeareth betweene theirs and the haire of a horse. Tacitus speaketh (wel-neere) the fame of the Sueues, a people of Germany. But the especiall note of that Nation is, that they turne their haire crosse or ouerthwart, and then binde or trusse it vp in a knot. In this manner are the Sueues known among all the other Germanes, and free-men of the Countrey from slaues. Some of the Sueues do wear their hayre long, and bristling backward with a bending downe, and so they go till they bee hoary or white; and then (oftentimes) they binde it together on the crowne of the head. The Lords are no more respectiue of their own persons, and yet without any proud or bad intention: For it is not done in regard that they affect or couet to be affected; but they doe onely so decke themselves, to appeare the more fierce and terrible vnto theyr enemies, when occasion calleth them forth to warre.

Diodorus proceedeth on in this maner, concerning the behaiour of the Gaules. Some of them (saith he) doe vse to shau their beards, but others do wear them of some length. The Gentlemen do cutte short the haire on their cheekes, & suffer their beards to grow to such length, as it will couer all their bodie. They wear also a kinde of garment, which is all hairie, to seeme the more dreadfull and terrible, consisting of diuers colours, and tearmed by them *Braccates*. They haue long skirted Iackets or Cassockes, rewed or streaked, beeing of the very coursest Cloath, which they vse for winter, and the most simple or slenderest for summer. Diodorus speaketh thus of the *Braccates*, as the reason whereby the Romans called that part of Gaule *Braccata*, and by which garment the same Authour affirmeth, That the Gaules were more terrible to beholde.

Strabo likewise writeth in his fourth book concerning their haire, their Cassockes, their rude and hairy garments, their long high breeches, & their short open cloaks which hardly couered halfe theyr Buttocks. All these Authours do agree together, as touching the haire of the Gaules and Germanes, and to be of a redde colour, according as Titus Linius, and Diodorus haue written. Caesar speaking of the of ancient Britany, writeth thus. They do

all paint themselves with an heerb, called by them \**Glastum*, which causeth a blewish or azure colour: and this made them very dreadfull to looke on, when they went to any fight. Moreouer, they wore their lockes of haire very long; shauing off all their other haire except that on the head, and on the vpper lip.

Diodorus pursuing his purpose concerning the Gaules, figureth them forth (as it were with golde) in this manner. The whole Countrey of Gaule is without the mettall called Siluer: but nature hath giuen it gold, without any labor or cunning endeauour. For, in regard that the most part of the riuers haue their courses verie troublesome, vneasie in passing, & wheeling or circkling in wide compasse: the waters which descend from the hilles and mountaines, by dispersing themselves abroad in the valleyes, do scatter a sand on the fields, which is mingled with golde. Afterwardes, kneading or tweaking the clods together, wherein they discerne the golde to shine, and permitting them to become hard: they then breake them in peeces, and when they haue washed it in water, and the earth is quite taken away, they hurle the rest into a furnace, and so melt it in that manner. When they haue thus moulted and drawne out the golde pure and cleane, the women and men do adorne themselves therewith: for they wear it in rings on their fingers, and in bracelets about their armes, and in Carcanets on their breasts, & in chaines about their neckes, and about their middles as golden girdles. Polybius also maketh mention in his second booke, of their Chaines and Bracelets. And Strabo in his 4<sup>th</sup> booke speaketh of their Mines of gold, whereof the cheefest are in the Country of \**Tarbellos*: and hee attributeth this Ornament only vnto such as were in honor and dignitie.

But Caesar and Tacitus do speake of another manner of want or pouerty (of this magnificence) amongst the Germanes. They vse (saith Caesar) skinnes in their garments, and short cloakes made of furred skins, hauing the greater part of their body naked. But Tacitus speaketh more amply, concerning the whole manner of the Germanes, writing thus. I doubt whether the gods were fauourable to them or quite contrary; because they denied them the

\*The Hearbe  
Woade, vsed  
by Dyers.

Diod. in Lib. 5.  
No siluer in al  
the countrey  
of Gaule, but  
gold naturally

How they ga-  
th-r their  
gold amongst  
the Gaules, &  
adorne them-  
selues there-  
with.

Polyb. in Lib 2

Strabo in Lib. 4

The countrey  
of Gascoigne,  
neere to the  
Pyrenean  
Mountaines.

Iul. Caesar in  
Com. lib. 7

Corn. Tacit.  
in lib. 6. c. 3.

No Golde or  
Siluer among  
the Germans.

Vessels of Silver held in no more account then the like made of earth

The *Serrati* & *Bigati* were monies amongst the ancient Romanes.

The common wearing habit of the Germanes.

They wear skins of wilde beasts, and of fishes.

What garments the women did wear.

the mettals of gold and silver. Notwithstanding, I will not set it downe assuredly, but that there may bee some veine of gold or silver in Germany: yet who (at any time) hath made search for it? They haue no such affection thereto, as to apply it to any seruice. Som vessels of silver haue bene found amongst them (which haue bene giuen to their Ambassadors, or to their Princes) and yet to be held in no more esteeme or reckoning, then those that are made of earth. Neuertheles, they that dwell much neerer to vs, in regard that they haue trafficked with our people: do make more esteeme of gold and silver, allowing and commending some peeces of our monies. They that liue further off in the Countrey, doe deale more simply, and (according to the most ancient manner) make their trafficke by exchange. They receive the old mony, and such as they haue had longest knowledge of, as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They loue the coin of silver better then that of gold; not that they beare therto any particular affection, but because the silver money is easiest for them in buying things common, and of smallest price. The vsuall habit or garment to them all, is a long skirted Iacket or Cassocke which they fasten together with a buckle, but (for want thereof) with a great pin. The rest of the body is not couered with any thing, and they sit the most part of the day vpon the hearth, somewhat neere to the fire. Such as are of greatest wealth, doe differ from the other in their garments, which are not so ample or large as those of the *Sarmates*, or of the *Parthians*: but iustly fitted to the body, and such as maketh apparant shew of euery member. They wear the skins of wilde beasts, and such as dwell neere to the riuers, are most curious of their habit: but they of more remote abiding, vse no great curiosity, as being least carefull what they wear, because they liue so far from strangers. When they haue made choise of their beasts skinnes, they do the like of fishes, taking such as are the greatest, or as the Ocean and most vnknowne Seas do yeeld, and fullest of spots, and so they sowe them together. The Women are no otherwise habited then the men: but that the women are oftner couered with a garment of linnen, inter-wouen with a scarlet colour. They care for no

sleeues on the height of their armes, but are naked downe from the very shoulders and part of the breast (neerest adioyning) is as nakedly discovered. Thus you see the gayest brauery of the Gaules, & how simple the Germans are in their garments: it remaineth now that we say somewhat of their houses and dwellings.

### CHAP. III.

*Of the houses and dwellings of the Gaules; their Townes and villages, and of what manner they were.*



The habitations of the Gauls (according as *Strabo* sayth) are wide and spacious, made of earth and planchers of wood, & couered with strong reeds arched on the top together in form of a vault: for so *Cæsar* in the fifth booke of the *Gaules* warres saith, That the Lodgings of *Q. Cicero* in the fields, were couered with straw and reeds, according to the manner of the Gaules. And in his sixth booke he sheweth, that the more part of the Mannor-houses appertaining to the gentlemen Gaules, were in the woods, or on the riuers. Speaking of the house of *Ambiorix*, which was altogether engirt with woods, *As were wel-neere al* (sayth he) *the houses of the Gaules are, who to shun the heate, do dwel in woods, and neere to riuers.* *Cæsar* deliuereth plainly, that the *Aquitaines*, *Celts* and first *Belgians*, had their Cities and Townes enclosed both with walles and ditches: but it may be doubted whether the like prouision was vsed among the Gaules further off, and such as were neere to the North; as the <sup>a</sup> *Morini*, <sup>b</sup> *Aduatiques*, <sup>c</sup> *Menapians*, and <sup>d</sup> *Eburones*.

*Cæsar* declareth, That the most part of these *Belgians*, are descended of the *Germanes*, and saith, that the *Germanes* had not their Townes and Villages made after our manner: as may bee obserued by that which *Tacitus* hath written according to the custome which they had in his time. It is sufficiently known (saith he) that the German people dwell not in any Towns,

Of their houses, lodgings, & dwellings *Strabo* in *Lib. 4*

*Iul. Cæs. in com. Lib. 5.*

*Lib. 6.*

Of their first Cities and Townes.

<sup>a</sup> People about *Turwain* by the *British* Ocean.

<sup>b</sup> Of *Narbone* in *France*.

<sup>c</sup> Inhabiting both sides of *Rheine*, next to the *Vbii*.

<sup>d</sup> Of the country *Liege* or *Luke*, beyond *Brabant*. *Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5.*

The maner of  
their building  
among the  
Germanes.

Townes, neither that they could endure to haue their houses neere vnto one another. They dwell distant or apart, scatteringly, where either riuers, fieldes, or woods do best content them. Their Villages are not after our fashion: for their houses do not touch or ioyne neere each other. Euery one leaueth a great wide distance or compasse about his dwelling; either to auoid the disastrous fortunes of fire, or else because they know not how to build better. They vse neither Morter nor Tiles: but the matter which doeth them seruice, is very rude, and is not prepared either for beauty or pleasure. They plaister some places much more respectiue, with a kinde of earth so cleane & shining, as it seemeth to contend with painting, & portraitures of colours. They were wont to make caues vnder the ground, and couered them with thicke clods of dung, to withdraw themselues thither in the winter time, and therein also to hide theyr Corne; because in such places, the colde weather had not so great power, & when the enemy came, hee could make pillage of nothing, but what hee found readily discovered. As for that which was thus hidden or buried, Theeues not knowing thereof, would bestow the lesse paines & search, in further enquiry after it. *Caesar* speaketh (almost) as much of the Britains. They reamed it a Towne (saith he) when they had enclosed some tuffie wood with ditches and pales; whereinto they were wont to retire themselues, to shunne the courses of their enemies. And whereas *Caesar* speaketh sometimes of certaine Townes of the *Suenes*: in mine opinion, hee is so to be vnderstood.

Their Caues  
and storehou-  
ses of Corne  
vnder ground

*Iul. Caesar in  
Com. Lib. 6.*

Of towns be-  
longing to the  
Belgians

Of the Mori-  
ni, that made  
war, contrarie  
to all the o-  
ther Gaules.

Returne we now to the townes of the Belgians, which are vp higher in the coutry, and heere my question is: Whether they had any such Townes as the Britains or no? We will first of all speake of the *Morini*, who (according as *Caesar* writeth) beganne to make war, but in a quite contrary manner then the other Gaules. For they hauing heard, that the very greatest Nations which had hazarded battel, were quite defeated and conquered: withdrew themselues & their goods into the strongest places, which were great and long Forrests, encompassed with fenny or marshy grounds. *Caesar* being come vnto the entrance of some such Forrest, and hauing

concluded there to fortifie his campe: as the *Romanes* were seriously employed about their busines; the enemy (of whom they had no doubt at all) sallied forth vpon them vnprouided, at most places of the wood, and charged the *Romanes* very sharply. Heereupon, they betooke them to their Armes, and repulsed them backe into the wood, and hauing flaine a great number of them, pursued them thorough many vneasie places, yet with very little losse of their people. The next day following, *Caesar* determined to fell down the Forrest, and suspecting least some harme might be done by the Flankers to Soldiers vnarmed: he caused al the trees which were hewne downe, to bee made as rampiers against the enemy, and to serue as defences on either side.

Hauing made a great spacious countrey (in few dayes) by incredible diligence, after that the Romaines had made themselues Maisters of the cattle & baggage which was in the rereward; they withdrew themselues into the thickest of the Forrest. *Caesar* speaketh this of the wood of the *Morini*, which serued them as a Towne or Village. And the yeare after, in regard of the drought which had dried vp all the Marishes (as is to be seene in his fourth booke) they hauing no more refuges to flye vnto as they had the yeare before, were (almost all of them) subdued by *Labienus*. In these two warres, hee maketh no mention of any other Townes, then of woods and marishes.

The like is affirmed of the *Menapians*, in those Countries where the Romaine Legions were broght, vnder the conduct of *Fabius* and *Cotta*, as it is set downe also in his fourth booke. They made spoyle in the fields, destroyed the Corne, set the houses on fire; and all this happened, because the *Menapians* had hid themselues in the thickest Forrests. Afterward *Caesar* himselfe came to them with fve legions. But they (as *Caesar* saith) not hauing gathered any forces together, trusting only in the security of the place, withdrew themselues into the woods and marishes, and carried thither their goods also. *Caesar* hauing diuided his powers with *C. Fabius*, who was his Lieutenant, and *M. Crassus* Treasorer of his wars, and hauing also sodainely prouided bridges for passage, gaue them assault three severall wayes;

The Morini  
set vpon the  
Romanes, and  
were repulsed

*Caesar* & his  
men pursue  
the Morini in-  
to the Forrest

*Iul. Caesar in  
Com. lib. 4.*

Of the Mena-  
pians.  
*Iul. Caesar in  
Com. lib. 4.*

The stratagem  
of *Caesar* a-  
gainst the Me-  
napians, tho-  
rough theyr  
owne negli-  
gence.

wayes, and burning their houses and villages, made himselfe Master of a great number of men and cattle. The *Menapians* seeing themselves in this distresse; were constrained to send Ambassadors, humbly to entreate peace. In this place also there is no name of any village, or pregnant appearance that there were any, but such as wee have already spoken of.

By due obseruation of this discourse, perhaps the villages of the *Neruians* will appear to be even the like. The *Neruians* (this speaketh *Caesar* in his second booke) from all antiquity, not having any power of horsemen (for euen to this day they do not addit their mindes thereto, but all the strength which they haue, consisteth onely in footemen) to the end they may impeach and withstand the horsemen of their neighbours, if they make any inrode vpon them, to rob and spoile them, cutting downe yong trees that had shot forth strong branches, they twined them together, and interweaving briars and thorns among them, they wrought them so artificially, that these hedges or fences serued them as a wall; wherein not onely a man could not enter, but also he was vnable to see or discern any thing.

In the same warre of the *Neruians*, the women, & such as (in regard of their age) were not seruiceable for bearing armes, had neuer any Village or Towne for their safety, which was engirt with wals; but in such a place where there was no coming or entrance for an Army, because of the marsh grounds, which were the onely hinderance.

Now, in this first warre agaynst the *Neruians*, wee may plainly perceiue that they had not any Towne enclosed with wals: and we may well credit it by that which is in the sixth booke. For *Caesar* hauing assembled foure Legions with all possible diligence, entred (vnawares) into the Country of the *Neruians*, and before they could either draw their strength together, or tell how to saue themselves: after hee had surprized a great number of men, and heards of Cattle, and dispersed the booty to his Soldiers; he layde waste their fields, and compelled them to yeeld and deliuer him hostages. This passage likewise of the *Neruians*, yeeldeth great coniecture, that they had no other towns

or villages in those times, but like them of the *Britaines*.

It may appeare also, that the *Aduaticates* (by that which *Caesar* writeth in his second booke) haue had the like townes. Hauing forsaken (saith he) all their townes and Castles, they brought all their goods into a village, which was wonderfully strong by naturall situation. For, hauing (on all sides about it) huge rocks & down-falles of exceeding height, it had but one onely comming to it, which was hanging or descending downward, yet in a sweete and gentle manner, being in breadth no more then two hundred foote. This way or passage they had fortified with a double wall, of very great height, & the same was strengthened in many places with mighty huge stones, and sharpe-pointed beames or pyles. Heere *Caesar* describeth nothing but a wall onely, and on one side of the Towne. And the like may be easily proued in the Nation of the *Eburones*: who are also called *Germanes* by *Caesar* in his second booke. These men, vnder the conduct of King *Ambiorix*, had ouercom *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, with fiftene Companies, neere to *Vatuqua*, as it is set downe in the fifth booke. *Caesar* who had neuer received a greater iniurie, determined to be reuenged for this losse, and vtterly to abolish and ruinate the nation of the *Eburones*, as we may reade in the 6. booke. Therefore he sent *Basilus* on before with the whole band of horse, and leauing a legion for guard of the baggage; he diuided the other nine into three Regiments, to ouerrunne and make spoile of the whole Countrey. He caused *Labiens* to march with three Legions along by the Ocean, toward that part which ioyneth vnto the *Menapians*. Hee sent *Trebonius* with the same number of Legions, to sacke that Countrey which was neere to the *Aduaticates*. Himselfe, accompanied with the three other Legions, stayed to go toward the riuer *Sabis*, and the vtmost parts of the Forrest of \* *Ardene*.

The *Eburones* not hauing any certaine Army, neither garrison, or any Towne wherein they might defend themselves by Armes, and the whole popularity being scattered euery where abroad; retired themselves to such places as were obscure valleyes, or wilde and sauage, or vwhere the moorish Fennes made a troublesome

Of the *Aduaticates*.  
*Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 2*

A strong fortified town of the *Aduaticates*.

Of the *Eburones*.  
*Iul. Caesar in Com. Lib. 2.*

*Caesar's* determination for reuenge vpon the *Eburones*.

The severall Legions committed to *Labiens* and *Trebonius*.

\* A wood 500. miles in length, reaching from the riuer *Rhene*, to the City of *Tourney*.

Of the *Neruians*.  
*Iul. Caesar in Com. Lib. 2.*

The politicke defence of the *Neruians* against horsemen of their neighbours or other enimies

The *Neruians* had no walled townes or villages of defence.

*Iul. Caesar in Com. Lib. 6.*

The 2. war of *Caesar* against the *Neruians*.

The great desire of Cæsar, to be reuenged on the Eburones, for the losse and damage that he sustained.

Iul. Cæs. in com. Lib. 8.

Of the Bello-uasi or Bello-uasians.

\* Thought now to be the Towne Tullisurgium in low Germany

accesse to them; these pretended them with some imaginary hope, that thus they might defend and saue themselves. *Cæsar* in this fiery heate of reuenge, perceyuing the great danger which might ensue, by hauing thus separated his Legionaries; called all the neere-neighbouring Citties (in hope of booty) to come and make pillage of the *Eburones*, to the end, that the race and name of them might bee vterly confounded. And because he could not (as yet) appease his thirsting soule by such spoile as he had made, which indeed was very great, he put himselfe once more on his way, to give further vexation to his enemies, assembling infinite troopes of people from all the Townes & neere adioyning parts, and so sent them outward by sundry wayes. They burned all the villages, and euery house that they could finde standing. The selfesame desire of vengeance (as is to be seene in his eight booke) enflamed him the third time, and the like waste he made: neuerthelesse, he speaketh not of any rampier, or of any ditch belonging vnto Towne or Village. Whereby may iustly bee obserued, that the *Belgians* as they were descended of the *Germanes*, so in like manner they had the same order of dwelling.

The *Bello-uasi*, or *Bello-uasians* in like sort, albeit that they were the very principal of the *Belgians*, as wel in regard of their vertue and authority, as for the great number of men amongst them: yet it appeareth, that they were no straungers to this custome: for in the first warre, he speaketh not but of one Towne or Village, named \* *Braetuspacium*; in the other warres, hee maketh no mention of any one. This may seeme to be spoken sufficiently enough, concerning the habitations of the *Belgians*.

CHAP. IIII.

*Of the Humanity, Liberality, Hospitality & Courtesie of the Gaules to Strangers, and care for benefising each other equally.*

Of sports and recreations amongst the *Germanes*.

I Finde nothing written in *Cæsar*, of the playes, sports, & pastimes of the youth among the *Gauls*. As for the *Germanes*,

*Tacitus* writeth thus. They had but one onely kind of spectacle in euery assembly yong boies that conceiued delight in this sport, would run or leape forth violently (and starke naked) before swords & Iauelines directed against them. This exercise grew to be an Art, and Art made it verie gracefull in them: yet what they did, was not for any lucre, gaine, or wages; but the onely recompence of this their audacious gallantry, was, to be pleasing in their eyes that beheld them. They would play (being in very stayed and setled iudgment) at such desperate games of hazard and dangerous aduventure, as would make a man blush to stand and looke on, and they performed their intentions in such earnest manner, as if they were at strife for some matter of great moment: yea, such was their affection to the gaine or losse, as after they had nothing els to contend for: they would striue about the very last hazard, laying downe their own liberty and persons in pawne. Whosoeter lost himselfe, would yeelde to the others firmitude, with his owne kinde consent: And albeit hee were neuer so young and strong, yet (in regard of his losse) he would suffer himselfe to be bound and sold. For such was their wilfull obstinacy, that they would lay downe faith vpon the very least occasion.

But whosoeter would take note of the great humanity, liberality, and courtesy, as well in the *Gaules* as in the *Germanes*, let him read what followeth. They would inuite strangers (this speaketh *Diodorus* of the *Gaules*) to feast with them. And after nature was sufficed, they would enquire what people they were, and what occasion drew them thither. But *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* giueth this commendation vnto the *Germanes*, by writing much more amply. They make it a matter of great Conscience (saith *Cæsar*) to offer any outrage to strangers, who, be it for what cause soeuer they come amongst them, yet they will defend them from all iniuries, and thinke them to be sacred people, each one allowing them part of his house, & whatsoever he had to liue on. *Tacitus* writeth in this manner. There is not any Nation more addicted to make good chear together, and feast strangers. They doe make great conscience in denying house-room to any commer; for each man will Feast him

Desperate & dangerous games among the younger sort: yet pursued in the very earnestest manner.

Humanity, liberality, and courtesy both in the *Gaules* and *Germanes*

*Iulius Cæsar* in comment. Lib. 5. *Tacitus*. in lib. 7.

The loue and hospitality of the *Germanes*, which they afford to strangers.

him according to his power : And when he hath no further meanes, he that is the Hoste, enstructeth him to another mans dwelling ; and thereinto (without any further bidding) they enter both together, euen the neerest house they come vnto ; where their entertainment is voyde of all difficulty, and vsed with extraordinarie courtesie. As concerning the rites of hospitality, they make no difference between him that is knowne, and another that is vnknown. At his departure, if he desireth any thing, it is their order and custom to grant it : as they will doe the like when it falleth to their turne. They take great delight in giuing gifts : but will receyue no recompence for whatsoeuer they giue, or think themselues indebted or beholding for any thing that they receiue. This is a testimony of their worthy hospitality, & I am of the minde, that so great an honor deserueth not to be forgotten, as Germany iustly deserueth in regard of this Vertue.

*Phaleas* the Chalcedonian, did first publish in the Commonwealth (as *Aristotle* affirmeth) that goods might bee equally diuided ; to the end, that the two principall plagues to mankind (which are riches and pouerty) might be banisht from the City. And this is that which *Plato* (most of all other) wished for the grounded estate of a happy Commonwealth. But the *Germanes* neuer fixed their imaginations on such a most fortunate Commonwealth, by disputes and discourses onely ; but accomplished and brought it to effect by their owne good customs and honest examples. For some of them (as *Cæsar* auoucheth in his sixt booke, speaking of the *Germanes*) had not any certain measure of land, or any particular limitation : but the Princes and Magistrates assigned euery yeare (both to kindreds and parentages, who were acknowledged and placed together) so much ground or land, and such a site or situation, as vnto them seemed best and conuenient ; & the yeare following, they were constrained to seeke elsewhere. In his fourth booke, hee sayth as much of the *Suenes*, another people of Germany. They had no land which they held in particular, or diuided among the : neither were they permitted to tarry longer then a yeare in a place, to Till or make it husbandable. This is the equality of

goods, which then was among the *Germanes*.

And they rendered great store of reasons for this equality, as the same Author witnesseth in his sixt booke, viz. Fearing least beeing retained by an accustomed continuance in one quarter, they should forsake the profession of warre, & follow the other more beneficial kind of life. Fearing, least they should withdraw their minds from the enlarging and extendure of their bounds or limits : and growing to be too potent in strength, they should oueraweand expell the weaker from their goods. Fearing also, least they should be ouer curious in building, to defend themselves against cold and heat, and so proue to be starke Cowards. Fearing beside, lest a wicked couetous desire should arise among them, of scraping and gathering goods together : wheron (customarily) insueth threatnings, dissentions, & blood. Also, to the end that the popular fort might bee contained within a reasonable contentment of mind, when the meanest perceiued his goods to be equal with the most powerfull. This is (in effect) the words of *Cæsar*, touching the qualitie of goods vsed then among the *Germanes* : and when the *Greekes* come to compare with him, in commending this manner of behauiour either in the *Cretanes* or *Laconians* ; all that they could auouch or say, was ; to terme this worthy and extraordinary vertue, to be no more then meer barbarousnesse.

Seruitude or bondage was in vse aswell among the *Germanes* and *Gaules*, as in other Nations. Many men (so speaketh *Cæsar* in his sixt booke, discoursing on the *Gauls* (finding themselves to be charged either with debts, or taxations, or iniuries of the mightier sort) did yeild themselves into seruitude or slavery of Gentlemen, who had the selfesame right ouer them, as Masters had ouer their slaues. It should seeme, that this Masterie or command was cruell, as well as that whereof *Titus Linius* recounteth in his 2. booke, to be vsed in Rome, after that the Kings were expelled thence, when the commotion of the bondmen was on foote. For they were then controlled and handled by their Masters, as the bodies of debtors were by their creditors, who were parted (as *Quintillian* writeth in the sixt chapter

Equality of goods among the *Germanes*.

The reasons of the *Germanes*, for their equality in goods. The first.

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

The 5. and last

Comparison of the *Greekes* with *Cæsars* words.

Bondage or seruite life amongst the *Germanes* and *Gaules*.

*Iul. Cæsar* in comment. Lib 6

*Titus Linius* in Lib. 2. dec. 1.

No difference betweene a known friend & a stranger.

*Arist* in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 6. Riches & pouerty the two principall plagues vnto mankind.

*Plato* in Lib. de Legib. cap. 9.

*Iul. Cæs.* in com. Lib. 6.

The order of the *Germanes* holding of their Landes.

*Iulius Cæsar* in Com. lib 4

The Romane Law of the 12. Tables.

of his third booke) or diuided betwene the creditors, according to the law of the twelue Tables. And that Law(as himselfe faith) which naturally was not to bee allowed, and yet (notwithstanding) permitted as in right, was reprehended by publicke custome, and oftentimes (to remedy the same in meere pittie) the Commonwealth granted Letters of respite, abolishing extorting interests, and making a new obligation for the principall.

The humanity and liberality of the Gaules, beyond that of the Romaines

But the Gaules vsed much greater humanity and liberality then the Romaines did; because the Masters kept in honourable place, and about their persons, such as thus stode obliged to them, and they vsed their seruice also in their warres.

Diodor. in L. 6. cap. 10.

Wherefore it appeareth, that that which *Diodorus* wrote, differed not from this purpose, where he saith; They employed as guards and defenders of their bodyes, such as (among freemen) were poore and needy, and they serued them as Esquires and Armor-bearers in the warre.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 5.

*Tacitus* reporteth almost the very same custome as was vsed by the Gaules, when he speaketh of the slaues among the Germanes.

Of the slaues amongst the Germanes.

They do not vse their slaues (saith hee) as we do ours, appointing them certain offices in our houses: for euery one serueth himselfe, and gouerneth his household affaires. The Master chargeth his slaue with certaine measures of Corn, or with some Cattle, or with some kinde of cloth: euen as we do our Farmers or Husbandmen, and the seruant obeyeth him not but in such businesse.

Of seruices done in the house.

If he would haue any matter done in his house, his wife and Children performeth it. It sildome or neuer hapneth, that a master doth beat his slaue or bindeth him, or enforceth and constraineth him to any businesse. They had a custome to kil them, yet not by any manner of rigorous or seuerer chastisement; but in choller, as an enemy, and done in the case of some reuenge.

Freemen had no more benefit then seruants.

Freemen had no more aduantages then seruants. Seldom or rarely were they aduanced in the house, and neuer vnto the managing of Commonwealth affaires: except among such Nations, as were in obedience to a king, and there they mounted higher then Freemen, or then Gentlemen.

Among other Nations, libertines, being not receiued into the like dignities as the free, made distinction of their liberty.

CHAP. V.

How the Gaules vsed to educate and bring up their children. Of their corage, manhood, and valour in Armes and martiall exercises.



Here then were the maners and temperance of the ancient Gaules, which serued very sufficiently to maintain their disposition & strength of body, and (doubtlesse) was the cause of their admirable stature: whereat *Caesar* was much amazed, when hee beheld the Gaules which were slaine in the warres of *Affrica*: you haue also heard some part of their liberality, in the administration of their goods, for the releefe of others necessities. But there remaineth much more to say, if wee would enter into discourse, concerning all the parts of their manhood and valiancy: were it in considering the exercise of their youth, or their earnest & violent desire in following armes, and the Nations which haue bene conquered by them, and the Colonies established throughout the world, onely in the name of the Gaules. The Gaules (thus saith *Caesar* in his sixt booke) helde this as a difference from others, in their manner of behauiour, to wit; That they would neuer permit their children to come openly before them, vntill they were of able yeares to beare Armes. And they held him to be a villaine, whose sonne (being vnder limited yeares) should be found in publicke before his fathers face. *Caesar* speaketh this neuertheless hee giueth not sufficiently to be vnderstood, at what time or season they were to beare Armes, neither in what exercise their infancy was imployed, vntill this date of expectation, therefore we must make search into other Authors.

The disposition & strength of body amongst the Gaules.

The manhood & valor of the ancient Gaules.

*Caesar* in comment lib. 6

Somewhat omitted or forgotten by *Caesar*.

*Corn. Tacit.* in lib. 5. c. 7.

At what time they came to serue the Commonwealth in martiall manner.

*Tacitus*, speaking of the Germanes, would haue vs to know, at what time they came vnto the seruice of the Commonwealth. They obserued as a custome (saith he) that no one should vndertake the profession of Armes, vntill the Commonwealth had approued and allowed his suffi-

A Garment which the Romaines did alwayes wear in peace.

*Arist in Polit. Lib. 8. cap. 3.*

Aristotle called the Celtes barbarous people.

Aristotle commendeth the Celtes customs to the Grecians.

*Galen in Gub. Sax. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

Galens reprehension of the Germanes education of their children

iciency. Then, in the martiall Consistorie, either some one of the Princes, or his Father, or els his neereft Kinsman, armed the yong man with a shield and a Iauelin. This was the \* *Toga* or Gown which they tooke, and this was the first degree of honor, wherunto their yong men mounted. Before, and till this dignity was done to them, they were but as a member of the house onely: but afterward, they appertained to the Commonwealth. *Aristotle*, who wrote long time before *Caesar*, declareth vnto vs this manner of education of children (for it seemeth in the 8. Booke of his Politicks) that hee learned this instruction of vs. It is necessary (saith he) to accustom and vse the very yongest children to indure cold weather: for it profiteth maruellously, as well for the disposition of the body, as for manly cariage in war. And this was the reason, why some barbarous people (as the Celtes) obserued it as a custome, to plunge their young Infants (so soone as they were borne) in the coldest water of the riuer, or els to cloath them in light garments. For, to whatsoever thing youth ought to apply it self, this is the best course; to accustom them thereto (by little and little) from their yongest houre, and when they are tender; because of the heate which is naturally in them, & therefore the first thing to be done, is to be carefull in this one point.

*Aristotle* in this place calleth the Celtes barbarous, and yet hee accounteth not their customes barbarous; in regard that hee appointeth the Greekes to fashion themselves after their manner. I know that *Galen* sharply reproveth this behaviour, when in the first booke of his Government of health, and instructing how to order health, he saith. I am not of the minde, that Children should onely be nursed among the Germanes. Also, that which he writes of, is neither for the Germanes, or for any other such sauage and barbarous men; no more then for Beares, wilde Boares, Lions, or such other beasts. I knowe (I say) that *Galen* reprehendeth this custome seuerely; but I know likewise, that the yong nice delicates of the Greekes, whom *Galen* striueth to please, in prescribing them an order for their health: haue bene quite deuoured by these Lyons (as he tearmeth them) and that the Gaules and Germanes, if they be

compared with the Greekes, may in good right be called Lyons.

And truly, *Lacedemon*, which was the most noble of all the Grecian Cities, was principally renowned for being studious in hardning it selfe to trauaile, after the true manner of the Celts. For the youths of *Sparta*, did dayly imbolden themselves against al manner of paines and exercises: neuer entering into the especial assembly, before the age of twenty yeares, as *Plutarch* recordeth in the life of *Lycargus*. Wherefore, not onely the power of this vertue, which was in the Gauls and Germanes, but (ouer and beside) the authority of *Aristotle*, as also of *Lacedemon* (if any man be regardfull thereof) may well serue to answer the reasons of *Galen*. We may also inferre (to this purpose) that which *Strabo* hath written, when he saith; The Gaules held this as proper and peculiar to them, to refuse no taking of paines, as fearing to become fat and swoln bellied by ease: therefore they punished and condemned vnto some pecuniary fine, such yong men as grew grosse through sloath and excesse. Whereunto that ordinance of the Romaines was conformable; that depriued any fat or corpulent Knight, of the Horse graunted him by publike allowance.

Now it is further to be considered, that this exercise was not onely proper or peculiar vnto the Gaules: but it was in like common vse with the Germanes their brethren, as *Galen* himselfe hath elsewhere declared. Let vs listen then to *Caesar*, who heerein giueth them sufficient commendation. From their infancy (this hee writeth in his sixt book) they addicted themselves to paines taking, and imployed (almost) their whole life time, either in hunting, or feats of warre. They had diuers kinds of wilde beasts, in the Forrest called \* *Hercynia*: as wilde Bulles, \* *Aces*, but especially Buffles, which they tooke with great labour in their dens or ditches, and there slew them. The yong men hardned themselves to this trauell, and euermore exercised this manner of hunting; & they which had slaine most of them, bringing their hornes to publicke view, as a testimony of their diligence, received both reward and great praise. This yeeldeth sufficient demonstration, how the young men prepared their spirits, to endure all

paine

*Lacedemon* shaped it selfe to endure the hard customs of the Celtes.

*Plut. in vit. Lycargus.*

*Strabo in Lib. 4.*

The Gaules were laborious & painfull

Knights had publicke Horses allowed them.

The Germanes brethren to the Gaules.

*Inl. Caesar in Com. Lib. 6.*

\* A great wood in Germany, in breeth nine dayes iourney, and in length forty.

\* A wild beast in fashion and skin like a fallow Deere.

paine and labour, and fell not off for any danger: as hauing learned, though not of great and skilfull Doctors, which were best able to giue them instructions; yet (at least) of their owne selues, and so put it in effectuall execution.

Let vs now obserue what they were in actions of warre, and as the Poet sayeth; The braue workmanship of Mars, because the Gaules were perpetually in war. For, before *Caesar* came thither (as hee hath written in his sixt booke) it hapned euery yeare, that either they assailed others, or else were glad to defend themselves; and it was easily knowne, that by a custome among the Gaules, age was no excuse to any man, as appeareth by diuers passages in the eight booke. *Verriscus*, a chiefe Commander of the \* *Rhemi*, albeit he could very hardly keepe himselfe on horsebacke, because he was so farre gone in yeares: yet notwithstanding, according to the manner of the Gaules, hee would pleade no excuse by his age, in vndergoing such charges as were imposed on him; and he was very vnwilling, that any fight should bee performed without him. Likewise, in the warre of the *Parisians*, the whole charge (as is to be seene in the seuenth Booke) was giuen vnto *Camulogenus*, an especiall man of the \* *Auleri*, who was well-neere wholly spent with age: and yet for all that, the great experience which he had in martiall affaires, advanced him to the highest degree of Honor. Answerable to this, *Strabo* saith, The Gaules were rather men of warre, then any way addicted vnto Tillage or husbandry.

*Aristot*'e writeth, that the Celts helde the vertue of warlike actions in most singular respect and commendation. And it was well noted, as *Caesar* affirmeth, that the cause of valour (both in the *Belgians* and *Heluetians*) grew through their continuall exercise of armes, for he saith: The most valiant people of al the Gaules, were the *Belgians*.

Now, as Temperance was the first and formost in ranke, as being the Mother, or the Nurse (at least) of true valiancy: so the second cause which *Caesar* rendreth, was; That they were neighbours to the Germanes, which dwelt on the further side of the Rheine, with whom they were continually at warre. This (I say) was ano-

ther cause of their valor; that continually they exercised armes, and by the same reason, the *Heluetians* surpassed (in this vertue) all the other *Celtes*: As it might daily be discerned, in regard, that ordinarily they fought with the Germanes, eyther in repulsing them from their frontiers, or making war on them in their owne country. In this place also might be alledged, their often and frequent skirmishes, to deliuer true faithfulness of their valour. Moreouer, the Gaules for want of warre, to the end that they might still be in exercise of armes: gaue themselves to thefts and robberies, as *Diodorus* saith, purloining the goods of others, without any prouision of their owne. What were the Germanes? saith he. What participation had they in this vertue? All their life, as hath beene already declared, was no way imployed, but in deeds of armes. And as he hath further written in his sixt Booke, the very greatest honour that any City could haue, was, to haue a great Desert & spacious Country round about it. They esteemed it to bee proper and naturall to vertue, to compell their expelled neighbours, to forsake their Lands and Territories, so that few or none durst dwell nere vnto them. And by this meanes, they imagined themselves to be in the greatest security, in being deliuered from al dread of courses, which suddenly might bee made into their Country.

*Tacitus* speaketh of the same exercise of armes. You could not so readily put into their heads, any order for husbandry in their grounds, or carefulnes for gathering their fruites, and corne, as to go assaile the enemy, and to returne back with wounds and maimes. Moreouer, it appeared to them, that it was meere sloth and carelesnesse, to winne that by sweate and labour, which a man might purchase with the price of his blood. *Caesar* saith likewise of the Germanes, the same that *Diodorus* doth of the Gaules, that they were addicted to rapine and thefts. Robberies (thus speaketh *Caesar* in his sixt booke) did not make men any ior the worse esteemed: so that they were done out of those limits, which appertained to each City. And it is said that they vsed these courses: onely to exercise their youthes, and for the auoyding of ydlennesse. And when some one of the Lords would deliuer his

The *Heluetians* excelled al the other *Celtes* in Armes.

The *Gaules* were addicted to thefts & robberies. *Diodorus* in lib. 6

The greatest honour of a City among the *Germanes*.

Few or no neighbours durst dwell nere to the *Gaules*.

*Corn. Tacitus* in lib. 5. cap. 4.

No care of husbandry, or gathering the fruites of the earth, but al to assaile the enemy.

†

*Iul. Cesar* in com. lib. 6.

Thefts & robberies thought not discommendable, but allowed & followed with no meane affection.

The *Gaules* were alwayes in actions of armes. *Iul. Caesar* in Com. lib. 6.

\* People of *Belgia*, next to the *Leuci* and *Madiomatrics*.

\* People of *Roane* in *Normandy*.

*Strabo* in lib. 5.

*Arist* in *Polit* lib. 8 cap. 6.

*Iulius Caesar* in comment. lib. 8

Temperance the Mother or Nurse of valiancy.

minde in an open assembly, that he would be their guide, and that such as would follow him, should shew instantly themselves. Such as gaue consent to his opinion, and (allowing him for their Leader) presently arose, and promised him their vttermost assistance; the people present would both commend them and their enterprize. As for such among them, as neither followed, nor gaue allowance to the attempt: they were reputed as traitours, and neuer afterward durst any man repose any credite in them.

*Tacitus* addeth yet moreouer, that the Germanes made war among strange people. If the City (saith he) wherein they were borne, grew slothfull and ydle, thorough long peace and repose; the most

part of the yongest Gentlemen went (vpon their owne motion and good will) to finde out such Nations as had any warre. For rest and ease was no way pleasing to this people; and the dangers which they essayed and made prooffe of, made them also the more famous: and they could not maintaine any great matter of worth, but by power and warre, for thus they compassed meanes to be bountifull and liberrall, onely by warre, thefts and pillages.

Thus we may perceiue, how the auncient Gaules made continual exercise of armes, and well deserued those commendations, wherewith the first and cheefest of all the Romaine Poets shewed himselfe willing to honour Italy.

The meanes for maintaining their bounty and liberality.

*Corn. Tacit. in li. 6. cap. 2*  
The Germanes warred with strange nations.

Concerning the birth, breeding, and education of the Gaules of greatest antiquity.

*We are hardly bred, Babes are no sooner borne,  
But we to Riuers beare them, hurle them in;  
To harden them against both wet and colde.  
Here, our young people giue themselves to hunting,  
And haunt the Forrests. The pastimes they affect,  
Is taming wildeſt Horses, draw the Bowe.  
Sometimes our youth, imboldened to labour  
Make small account of husbanding the ground:  
But to besedge strong holdes. Each age we passe,  
Man:ging sturdy yron, turning our Staues  
To pierce the hides of Bulles. Slowe, tardy age,  
Cannot abate our vertue, daunt our hearts.  
Wish snow-white heads we enter Arms, and still  
Seeke for fresh pillage, lining on the booty.*

Oh, would it had pleased God, that *Caesar*, discoursing on the fashions and customs of the Gaules, had bene as willing in describing much more amply, what use they made of Armes; what reasons they followed in their preparation for warre; what diligence they vsed, beeing in the fildes; what their strength and valor was in fights & combates: it would haue caused an extraordinary pleasure, to remember continually, the ancient custome of our auncestours in their warlike actions. But *Caesar* (principally) sheweth nothing of all this: neuerthelesse, we will pursue each matter, insomuch as possibly wee may, and diligently collect somewhat out of diuers passages of his, (as wee can follow any traces, though greatly obscured) in such things as are agreeable to our purpose, not forgetting (in meane while) the iudgement of other Authors.

Especially observations concerning the auncient Gaules, omitted by *Caesar* in his writing of their waies.

## CHAP. VI.

*How the Gaules made choice of their Generals and Commanders for their warres, with a true description of their Military Services and discipline.*



THE wars which *Caesar* made each yeare, deliuereth some testimony, how they elected their Generals, and other cheefe Leaders in their martiall employments, whereof wee are able to speake somewhat more largely. But the troupe or heape of particular Soldiours, was alwaies made in a publike assembly, & how euery man should behaue himselfe in armes. *Iuduciomarus*, Prince of *Treues*, pub-

What election they made of their Generals for war

*Iulius Caesar in comment. Lib 5*

A severe custom among the Gaules.

*Iul. Caf. in com. lib. 7.*

\* The City *Ausolis* in *Bur-goyne*.

The Gaules contrary in opinion to *Vercingetorix*, and vpon good reasons.

The Gaules studious in martiall affaires.

\* Sometime people of that country which is now called *Bourgundy*.

*Polyb. in lib. 4. Diodor. in lib. 3. Strabo in lib. 6. Tit. Liv. in lib. 4. Dec. 3.*

published an assembly in armes against the Romanes; as is to be seen in the fifth booke of the warres in Gaule. The Gaules began their warre in this manner, & followed one common Law among them. All their younger men vsed to meete together in armes: but he that came latest, in the presence of the whole assembly (after hee had bene tormented with all the tortures could be deuised) hee was afterward put to death. The selfe same custom is declared in the seventh booke, when *Vercingetorix*, being elected Generall for the warre of the Gaules; was besieged in \* *Alixia*. For he tooke counsell, to discharge all the troupes of horse which he had with him, and at parting, he gave the charge, to returne each man to the City, whereof he was a member, and there to assemble or muster for the warre, all such as were of age to carry armes. Neuertheless, the Gaules hauing published the assembly of their Princes, did not thinke it meete to draw al the together, that were of age to beare armes, according as *Vercingetorix* had ordained: but rather appointed, that each City should be furnished with a certaine number of men; it could not otherwise chuse but breed confusion by being vnable to command them, or knowing one from another, or any possible meanes of prouision for them. By this manner of ordering men for their warres, we may well perceiue, that the Gaules were studious in military affayres, considering, that all such as were aboute fourteene yeares of age, did carry armes.

The Gaules armed themselues quite contrary to the Romanes, as is to be obserued in the seventh booke, where hee speaketh of the \* *Hedui*, that came to the seruice of *Caesar*, who very greatly astonished the Romanes, by vsing their armes after the Gaulish manner. And yet I cannot perceiue (throughout *Caesars* discourses) what those kinde of armes were: therefore we will collect that which *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Titus Liuius* haue noted to vs. The sword which they vsed, was long, and the man wore it (hanging in a chaine of brasse) on his right side: and it serued not onely to smite or flashe withall, but also to thrust or foine, so saith *Diodorus*; notwithstanding, *Polybius* and *Titus Liuius* doe deny their thrusting or foyning with the point.

Their Target or Shilde was large, and answerable vnto each mans stature or constitution: and, according to their feuerall delight or pleasure, so was it enriched with Imageris of brazen Beasts, mounted vp into bosses. Their Iaueline had a head of yron or Steele, containing a cubite in length, and two fingers bredth *Caesar* in his third booke saith, that they likewise caried a staffe, which he tearmeth *Geses*, & another, called by him *Meris*, which was a certaine kind of small Iauelin. Their heads were couered with a Sallade or head-peece of brasse, a little exalted or raised vp, whereon was figured Images of Birds, Beasts, and antique shapen. Their vsual Corselet was of yron.

Many of the Gaules were wont to fight naked, so farre as the nauil: as *Titus Liuius* saith, in the battaile at *Cannas*, and *Polybius* speketh as much of the same fight in this manner. It was a very dreadful fight, to obserue the behavior of naked men, who marched on stoutly, shewing an excellent beauty, and vndauntable strength. In like manner, *Titus Liuius* saith, that in \* *Gallogracia*, the Gaules fought naked, and that was the reason, why they were ouercome by the Romanes, who smote them as farre off with their Piles, which were a kinde of small Iauelins, and darted at them very strongly. The Gaules likewise vsed Bowes and Slings, according as *Strabo* saith; for he writeth, that they hadde a kinde of Staffe, which being throwne by the hand onely, without any string or other holde, would smite further off then an Arrow, and with this they did (most commonly) shoote at Birds. It is also very certaine (as the same Author affirmeth) that they hadde a Tree in Gaule, somewhat resembling the Figge-Tree, which carried a fruite, that had some likeness to the chapter of a Corinthian pillar. This Tree being cutte, did yeeld a deadly iuyce or liquor, wherewith they vsed to impoyson the heads of theyr Arrows. That it was so, and that the Gaules were great Archers, *Caesar* prooueth verie pregnantly in his seventh Booke, where hee speaketh of *Vercingetorix*. Hee commaunded (saith he) that all the Archers (which were a very great number throughout Gaule) should be leuyed, and sent vnto him, as it will

Of their swords shields & Iauelins.

*Iul. Caf. in Com. ment. lib. 3.*

Of their Sallades, Head-peecees and Corsets.

Some of the Gaules fought naked so farre as the nauil. *Polyb. in lib. 4.*

\* A Countrie in the lesser *Asia*, ioyning to *Phrygia* and *Lydia*.

*Strabo in lib. 5.* of their bowes and slings.

Of a strange Tree growing in Gaule, that poisoned their Arrow heads.

That the Gaules were great Archers *Iul. Caf. in com. ment. lib 7.*

appeare much more fully hereafter in better place.

This was the Armor and Munition of the Gaules, whereunto that of the Germanes, which *Tacitus* describeth, was not altogether agreeable. They seldome defended themselves with swords or long staves: for they carried Iauelines, or (to vse their owne proper word) *Framées*; the blades whercof were straite and short, but yet so keene, and so apt for their seruice, that they could vse them with or against a staffe, according as they had occasion to fight, either before they came neere to one another, or when they were at handy gripes. The Horseman contented himselfe with his shield and Iaueline: but foot soldiers had many darts each man, which they hurled or darted infinitely, being naked, or lightly cloathed with a simple Cassocke or Mandillion. They had no brauery on their accoutrements: onely, they would decke their shields with some curious choise colours. Very few of them did weare any shirts of Maile, or scaled coats: some one or two might haue (perhaps) a Caske or Morrión. These are the Armes which the ancient Gauls are credibly said to weare.

It remaineth now to speake, how they employed their men of warre, as well on foote as horsebacke. The horsemen were in most estimation among the Gauls, and had the principall managing of all affairs for warre, as *Cæsar* hath saide in his sixte Booke. And in the League which all the Gaules made against *Cæsar*, one while hee speaketh of the number of eight thousand horse, then againe of fiftene thousand, which was that part of the army, wherby the Gaules made themselves strongest, as plainly appeareth in the seauenth Booke. Neuerthelesse, no assurance can be collected heereby, concerning all the cities in their severall forces. The people of *Treues*, or the *Treuiri*, were the very strongest of all the Gaules in horsemen, as is to be seene in the fift booke. The *Santonnes*, according as wee reade in the third booke, had likewise very great store of horsemen: but the *Nerviains* (in the verie same place) are said to haue the most foot souldiers. Notwithstanding, if you regard them generally, you shall finde, that the Cauallery had the cheefest honour of all the warres among the Gaules. And these

were the horsemen, wherewith *Cæsar* vvas most assisted in his ciuill wars. For so himselfe testifieth in the first booke of his Ciuill Warre, that when *Affranus* came with great forces to assaile the *Cæsarians* who were but a few in number: sodainely the horsemen of the Gaules were diligent in making head against them; and (so long as they could) they maintained fight, albeit they consisted of so few, and endured against a great multitude of the enemie. But so soone as the Ensignes of the Legions began to approach; with verie little losse of their men they retired vnto the neighbouring Mountaines. The time of the fights continuance serued sufficiently for the *Cæsarians* safety: for, in that while, they had leysure to gaine themselves the highest parts of the hills, & there sheltered themselves securely.

Likewise, in the warre of *Affrica*, when the enemy (with powerfull forces) came to deale vwith the hoast of *Cæsar*, and to attache them in the rere; suddenly the Legionaries stayed them, and the horsemen (although they were but few in number) made very stout resistance, yea, and vwith vnconquerable hardiment, against that great troope of the enemy. And a matter almost incredible happened, That lesse then thirty horse of the Gaules, repulsed two thousand horse of the Moores, and put them into rout. Such was the strength of the Gaulish horse. Hence ensued that exclamation of *Cicero*, in his 5. *Phillippick*. *Opinion was conceined (saith he) that some appointed, that there should be giuē to Mark Anthony, the government of that latter part of Gaule, which Plancus holdeth at this instant: Is there any other wisedome in so dooing, but to lend our owne weapons to an enemy, to make a ciuill warre vpon vs? For first of all, the nerues or sinewes of warre, which is countlesse summes of money, and whereof hee standeth now in neede; and next, the power of horse, which valeweth as much; what can he desire more then both these? Behold, in what account and estimation, the horsemen of the Gaules were.*

Sometimes it was thought conuenient, to entermingle amongst the horse some of the foote souldiers, which vvere worst armed, and the Archers. And this was (as appeareth in the seauenth booke) when *Vercingetorix* went with the Horse, and certaine foote (least charged vwith Armes)

The Armes & defensue weapons of the Germanes.

A short Glaue or two-edged sword.

Of the horse and foote Soldiers habites.

No brauery on their garment.

What vse they made of their men of warre.

A league made by the Gauls against *Cæsar*.

a Betweene Belgia, & the riuier Mosella.

b People of that place, now called Xantong in Aquitaine.

The horsemen had the highest honour of the warres.

*Iul. Cæs. in 1. de Bel. ciu. l.*

The coming of *Affranus* against the *Cæsarians* with his Ensignes of the legions.

The enemies setting on *Cæsars* hoast in *Affrica*

30. horse of the Gaules, ouerthrow 2000. horse of the Moores.

*Cicero* in *Phillip. 5.* Against *Marke Anthony*s gouernment in Gaule.

The foot souldiers mingled amongst the horsemen.

*Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 7.*

Armes) to prepare an ambuscado, where he imagined that the Romaines intended to come and forrage. At another time, (in the same booke) speaking of himselfe, when they were neere to \**Gergonia*, *Caesar* saith: It was not fully breake of day, when in the skirmishes, the footemen beeing mingled among the horse, we were forced to approue how hardy and vertuous our owne men were. Sometimes, the Footemen, being lightly armed, accompanied with the Archers, fought amongst the Horsmen, as was obserued in the encounter neere to *Alexia*. The Gaules (among some few of their horse) flanked their Archers and lightest armed foote; to the end that they should succour the horsmen, and sustaine the violent assault of the Romaine Cavallery.

Ancient Gaule had \**Essedaries*, who were warriours that rode in Waines or Waggon, called *Essedaes*. and *Diodorus* giueth vs assurance hereof in these words. Passing thorow the Countrey in time of warre, they vsed Carres or Waggon, which two Horses drew by a fit prepared furniture; the Waggoner, or he that had the charge thereof, being the only guide. If they met with the enemy in warre: first of all, and while they were vpon the waggon, they would let fly their darts at him. Afterward, alighting from the waggon, and being on foote, then they fought together with their swords. These two manners of fighting, are much more at large described by *Caesar*, when hee speaketh of the Germanes and the Britaines. Of the Germanes in the first booke, where hee reckoneth vp the forces which *Ariouistus* had. They were (saith hee) sixe thousand Horsmen, and as many foot, of the very strongest and best disposed, which each man had made choise of particularly, as for his owne succour and safety. If they were to set on to the warre, they mingled one among another, and the Horsmen also retired when they did. If any great occasion happened, the foote souldiours fought with the horsmen. And if any one being wounded, hapned to fall from his horse, the other gaue present succour. If they were to march on further, or to retreat vpon expedition; exercise had instructed them in such celerity, that onely by fastning hold on their horses Maines, they would mount vp, and run as swiftly

as they did. In another passage of the 4. Booke. speaking of the *Sueues*, hee sayth. In those skirmishes which they made on horsebacke, they would ofrentimes dismount and fight on foote: hauing taught and invred their horses in such manner, that they neuer stirred from the place where they left them, returning to their horses againe, when occasion required. According to their custome, they esteemed nothing more base and idle, then to ride on Saddles. And this was the reason, that although they were but few in number, yet they durst boldly assaile any troopes whatsoever, if they were Horsmen, and rode on saddles.

This is that which *Caesar* hath written; whereby we may gather, that heerein the Gaules were contrary to the Germanes order: considering, that the Germanes placed their strength in their men on foot; which *Tacitus* relateth more apparantly. Whosoever (saith he) wil consider them in generall, shall finde, that their cheefest power consisteth in their footemen: and therefore (in fighting) they ranke them among the troopes of horse. For the footmen which they choose among all their youth, to put to the point of any danger; are men of wonderfull swiftnesse, apt and fit to fight among the horse. They are an hundred, chosen out of euerie Towne or Village, and thereon were tearmed Centeniers, or Centurions: for that vvhich serued (before) but to signifie the number, was now giuen as an especiall name, and was honourable to them. Thus serued the Horsmen of the Germanes, and were mingled in this manner among the foote soldiers.

Now, as concerning the behauiour of the Britaines, *Caesar* in his fourth booke, describeth it in this manner. They haue a manner of fighting on Chariots or waggons, which is thus. First, they skirmish on all sides, and hurle their Darts, and ofrentimes it happeneth, that by the terror of their horses trampling, & by the noise of their Waggon wheelles, they trouble the rankes extraordinarily. But after that they are mingled amongst the troopes of horsmen, they descend from their waggons, and fight on foote. During which while, the Waggoners withdraw themselves somewhat out of the fight, and arrange their waggons in such fort, that if

*Iul. Caesar in com. Lib. 4.*  
Of the Sueues their manner of fighting.

They hated to ride on Saddles.

The Gaules contrary vnto the Germanes for their footmen.

*Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Vpon what occasion they were called Centeniers or Centurions.

*Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 4.*  
Of the Brittaines, & what manner of fighting they vied.

Of the Waggons & Waggoners.

\* A Towne of Guyenne, standing on a hie hill.

The footmen accompanied with the Archers fought amongst the horse.

\* Souldiers in old time, that marched in Waggon, but fought on foot *Diodor. in lib. 6*

Their manner of fighting with the enemy.

Of the Germanes & Brittaines, *Iulius Caesar in comment. lib. 1*

The succour giuen to each other.

The swiftnesse of the Germanes.

The notable managing of their horses in their swiftest running.

their masters bee pressed with any great number of enemies, they can make an easie and speedy returne to them. The adresse and direction of their horses, the order obsetued among their footmen for fight, and their aptnesse thereto, by dayly vse and exercise was such: that when they listed, they could sodainly stay their horses, euen in the middest of his swiftest course, although it were in descending downe a high hill. There could they readily mannage and turne them, running mainly by the bridle among the horse; & thence againe returne lightly vnto their Chariots. This manner then of fighting, whereof the Effedaries make vse, was somewhat also mingled among the horse and foote.

Waggons in vse among the Gaules. Iul. Caesar in comment. Lib. 7

Moreouer (as is to be seene in the seauenth booke) a great number of VVaggons attended on the Gaules, especially such as were vnarmed. Next, of the Archers of the *Rutheni*, and the horsemen of Gaule, which had followed *Caesar*; there came into Spaine, with a great number of waggons, all filled with baggage, according to the custome among the Gaules. Beside, there were of men and women, about six thousand, with their seruants and children: and because they took delight, in hauing beasts for portage and cariage, they were glad to pay deerly for them, as *Caesar* hath recorded in his seuenth book. Heereby wee vnderstand, that not onely the men, but their children also, yea, the whole Families in Gaule, went to the war when occasion required. *Tacitus* writeth also, That the women followed the *Germanes*, and accompanied them to theyr warres. But this is sufficient, concerning such leuies and preparations for warre, as was vsed among the Gaules.

The whole families of the Gaules went to the warres.

Their enduring scarcitie of food.

Now it would be knowne, with vwhat ease they could endure the scarcitie of victuals, by the temperature of their nouriture, hauing formerly auoided the delicacy of wine: and *Caesar* giueth vs to vnderstand (in many places) how they wer provided of victuals. The *Heluetians* departing from their houses, caried meale (that was formerly ground with them) to serue for 3. months. And *Vercingetorix*, to take away from the *Romains* all meanes of recouering foode, perswaded the Gaules to burne the Towns and Villages on all parts where the *Romans* might make any inua-

Of the Heluetians.

Vercingetorix his aduice giuen vnto the Gaules.

sion. Whereupon more then 20. Townes (belonging to the *Bituriges*) were burnt in one day: and the like they did vnto the Cities in the neighboring countries. But, at the instant intreaty of the *Biturigeans*, who required, that *Auaricum* (which was the very goodliest City in all Gaul) might not be burned: it was granted by *Vercingetorix*, who first had debated for the contrary, yet after yeelded, as well in regard of their earnest motion, as also in meere pitty and commiseration. But the pitty afforded to this one Towne, caused most cruel ruine of all the other cities and Townes in Gaule. For *Caesars* armie, that had bin very mightily tormented with famine, and had endured diuers daies with out power of recouering any thing to make bread of: after the surprizing of *Auaricum*, was now not onely stored with plenty of food, but being fleshed as it wer with hope of like following successe, it made them to deuoure vp all Gaule.

At another time, *Vercingetorix* (by vertue of the same counsell and aduice) constrained *Caesar* to forsake *Gergouia*, and hauing taken all the victuals which the *Romans* had then in *Noviodunum*, brought him into such distresse, that had it not bin for shame, tediousnes of the way, and absence of the 4. Legions, *Caesar* was setting forward to go into *Prouence*. *Vercingetorix*, being elected captaine Generall thoroughout Gaul, vsed (at a third time) the selfsame aduice; when in a publike assembly of the Gaules he said, that he wold not tempt his fortune, & giue his enemy battel, because he was strongly defenced with horsemen, wherby he could easily hinder the *Romans* from food and forraging. And it behooued euery man (of his own good will) to destroy his Corne, and burne his house; considering, that by this litle losse, which each man might well endure in his own particular, he should perceiue, that their empire and liberty, would (for euer) be the surer maintained. And vndoubtedly, *Caesar* being moued by these occasions, purposed to withdraw himselfe into *Prouence*, thorow the country of the *Sequani*, when *Vercingetorix* (too inconsiderately) condemned the good counsell giuen him, & would not tempt fortune, by hazarding the battel, & turned all his intentions stil to the worst: wherby may be obserued, what care the ancient *Gaules* had for prouision of food. Now

\*People of old Aquitaine

\*The City Viron of Berry in France.

The pitying of one towne, was the destruction of many other

Vercingetorix his aduice against Caesar

\*The Towne Noyon of Belgia in France.

Vercingetorix his third aduice against Caesar.

Caesars purpose to depart into Prouence. \*A people in France, which are now cald Brgonians.

Their order of martial discipline in the field.

Of the Heluetians.

The Gaules bridges made of Boates.

Their fortifications in the field.

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 8. & in lib. 1

The Romans planted their campe in the highest places

The Campe of the Belgians, and their best rampiers of Chariots & Waggonns.

Iul. Caesar in Com. Lib. 5. Of the Neruians.

Now if we desire to know, what order was vsed among them in the field, either for marching, lodging their armies, or obseruation of military discipline; it seemeth that they were not therein any iore curious. The *Heluctians* essaying to passe a riuer, some tied diuers boates together; others would leape into such places, wher the Rhone was most easie for passage, oftentimes in the day, and more often in the night, but *Caesar* euermore gaue them the repulse. The Gaules not having (as yet) learned the manner of making bridges, could not (in the space of twenty dayes) passe the third part of their army, by such boates as they had fastened together: and this was their want of knowledge, in the arte of making Bridges. If we look vpon the seating of their armies, and their fortifications in the fiede, they were as slenderly skilfull therein. They would make choise of a valley, that had no other Rampier or Ditch, but Heauen and Earth to succour and defend it. For the custome among the Gaules, was (as we may reade in the eight booke) to refuse and forsake high places, and to order their Campe neere vnto Riuers. So it appeareth in the first booke, that the Heluetians encamped at the foote of some hill, euen as the Germans did the like: but the Romanes euermore elected the highest places. The seating then of the Gaules Campe was in this manner, without any kinde of fortification. The Campe of the Belgians (as is to be seene in the second booke) according as might be iudged by their fires and smoake, consisted of more then eight miles in largeness. And when they declared most care & warinesse; they would onely plant their Chariots and Waggonns formost, which serued them as their cheefest Rampier. In like manner, the Germans would engirt their whole army, with their Waggonns and Chariots. At length the Gaules began to imitate the Romanes, in such matters as they perceiued to be best behoouing for the, or whatsoeuer they did for the best advantage.

The Neruians (as wee reade in the fift booke) enclosed that place, where *Cicero* bestowed his winter abiding, with a rampier of eleuen foote in height, and a ditch of fiftene foote deepe. They had learned this, by their practise of warre against

the Romanes, and by the helpe of such prisoners as they had taken. But wanting such tooles and instruments, as were necessarily required in this businesse: they were constrained to cut the greene turfts or sods with their Swords, and to carry both them & the earth, in the long skirts of their Iackets. Afterward, they began to raise Towers on the tops of their rampiers, and to make mounted roofes and Tarrasses, according as their prisoners had enstructed them: infomuch, that *Caesar* (at length) wondred, to see what Towers, Tarrasses, and Fortifications they enterprised and performed. These passages of *Caesar*, do sufficiently declare, that the Gaules were not wanting, eyther in naturall disposition, or in care, to performe what was necessary, but only came short of orderly discipline.

In the seuenth yeare of the Gaules wars, after great store of losses had happened; *Vercingetorix* comforting the Gaules, declared vnto them, that it was reasonable & expedient (for common safety of each one) to begin to fortifie their campe: to the ende that they might the more easily endure the sudden assaults of their enemies. For in those times (saith *Caesar*) was it, that the Gaules began first of all to fortifie their Camp. And therefore *Caesar* did especially marke and nominate it in that place. And the first fortification which they vsed, was at *Gorgonia*, when they made a wal about their camp, which was sixe foote high, of great thick stones. Afterward, neere to *Alexia*, where they made a ditch and a wall, containing sixe foote in height. The Latine word <sup>2</sup>*Maccaria*, which signifieth a wall of stones, heaped together without mortar or lime, & whereof *Caesar* maketh vse in the second place: declareth what manner of walles they had, which were rudely constructed, and without any cunning. The Gaules then (aunciently) had so little knowledge or discipline.

But what valour or manhood did they vse in fight? Was there any such matter of worth in them? Vndoubtedly they reposed a very great assurance in their owne strength. The Gaules, as was noted in the warres of Affrica, were naked or vncouered, and vsing no kinde of surprizing: had a custome to fight onely by valiancy, and not by any sleight or cunning.

And

The Neruians learned the fortifying of the Romanes

Mounting of Towers and Tarrasses.

*Caesar* admired to behold the Gaules fortifications.

The comfort giuen by *Vercingetorix*, to the Gaules.

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 3.

The first making of wals and ditches.

<sup>2</sup> Made infsted of a Mound.

And this was the reason, why *Diuiconius* the Heluetian, spake so to *Cesar*, who had surprized the \* *Tigurines* at vnawares, saying. That they had learned of their Fathers and Auncestors, to fight more for manhood then arte, but he made himselfe strong, onely by surprizes. And for prooffe of this military vertue, there are very singular examples in many places of *Cesar*. In the battaile of the Heluetians, albeit that from the seuenth houre (as is to bee seene in the first booke) they had fought till darke night; yet no man could euer see the enemy to turne his backe. The Belgians in like manner (as it is written in the sixt booke) neuer being daunted or terrified with the slaughter of so many of their owne fellowes, cruelly slaine before their faces: in resolute assurance, essayed boldly to march ouer their dead bodies. The Neruians likewise (as appeareth in the same place) euē in the latest hope of their safety, declared an extraordinary signe of their vertue. For, albeit such as were the very cheefest among thē, lay butchered on the earth before them: yet they kept neere still to them, and fought standing vpon their bodies. Yea, and that in such manner, as they which remained alue, making hilles of dead mens coarffes; threw their Darts against the Romanes, as from the top of a Butte, and cast also their lesser Iauelins at them, so long as they were able to reach them. This agreeth with that which he speaketh of the Gaules, who were in *Cesars* seruice, when \* *Munda* in *Spain*, was round about engirt with the bodies of enemies, that had bene slaine, and lay there in their armes. In stead of turffes of earth (saith *Hirtius*) they piled and layed dead bodies one vpon another, and for the seruice of a Palisadoe, they couered them with theyr Shields and Iauelins, and their swords, with the heads of men, were all placed & turned towards the Towne of their enemy: To the ende, that they should apparently behold the true Ensignes of their valiancy, only to affright them, while thus they were circled in, as in a rampier. Thus the Gaules hauing made a round wall of their enemies bodies, and mounted thereon; they began to assaile the Towne with violent deliery of their Arrowes and Darts.

They had learned this manner of ma-

king a rampier of dead mens bodies, from a custome vsed in their owne Countrey, and heerehence (in mine opinion) grew the coniecture made of the Gaules, whereof *Aristotle* writeth in his Ethicks to *Nicomachus*: That they feared not any thing in the world, neither scorplings, burnings or any torments whatsoever. And to this effect, was that which *Strabo* writeth of the *Gaules*, concerning their answer to *Alexander*, who demaunded of them, what it was that they feared most? Nothing (saide they) if the Heauens tumble not downe vpon vs. I perceiue also, that they were euen as neglect and careles, in chusing the aduantage of place for fight, as they were in the seating of their Campe, which may evidently bee discerned in all the Commentaries of the *Gaules* warres. When the Heluetians and Neruians assailed *Cesar*, it was in a place very disadvantageous: but if they lighted on any other, that might declare them to bee any way better aduised; it vvas by some former patterne of the Romanes, and obseruation of their discipline. And the first time that they entred into any good order, vvas, when the army vvhich they had vvas rallied out of diuers Countries, and the Souldiors then vvere generally distributed, according to the Countries whereof they vvere, and so placed (separately) the forces of each City in his due rancke or degree. So in the battaile of the *Neruians*, the \* *Atrebeians* vvere ordered on the left side, the *Neruians* on the right, & the \* *Veromanduans* in the midst of the battaile. Like vwise in the seuenth booke, vvhich hee maketh mention of the forces of *Vercingetorix*. The *Gaules* after they had broken the bridges, kept themselves firmly on a little Hill, confiding in the scituation of the place, and beeing generally diuided, according vnto the Citties vvhich they vvere, and placing Guards at euery Foord & Thicket of the Marish; they impeached them to their no meane disadvantage. In the same place againe, *Vercingetorix* hauing planted his Campe on a Hill neere to the Towne, lodged separately also the forces of each City; yet leauing some vvide and spacious roome about all their lodgings, and being possessed of all the smaller hilles that neighboured the greater, vvhence any aduantage might be had for looking downeward, he made

\* A people of the Heluetians, by the Riuer Ligamus, whose head-City is called Zurich.

*Iul. Caf. in com. lib. 1. & in li. 6*

The resolute assurance of the Belgians.

The manly vertue of the Neruians against the Romanes.

\* A Towne of Belica in Spain

The words of *Hirtius*, concerning the vertue & manhood of the *Gaules*.

*Arist. in li. 4. de Ethic ad Nicomach.*

*Strabo in Lib. 4 The Gauls answer to Alexander.*

Aduantage of place for fight

The Heluetians and Neruians assailed *Cesar*.

\* People of *Atrebe* in France

\* People of *Vermandoise* in Germany.

*Iulius Cesar in Com. lib 3*

The military discipline of *Vercingetorix*.

made a shew verye dreadfull to behold. And every day, euen from the point or breake of day, he caused the chiefe Commanders of such Cities (as he had chosen to be of his counsell) to come before him, whether it were to conferre about some matters to be done, or execute any thing that depended on their charge: so that no one day might escape him, but some essay or other was made of his courage, & of the vertue that liued in his followers; making out many sallies of horse, mingled with the best and choysfest of his Archers.

In the first booke likewise, the people called *Tigurines*, which were vnder the city of the *Heluetians*, all the other three companies hauing passed the Riuer \* *Araris*; were surprized and enuironed aside by themselves. And they of the Borrough *Verbigena*, because they fled away with the other; being afterward brought before *Cesar*, they were receiued as open enemies. The *Germanes* obserued the same order, to diuide themselves generally by nations: as *Tacitus* deliuereth more plainly, where he saith. And that which principally did encourage them, was; that not hazard, or an assembly made at aduēture, or a troope, or a squadron; but the families and alliances laboured together. One example heereof in the *Germanes*, is noted by thē that followed *Arimistus*, who in the end (as we reade in the first booke) were compelled to send their forces out of the field: and made a generall ordination (by equall interuallles) of the <sup>a</sup> *Marcomani*, <sup>b</sup> *Triboci*, <sup>c</sup> *Vangiones*, <sup>d</sup> *Nomentani*, <sup>e</sup> *Segusians* and *Sueues*. Wherefore I conclude, by the words of this passage, that in regard the Army of the *Gaules* consisted of many Cities; the Souldiers (generally) did diuide themselves, according to the number of the Cities.

The *Gaules* vsed the *phalanx* in their battailes, as the *Romanes* did their Legions. The *Phalanx*, subtilly explicated by *Aelianus*, both in parts and parcels, to be of an equall number, eight times diuided into equall parts; the summary whereof, I thus comprehend. The *Phalanx*, armed with weighty armours, consisted of foure thousand, ninety sixe men, each ranke whereof, contained in length sixteene *Phalangearies*, and was tearmed <sup>f</sup> *Decuria*: in which bands, the formost man was na-

med <sup>g</sup> *Decurion*, and the last <sup>h</sup> *Tergiductor*, that is to say, hee which conducteth the Rereguard or hinderpart. These formost mē wer also cald *Prastites*, of the seconds, by reason of their marching before, and so the third men of the fourth. Contrariwise, the second men were tearmed <sup>i</sup> *Substitutes* to the former: as being vnder them, like as the fourth vnder the third. Thus the *Decuria* was composed of *Prastites* & *Substitutes*, the one following the other. The second *Decuria*, was called <sup>k</sup> *Condecuria*, that is to say, conioyned to the *Decuria*, in such manner, that they all answered both in place and number: *Decurion* to *Decurion*, *Prastites* to *Prastites*, *Substitutes* to *Substitutes*, and they which accoasted, or went along by, were tearmed <sup>l</sup> *Astites*. The ordinary space or distāce of the *Phalangearies*, was foure cubites, but whē they closed, two, & when they went in crowd, one onely. This was the manner of the *Phalanx*, obserued by the ancient *Gaules*.

The battaile of the *Heluetians* (as is to be seene in the first booke) kept it selfe strongly lockt against *Cesars* horsemen, and when the horsemen were repulsed, the *Phalanx*, which was prepared vnder the first battaillon, aduanced it selfe, and set forward. But the *Romanes* (by the power of their *Iauelins*) brake the *Phalanx* of the *Heluetians*, by reason that they wer too strongly lockt together: And then, to defend themselves against their *Iauelins*, they began to disioynt their vniting, & to combine their Targets and Shields, the one with the other, which were in the forme and shape of the shelles of *Tortuiffes*, to receiue and resist the *Iauelins* darted at them. In the same booke also, the *Germanes* hauing suddenly (according to their custome) prepared a *Phalanx*; withstood the strength of all theyr Swords. And I perceiue, that this *Phalanx* was ordered in such manner, not to serue as a defence for their heads; but rather as a *Rampier* for their breasts. But on the *Heluetians* day, the <sup>m</sup> *Boij*, or *Boians*, and the <sup>n</sup> *Tugi*, or *Tulingians*, who came thither for their succour; enclosed the battaile round about with Chariots and baggage, and guarded the rereward. And as the *Heluetians* (who had the worst, & of whom the greater number were sore wounded) retired, and withdrew themselves into the neereft neighbouring

g The Capitaine or Leader.  
h The Guide of the Rereguard.

i Vnder-Substitutes.

k Coniuncts or Adiuncts.

l Assistants or helpers.

lul *Ces. in comment. lib. 1.*

The *Phalanx* of the *Heluetians*, broken by the *Romanes*.

The *Phalanx* of the *Germanes*.

m People of that part of France, now called *Lyons*.  
n Auncient people among the *Heluetians*, not farre from *Lucerna*.

Moun-

A notable care & providence in a General.

*Iul. Ces. in com. Lib. 1.*

\* The Riuer *Sagona* in France.

Diuision by nations, obserued among the *Germanes*. *Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 5.*

a People of Bohemia.  
b Of *Halsatia*.  
c Of the City *Wormes* in Germany, now called *Vormancienfes*.  
d Neere to Rome.  
e The Citie *Sion* in the *Alpes*.

This place is thus expounded by the author.

f Bands of Souldiers.

The retire & re-assault of the Heluetians.

The words of Hirtius, concerning the Gaules sitting on Faggots.

\* Souldiers that were alwaies set in the rereguard and were the strongest mẽ: they fought euer standing and bowing somewhat on their knees, as if they would rather dye, then remoue from their places.

Mountaine: they assailed the Romanes at vnawares on the Flanks, and engirt the round about. Which the Heluetians beholding; they returned againe, began to recharge them, and fought valiantly with them.

Thus wee haue heere set downe some forme of that fashon, which the Gaules obserued in preparing their battaile, and that which *Hirtius* hath spoken thereof, is not much differing from the purpose. That the Gaules, being in battaile, had a custom to sit downe vpon Faggots of Vine branches and small twigs, which they placed in the ground. Now, albeit he reporteth, that *Caesar* hath declared the same in the first book of his Commentaries, yet notwithstanding, I finde no such matter. But forasmuch, as the Gaules (in their battails) are said to sit downe on Faggots: it was a kinde of discipline obserued among the, like to that of the Romane \* *Triarij*, who being ranked in the third battalion, which was the rereguard, vsed to kneele down on their knees, which was termed by the Latines, *Subsidere*, whence ensued the word *Subside* as they named it. This commeth somewhat short of the order obserued among the *Gaules*: but many matters more might be related, concerning the encouragement they gaue to one another for war-seruice, which principally imployed their mindes, and boldly animated them on to vertue.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the shouts, cries, & strange noises deuised and vsed by the Gaules, to comfort and encourage themselues, and to affright or dismay their enemies. Also of their signes of contentment, peace, mercy, their Barre, Songs and Rithmes.*



I hath bin a vsuall obseruation in all Military discipline, when they prepared to the fight, and so soone as they began to draw their weapons; to make a cry in the loudest manner that they could, & to enflame the Souldiers mindes with the sounde of Trumpets. But the custome of the Gaules, was, not onely with cry of the voyce, and

sound of Trumpets: but with a Song, a Dance, loud yelling, clattering of their armour, and brandishing their darts, to make a noise so terrible, as nothing could appeare to be more horrible. *The Gaules* (saith *Diodorus*) had loud, big, and rude voyces, & their Trumpets (according to custom) were barbarous, & made a rude harsh sound. But *Polybius* (in his second booke) sayeth moreouer. The brauadoes & noises of the *Celts*, were dreadfull to the Romanes: for they had an infinite number of Trumpets and Hobois, with the sound whereof, the whole Army cryed out aloud, making so great a clashing and noyse; that not only the Clarions & army ecchoed the sound, but all the places likewise that did round engirt them. And indeed, the noyse which customarily was made by the Gaules, hath oftentimes beene noted by *Titus Linius*: but yet hatefully and iniuriously, as (for the most part) he was wont to speake of the Gaules. The *Gaules* (saith he, in his fift booke) by singing sauagely, and crying out confusedly; filled the ayre with an horrible sound. And in the same place: Immediately there were heard songs and noyses disagreeing, as when the *Gaules* walked (by troopes) about their walles. And afterward in the foure and thirtieth Booke, he saith. The *Gaules* went marching forward, howling or yelling strangely, and singing according to their confused fashon, shaking their Targets ouer their heads, and brandishing their Dartes in their hands. Then againe in the foure and fortieth Booke, speaking of the *Gaules* which were in *Asia*, he saith. Beyond all the rest, their singing, when they began the battaile, and their howling, yelling, and dances, covering themselues with their Shields, after the manner of theyr Country, with the horrible clattering of their armour: all these things were done on deliberate purpose, onely to procure affrightment and terror.

*Caesar* toucheth this tumultuous behaviour more lightly, in his fift booke, after the ouerthrow of *Sabinus* & *Cotta*, where the *Gaules* hauing the victory, hee speaketh thus of them. Then, according to their wonted custome; they cryed the victory together, and howled loudly. And at another time, in the seauenth Booke, speaking of the *Gaules* neere vnto *Alexia*. The *Gaules* (saith hee) perswading them-

*Diodor in lib. 1*

*Polyb in lib. 2.*

The noise of the Celts affrighted the Romanes.

*Titus Linius in Lib. 5.*

*Titus Linius no friend to the Gaules.*

*Tit. Lini. in li. 34*

*Tit. Lini. in li. 44*  
Of the Gaules in Asia, and how they behaued themselves in battaile.

*Iulius Caesar in comment. lib. 5*  
The ouerthrow of *Sabinus* & *Cotta*

*Iul. Caesar in Com. Lib. 7.*

A vsuall matter obserued in Military discipline, & how it was among the *Gaules*.

The battaile fought neere to Alexia.

selues to be the stronger part, and perceiuing the Romanes, that they were pressed with great numbers on all sides: they that were within the Fort, and they that came in their assistance, with a loude cry and yelling, assured the courage of their people. Moreouer, that which gaue greatest terror to the Romanes, was, the loud cry that they made at their backs, in the time of their fighting. It was likewise a custome among the *Gaules*, to require partie or conference, by making a loud cry, as by a Trumpet: according as *Cæsar* in his fift Booke, speaking of the *Eburons*, saith. *Then after their vsuall manner, they made a loud cry together; to the end, that some one of the Romanes might come foorth, to admit them parlie or conference.*

*Iul. Cæs. in com. Lib. 5.*  
How they required parlie.

Signes of especiall obseruation among the *Gaules*.

It may appeare now as conuenient, to speake somewhat of those signes which the *Gaules* vsed, to signifie, when their hearts were appeased and quieted; when they desired peace; and when they were willing to yeelde themselves. The signe which they vsed to make, when their hearts were contented and quieted; was, to shew their right shoulders naked. *Cæsar*, speaking of the *Heduanes*, in his seauenth Booke, saith thus. Whensoever their right shoulders were seene to be naked: it was their accustomed signe, thereby to declare, that they were contented. The signe of desiring peace, was, to extend or stretch out their hands: as hee speaketh in the second Booke, discoursing on the *Bellouasians*. The women and children (beeing on the walles) according to their wonted behauiour; would stretch foorth their hands, thereby desiring peace of the *Romanes*. Which he farther relateth in the seuenth Booke, speaking of the women of *Gorgouia*: who baring their breasts, and stretching out their hands vpon the walles, required mercy of the *Romanes*. In the same place also, hee declareth what signe they vsed, when they were willing to submit themselves. The *Heduanes* holding vp their hands; gaue notice thereby, that they would yeelde themselves. And holding downe their armes, they requested thereby, that their liues might be saued.

*Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 7.*  
The signe of quietnesse.

The signe of desiring peace  
In Lib. 2.

In Lib. 7.  
The women of Gergouia.

The signe of yielding.  
The *Heduanes*

But perhaps these things may seeme to be of slender account: therefore I will conclude the noyses made by the *Gaules*, and search into the behauiour of

the *Germanes*, whether they were of like condition; or no. It should seeme, that it was the Barrit of the *Germanes*, whereof *Tacitus* maketh such mention. They had certain pleasant Songs and Rithmes, at the sound whereof; that which they termed Barrit, enflamed their courages; and by the Song, they presaged the ende and fortune of the future battaile. For they were cheered or dismayed, according as the Army made the noyse; and this accord in singing, seemed not to consist so much in the voyce, as in vertue. They did principally respect the rudenes of sound, and confusednesse of the noise; by holding their Targets before their mouthes, to the ende that the voyce (beeing made thereby the greater and fuller) might resound the louder and stronger. Such then was the noyse of the *Gaules*, cheefely when they came to the shooke or brunt, and when they would enflame their Souldiers courages: for the women *Gaules* (alwaies) had some part in this encouragement. You wil hardly credit, that mens harts would bee more enflamed, by the exhortations and teares of their dearest wiues; thē they could be by the sound of Trumpets and Cornets. The prooffe hereof, is to be seene in the 7. Book, when at *Gorgouia*, the mothers of the Families began to pray with earnest affection, and to shew their haire disheueled, after the *Gaulish* manner, and to make presents of their young infants. Such was the exhortation at the siedge of *Massylia*, after that all the Ships on the Sea were readily prepared; at the instant entreaties & teares of the old men, of the mothers of the families and their daughters, who desired thē to succour the Citty in extreme necessity: they had no lesse heart and resolution, to mount into those Ships, then they had before in fighting the battaile. Then might easily be discerned, both from the Camp of *C. Trebonius*, and all the places of highest prospect in the Citty; how all the youth that remained within it, and all the oldest men, with their wiues and young children, stood as publike guardes, and (vpon the walles) helde vp their hands to heauen, or ran to the Temples of the immortal Gods, where prostrating thēselues before their Images, they entreated victory of the Gods.

Observations among the *Germanes*; & of their Barrit  
*Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Singing foretold their battels succes

Rudenesse of sound most regarded.

Of the womē among the *Gaules*, and how they encouraged the hearts of their husbands.  
*Iul. Cæs. in com. ment. Lib. 7.*

<sup>2</sup> A Country in Africa, among the *Westerne Moores*.

<sup>2</sup> One of them that afterward murdered *Cæsar*.

This hath some resemblance with that which

*Iul. Caesar in Com. Lib. 1. Of the German women.*

An obseruation among the Germans whē they wer ready to fight.

Quailed battales re-enforced by the means of women.

Caesars double dealing with the Gaules.  
*Iulius Caesar in comment. Lib 3 & in Lib. 8.*

*Titus Livius a reproouer of the Gaules.*

*In lib. 5 cap. 4.*

*In lib. 10. cap. 7*

which is written of the Germanes, in the first booke. And the women, holding vp their hands to the Souldiers, which were going to the warre with teares entreated them, that they would not suffer them to fall into the seruitude of the Romanes. Therefore, when the Germanes were ready to fight, such things as were in their deereft esteeme (as *Tacitus* reporteth) they would haue in some place neere vnto them: where the out-cryes of their wiues, and lamentings of their children, might easiely be heard; these serued them as most sacred witnesses, and these were their cheefest commendations. They would bring the wounded persons to their mothers and wiues, and they feared not to number and sucke their hurts; carrying food to them, and any thing that might harden them againe to the fight. Some say, that diuers battels, which began suddenly to quail and breake off: were as suddenly re-enforced and pursued by the women, euen through the constancy of their praier, beating their hands on their naked breasts, & setting before their eyes, the danger of their neere-ensuing captiuitie, which they feared the more impatiently, in regard of their Wiues and Children. Wherefore the wiues of martiall minded men, did declare themselues also no lesse valiant and resolute.

But *Caesar*, in attributing very great courage to the Gaules, doth yet (I know not how) reproch them, with a quite contrary negligence or cowardise. For, like as the hearts of the Gauls (saith he in his third Booke) are prompt and deliberate, for the attempting of warre: euen so is their courage dull, and weake in resistance, to support any mischances. In brieue (as we may reade in the eight Book) a man cannot well iudge, whether the Gaules are more insolent, when their affayres do go neuer so little successfully with them; then they are easie to be affrighted, when neuer so little harme befalls them. This is that also, which *Titus Livius* reprehendeth with such insolence; as euery where hee ceaseth not to taxe them with somewhat fauouring of the same nature. As in the fifth Booke concerning the gowned Gaules. The Gaulish nation are accustomed to colde and raine; but they cannot any way endure eyther dust or heate. In the tenth Booke. The bodies of the Gaules, which

cannot abide trauaile or heat, do yet melt themselues with sweating. They enter fight like more then men; but their issue is lesse then women. In the 37. Booke. Their big bones that can suffer no labor, will toile with weighty Armour on their backs. In the 40. Booke. Heate and trauaile are yrkesome to the Gaules quaggy bodies, because they are not able to endure thirst. In the 48. Booke, speaking of the Gaules of Asia. If their first assault be endured, which they rush into with boiling courage, and blindfold fury; their lazie members will melt themselues into sweate, and the weapons will fall out of their hands. The Sun, dust, and drought, without imployment of any weapon against them, doth dul their foggy bodies, and abate their stearest courage, if they hot rage and fury be once ouer-passed.

*Tacitus* giueth the selfe same dull disposition to the Germanes. Their great bodies (saith he) that haue no other strength, then (at the first on-set) to shew themselves forward: are not accustomed to support (with any patience) either paines, busines, thirst, heate, colde or hunger. How doth this hold together? According to the iudgement which *Caesar* hath giuen of the Gaules? Are they both most valiant, and yet foggy fellowes also? Vndoubtedly, all the Gaules are reported to bee (euen naturally) martiall and valorous, and being exercised in military discipline, they are the more hardened against any trauel; but wanting exercise, they grow the more foggy & ydle. Custome and vse do teach men to support any toyle, and to hold good defence against all danger; for the trauaile of warlike discipline, admitteth neyther finerie or softnesse. If we meete with some old Souldier, who, because he is expert in warre, is fearelesse of blowes: If likewise a new fresh Souldier be brought in, that hath his hart as stout and resolute, & as yet vnexperienced; yet his best courage will appeare to be but womarish; so writeth *Cicero* in his second *Tusculanes*.

Tendernesse and softnesse is reprehended in the Gaulish Souldiers; as namely by *Vercingetorix*, and *Critognates*, one of the \* *Aruerni*, in the seventh Booke. For there he saith, that the Gaules desired to fight, in regard of their soft and tender disposition, because they cannot long endure any toyle. The same man at the

councill

*In li. 37. cap. 9.*

*In li. 40. cap. 1.*

*In li. 48. cap. 2.*

*Corn. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 1. Of the slowe disposition of the Germans.*

The natural inclination of the Gaules.

Vse and exercise maketh men apt and valiant.

*Cicero in Tusculan. 5.*

\* People by the Riuer Leyre in France.  
*Iul. Cas. in com. lib. 7.*

*Vercingetorix* to the Souldiers besieged in Alexia.

Courage naturall and hereditary to the Gaules.

Cæsar had six Legions of the Gaules, & but foure of Romanes.

\* A certaine legion among the Romanes

*Titus Livius* reproved by the Author, to offend against his own country, & the law of History,

Concerning the gowned Gaules & Asians

councell which was holden among them, that were besieged in Alexia, and stood in great distresse, through want of victualles: against such as were of the minde, to hazard all at one sally, he said. *This is indeed meere cowardise, weaknesse, and no signe of courage, or any acte of vertue, to declare your selues unable, to endure dearth & scarcity so short a while.* Prooffe may be produced, of more men that gladly offered themselues to death, then could patiently sustaine greefe or annoyance. It is not then to be doubted, but prompt & stout courage, especially in warlike enterprizes, was hereditary (both by nature and race) to the Gaules nation, and that this soft or tender complexion, grew through lacke of exercise, in military discipline. For, if a Gaule had beene once well instructed, by a Master, skillfull in the arte of warre: where was any Souldier to be found, that could more ably endure all labour? If thou doe inferre any doubt in this case, prooffe thereof was made by *Cæsar* himselfe: For *Cæsar* leuied fixe Legions of the Gaules, because he could raise no more then foure of his owne Common-wealth. *Cæsars* horse-men were knowne to be Gaules, and thereupon, after he came to the head of all his enterprizes: hee naturalized all those Legions, which not onely were Gaules by Nation, but they retained (beside) the name of \* *Alauda*. Wherefore, this softnesse in the new or young experienced Souldiers, was as common to the Romanes as Gaules; and was no otherwise proper, eyther to the Gaule or Germane Nation.

But *Titus Livius*, with I know not how many Greekes, is too iniurious and insupportable against the name of a Gaul, and forgets withall, the kindnesse which hee ought to his Country, and to the law of history. For, although hee much better affected, to make the *Venetes* or *Venetians*, to descend from the traitor *Antenor*, then from the Nobility of the venetian Gaules, as *Strabo* hath done, and the Romanes approue the same, placing the *Venetes* or *Venetians* in *Gallia Togata*; yet thereby hee maketh himselfe to be a Gaule. And the law of history doth command, that in the relating of a history, he should stand cleare from suspition of being touched with fauour or hatred. But whereas he reprocheth the gowned Gaules and Asians,

with the ydle matter of cold, because they dwelt in the hottest Countries, and such as were neerer to the Sunne, then the \* *Patauines* or *Patauians*, among whom *Titus Livius* was borne; doth he not mocke himselfe as foolishly as can bee deuised? As for the Gaule Souldier which *Cæsar* had, and who was the very brauest man of all other whatsoeuer: this man belyeth him manifestly. And it appeareth very probably, that *Cæsar* had to deal with those men onely in that *Gaule*: but in the other partes of the world, hee fought against women, in regard of those men hee found in this Nation.

\* Men of Patauia in Italy.

Apparant prooffe of the ancient Souldier of Gaule

CHAP. VIII.

*Of the difference betweene the Souldiers of Cæsar, and of Pompey, being the valiant Gaules, in comparing them with the Romanes: As also of the Spaniards and the Gaules, and what cunning they learned of the Romanes.*



OW, to speake of *Cæsars* Souldier, against the Souldier of *Pompey*, that is to say, the valiant *Gaul*, what was hee against the *Romaine*? In the third book

of the ciuill warres, *Cæsar* saith: *The Army of Pompey was not accustomed to paines taking.* Why then *Titus Livius*, by the purity of his eloquence, which *Quintillian* compared to the whitnesse of milke, hath drawne the *Spaniards* and *Gaules* from the corners of the world, onely to make himselfe listened vnto, according as *Saint Hierome* writeth. Notwithstanding, in this delicacy or softnesse, of not enduring paine, heate, thirst, nor dust, which hee reprehendeth in the Souldiers of *Gaule*; himselfe sheweth the softnesse and affection of his owne spirit, which cannot any way abide equity, the grauity of history, soundnesse of iudgement, and trueth. For, to be soft, or hardened against toyle, is not any thing that proceedeth eyther from Nation, or race, but by breeding and discipline.

Comparison of Souldiers.

*Lul. Cæs. in comment. lib. 3.*

*Quintil. im lib. 3. cap. 9.*

*Hier. in Prefat.*

Of delicacy and hardnesse against labour

Want of discipline in the Gaules.

Strabo in Lib. 4 cap. 7.

The simplicity of mind: which remained in the Gaules.

The Spaniards not so soone subdued, as the Gaules, & the reason why.

The Spaniards war like vnto the eues.

Strabo in Lib. 7.

Example of the Helnetians.

Example of the Belgians, Armoricians, & Aquitains.

All Gaul conquered neree to Alexia.

Hirtius in lib. 3 cap. 1.

*Caesar* then did but right, in giuing to the men of Gaule a great courage, & truely warlike: and yet neuer thelesse, he discouereth in this great minde or spirit, a certaine want of discipline, or much rather he reproveth a kinde of simpleness, and an ill aduised assurance of their strength, which was the fault that was most noted in their warres, according as *Strabo* writeth in his fourth Booke.

The Gaules very easily assembled together in great number, because they were simple of spirit, still followed iustice, right and truth, being moued and affected by the losses of their neighbours. Whereupon it happened, that the more easily they were chased out of their Country: because in assembling all their forces, or rather their whole families and friends, they were throwne out by them that proved the stronger. The Romanes did much more easily subdue them, then they could do the Spaniards: for the wars in Spaine were begun long time before theirs, and yet notwithstanding, they were brought to end after theirs. And betweene both these times, they conquered all the *Gauls*, that were betweene the Rheine and the Pyrenean Mountaines: for in coming to the field so many together, they were ouerthrowne by multitudes together. But the Spaniards managed their battailes more sparingly, and, euen as if they had a desire to some affected kinde of monies: so did they preserve them from one time to another, and from Country to Country, making their warre still cauteously, like vnto the eues.

And that which *Strabo* hath written, may sufficiently be perceived by the examples of *Caesar*. The whole City of the Heluetians, there being all the people of twelue Townes, and of forty Villages: did fight all at one instant, and in one instant also were all ouerthrowne. Such was the league of fiftene people of the Belgians. Such was the reuolting of the *Armoricians* in the warre of the *Venetes*, or *Venetians*. Such was the conspiracy of the Aquitains against *Crassus*. In brieft, did not all Gaule put it selfe in Armes, and was it not wholly conquered in one warre, nere vnto *Alexia*? The Gaules in the eight yeare of their warre, both well felt and knew this fault, as *Hirtius* saith, and that in regard of some great numbers, which still were as-

sembled in one place; it exceeded possibility to resist the Romanes. But if diuers Cities (at one selfe same time) had made warre in diuers places: the Romane Army could neither haue had sufficient succour, leysure or forces, to vndertake all at once.

Neuerthelesse, the Gaules were not alwayes of so simple and open spirit: but at some-times they declared more cunning, and holpe them selues by some surprizes. *Caesar*, (as *Suetonius* saith) neuer suffered any one occasion of warre to be lost, were it neuer so vndifferent, setting as soone on the allied and leagued, as on enemies: and yet notwithstanding, all the warres which he made, hee still paliated with good & sufficient colours of reason. The Eburone-Gaules payed *Caesar* with his owne vnfaithfull dealing. For these Gaules aduertising the Romaine with the conspiracy, which all the Gaules had agreed on together: made him beleue, that if hee would come, and leaue the felde, they would giue him free passage. Through this deceit, a Legion, and fivie Cohorts or Companies (with *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, which ledde them) were all vanquished. And albeit, that the Romane was then alike in number and strength to the Gaules (as *Caesar* confesseth) yet was he foyled by the Gaules subtilty, who had learned this craft of *Caesar*, and therewith repayed him.

*Hirtius* recounteth the like ambuscadoes of the *Bellouasi*, or *Bellouacanes*, who hauing vnderstood the lodging of the Romaine horsemen: tooke a number of light and nimble spirited footemen, and en-ambushed them in a place thickly couered with wood. On the morrow, they sent certaine horses thither, which might allure the Romanes out, into the compasse of the ambushment, and when they were once in it, they presently charged them. And the fortune of this mishap fell on the men of Rheimes, who were appointed as Guards there that day. For they hauing seene (too suddenly) the enemies horsemen, and knowing them selues to exceede them greatly in number, making no account of so fewe as they seemed to be: they rushed forth, and ouer-hotly pursued them, euen vntill they were (on all sides) enuironed by the Foote-men

A great error of the Gaules in their fighting.

The Gaules were not alwayes silly & simple in their martial affairs.

The Eburones cunning in ouer-reaching *Caesar*.

*Caesar* repayed with coyne of his own stamp

*Hirt. lib. 3. c. 3.*

The Bellouacians circumvented the Romanes.

The Rhemi foiled through their owne fault, with the losse of their Prince *Verciscus*.

to their no little astonishment, which caused them to retire much sooner, then skirmishes of horsemen were wont to do; hauing lost *Vertiscus*, Prince of the Citie, and cheefe Commander of the horsemen. This shewed no simpleness in the Gaules, but meere quaint cunning, learned of the Romaines.

In the very same place, *Hirtius* declarereth the like cunning stratagem; as that which *Hannibal* vsed, to deceyue *Fabius*. The *Bellouasians* (saith he) perceiuing that the Romaines were ready to pursue them, and that they could not (without daunger) passe the night, or sojourn longer where they were: they deliuered (by Oath) from hand to hand, the Faggots and small bushes whereon they vsed to sit, and whereof they had great store in the fiede, all which they placed before their Army: and at the ending of day-light (vpon a signe sodainely giuen) they set them all on fire. So the flame, which followed it selfe in great length, immediately hindered, that the enemy could not discover their Forces: and which being doone, the Gaules very speedily withdrew themselues. *Cæsar*, albeit he could not perceiue that the enemy was gone, in regard of the fire (so made before them: yet notwithstanding, suspecting that they had done this deuice, to the end that they might flye, caused his Legions to march on, and sent out troopes of horsemen to pursue them. And yet, being mistrustful of some surprizall, & doubting lest the enemy might still lurke there, with intent to allure the Romaines to some disaduantage, hee marched on the more aduisedly. The Horsemen, fearing to enter the smoke, and if any one (by ouermuch forwardnes) did enter, he could not see any thing before or behind him: grew all suspicious of some secret ambush, & so gaue leysure to the *Bellouasians* to retire thence. Thus the enemy, by meanes of a flight (full of feare & craft) hauing marched about ten miles of the country, without sustaining the lest losse, seated their campe in a very strong place.

Oftentimes thenceforward, & by many ambushes both of horse & foot, they did great damages to the Romaines, in their wandering abroad, stealing and foraging: whereby it should appeare, that these attempts faouered rather of a Punick spirit then of a Gaulish. And yet neuertheless, when all came to al (as we vse to say:) they were surprized by the hands of their maisters, & by the selfesame deceits & subtil-

ties which they had learned of *Cæsar*. And to the end it might bee noted, that the Gaules had no more cunning or craft then what they learned of the Romaines: the *Heluetians* (as *Orosius* writeth in his sixt booke) surprized the Consull *Cassius*, with all his army, by an ambuscado. But I haue concluded with my selfe, not to omit one maner of ambushing, which was the most maruellous of al those that euer I read of, or heard reported; whereby the Prætor *Posthumius* was ouerthrown of the Boian Gaules, as *Titus Linius* reporteth in his 33. booke.

While matters went on in these doubts and vncertainties, tidings came of another losse, according as fortune (in that yeare) still re-charged one vpon another. And these were the Newes, that *Lucius Posthumius*, designed Consull, was overcome in Gaule, both he and his Armie. There was a verie great Forrest, which the Gaules called *Litana*, thorough which Forrest, he was to passe his Army. The Gaules, on both sides of the passage, had cut and hewne the Trees of the Forrest in such sort; that (yet notwithstanding) they parted not from the trunk or bodie, but must endure hard thrusting and enforcement, before they could possibly get the to fall.

*Posthumius* had two Romane Legions, and had leuyed so many people, allyed vnto the Romaines, that hee brought into the enemies Countrey, well neere the number of fiewe and twenty thousand men of Warre. The Gaules, who were ambushed in the Forrest, when the Armie was entered within the VVood; threw downe the aforesaid hewne vnder-growing braunches, which were apted so for the present purpose, that falling still thickly one vpon another, without any possible meanes of restrayning them, they ouer-turned (pell-mell) both Men and Horses, in such manner, that (very hardly, and with much paines taking) tenne men of them escaped. For the greater part were slaine, by the falling of the huge braunches and armes of Trees on them; and the Armed Gaules, that held possession of all the VVood, put the rest vnto death, who were not a little affrighted at this so strange misadventure. Verie few (of so great a number) were taken; who in going to the bridge of the riuer,

D 3 were

The Romaines harmed by their owne instructions.

A cunning stratageme of the Bellouasians against the Romaines

The night fauoureth many attempts

Cæsar suspected the deceit of the Bellouasians, and therefore would not be too rash

Suspition is the hinderer of the brauest actions

Many harmes done to the Romaines by the Gaules.

Cunning oftentimes deceiues it selfe.

*Orosius* in lib. 6. cap. 4.

The Prætor *Posthumius* vanquished by the Gaules: *Tit. Linius* in lib. 33. cap. 4.

The manner how *Posthumius* was ouerthrown by the Boians.

A stratageme effectually performed.

A strange confusion on the sodaine.

were impeached by the enemy, who formerly had gotten the mastery thereof. This is all that *Titus Livius* hath written, concerning this notable accident to the Gaules.

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CHAP. IX.

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*In what manner the Gaules fortified their Cities and Townes; and what Engines they employed for their owne defence.*

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**B**V T this is enough alreadie spoken, concerning the manner of behaviour among the Gaules, as well in ranged battails, as in ambuscadoes: it remaineth now to speak, how they fortified their Cities and Townes, and contrarywise, how they were besieged. How was it then that the Gaules strengthened and fortified their Townes, and what Engines had they whereby to defend themselves? There neede no wonderment be made, at the fortification of the *Morini*, *Neruians*, *Menapians*, *Aduaticata*, and *Eburones*, because they had no Townes at all. And thence ensued it, that the *Aduaticata* marvelled so strangely, to beholde the warlike Engines of the Romaines; whereof it is thus written in the second Booke. Being fortified with a rampier of twelue foote high, which had fiftene thousand Towers and strong Bastils nere to each other; the Romaines kept themselves within that Fort. Afterward, when the trailes and platformes were readie prepared, mounted aloft, and a Tower to be raised some long distance off: at the beginning of these vnwonted workes, the Gaules beganne to laugh on their walles, and lowdly to mocke at them, maruelling what they did vndertake so farre off, and with so huge an Engine, or how it should bee possible, that the hands and strength of men (especially of so meane stature) could promise any hope to themselves, of comming nere to their walles, with a Tower of so great a composition. But when they (soone after) perceyued, that this mighty frame mooued from place to place, and approached nere vnto their

walles: beeing astonished at a matter of such nouelty, and sight vnaccustomed; they sent their Ambassadors vnto *Caesar*, to entreate peace; who answered them, That they must thinke, that the Romaines neuer made any warre, without the speciall fauour of the Goddes: seeing they could aduance (and in so short a while) an Engine of such height, to fight both farre off, and nere at hand; and therefore they should submit themselves, and all their goods to his mercy. Thus spake *Caesar*. It would require so much speech (saith *Cicero* in his second *Tusculanes*) concerning the new souldier, & the old: that if wee make comparison of one that hath not beene exercised with him which is tried and skilfull; he will appeare no otherwise, then meere as a woman. All which notwithstanding, the very selfsame Gaule, being entrusted in the Discipline of *Caesar*, seemed as a God to another Gaule, that neuer had knowledge in that Art.

But let vs leaue these Belgians which dwelt so farre off, and come vnto such as were more ciuillized, as the *Suessiones*, and the *Bellouasians*. The *Suessiones* (saith *Caesar* in his second booke) when as the Treiles vvere prepared against *Nouiodunum*, one of their cheefe Townes, and that the platforme was mounted together vwith the Treiles: as men amazed at so great an enterprize, and such strange workes, which the Gaules had neuer seene or heard of, yet so speedily performed by the *Romaines*; they sent their Ambassadors toward *Caesar*, to entreate that they might yeeld themselves. The *Bellouasians* also, hauing not (as yet) seen such Engines, vwherewith Townes vvere battered, but onely hearing report made of them, surrendered the Towne of *Bratuspantium*. Wherefore, if the Gaules (as *Caesar* affirmeth) had neuer either seene or heard speech of such instruments, vntill that verie time: vwhy then should vve make any maruelling, That the Gaules, vwho had not yet learned such cunning, vvere conquered by other Gaules, that had knowledge in them? Now, vwhether this place in *Caesar*, vvhich treateth of the Belgians, vvas purposely vwritten, or (at the least) may seeme not to bee vwritten according vnto trueth, there the question remaineth. For, the Gaules made their

Ambassadors sent by the Gaules to *Caesar*, and his answer to them.

*Cicero in Tus. 2*

Concerning the old & new souldier.

Of the *Suessiones* and *Bellouasians*.

*Iul. Ces. in com. lib. 2.*

Engines to batter cities and Townes withall.

A doubt concerning the passage in *Caesar*.

After what manner the Gaules fortified their Townes and Cities.

Diuers people that had no Townes or Villages.

*Iul. Ces. in Com. lib. 2.*

The Gaules had neuer seene such admirable Engines as were framed by the Romaines.

How the *Gauls* vsed to make their Towne-walles.

*Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 7.*

These walles were the strongest defences that the *Gauls* then had about all their Cities and Townes.

A survey of this their order in building, & what thicknes their walles contained.

All the *Gauls* were not ignorant in fortifying their Townes.

*Marcus Crassus* besiedged the Santone *Gaules*.

their walles with strong beames of wood, which were not planted vp on one ende: but couched downe, & ioyned together, with spaces of earth betweene each two beames, whereof *Caesar* speaketh thus in his seventh book. All the walles (saith he) of the *Gaules*, were (well nere) made after this manner. They layd beames of wood straite out along on the ground, and followed after stil in the same order, making equall distance betweene them, about the space of two foote in bredth. These beams or plaits, as some terme them, were reuisted and bound within, with strong forced earth; and the equall distances (whereof we haue spoken) were filled vp with great stones, which fronted the wall forward. After that this rowe was all along thus ranged and ordered; another like frame was laid thereon, after the same manner; yet so, that the beames betweene both, did guard and keepe the maine Timber from touching each other. And being distanted also by the selfe-same spaces: they were knit and shut fast together, by great stones cast in betweene them. And so, consequently, all the whole worke shaped it selfe in this manner, euen till the Wall was perfected to a reasonable height.

Now, concerning this kinde of building, ouer and beside, that it was no way mithapen, by the order kept in the leuelling, and fitting both the beames & stones aptly to each other: euen so it was greatly commodious, in seruing for the defence of their Townes. For the stones were apt and proper, to impeach the force of fire, and the beames and other matter, brake and resisted the blowes of battery. Because, they being bound together inwardly, and knit to the Timber beames running all along, contrayning (for the most part) in thicknesse, the measure of forty foote; could (by no meanes) be forced to sinke, or be otherwise dismembred. Hereby then it may appeare, that the *Gaules* knew some-what for the fortification of their Citties and Townes; yea, and how to defend themselves also, by such meanes as were vsed in the warres.

In the third yeare of the warre in Gaul, the Santone-*Aquitaines* were besiedged by *Crassus* and his men, both with Treilles and Towers: but they resisted him valiantly, one while, by making faillies out vp on them; another while, by vndermining,

till they came to the great planted platforme, which formerly had beene provided, by meanes of the treilles. To which vndermining (saith *Caesar*) the *Aquitains* were well inured because they had Mines of Copper and Brasse in many places. So much *Caesar* wrote, approving, that the *Aquitains* knew well enough how to defend a Towne or City; because they had Copper Mines, which made them therein very skilfull. It is saide also, that the *Celts* (for the same cause) knew well how to defend themselves at the sieged of *Auaricum*: because they had very deep Mines of Iron in their Country. For *Auaricum* being couragiously assailed by the *Romanes*, the *Gaules* found out all sorts of inuentions (as *Caesar* saith in his seventh Booke) wherby to giue impeachment to the most singular enterprizes of the *Romane Soldiers*: as hauing (by naturall inclination) a very ingenious and subtil spirit, apt to follow and counterfeit all things, and whatsoever they sawe done by others.

First, for the *Romane Falx*, they could ouerthrow it by a snare or grinne, and when it was remounted, they would againe hurle it downe with their Engines. They couered all their walles with towers made of skinnes, and equalled the height of those towers made by the *Romanes*, with masts made in their owne turrets. In making their faillies abroad; eyther they would throw fires into the platforme; or suddenly surprize the amazed *Romanes*; or by vndermining, ouerthrow the maine fortification. Whereunto (indeede) they were the more apt and ready; because they had great yron Mines in their Country, and knew (beside) all kinde of deluing into the ground. By leauing their Mines open, they impeached and tardyed the *Romanes* preparations: mingling fire with pitch and other matter, made apt to burne wheresoever it fel, and tumbling downe great stones also, to keepe them from approaching neere to their walles. By these cited places it appeareth evidently, that the *Gaules* had attained vnto some indifferent knowledge, how and which way to defend a City: but to speak truly, it was more through their continuall exercise in their Mines, then by any cunning they had learned in the arte Military.

*Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 7.*

The *Celts* skilful in their owne defence

The naturall inclination of the *Celts*.

Of the *Romane* engine *Falx*.

The exercises of the *Celts* against the *Romanes*, in all their attempes of war against them.

Working in the Mines vnder ground, made the *Celts* so ready in defending themselves.

And

The words of Vercingetorix at the taking of Auaricum.

Iul. Caesar in comment. Lib. 7

The constancy of the Gaules, in the defence of their Cities & Townes.

<sup>2</sup> People that inhabited Denmark and Norway.  
\* People of Germany, calld Allemaignes

Some others rearme him Critognatus.

Other Gaules misliked this counsell, yet yeelded it fit in cases of extremity.

The Gaules were more full of courage then disciplin.

And this is that whereof *Vercingetorix* complained, comforting the Gaules at the taking of *Auaricum*. That the Romaines had not wonne the victory, either by vertue or battaile: but by a kinde of science and cunning, which they had in the battring downe of Townes, wherein the Gaules had no knowledge. By which words, that place of *Caesar* which concerned all the Gaules in generall, seemeth to be true: That the Gaules had neuer seene, or heard any report, of *Platformes*, *Treilles*, nor *Towers*. But bee it so, that the ancient Gaules neuer knew any such Art, as the Romaines did; yet there was no want of courage in them. For, it is a matter very marvellous, which *Caesar* himselfe speaketh of them in his seauenth Booke, in remembering their constancy, for guard and defence of their Cities and Townes.

The Gaules, in the warres of the *Cimbrians* and *Teutones*, being wholly constrained to retire themselues into such places as were strongest, and being there also oppressed with great famine & lacke of victuals: they did yet maintaine their liues by feeding on the bodies of such, as both appeared, and were not able indeed to do any further seruice in the warre, & would (by no meanes) yeeld to their enemies.

*Critognates*, who was a man of great ranke among the *Aruernians*, held a verie strong opinion in counsell, that it was good to put the same in practise for the defence of *Alexia*; and although hee had made no vse thereof before, yet hee earnestly maintained the fitnessse and necessity thereof, onely for liberty, and that it was worthy to bee left (as a memorable custome to posterity. This opinion helde such account amongst the other Gaules, that they were of the mind, to assay all other meanes whatsoeuer, then to doe according as *Critognates* had aduised. And yet notwithstanding, if there wer such vrgent necessity, and ayde tardied too late in comming; that it was most behoouefull to credit his iudgement, rather then to yeeld, or listen to peace-making, vpon enforced or violent composition. Such was the courage of the ancient Gaules.

Now this kinde of defence, which they vsed for safegarding their townes, thogh it proceeded from no meane Vertue in them, yet it did not rellish of any great

discipline. In what manner also they assailed Townes, was without any craft or subtile deuce. For they neuer holp themselues, either by *Platformes*, *Rampiers*, *Treilles*, or *Towers*, as it is described in the second booke. The *Gaules* and the *Belgians*, had both one manner of assaulting Cities, so saith *Caesar*. For after they had ringed (after the order of crowding together) a great number of men about the Town; they would hurle heaps of stones vp on the wall, vntill they had left it naked of men. Then, winding and turning, according as occasion serued, they approached to the gates, and vndermined the walles. Thus then their whole manner of making war in places fortified with rampiers and ditches, doeth giue vs to vnderstand, that the heart and courage of the Gaules was very great; and yet very little or no discipline at all vsed amongst them. Let this then suffice, to acquaint ye with the order of their land seruice.

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 2.

In what manner the Gaules assailed their Cities and Townes.

## CHAP. X.

Of the seruice on the Sea, or other waters, vsed by the Gaules: And what Ships and Vessels they had among them. Also, into what farre remote countries they extended their name.



Concerning that which they performed on the Sea, as it is described in the warres against the *Britaines* and *Venetes*, it appeareth to taste of vertue, although it was simple, and without any great cunning. *Caesar* describeth it in all parts, with the matter and maner of such ships or vessels, as the Gaules then vsed, speaking thus. Their Ships were made and armed in this maner. The keeles of them were much larger then those of the *Romaines* Ships: to the end, that they might the more easily sustaine the ebbing and flowing of the Sea. Their Proues were highly rayfed, and their Poupes also: because they wer the more apt to hinder the power of great Waues and Tempests. All their Shippes were made of Oake, to indure all iniury and violence that could happen. The bankes were made of timber beames, about a foote in thickenesse: and they

\* People now called Venies in little Britain

Iulius Caesar in Com. lib 5

A description of the Gaules ships, which they had they in vse.

they were ioyned or fastened together with iron nales of great bignesse. Their Anchors (instead of Cables) were made fast with chaines of iron: and for want of other sailes, they made use of skinnes and hides, which were soft and pliable with currying and paring. And either through the want of hempe, or knowledge how to use it (which is the more likely) they imagined, that if they used other sailes, they could not resist so manie tempests of the Ocean, and such impetuous windes as daily arose, neither so commodiously conuay such great burthens as they carried in their vessels.

Hempe not known to the Gaule, nor the vse thereof

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 4. Of Caesars Gallies against the Brittaines.

Caesars command for imployment of his Gallies.

Ignorance is the mother of much error, especially in warre seruices

The Gaules made themselves masters of all other nations.

In another passage of the fourth book he sheweth, that the Gallies, whereof hee himselfe made skruice, both against the Brittaines and the Venetes, had not bene vsed on the Ocean, vntill that instat time. For, the Romanes being somewhat hardly pressed by the Britains, on the shore of the Ocean; *Caesar* commanded, that the gallies (which these poor barbarous people were not wont to see, & which could be managed most readily in any busines) should be set apart distant from the other ships, and that they should be moued by the strength of Oares: to the end, that they might be ranged against the flanke of the enemy, which was discouered; and whence they might repulse and recoil the enemy by the dint of their weapons, and Engines of warre, vvhich auailed the Romanes very greatly. For the ignorant people, being amazed at the fashion of those vessels, and the moouing of their Oares, as also the manner of their vnaccustomed Engines, stayed their proceedings, and (soone after) retired.

Thus farre we haue heard the ancient fashions and behaiour which the Gaules vsed in actions of warre, and vvhich haue bene collected out of many places: declaring them to be much greater in naturall strength, then in the course of Martiall discipline. Whereby wee may perceiue (in regard that their vvarres were managed by vertue, & not by any slights, cunning, or trumpery;) they were the masters of all or most nations. For they pursued their purpose, euen as Geographers were wont to doe, to make all the Earth habitable; euen from the Suns setting, so farre as his rising. *Britaine, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Illyria, Panmonia, Greece, Macedonia, yea, Asia* it selfe, can declare the

Empire of the Gaules. For *Britain*, which was along the sea coast (as *Caesar* saith in his fift booke) had bene conquered by them that passed from *Belgia*, going thither for pillage, and to make warre; and they named themselues according to all the Cities titles from whence they issued; and hauing made warre there, there they inhabited, and began to plough and husband the grounds. VVhat shall we say of \**Celtiberia*? Doth it not deliuer sufficient testimony, that *Spaine* was subdued by them? For, to what purpose else should *Lucane* say?

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 5.

\*Whose people descended of the Celtes, that came out of France, and placed themselves by the riuier Iberus.

The Celts departing from the ancient Gaules, Renowned their name as farre as *Iberus*.

But it may be, that *Italy* came not vnder the gouernment of the Gaules: Yes, that it did soundly, and at the same time when *Tarquinius Priscus* reigned. The *bituriges, Aruernians, Senones, Heduan, Ambarrians, Carnutes, and Aulertes*, vnder conduct of the *Sollunians, Boians, & \*Lingones*, preuailed so farre, that that *Italy*, which reacheth along frō the Alps, coasting still to the *Apenmines*, and so farre on as the riuier *Rubicon*, became *Gaule*. And finally, after that they had ouerthrowne the Romanes neere to *Allia*, they rooke *Rome* and burned it; and hauing agreed for a thousand pounds of gold, they solde the *Capitoll* (which they kept besiedged) to the rest of the *Romaines* which vvere enclosed therein. And hath not furious *Germany* borne the yoake of *Gaule*? In elder times (saith *Caesar* in his sixte Booke) the Gaules excelled the *Germanes* in vertue.

Italy subiect-ed vnto the Gaules power in the time of *Tarquinius Priscus*.

\*People of *Langres* in France.

Rome surprized and burnt by the Gaules

Iul. Caf. in com. lib. 6.

For the *Volca* and *Tectosages*, vnder the conduct of *Sigouesufus*, possessed themseluf of the most fertile places in *Germanie*; euen those which were neereft to the Forrest *Hercynia*, as *Titus Linius* also relateth.

People of *Narbonne*, beyond *Rhodanus* westward now called *Languedec*, rowards the *Pyrenean* mountaines.

*Tacitus* maintaineth, that the Colonies of the *Heluetians* & *Boians* were brought into the same place. But those Gaules, the conquerors of *Germany*, being made bold and hardy, by such simplicity in diet as the *Germanes* vsed, extended themseluf much further, and the renoune of theyr name, went (with great honor) thorough *Illyria, Panmonia, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia*, according as *Iustine* (following *Trogus*) declareth more at large. And the

beb. dyet made the Gaules courageous.

name

Kings compelled to buy their peace of the Gaules.

Ptolomy slain by the Gaules

The Temple of Apollo sacked by them.

Cruel people of Scythia in Europe, Eastward by the sea side. b People of Maesia, betweene Danubius and Aenijs. Titus Linius in lib. 48. cap. 9.

c People of Gaule, that did win part of Paphlagonia & Maonia

d People that somtimes were calld Mysians. e A Region in Greece, betweene Caria and Eolis. f A riuer rising out of Taurus, and running thorough Cappadocia.

War guided by vertue, and no guile.

name of the Gaules was so much feared, that Kings (not constrained, but on their own meer motion and good will) bought their peace of them, with great summes of money.

Being conducted by *Belgeus*, they slew *Ptolomy*, King of Macedon. Led by *Brennus*, as making small account of the spoyles of men; they sacked the Temple of *Apollo*, which was in *Delphos*. Afterward, a new Armie of the same Gaules, which were dwelling in *Germanie*, hauing formerly driuen in rowte the *Getes* and *Triballes*, and inforced *Antigonus*, King of Macedon, to forsake the *Fields*: thence they passed on into *Asia*, vvhether they made such a dreadfull terrour (as *Titus Linius*, the great blamer of the Gaules name, saith in his eight and forty booke) amongst all the Nations, which were on this side the *Mountaine Taurus*, that not onely they among whom they came, but such with whome they neuer were (both neere and farre off) did ranke themselves altogether vnder their obedience and subiection.

Not long after, because they consisted of three Nations, to witte, *Tolistoboges*, *Trocemes*, and *Tectosages*, they diuided *Asia* into three parts, to the end, that each Nation might hold his share tributary to himselfe. The coast of the *Hellespont* was assigned to the *Trocemes*. The *Tolistoboges* had the *Æolides* and *Ionis* for their part. The *Tectosages* had the Countrey vvhich was in the middest of *Asia*, and raised all their souldiers pay, at the charge of that whole *Asia*, which was on this side *Taurus*, making their abode neere to the riuer *Halys*. And their name was so much feared (in regard of their great number) that they became (afterward) a people of no meane parentage: insomuch, that the Kinges of *Syria* refused not to pay them *Wages*. Thus hath *Titus Linius* written, concerning the entrance of the Gaules into *Greece* and *Asia*. Whereby, I haue obserued, that, in regard (as I haue formerly sayde) their warres were managed by vertue, and no craft or guile: the due commendation of the Gaules valiancie, was iustly comprized vwithin those limites and Countreys, as the *Sunne* obserued his course, from his rising, to his fall.

But in following time, thorow lacke

of Military Discipline, or else (much rather) by reason of discords, which grev among themselves, the *Cenomanians*, hauing differēce with the *Togates*, the *Masfylians* with the *Bracchates*, and *Heduans* with the *Comates*: they help the *Romans*, to bring their owne Countrey into thraldome; betraying all *Gaule*, to subiect it to the *Romane Empire*. And that which is much more, to the end, that in this case we may more admite the Gaules Vertue, they being well instructed in the Art Military: and all together hauing encountred *Cesar*, who was a most excellent Maister in actions of warre; within the space of foure yeares, ouerthrew the whole *Romane Empire*, which had setled it selfe by so many warres, and multiplicity of ages. For heerein *Cesar* had the consent of the Gaules, onely against whom, (as *Vercingetorix* prophesied) not all the inhabitable world knew how to make resistance: yet, the only consent (I say) of the Gaules, and *Gaule* onely, stood against all the other Prouinces of so great and mightie an Empire. Why then, thou Man of *Gaule*, thou deseruest highest honour for this Vertue; for encreasing the dignitie and glorie of thy Countrey, and not the tyrannie of a stranger. Thou (euen of thy selfe) hast subdued *Italy*, *Spaine*, *Greece*, *Egypt*, *Asia*, *Affrica*, yea, and *Spaine* againe: in brieft, thou hast conquered the whole Empire of the *Romane* people.

But this may seeme sufficient (if not too much) to be spoken concerning their man-hood and valour: Now it is fitt time to speak of their prudence and wisdom.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Learning and wisdom of the Gaules: Of the disciplines instructed by their Druides or Priests, to the younger people. Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Eubages and profession of Languages.

THE study of disciplines (whereby the iudgment of man maketh it self most firme, for the better entertainment of wisdom) was most notable among the ancient

g People of Gallia Cisalpina.

Gaul betrayd & subiected to the Roman Empire.

The Romane Empire ouerthrowne in 4. yeeres, onely by the valour of the Gaules.

Conquests of the Gaules nation in the world.

Of the wisdom and learning vsed amongst the Gaules.

<sup>z</sup> Certain learned Priests in Gaule, who were in such estimation, that the determining of all controuersies was committed to them. It is supposed, that they first came out of the Ile of Britaine.

The Gaules capeable of all disciplines. In *Cas. in Comment. lib. 7.*

*Diodor. in lib. 4.*

*Strabo in li. 5. cap. 1.*

Old Father Noah re-established the world.

\* Pluto the God of riches. *De migr. gen.*

*Beros. ant. lib. 1.*

The courses of times noted by number of nights, & not of dayes.

cient Gaules. The \* *Druides*, or *Druidæ*, made profession in each of those Disciplines. First of all, *Cæsar* saith, they would haue men to beleue, that their soules could not dye; but after death they passed from one body to another. And they were of opinion, that this beleefe serued greatly for an encouragement to vertue; when men held the feare of death in contempt. Moreover, they discovered verie many things which they taught to youth: concerning the Starres, and their motion; of the greatnesse of the world, & the earth; of the Nature of things; of the might and power of the immortall Gods. *Cæsar* writeth, of the Learning of the Gaules; but in few words, and sleightly; therefore we must enquire after more ample relation. That the Gaules had a capeable vnderstanding of all disciplines, *Cæsar* hath affirmed in his seventh booke, by that which wee haue already alledged. *They are a kinde of people of very great vnderstanding, and who are most apt to follow and counterfet all things which can be taught them.* And *Diodorus* writeth thus. *Although their speech be somewhat obscure and doubtfull, yet are they not any such men, as do estrange themselves from Learning.* Also *Strabo* agreeth there-with, saying, *The Gaules are easily guided to learn such things as may do them seruice, because they addict themselves to Arts and Disciplines.*

From the beginning of the world, which Father *Noah* re-established; all sortes of Disciplines were taught to such spirits, as appeared to be desirous of them. For, according to *Berosus*, if that which now a dayes is generally read, be true: \* *Dis*, who was the first Author of the Gaules Nation, is said to bee most famous for knowledge, and thereon was called *Semnothes*, or *Samothes*, and (after his name) such as made profession of Learning and knowledge, were termed *Semnotheans*, or *Samothceans*. But this place of *Cæsar*, seemeth to confirme the history of *Berosus*. *The Gaules* (saith he) *do report themselves to bee descended of their father Dis: and say beside, that the Druides gaue them that instructio.* For this cause, they marked all the courses of times by number, not of dayes, but of nights; and that they kept such a custome, by obseruation of their birth daies, and so from the beginning of months and yeares; that still the day followed the

night. Now, concerning this point, that day alwayes ensued after night: the *Germanes* also kept the same course, & made not their account by number of dayes, as we do (saith *Tacitus*) but of nights, giuing an apt tearme therefore, and vsed their assignations among themselves accordingly, as holding, that night was still the guide to day. It may bee, that this was a thing in vse to other people also, to take the beginning of the houres, from the instant of midnight.

But let vs come againe to Father *Dis*, and the *Semnotheans*, or *Samothceans*, whereof *Berosus* speaketh; with whom the opinion of *Aristotle* consenteth: for he writeth in his *Magitian* (according as *Lartius* reporteth) *That Philosophy receyued originall from the Semnotheans of the Gaules.* The same *Berosus* writeth, that *Sarron* the third King of Gaule, to restrain the wilde fiercenesse of the first men; established publicke Schooles of learning: but hereafter we shall speake more at large of the *Sarronides*. The fourth King was *Druis*, of whom came the *Druides*, & who were full of all things, as *Cæsar* affirmeth. The fift King was *Bardus*, of whom wee celebrate the honour, in speaking of *Bardes*, *Poets*, and *Orators*. Thus then wee perceiue the ancient professions of the *Gauls* disciplines, which maketh it selfe venerable, euen in the image of antiquity. *Marcellinus* in his fift Booke, doth very neere agree heerewith; writing the Originall of the *Gauls*, where he saith; *Those that haue anciently written, doubting the first original of the Gaules, did leaue their knowledge halfe full of trouble.* But since then, \* *Timagenes* the Greeke, both out of diligence and diuers Languages, collected such things as were vnknown for the space of long time; to whom giuing credit (all doubt & scruple taken away) we will deliuer the same notes distinctly and cleerely.

Some are of opinion, that the \* *Aborigenes* were the first that had beene seene in these Countries; and that they did name themselves *Celts*, after the name of a king whom they deereley affected; and *Galates* (for the Greekes do call the *Gaules* so) after the name of his<sup>b</sup> Mother. Others do affirme, that the *Dorians*, which followed ancient *Hercules*, inhabited the borders about the Ocean. The<sup>c</sup> *Druisides* recount (for a truth) that there was a certain part

The *Germanes* held the same obseruation of accounting by nights.

*Beros. Ant. lib. 1.*

*Arist. in Mag. in epit. bet. temp.*

*De Ant. Cant. lib. 1.*

*In mort. Claud.*

The venerable disciplines of the *Gauls* *Marcel. in lib. 5.*

\* A great rhetorician of *Alexandria*, who taught in *Pompeyes* house.

\* Ancient people dwelling in the *Mountaines*, whom *Saturn* broght into *Italy*.

<sup>b</sup> *Galata*, or *Galatea*.

<sup>c</sup> Reputed to be a people of *Thrace*.

of

of a people, which were Natives of the Countrey: but were chased and expelled from their dwellings by another people, in regard of their continuall warres, and thorow the inundations of the Sea, they landed on the hither Islands, and in the Countrey on this side the *Rheine*. Some also holde, that after the destruction of Troy, a small number of people which fled from the Greekes, wandering all about: cam at last into this country, which till then was empty. But the inhabitants of this land (more then any thing els can) do assure this, which wee have also seene engrauen in their Monuments: that *Hercules*, the son of *Amphitrio*, made all possible speede to ruinate the cruell Tyrants *Gerion* and *Tauriscus*, one of which ouerawed *Spaine*, and the other *Gallia*. After he had conquered them both, he had priuate knowledge of some women of noble race; by whom, he had many Children, that styled (by their owne name) all those places where they commanded.

It is likewise further maintained, that the *Phocenses* which liued in Asia, flying from the cruelty of *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to King *Cyrus*, betooke themselues to sea, and came into *Italy*; one part vwhereof, founded the Towne of *Velia*, and the other *Masilia* in *Viennoys*. Within some while after, when their forces were increased; they fortified a great number of Cities and Townes. But we must breake off this variety, which gladly would keep company with pleasing satiety. Afterwards, when these places were (by little and little) ciuillized, and reclaimed from rudenesse by men: the study of learning (which is most commendable) began to appeare in some splendour, by the *Bards*, *Eubages*, and *Druides*.

*Marcellinus* reporteth this of *Hercules*, agreeing therein with *Berosus*. For *Berosus* saith, that *Galatea* (by consent of her parents) was begotten with child by *Hercules*, at his returne out of *Spaine*; and that of her was borne *Galata*, of whome the Gauls receiued their name *Galates*. Therefore, the antiquity of the Gaules Discipline and Learning, maketh it self known by these testimonies.

But in what Discipline and Learning (perhaps) thou wilt aske me? I answer, in Grammar, Rhetoricke, Logicke, Mathematicke, Physick, Theology. Grammar

instructed to reade, and frame Letters; and this Art was such from those times, when as the tongues were in their entire condition: and that the neighbouring strangers had not (as yet) corrupted them. For so *Plato* in his *Philebus* grounded the Greeke Grammar. Heere (me thinkes) I vnderstand in this place, that which many good and learned spirits haue questioned, to wit, vwhat were the Letters of the Ancient Gaules? *Cesar*, in his sixth book confirmeth, that they were Greeke Letters. They thought (saith he) that it was ill done, to set down their disciplines in writing: howbeit, that almost in all their other affayrs, as well common as particular, they vsed the Greeke letters. In this place, *Cesar* speaketh not obscurely, but disertly and plainly; that the Gaules made vse of the Grecian Letters, that is to say, these Characters *α. β. γ. &c.* He deliuereth som proof heereof in the first Book, that in the camp of the Heluetians, there were found little Table bookes, written with Greeke Letters. Most true it is, *Cesar* calleth those Greeke Letters, which the Gaules then vsed: but I call them Gaul Letters, & will maintaine, that they neuer came out of Greece into Gaule; but on the contrary, that they went out of Gaule into Greece.

As concerning the man, who is sayde to be the first inuenter of Letters, verie great question had beene made thereof: and *Plime* hath debated the matter by diuersity of opinions. So that the inuention of Letters, is not proper or peculiar vnto any one Nation, according as hee thinketh; but (from all antiquity) they had bin vsed. *Cadmus* (if the booke be true which is allowed to one named *Xenophon*) as is affirmed by som, was the first that brought Letters (to the number of sixteene) from *Phœnicia* into Greece, the which were verie like to the Characters of the *Galates* and *Mæons*. Hereby may be coniectured, that Letters came from the *Galates* vnto the *Greekes*. Now, finding not onely a verie likely coniecture, but a certaine proof also, by the report and account of Times; maintaining, that the discipline of the *Semnotheans*, or *Sarmothians*, *Sarronides*, *Druides*, and *Bardes*, did flourish in Gaul for so many yeares before *Cadmus* vvent into Greece: there neede no doubt to be made, but that the *Gaules* characters vvere in vse in *Gaule*, for so many yeeres before

*Cadmus*

*Annus: de Verbo.*

*Scip. Brit. Cent. 1.*

*I. Bale scip. Brit. Cent. 2.*  
Two bloodie giants conquered by Hercules.

a People of Phocis, a little country of Greece, by the gulfe Crissæus  
b A Towne of Lucania, in the gulfe Pe-stanus.  
c The Cittie Marsiles in France, which was as famous for Learning, as Athens.

The beginning of the study of Learning.

*Beros. an. l. 1*

Galatea got with childe by Hercules.

The Learning vsed amongst the Ancient Gaules in those elder dayes.

*Plato in Phileb.*

Of the letters of the ancient Gaules.

*Cesar in comment lib 6*

The Gaules vsed Greeke Characters.

Greek letters found in the campe of the Heluetians.  
*Iul. Cesar in Com. lib. 1.*

Of him that was the first inuenter of Letters.

*Cadmus* reported for to bring Letters from Phœnicia into Greece, and to be the first that found out the casting of mettals.

The antiquity of the Gaules disciplines.

Marc. Varro  
ie lib. 7. deling.  
Lat.

The demand  
of Crates the  
Greek.

Arist. in lib.  
de Mag. suc-  
cess. lib. 2. 2.

Strabo in lib  
4. cap. 9.

The ancient  
famous Uni-  
uersity of  
Marseilles in  
France.

Of whom the  
Gaules learned  
their doctrines

Authours of  
found autho-  
rity ought to  
be credited

Whether the  
Gaules spake  
Greeke or no.

And this is that, which *Varro* (in his seauenth booke of the Latine tongue) maketh openly knowne. For *Crates* & Greek, had formerly made a Grammatician question in Greeke, demanding what was the reason why *Alpha* might not be called *Alphatos*? The other grammatician Greekes answered: *These wordes are none of ours, but are wholly Barbarian.* In this place then the Greekes do plainly confesse, that these Letters were none of theirs. And, consenting heereto, *Aristotle* confesseth to his Magitian (according as I haue already sayde) *That Philosophy receiued originall from the Semnotheans, or Samotheans of the Celts.* And last of all, that Gaule had bin the Mistris of all Greece.

I know very well, that *Strabo* speaketh of the Gaules, that they affected the Greekes: infomuch, that whatsoeuer bargaines or conuention was made amongst them, they wrote thereof into Greece, & that they adding themselves to the study of eloquence, & of Philosophy, as the Greekes did, kept in pay or wages, professors of the liberall Artes, as also they did the like by Physitians. But *Strabo* wrote this of the *Massylians*, and of their neighbours, at such time as *Tiberius* held the Empire, and when the great Lords of Rome (as himselfe writeth) caused their children to bee sent no more to *Athens*, then they did to *Marseilles*, there to follow their studious exercise. It must needs then be very certaine, that we learned the *Gaules* doctrine of *Dis*, *Samothes*, *Sarron*, *Druis*, *Bardus*, and those other ancient masters, when *Greece* did not so much as onely thinke on Letters.

Some may conceit, that we speak of Paradoxes, against all reason: but I cannot cōprehend, why such men as haue heard so many Authours speake, that carry credite and authority (among all) in other things, should reproach their praises of their owne Countrey, by a peruerse opinion of iudgement. But it may bee, that al these things do serue vs to no purpose, in regard that (concerning this matter) wee may bee pressed with nouell Arguments: because the Gaules (as some will say) did speake Greeke, therefore did they make vse also of Greeke Letters. But let me much rather tel them, that in, & from the time of *Cæsar*, the Gaules did not so vnderstand the Greeke tongue, that they

could speak it in any mean measure. Herin I haue *Cæsar* for my warrant; for thus he writeth in his fift Booke. *Wee preuailed so farre (saith hee) with one of the Gaules horsemen, onely by powerfull promises: that he vndertooke to carry a Letter to Cicero, which he had written in Greeke Characters, to the end, that if it happened into the Enemies hand, they might not know our secrets.* *Cæsar* speaking this, I conclude thereby, that the enemies of *Cæsar* and the Gaules, vnderstood not a letter written in Greeke, nor the language thereof.

And hee that will looke a little neerer, cannot probably proue to himselfe (thogh some others hold it for most certain) that the popular Gaules vnderstood any thing in that language: but that the cheefe and principall Heads of each Commonweale knew the Greeke tongue, as now adayes they do the Latine. I say moreover, that whoeuer maketh heedfull obseruation, will finde, that this cannot any way be prooued for truth. Because it is most certaine, that in so great an army of enemies, there must needs be some men of marke, of Townes good store. Nay, that which is more, I haue learned of *Cæsar* himselfe, that the woorthy *Druides*, who were the masters and Doctors of the Gaules youth, did not know the Greeke tongue. For *Diuitiacus*, one of the *Hedwans*, according to the testimony of *Cicero*, vvas the most learned man amongst the *Gaule Druides*. The great affection in this *Diuitiacus*, towards the Romane people, the extraordinarie good will which they bare vnto him, the singular fealty, iustice, temperance (as appeareth in the first booke) in this man, was very well knowne vnto *Cæsar*. To *Cæsar* I say, who vnderstood the Greeke tongue sufficiently, and had a desire to communicate secretly (for feare lest any thing should be discovered) with *Diuitiacus*, concerning his brother *Dumnorix*, who was supposed that hee would betray *Cæsar* to his enemies.

Wel then, if *Diuitiacus* had vnderstood the Greeke tongue, as well as *Cæsar* did: could not the one haue holpen the other with priuate instructions, in whatsoeuer they would haue had imparted? But scorning to serue his turne by ordinary Interpreters (as it appeareth in the verie same fift Booke) *Cæsar* spake with *Diuitiacus*, by the meanes of *Valerius*, Prince of a

*Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 5.*

A Letter caried by a Gaule to Cicero.

That the popular Gaules vnderstood not Greeke.

The Druides knew not the Greeke tongue

*Diuitiacus* the learnedst man of the Druides Gaules.

*Cæsar* sufficiently vnderstood the Greeke tongue

*Cæsar* scorn'd ordinary interpreters. *Iul. Cæs in Comment. lib. 5.*

Country in Gaule. Then there is no appearance, that *Diuitiacus* (although hee was one of the principall *Druides*) did vnderstand the Greeke tongue, or that it was any way knowne to the Gaules.

Heere I may be demanded, what was the speech of the Ancient Gaules, seeing it was not Greeke? I may, and must answer, that it was Gaulish: but to render a certaine reply, where the Language of the Gaules hath bene preferued, it requireth the Diuination of a Pythian *Apollo*. Because it is sufficiently knowne, that the Gaules haue had time long enough, whereby to vnlearne and loose their owne Native tongue. For not onely Lawes, but the Romane Legions established in Gaule, constrained the Gaules to speake the Romane tongue. And, according as *Plato* sayth: *Ordinarily all other Citizens do follow the manners of them that command them.* Therefore, the Romane Lawier, and the Romane Warriour, did quite abolish and extinguish the Gaules Language.

Moreouer, the Emperours of Rome, appointed wages vnto such men, as made publique profession of teaching the Latine tongue. So that, to this very day, the bookes written in this corrupted tongue; some whereof wee haue yet to shew, are vulgarly called Romaine, and not Gaulish.

Some in debating this matter, are of opinion, that the Language of the *Suiffes*, that hold (at this day) the dwelling of the *Heluetians*, are they that speake the ancient Gaulish tongue. But we know well enough, that these *Suiffes* were not the true Gaules of the Country, neither are: considering, that the ancient *Heluetians* (shut vppe by *Cæsar* within their owne mountaines) were afterward expelled thence (according to *Eutropius*) by the *Quades*; and finally, the *Quades* themselves, thrust out by the *Allemaignes*. At length the *Vites*, a people amongst the Saxons, possessed themselves of the *Heluetians* Country; whereupon the *Suitois* (that is to say) *Suiffes*, were called, according to the opinion of *Beatus Rhennus*, by a Name somewhat nere vnto the *Vitois*.

Others are of the minde, that the Language which the Germanes now adayes speake, is that of the ancient Gaules, and

take *S. Hierom* for their Authour, who giueth assurance, that in his time the *Galates* or *Galatians* of *Asia*, spake the same language which the *Treuirians* (dwelling on the *Rheine*) now doe. But *Cæsar* seemeth to auouch the contrary, writing in his first Booke, that *Ariouistus* King of the *Germanes*, by long vse (as some haue coniectured by this place) of fourteen years, did speake the Gaulish tongue. And in the time of Saint *Hierome*, there were other *Treuirians* in *Gaule*, that were subiects to the Romane Empire: and now in our time also, there are other that speake the same speech, as the other *Germanes* doe.

There remaineth yet another opinion amongst learned men; who do iudge, that the language of the ancient *Gaules*, is that which was vsed in *Gaule Armorica*, that is *Britaine* at this day. But they do not hold the French History to be true, that makes the *Britaines* to come out of the Isle of *Britaine*, into *Gaule Armorica*: considering, that *Cæsar* (as I haue already saide) maketh great *Britaine* it selfe to be a Colonie of the *Gaules*, and that *Strabo* maketh mention of a Towne or Cittie, called *Britaine*, which is in *Amorica*; and *Pliny* (though verie confusedly) numbereth the *Britaines* in *Gaule*: and *Cornelius Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* writeth, That the neerest shores of the Ile were impeached by the *Gaules*, & that their language was but little different. Finally, the learned men of this Isle, imagined (for this reason) that the Welshmen of England, had some conuience in speech with our *Britaines*. Therefore this is the only opinion, which (as yet) I know, to holde any good reason, or deseruing to be approoued. And this is the Grammar of the *Gaules*, both in writing and speech.

But what was that of the *Britains*, and that of the *Germanes*? *The Discipline of the Gaules* (saith *Cæsar*) *was first inuented in great Britaine, as hath bene esteerned: and from thence transported into Gaule. And at this day, such as would know it most diligently, they go thither (oftentimes) to learne it.* This passage sheweth sufficiently, that the discipline betweene the *Britaines* and *Gaules*, was al one. If we vnderstand also, that *Cæsar* maketh great *Britaine* as descended of the *Gaules*, & that they of the *Britains* were most human which were *Gauls*,

*Iul. Cæsar in comment. Lib 1*

*Ariouistus K. of the Germanes.*

*Gaule Armorica. now cald Britaine.*

*Great Britain affirmed by Cæsar to be a Colony of the Gaules.*

*Plin. in Lib. 3. Corn. Tacitus in lib. 2. cap. 1.*

*Of the Welshmen of England.*

*Of the discipline of the Britaines and Gaules. Iulius Cæsar in Com. lib 1*

What the language of the ancient Gaules was, in regard it was not Greeke.

The Gaules compelled to speake the Romane tongue. *Plato in Lib. de Legib. 4*

Teaching the Latine tongue, probably, rewarded.

That the *Suiffes* yet speake the ancient Language of *Gaule*.

Of the ancient *Heluetians*.

\* A people of *Bohemia*.

\* A *Saxon* people.

That the *Germanes* Language was the olde *Gaulish* tongue.

The discipline of the Britains and Gaules al one.

it is verily to be credited, that Discipline parted from Gaule, to come thither. This place may suffice generally, for al the doctrine of the Britaines.

Of the Germanes. Cornelius Tacitus, *ubi supra.*

Concerning the Germanes, there is scarcely any one word. *The men and Women* (saith *Tacitus*) *were equally ignorant in the secrets of Letters.* The Germanes then wholly, had not any Letters or Disciplines. *Aeneas Sylvius* giueth assurance, that in the time of *Adrian*, ciuility and Letters came into Germany. The Germanes themselues do hold, that it is not yet eight hundred yeares, since their language began to be written; and that (with Christian Religion) the Muses came into Germany; where both in publique Schooles, and by learned professors, they haue so prospered, that the nation (which all Nations else had formerly in detestation for sauage barbarousnes;) hath since then, in all ciuility, in all gentleness and humanity of all disciplines, conferred with the most learned and best lettered Nations whatsoever, and for the priority in this commendation.

*Aeneas Sylvius* concerning the Germans, and their former barbarisme.

The studies of the Rhetorick Gaules.

But what were the studies of the Rhetorick Gaules? Assuredly, they were very highly and honourably esteemed: yet more for a settled speech, consisting of measure, then in prose. The Gaules had (saith *Diodorus* in his sixth Booke) Poets of melodie, which they called Bards. These men, with a Musickall instrument, as with the Lyre or Harpe, sang some mens praises, and others imperfections. He further affirmeth in the same place, that Poets were in such reuerend respect amongst them, that when Armies were in ranged battaile, hauing their Swordes and Bowes ready drawne, and approaching to finite one another: not onely friends, but meere enemies (if these men once did steppe betweene them) were faine to make an end of all fighting. In like manner, among the most sauage Barbarians, anger was compelled to yeelde to wisdom, and Mars gladly reuerenced the Muses. Likewise, *Strabo* in his fourth Booke, speaketh of the Bards, as being Poets, and singers of praises. The Poet *Lucane* also, in the first of his *Pharsalia*, speaketh thus in commendation of the Gaulish Poets.

Of the Bards and Poets amongst the Gaules: and in what reuerence they were esteemed.

*Strabo* in lib. 4.

*You Poets, Bards, that of those valiant souls,  
Dying in warres, do Caroll their renowne,  
Know how to eternize to perpetuall worlds  
Their endlesse praise: Many sweet songs you  
sing.*

*Lucane* in lib. 1

*Marcel.* in lib. 1

Moreouer, *Marcellinus* in his fift Booke, speaking of the Gaules, hath these words: *The Bards sung to the Harp, which they touched very pleasingly: declaring the famous actes of illustrious men, their Songs being composed in heroycall verses.* The Romaines followed this example of the Bards, and they (according as *Cato* hath written in his Booke of Originals) had a custome to sing at banquets, the vertues of famous and renowned men, euermore conforming their voices with such as did play on Instruments.

The Romains imitated the Bards in singing at bankets

Heereby therefore, we may well perceyue, how highly Poesie was honoured and authorized by the Ancient Gaules. This argument putteth mee in minde of Greece, and of her *Homer* and *Hesiodus*, shee vaunting of them, that they were in as great honour and estimation amongst the Greekes. This then was their Rhetorick, and (as *Pomponius Mela* sayeth) *This was the eloquence which the auncient Gaules had.*

Greece renowned theyr Bards and Poets.

*Pomp. Mela,* in lib. 1. cap. 5.

But what was that of the Germanes? Although they were ignorant (as hath bene formerly declared) in the mysteries and secrets of Letters; yet notwithstanding, as *Tacitus* auoucheth, they celebrated in ancient Canticles and Songes, the memory of their Gods and Kings. And this was the only maner of their Annals, & of the Antiquity which they had: for I finde nothing more, concerning the Discipline of the ancient Germanes.

The Rhetorick vsed among the Germanes. *Corn. Tacit.* in lib. 5. c. 9.

Now, what was the Logick of the ancient Gaules? I finde in *Cesar* one only question, concerning the meanes & manner which ought to be followed in the instruction of youth. All the noble and liberall Arts, were to be learned in written books; the maisters of those Arts, interpreting the to their schollers, & the schollers practising to vnderstand them. Many times some great difficulty would arise, about the entertaining of mens authority; whose Bookes were propounded to youth: because those men, although they were more excellent then other men, yet notwithstanding being no more but men, they

The Logicke of the ancient Gaules. *Iul. Cesar* in *Com. lib. 4.*

Difficulties arising about men of authority, and theyr written works

Arts taught by voice or tongue, without writing.

Instructions giuen vnto youth by word of mouth onely  
*Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 6.*

Two especiall reasons alledged by Caesar concerning instruction.

2. Reasons of the Druides.

Pithagoras & Socrates leste nothing written.

would sometimes dreame, and quite forget themselves. Whereby ensued, that their writings passing as vniuersall, they proued many times vnease to be explained. Contrarywise, without any writing, but by the voice onely, an infinite number of Arts and Sciences (belonging to Mechanicall men (as Laborers, Malons, Marriners, and such like) were soone apprehended: and there arose no repugnancie or doubt of their words, neyther any difficulty of their intention when as they were vnderstoode. There was no other maxime of these Arts, but what vse and profit had approoued. Then those Doctores and professors were not woont to write of any discipline: but al that they deliuered to youth, they taught onely by word of mouth. Yet notwithstanding, being guided by other reasons, they made Conscience (as *Iulius Caesar* sayeth in the sixt Booke) to set downe their disciplines in writing.

Well then, if we vrge a question (in this case) to *Caesar*, thus will he shape vs an answer. *It appeareth to me, that for two reasons, they established this decree amongst them. First, because they would not haue their disciplines imparted vnto popularitie. Next, lest such as learned them, trusting to writing only, would make the lesse account of retaining them in their memory.* For many times it happened, that the more part, by vsing continuall recourse to books, became slothfull in Learning truely, or kept retention of any thing shewn vnto them. And these two reasons were likewise alledged by the *Druides*, for not committing their Disciplines to writing; & these causes haue bene approoued by the very cheefest Philosophers of Greece. For, in ancient time, this was the aduice of *Pithagoras*; and (after him) of *Socrates*, both which left not one Letter in writing. The opinion of *Socrates*, to this purpose, is amply declared by *Plato* to *Phadrus*, in this Conference which *Socrates* had with *Phadrus*.

## CHAP. XII.

*A Dialogue or Communication between Socrates and Phadrus, concerning what great difference there is between the excellent Art of Memory, and matters registred downe by writing.*

**S**ocrates. It remaineth now to speake of the fitnessse or vnfitness of writing. Whether the doing thereof be well or ill, is not that the question?

*Phadrus*. Yes, that is our argument.

*Socrates*. Knowest thou, that in dooing or ordaining it, as concerning present speech, thou mayest thereby be acceptable to the Gods?

*Phadrus*. Not I, but thou doest.

*Socrates*. I haue heard of our Elders, that they knew the trueth, and if wee our selues could finde it; ought we not henceforward, to be verie carefull of mens opinions?

*Phadrus*. This is to laugh at thine owne demand: but tel vs that, which thou sayest thou hast heard.

*Socrates*. I haue heeretofore heard, that neere vnto \* *Naucratis* which is in Egypt, there was sometimes one of the ancient Gods, who was named *Theuthates*, and to him, the Bird tearmed *Bis* or *Ibis*, was sacred. Moreouer, that hee vvas the first inuenter of numbers, and of Ieat, as also of Dice and Letters, and of Astronomy and Geometry. At that time, *Thaumas* was king of all Egypt, making his abiding in a great City of the higher Countrey, which the Greeks called the Egyptian *Thebes*, and that *Ammon* or *Hammon* was then their God. *Theuthates* beeing come to this King, he shewed and declared to him, that hee must instruct the Egyptians in disciplines. Whereon the King demanded of him, concerning the profite that would ensue thereby to any one; and according as *Theuthates* should seeme to speake ill or vwell, so would hee blame, or else giue commendation. It is sayde, that betweene *Thaumas* and *Theuthates*

Of the fitness or vnfitness of writing.

Whether writing or speaking be most acceptable to the Gods.

\*A City well knowne in Egypt.

The inuention of numbers, let, Geometry, Astronomy, Dice, and Letters.

Disciplines to be taught to the Egyptians

Concerning the enstruction of letters, & what harme or benefit might ensue by them.

Letters enemy to the memory, & the reason why.

Diffrence between knowledge and opinion therof.

\* A City in Chaonia, nere which was a wood dedicated to Iupiter.

thates many things were debated, vvhich wold require too long time to discourse, but when they came to dispute about Letters. Sir (said *Theuthates*) *this discipline will make the Egyptians very wise, and prompt of memory: for this is the onely Medicine found out for memory and knowledge.* Whereto the other replied; O most ingenious and subtile *Theuthatec*, the one is most apt to performe the workes of Art, and the other knowes best how to iudge, what harme or benefite their vse may bring. But thou, the Father of letters, being carried by thine own affection, maintainest the contrary of their effect. For letters causeth forgetfulness in the mindes of such as learne them, because they make no reckoning of studying by memory; for they trusting to the marks of exterior writing, doe forsake inward recordation, which is the very soule of memory. Thou hast not then found out a medicine for memory, but for forgetfulness, and thou canst not teach thy Schollers the truth of knowledge and vnderstanding, but of Opinion. For, they hauing comprehended great store of things, and without a Master, they will perswade themselues to know enough; and yet notwithstanding (commonly) they are exceeding ignorant in the greater part, proouing to bee offensiuie and troublesome in mens company and frequentation, as being more full of opinion of knowledge, then of true knowledge indeede.

*Phaedrus*. Thou canst easily (O *Socrates*) imagine the humor of the Egyptians, or of any such nation, as seemeth good to thy selfe.

*Socrates*. My friend, it is held by some, that in ancient times, Oakes did speake those prophesies which were in the Temple of *Iupiter* \* *Dodonaus*. For, through the rudeness and ignorance of old men in those times, who had not then attained to the knowledge which now your younger dayes haue done: it was sufficient for them, to heare an Oake, or a Stone speake, so long as they spake trueth. It may bee thou conceiuest, that some peculiar interest should bee placed in iudgement, how, or of what country he was, that hath spoken any thing of this nature, without consideration, whether it were so, or no.

*Phaedrus*. Truly, thou hast very iustly

reproued me: but for the order of disciplines, I am of the same minde as *Thaïmas* was.

*Socrates*. Then whosoever thinketh, that Arte can so well sette downe it selfe, or comprehend by writing, as if there could bee something certaine, or assured by writing; that man should ill learne, and bee ignorant in the Oracle of *Ammon*, making more esteeme of reasons sette downe in writing, then of knowing and retayning that which is written.

*Phaedrus*. Thou sayest very well.

*Socrates*. O *Phaedrus*, writing hath a great matter in it, and (in very truth) carrieth some resemblance with painted creatures, for such works seeme as if they had life: but if thou demand any question of them, they hold their peace with great modesty. Thou imaginest also, that a discourse set downe in writing, should speake of it selfe. But, if hauing a desire to learne, thou come and demand something of it, concerning that which it should say; it continueth silent, yet signifying one and the same thing. For, after that a discourse is set downe in writing, it carrieth it selfe alike equally to all men: both for the learned which vnderstand it, and for such as vnderstand it not; and no one can say, to whom it is most conuenient, and to whom not. And if it happen to be iniuriously dealt withall, it will alwayes stand in need of his fathers help: because it is not able to reuenge any wrongs receiued, nor yet to right it selfe.

*Phaedrus*. Hitherto thou hast spoken most truly.

*Socrates*. Doe wee not then perceiue, how another discourse maketh it selfe, which is Brother to this we talke of, and much more it excelleth both in power & dignity?

*Phaedrus*. What is thy meaning? And what is that which (thou saiest) maketh it selfe?

*Socrates*. It is that, which (with knowledge) writeth it selfe in the spirit of him that apprehendeth: for it can acte reuenge vpon it selfe, knoweth it selfe, and when and how to speake, or to bee silent.

*Phaedrus*. Thou speakest the liuely and soule-like discourse of him that knowes &

The memory hath exceeded all matter set downe in writing.

Writing compared to painted figures or portraitures, that can speak nothing.

Writing is in it selfe equal and alike to all men.

Speaking reputed the brother to writing

The excellency of speaking about writing

Writing the image of speaking.

A pleasant witty question, and to every good purpose.

The feedes of wisdom haue their due seasons.

Matters set downe in writing, cannot afterward be holpen with words.

Memories are said to be the rich treasures of mans life, and the best to be learned.

vnderstandeth; and (by good right) that which is written, may tearme it selfe (in some respect) to be his image.

*Socrates.* Tell mee then, in good fadnesse, if a wise husbandman take delight to beholde his feedes, whereof he is carefull, and desireth to gather fruite; will he sowe them at Spring time, in the Gardens of *Adonis*, where hee shall see them budde forth at eight dayes following; or, when hee goeth about such businesse; shall he scatter them iestingly, as after the manner of a holy day sport? When hee hath taken paines to sowe his feede, according as hee ought to do, and answerable to the Art of Husbandry: he supposeth it sufficient for him, if in the space of eight moneths after the seed time is past, they doe thriue, and come to their maturity.

*Phadrus.* The wise Husbandman, (*O Socrates*) will doe as thou hast sayde; but the idle and negligent foole hath no such care.

*Socrates.* Shall we then say, that a man who hath knowledge and experience in that which is iust, honest, and good, will be lesse carefull of his feede seasons, then an Husbandman?

*Phadrus.* No.

*Socrates.* He will not then write down the feedes of his penne with Inke, sowing them there amongst his Discourses, as if he did a matter of great importance: because hee cannot then helpe them with his wordes, neither can hee demonstrate the truth so exquisitely as it should bee.

*Phadrus.* Nor can they make any proof of themselves.

*Socrates.* No truely: but he shall sowe and vwrite (as it is in reason) in meere sportfull manner, and vwhole Gardens of Letters. But, when he maketh memories, as certaine Treasures, to the end that they may not fall into Obluion, as well for himselfe, as also for the first that will followe the same example: hee taketh delight in beholding their tender byrthes; and, while others doe addicte themselves vnto other Recreations, as to Feasts, sports, and the like pleasures; leauing all these heedfull matters behinde them; hee shall passe on all his leysures, taking great delight in his owne discoursing.

*Phadrus.* *O Socrates*, thou speakest of a most true pastime indeede, in steade of that which is of small vawew, and woorth nothing: when a man delighteth in serious Discourse, he shall ruminare on iustice, and all those other especiall matters by thee remembred.

This was the opinion of *Socrates*, vvhich vvas much more sweete and humane, then that of our *Druides*. *Socrates* alwayes preferred knowledge, consisting in memorie and liuing wordes, before that of the dead Letter: neuertheless, hee allowed vwriting to bee but as help to forgetfulnesse. I could wish that this Opinion had bene as pleasing vnto the *Druides*; for then, wee should haue had no neede of straungers goodes, as to borrow any thing of the Greekes, but continued satisfied with our owne cuntryes abundance. Neyther by meanes of the Latines and Greeke, should we haue learned disciplines by paine and studye, after the nature of other straunge Languages: but with great pleasure and contentment of minde, wee should haue suckt them as milk from our nurses breasts. All the youth of a man, albeit study were sharpe thereto, should not so hardly haue spent it selfe in learning Greeke and Latine Letters; yet seeming but as an enterance into the common rode way of liberal studies, whē we rather should haue runne out our full course to the end. A long and laborious time of studye vvas required in apprehending the Greeke and Latine tongues, to vnderstand *Homer*, *Demosthenes*, *Virgil*, *Cicero* and others: whereas contrary-wise, without trauaile, and with exceeding delight, we might haue sung the Hymnes & Poems of our Bardes, hauing (naturally) the true vnderstanding both of their words and sense.

The loue which they bare vnto theyr cuntry, and to vertue it selfe, was ouerabounding in seuerity. For, our *Druides* sought all meanes, vvheryby to make Gaule surpasse all other Nations, not only in actions of Armes; but in the honor of Disciples, and in coueting to banish idlenesse from the Gaules mindes; they disinherited their posterity, of their most rich and vnalewable patrimony of ancient disciplines. In the doing vvhherof, they buried in perpetuall obliuion, the Gaules rare Arts and Doctrines, vvhich they had

Serious Discourse the minister of iustice.

Memory and speech preferred before the dead Letter.

The Gaules had sufficient studies of their owne, without need of borrowing elsewhere.

Study of strange Language, irksome to the Gaules

The *Druides* too seuer in affection to their cuntry and vertue.

The Gaules had rare artes & disciplines.

a hope, should haue liued and flourished for euer, only by the meanes of hindring writing. But in vaine do we now make our complaints: neuerthelesse, sorrow remaineth still with vs, to with (how vainely soeuer) that it had beene so. And vndoubtedly (in this case) they might iustly accuse the vilenesse of the Romane ambition, which vterly ruined the Schooles of the *Druides*. Wee may therefore say with the Poet.

*We ought to mourne, & all these mortall things  
May touch their hearts.*

CHAP. XIII.

*A further addition to the Artes and Sciences, taught among the Gaules, by their Druides, Bardes, and learned men, according to the iustification of diuers good Authors: and what religious Ceremonious orders they obserued.*



BT let vs come to the Mathematicall Artes, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh, when he saith. They made very many disputes of the Starres, and of their motion; of the greatnesse of the world, and of the earth, and concerning the nature of things. Questionlesse, these were their ancient disciplines, left from the father to the sonne, by *Dis, Sarron*, and *Druis*: which they themselues preferued carefully, hauing receiued them (from hand to hand) of their graue Auncestors. For *Iosephus*, in the first booke of the *Iewes Antiquities*, testifieth, concerning the ancient Fathers before the flood, that they had obserued those Mathematicall considerations. And because they would hinder the losse of so noble inuentions, or perishing by the inundations of the waters: they engraued them vpon two Collombes or Pillars, the one whereof was of moulded earth, and the other of stone. And this was thus done, that if that of earth should chance to be defaced by the flood: yet the other of stone might remaine intire, and yeeld men means to apprehend what was engrauen thereon. The same Author witnesseth, that the same Pillar of stone

was to bee seene in *Syria*, in the time of *Vespasian*. *Eusebius* likewise reporteth, how the *Egyptians* learned them of *Abraham*; and that the Greekes afterward, did set downe those Artes in writing, & then published them. But our *Druides* (as I haue formerly saide) gaue them to posterity, according as they had receiued them from the hands of their fathers; disputing many matters, touching the Starres, and their continuall motions.

*Mela* also writeth, that the *Druides* made profession, concerning the motion of Heauen, and of the Starres. Astrology was such a thing, as it could not any way be taught or learned, except (before hand) a man had studied Arithmeticke & Geometry. For the calculation of the motions, they stood in neede of the accounts of Arithmetick; and the distances and intervalles of the Starres, must needs passe themselues by the figures of Geometry. Therefore the *Druides*, making profession of enstructing Astrology; taught (first of all) Arithmetick and Geometry, which are Arts that make Astrologie to be vnderstood.

*Berosus* sheweth, that there was some musicke in the Hymnes and Poems of the *Bardes*. Among the *Celts* (saith he) a *Barde* was much renowned, for the inuention of Songs and Musique. The *Druides* disputed many things, concerning the greatnes of the world and the earth: This was the greatnesse and forme of the world and earth, which *Mela* sayeth, the *Druides* taught: This was their *Cosmography* & *Geography*, and the *Druides* disputed diuers things of that nature. As, what was the length of the world, from the Sunnes setting in the West, to his rising in the East: what was his largenesse; from the Equator or Equinoctiall circle, to both the one and other Pole: how great were the distances of the five Zones, from the Pole, so farre as the smallest circle thereof, euen to the Tropick, and then from the Tropicke, so farre as the Equator, which is in the midst: what were the Zones of the earth, which are assigned and subiect to the Celestiall Zones: which of the were inhabited, and desert, by reason of cold or heate, and which were temperate: And how Europe, Asia, and Affrica were diuided, and separate one from another.

Their questions of Physick, were concerning

*Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 5*

*Pomponius Mela. in li. 3. cap. 5.*

Concerning the learning of Astrology, and how it was enstructed by the *Druides*.

*Berosus in lib. 1. cap. 3.*

Musicall Bardes among the *Celts*.

*Pomponius Mela ubi supra.*

The diuers disputations vsed among the *Druides*, of the world, earth, & heauens.

*Iul. Cæs. in comment. lib. 7.*

*Dis, Sarron, Druis.*

*Ioseph. in lib. 1 de Antiquit.*

Two Pillars engraued with Mathematicall Artes.

The questions  
of Physicke,  
among the  
Gaules.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Marcel: in l. 5.

Two famous  
Philosophers  
among the  
Gaules, made  
immortall by  
Cicero him-  
selfe.

Cicero in lib.  
4. de offic.

\* A searching  
out of natural  
things, or a  
reasoning of  
the nature of  
any thing

\* A king of  
Galatia, who  
Cicero defend-  
ed, being ac-  
cused to haue  
conspired  
Cæsar's death

Cicero in lib.  
ubi supra.

cerning Principles, that is to say, the matter and forme of things: as Fire, Ayre, Water, Earth. Whence all things were engendred; how they perished, augmented, decreased, altered and moued. The professoours (among the Gaules) of these so feuerall doctrines; are called by Strabo, Poets, or Prophets, who, ouer and beside other things, concerning Physicke, principally taught this Oracle, proper to the Country: *That the world must sometime perish by fire, and by water.* The same Doctours are called (by Marcellinus) Eubages. *The Eubages (saith hee) seeking into the very highest & deepest parts of the earth; laboured to discover the secrets of the.* These noble disciplines then, were wont to be taught of the Gaules, and in the Gaules language onely.

Heere we may not omit, to remember two most excellent Philosophers among them: that were commended, yea, and consecrated to immortality, by the words of Cicero. The one was *Diuitiacus*, (of whom wee haue spoken already) Prince of the *Heduan*: the other was *Deiotarus*, King of the *Gaules in Asia*. Speake then noble *Cicero*, and remember vs of our famous *Druides*. *In Gaule there were of the Druides, among whom, I my selfe knew Diuitiacus the Heduan as the man that receiued me into his house, and made account of mee. This man made his vaunt, that hee knew the reason of Nature, which the Greekes named* \* *Physiologia*; and could speake of things to come, partly by Augurie, and partly by coniectures. This *Diuitiacus* (as it is very likely) was the Hoste to *Cicero*, by reason of the *Druides* knowledge which was in him. But what doth he say of \* *Deiotarus*? How is it that this Oratour commendeth him? *But wherem (saith he) shall I make mention of king Deiotarus, that most famous & right worthy personage our Hoste, that neuer did any thing, but with presage? For, when hee was returned from a voyage, which hee had formerly purposed and resolved to make: the Chamber wherein hee should haue lodged (if he had continued his iourney) fell downe the night ensuing. And therefore, as I haue oftentimes heard from himselfe, hee made many pauses and returnes from that one voyage; albeit he proceeded in many other beside. Cicero speaking further of the same man, saith.* *Hee performed one very notable action, when he came backe from the kingdome of*

*the Tetrarches, wherof he was dispossessed by Cæsar, and condemned to pay a great summe of money. He saide, hee did not repent himselfe, for not crediting such Auguries, as happened to him when hee went towards Pompey, hauing maintained with his forces, the authority of the Senate, and liberty of the Roman people, with the dignity of the Empire: And that the Birds (to whose augurie hee gaue faith) had well councelled and aduised him: yet notwithstanding, hee made much more precious and deere esteeme of his honour, then hee did of all his goods and possessions. These are the words of learned Cicero, to whom both Gaule and Galatia are for euer beholding: because, by so worthy a testimony, hee preferred the memory of 2. such famous Philosophers of theirs.*

But what shall I most preferre in this place, if not our sighes and teares, as true witnesses of our misery? Heere tofore, *Gaule* commanded ouer the *Italians* and *Grecians*, and, insted of the goods of Fortune, which are but of small worth, and giue to men as stipendary wages: she gaue them the goods of the minde in recompence, which were (indeede) much more precious. *Greece* and *Italy* vaunted very proudly, because they had *Mathematicians* and *Philosophers*: but that glory was (formerly) ours; those praises distilled from our Fountains: which did meere dry vp themselves; because they would not rampier and defend their owne power, by writing. For *Gaule* might haue had *Gaulish Euclides, Ptolomies, Platoes, Aristotles*, and others beside, farre more excellent men then all they were. But let vs cease our bootlesse complaints, & come now to the Theology or Diuinity of the *Gaules*.

The *Druides* (about all things else) would haue men to beleue, that their soules could not die: but that (after death) they departed out of one body, & entred into another. The reason of this their opinion was: that it was the only encouragement to vertue, because feare of death was thereby held in high contempt. I set downe this their perswasion of immortality, as the principall foundation of the *Gaules Religion* and Theologie, which the *Greekes* and *Latines* did enuiously celebrate. *The Gaules (sayeth Diodorus) after their repastes and feeding, had a custome, to desie one another vnto the Com-*

An augury gi-  
uen by Birds  
to Deiotarus.

Gaule & Ga-  
latia indebted  
to Cicero.

Gaule com-  
manded ouer  
the Greeks &  
Italians.

The pride of  
Greece and  
Italy, yet pro-  
ceeding from  
the Gaules.

The Diuinity  
vsed among  
the Gaulish  
Druides, that  
mens soules  
could not die.

Diod. in Lib. 5,  
cap. 3.

bate, without making any reckoning of their liues, for the opinion of Pythagoras prevailed with them: That the soules of men were immortall, and that after the death of the body, within a certaine while, they came againe into other bodies. And for this cause, some would cast written Letters into heapes of wood, prepared as bon-fires to burne mens bodies in, as if the dead were there to reade them. Strabo affirmeth as much. They were perswaded (saith he) that mens soules were not subiect to corruption or mortality.

Pomponius Mela writeth thus. There was one thing which the Druides helde and maintained, to encite men (thereby) with the better will to warre: That mens soules were eternall, and that the dead liued another life. Whereupon, when they burned dead bodies, or buried them, the whole account of their former liues negotiations was interred with the, especially, if any thing had bene borrowcd, it was to be redemanded of them. Some were found, that voluntarily, and with their owne good will, would throw themselues into flaming fires, and burned such things as neere and deere appertained to them, euen as if they were to liue with them. Mela reporteth thus of them, wherein we may note the same reason of this perswasion, which

Caesar also held, to wit: that by the contempt of death, the Gaules might make themselues the more couragious, and valiantly disposed to warre: and it is very likely, that the contempt of death, whereof we haue formerly spoken, proceeded from hence.

Valerius Maximus, in his second booke, maketh this relation. I bethinke me (saith he) of the ancient manner of the Gaules, who are saide to haue a custome, to lend out monies, to be repaid them againe when they wer in the lower regions. For they held it as a matter most infallible, that the soules of men were immortall: and I should haue reputed these men foolish, but that the Bracchates likewise held the same opinion, which Pythagoras \* Pallium did. Such a number of Authors then, doe consent with Caesar, concerning the opinion which the Gaules had, of immortality. And heere I may not negligently let passe, that these Authors (about all things else) do refuse to confesse, that the Gaules were the first fathers of Philosophy. Pythagoras maintained, that the soules of men were immortall, and Plato (following him) saith the same. It is also the opinion of the Philosopher, which Ouid remembreth.

Valer: Max: in lib. 2.

\* Pallium, for the Latine word Palliatus, which is as much to say, as clothed with a Robe, which they called Pallium, & which the Philosophers vsed to weare.

*Mens soules are exempt from death,  
And leauing their first lodgings;  
Liue alwaies in new dwellings,  
Where they haue fresh entertainment.*

This (I say) was the iudgement of Pythagoras, from whence ensued, that the Gauls (by report of the Greekes and Latines) were made Pythagorians, and so meerey borrowed this opinion of immortality. But to shew of what great ambition this error is, the silliest iudgement may easilie apprehend: in that, for a long time before Pythagoras was borne, this opinion of the Druides liued among the Gaules. Wherefore, I may very well assure that which hath formerly bene proposed: that Greece was not Schoole-mistresse to Gaule, but rather her scholler. Neuerthelesse, the Gaules did not allow of that \* Metempsychosis, that is to say, the changing of soules, which Pythagoras maintained, as passing out of humane bodies, into other of brute beasts: For they did not belceue, that of men they became beasts, but that they were made men againe, in other bodies. The Poet Lucane affirmeth the same.

*According as you say,  
Those shadowes goe not into the silent dwellings  
Of deepest Erebus, or the pale Country  
Of King Pluto beneath. The selfe same spirit enters  
Into another body: And of long life  
Led in another world, you sing most truely.*

Transmigration or passage of the soule from one body to another

Lucan: in lib. 3.

Proceede we now to other points of the Gaules religion. They disputed very much, concerning the power and might of the immortall Gods, and made profession (as

Mela

Written Letters cast into fires that burned dead bodies. Strabo in Lib. 2 cap. 7.

Pomponius Mela in lib. 4. ca. 2.

Death freely and voluntarily embraced by the Druides.

The words of Ouid of the soules immortality.

The error of the Greekes and Latines, concerning the Gaules, which were of more antiquity then Pythagoras.

Other points of the Gaules religion.

Pomponius Me-  
la in lib. 4, cap. 3

*Mela* saith) to know what the Gods would haue them to do. They adored the Gods, *Mercury, Apollo, Minerva, Iupiter* and *Mars*, holding almost the very same opinion, which other nations did, to wit: That *Mercury* was the inuenter of Artes, and a guide to men on their wayes and voyages: That he could helpe much in the gayning of monie, and in the affaires of Merchandize, being such as the Poet feigneth him.

Mercury re-  
puted to bee  
the God of  
Messages, and  
the inuenter  
of Artes, as  
also a guide  
to trauellers  
in their iour-  
nies.

*He spake the word, and the God Messenger,  
Immediately was ready to be gone.  
He fastened to his feete his light wingd plumes,  
Which at his heeles do beare him through the windes,  
Mounting and falling with their nimble flight:  
One while on Land, and then upon the waues.  
He tooke his Rod, and with that powerfull Rod,  
He summond vp aloft pale meager Ghosts,  
From the sad shades, or else doth send them thither.  
And therewithall he doth controule our sports.  
Waking or sleeping, he commandeth all:  
And some into eternall sleepe to fall.*

Marcel: in lib:  
5, cap. 7.

For this Rod of his, was taken to be the power of Artes, the guide to trauellers on the way, and the rich gaine of Merchants. *Iulius Caesar* made his prayers to *Mercurie*, (and as *Marcellinus* saith) he was reputed to bee the most sudden sence in this worlde, that moueth our thoughts, according to the doctrine of those Diuines. This was the power which the *Druides* gaue to *Mercurie*. As for that of *Apollo*, he was said to cure & helpe diseases and sicknesse; as the God testifieth of himselfe in *Ouid*.

Apollo taken  
to be the God  
of Physicke.

Ouid: in Meta-  
morph. Lib. 4

*Physicke is mine, and through the Vniuerse  
Men call to me for succour in distresse.  
The vertue of all hearbs to me is subiect.*

Minerva the  
Goddesse of  
all ingenious  
deuises.

The might of *Minerva*, they held to be thus: That shee gaue the determination of all workes and cunning deuises. Whereupon the Poets feigned, that she was bred and borne in the braine of her father *Iupiter*. They were perswaded also, that *Iupiter* had command ouer all the other Gods, and that *Mars* gouerned in warres: to whom oftentimes they made vowes (when they had determined to giue the enemy battaile) of all such things as they should take in fight. And if they won the day, they would sacrifice all such Beasts as were taken, and bring away all the rest as booty. *Diodorus* relating almost the very same, saith farther; that they sacrificed their prisoners and captiues to the Gods. But you wil say, that this example was too cruell. I confesse as much, but must answer ye withall: that it was borrowed from the ancient Romanes, who wold put to death in their prisons, the very brauest & most valiant Captaines of their enemies. And many times for a publike spectacle, and before the common people, they were giuen as a prey to wilde Beasts, to be de-

uoured by them in cruell manner. Some of the Gauls did burne in their sacrifices, such Beasts as were taken for booty, and (with them) did put the enemy to death, or else torment him with other paines.

The *Celts* had an admirable and particular obseruation in their Temples, to cast or spred abroad a great deale of their gold and siluer. Now albeit this was a nation very greedy and couetous: yet notwithstanding; there was neuer found any man, among the rudest inhabitants of the country, that durst so much as touch one peece thereof, such was their respect and reuerence to Religion. Neuerthelesse, such offrings may (perhaps) seeme more proper and conuenient for *Mars*: beeing called (in ancient times) by the Greeke Poets, *The plague of men, or the Murderer*. And yet such ceremonies also were common, and vsed in the sacrifices of other Gods. The whole nation of the Gaules, (as *Caesar* affirmeth) were greatly addicted to Religion, and by this occasion, such as were vexed with any greuous diseases, or they that were in warre, or in any other

An especiall  
obseruation  
of the *Celts*  
in their Tem-  
ples.

Names giuen  
to Mars, by  
the ancient  
Greeke Poers

*Iul. Cas. in com-  
men. lib 6.*

The power of  
*Iupiter* and  
*Mars* in their  
seuerall con-  
ditions.

*Diodor. in lib. 5*

Cruelty ex-  
emplified by  
the ancient  
Romanes.

other perill of life : did sacrifice men as their oblations & offerings, or else made vowes of such sacrifices. For they held a seuerer opinion, that if for the life of one man, the life of another was not iustly rendred : it was impossible to appease the anger, or satisfie the will of the immortal Gods. And such manner of sacrifices wer publicly instituted, as truly declaring admirable Religion, and meruailous perswasion of the Gods might and power; whereof the Greeke Authors made not a iote lesse account and estimation.

Religious sacrifices instituted publicly.

CHAP. XIII.

*Of the Diuination used by the Sarronides, who were a kinde of Philosophers among the ancient Gaules, their manner of oblations and sacrifices : As also of their spels, charmes, and incantations.*

**D**iodorus further sayeth, that some other Philosophers & Diuines, were held in great honour & reuerence among them, whom they tearmed *Sarronides*, that vsed diuination : and because they fore-tolde things that were to come, as well by auguries, as sacrifices; they were highly esteemed of them, but especially of the common people, who performed great reuerence to them. And when they held any councill, concerning matters of import and consequence: they obserued a very admirable custome, and almost incredible. For they would cut the throte of a man, and when he fell downe; eyther by the manner of his fall, or separation of his members, or fluxion of his blood (by a long and ancient obseruation) they attained to the knowledge of future things. Their custome also was, neuer to make any sacrifice, without the presence of some Philosophers: as holding opinion, that sacrifices ought to be performed by such men, as participated in the diuine nature, and came neere to the Gods. For by the prayers of such men, they were perswaded, that good fortune and successe should be desired of the Gods, and their councill also to be especially vsed, both in the times of peace

Diodor. in lib. 5

Philosophers and Diuines called Sarronides.

A strange obseruation of the Sarronides.

The manner of their sacrifices in the presence of Philosophers.

and warre. Heere to may be referred, that which *Caesar* saith, in the fift Book of his warres in Gaule. *Whosoever came latest to the assembly made in Armes; being first afflicted with diuers stormes, was afterward put to death before the whole multitude.* Moreouer, *Strabo* saith, that they would fasten a man vnto a Crosse in their Temple, and there shoote him to death with Arrowes.

Julius Caesar in comment. Lib. 5

Strabo in Lib. 4

The same Author, agreeing with *Possidonius* and *Artemidorus*, saith, there were certaine *Bacchanalles*, which dwelt in an Island, neighbouring to the Riuer of *Loyre*, and of certaine Auguries done by them, according as two white Crows moued their right wings, which neuertheless is reputed to be fabulous. Therefore that which *Artemidorus* saith, I hold more agreeable to reason, that in an Iland neere to Brittain, such and the like sacrifices were performed, as the *Samothracians* obserued, in the honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. *Caesar* pursuing the selfe-same occasion, saith; that there were others, who had Idols of immeasurable height, the members of whose bodies were framed of Twigs and Ofsers, which beeing filled with liuing men, & set on fire; there they dyed most miserably. Beside, they imagined, that the punishments of such as were apprehended for robberies and thefts, or any such like offences; were most pleasing to the immortal Gods, & these they made most vse of in those Idols. Neuertheless, for want of such offenders, they made no difficulty, in putting honest and innocent persons to the same affliction, whensoever neede and occasion required.

Possidonius in Lib. 2  
Artemidorus in lib. 4.

\* An Isle by that part of Thrace, wher Hebrus faileth into the Aegæum Sea.

Strange manner of Idols, with liuing men in them

*Strabo* writeth the same of their Statues, saying. *They builded a Colossus of wood, many parts whereof, were enterlaced with Straw : and therein they burned all kinde of Beasts, and men also among them.* But *Diodorus* saith, that in making their sacrifices to their Gods, they vsed an impiety answerable to their bestiall nature. For, after they had kept (for the space of five whole yeares) such as were attained and conuined of notorious crimes : they would spit them on stakes, from the fundament to the mouth, and so sacrifice them vnto their Gods. Then placing them vpon high piles of wood, and putting fire to them; this was the manner of their immolation.

Strabo in lib. 3. of their Statues.

Diodo. in Lib. 4

A tyranny yet v'ed among the Turkes.

Pomponius Melain lib. 3. ca. 7.

molation. Pomponius Mela speaketh thus of the Gaules. They are a proud Nation, superstitious, and cruell sometimes: for they verily beleue, that men are the best and most acceptable sacrifices to the Gods.

Of the Statues of the Gods of the Gaules. Plin. in lib. 34. cap. 7.

Neuerthelesse, wee shall not thinke strangely, that the Statues of the Gaules Gods were of such excessiue height: if we but remember only what Pliny saith, in 34. Booke, and seventh chapter. We beheld (saith hee) huge masse Statues of new inuention, which they called Colosses, & were no lower then Towers, but of equall height.

Of the height of diuers Colosses in sundry places of the world.

In the same place hee speaketh of a number, among which he nameth Apollo Capitolinus, being of thirty cubites in height: Iupiter Tarentinus, which was forty cubites high: The Rhodian Sunne, seventy; the thumb wherof, few men were able to embrace. Apollo of Tuscanie, which was in the Lybrary of the Temple of Augustus, contained fifty foote in height, from the feet upward. That of Nero, was an hundred foote high. But ouer and beside, Zenodorus saith, that in his time there was one made in the space of ten yeares, surpassing all other Statues in height & bignesse: being the Statue of Mercurie, of inestimable value; and made in Auuargne, a Common-weale belonging vnto the Gaules, and it contained foure hundred foote in height. Those Statues then of the Gaules Gods, were of wonderfull and extraordinary greatnesse, according as Caesar saith, which they filled full with liuing men, and so made offerings and sacrifices of them.

The Image of Mercury, exceeding all other Statues.

Iul. Caf. in com. Lib. 6.

A cruell and abhominable kinde of Religion.

But you will obiect vnto me, that this manner of religion was cruell and abhominable: whereto I must answer, that such cruelty was common vnto all other Nations, or rather proper and peculiar to the daemons, & familiar spirits of each country. Titus Linius writeth, that such sacrifices were made at Rome, after the ouerthrow at Cannas. He saith more ouer, that in the interim while, certaine extraordinary & vnaccustomed sacrifices were performed, by consultation had with diuers fatall Bookes, wherein a Gaule-man and a Gaule woman, a Grecian man and Grecian woman, in the market appointed for Oxen at Rome, were laide along vpon the ground aliue, in a place round engirt with stones, which had neuer before bene sullied with humane offerings or sacrifices,

A Towne in Apulia, where the Romanes had a great ouerthrow.

Humane sacrifices performed at Rome.

and there they were sacrificed after the Romane ceremoniall manner. This is the affirmation of Titus Linius, and therefore I shall neede to make no further mention eyther of the Arabians, Thracians, Scythians, Egiptians, or Grecians: considering, that Dyonisius Halycarnassens sheweth in the first Booke of Romane Antiquities, that Iupiter and Apollo, (because the tenth borne of euery male childe was not sacrificed to them) sent great and greuous calamities throughout all Italy. Diodorus, in the twentieth Booke of his history, declareth, that (in his time) there was at Carthage, a Statue of Saturne, and such like sacrifices. And it was thought (saith hee) that Saturne was offended with the people, because that in (former times) they were wont to sacrifice to him, the most worthy and best borne of their children. Furthermore, that by the successe of times, instead of their owne children, they bought and entertained others, secretly nourishing the, and afterward sacrificed them vnto their Gods. This being closely and diligently discouered, & an infinite number of these supposed found out, which in that manner had bene sacrificed, they were easily perswaded to beleue, that for this occasion onely, the Gods being displeased, sent enemies to take and sacke their Cities, because they had not continued those honours, which from all antiquity had bin done to the Gods. Wherfore, the better to appease them again, they sacrificed publikely 200. yong men, such as were the choyest & best borne among all their Nobility, and found out three hundred more, which (with their owne good liking, because they perceiued themselues to be suspected) gaue their liues freely to be sacrificed.

Titus Linius in Lib. 6. cap. 11.

Dyonis. Halicar. in An. Rom. Lib. 1.

Diod. in Lib. 20. A Statue of Saturne at Carthage.

Children sacrificed to the Gods.

An easie persuasion to ouer-credulous people.

They had a Statue of Saturne, made of Brasse, which was of wonderfull greatnesse, the hands whereof were extended in round circling manner on the ground, and children, being followed with eager pursuite, were enforced to enter into the roundure, and then fell into a very deepe pit, full of fire. If any man be desirous to haue more ample and certaine testimony heereof: Eusebius, in the fourth Booke & seventh Chapter of his Ecclesiasticall history, recounteth many examples of this Religion, obserued then in diuers Nations. Affirming further, that in the time of

Another Statue of Saturne, of admirable greatnesse.

Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. c. 7

Adrian

*Adrian*, and when the Euangelicall doctrine began to appear in some bright splendour: those abhominable cruelties were commonly abolished, albeit they remained still among the Celts. Neuerthelesse, *Mela* writeth, that they tooke ending in his time. Moreouer he saith, some markes of this brutish cruelty, formerly abolished, yet notwithstanding, whē they brought their offerings to their Altars, which were consecrated and dedicated to be sacrificed, they would make an essay or prooffe of them, and with much deliberation. These then were the sinister & wicked sacrifices of the Gaules, whereof *Lucane* speaketh thus.

*You Druides, after you forsooke your Arms, You fell to savage and barbarous customes Of wicked sacrifices. Only to you was giuen, To know the Gods, and holinesse of Heauen, Or not to know them.*

This shall suffice, for the manner of sacrifices obserued among the *Gauls*. What shall we now say, concerning the ceremonies of the Britaines and Germanes? Already we haue related, what was the manner of behauiour, as also the disciplines of the Britaines. *The Germanes* (saith *Cæsar*) were farre differing from these customs and orders: For they had not their *Druides* to command in diuine matters, and to take care of their sacrifices. They held opinion of such as they beheld, and by whose aide they conceiued themselues to be succored manifestly; that they were worthy to be ranked in number among the Gods: As the *Sunne*, *Vulcane*, and the *Moone*, of others they neuer heard any speech. These are the words of *Cæsar*. But *Tacitus*, ouer and beside these, speaking of the *Germanes* Gods, nameth *Tuiston*, or *Teuton*, a God borne of the earth, and of his Sonne \* *Mannus*, who were the originall and beginners of their Nation. Then of the Sonnes of *Mannus*, by whose names, the neereft neighbours to the Ocean, called themselues *Ingenoues*; and they that dwelt neerer to the middle region, *Hermiones*; and the other *Istenues*. Among other Gods, they worshipped *Mercury*, in the honour of whom, it was permitted them (on certaine dayes) to offer humane sacrifices. They also appeased *Hercules* and *Mars*, by the sacrifices of beasts, which likewise was permit-

ted vnto them. A part or certaine number of the *Sweues*, performed their sacrifices, to \* *Isis*; and yet, the cause and originall of such sacrificing, is not certainly knowne.

*Cæsar*, in his first Booke, attributeth charmes, spels, & incantations to the *Germanes*, which were performed by women. For when *Cæsar* questioned with a prisoner, wherefore *Arionistus* would not bid him battaile: he found it to be a custome among the *Germanes*, that the mothers in their seuerall families, did declare by spels and vaticinations, whether it were profitable to offer battaile, or not, and they would say, that it was not possible for the *Germanes* to be Conquerers, if they gaue the battaile before the new Moone. *Tacitus* speaketh much more of these diuinations, & among the rest, relateth the prefaces and incantations which they most obserued. *The very simplest and most vulgar manner of their diuining* (saith he) *was, by taking a branch cut off from a fruite tree, which they would cut into diuers peeces, with certaine very knowledgable markes made vpon them, and afterward throw or scatter the (casually, and without any regard at all) vpon some white garment. If the matter were to be consulted publikely, then it was done by the Priest of the City. But if it were in priuate, or particularly; the father of the family, hauing made his praier to the Gods, and eleuating his eies vpon to heauen, taketh the peeces of the branch by three and three, and when he hath lifted them aloft, he maketh his interpretation, according as he findeth the marks that were formerly engrauen. If he finde the case to be prohibited, he maketh no other consultation (concerning that matter) that day: but if he finde it to be permitted, then he seeketh further for the truth thereof, by other kindes of predictions, which giueth perfect knowledge in that place, both by questioned voices, and also by the flight of Birds.*

Moreouer, it was proper and particular to this Nation, to make experience of prefaces and aduertisements by horses, which publikely had beene bred in their Woods and Forrests, and were all wholly white, without any spotte vpon them, and had neuer beene labored or employed, or vsed in any seruice of man. The Priest, or the King, or else the Prince of the Cittie, fastening them vnto the sacred Chariot,

F

and

*Pomponius Mela* in lib. 3, cap. 1

*Lucan* in lib. 1.

Of the ceremonies obserued among the Britaines & Germanes. 1st. *Cæsar* in comment. lib. 4.

*Corn. Tacitus* in lib. 2. cap. 1.

\* Sonne to *Teuton*, of whom the *Allemaignes* descended.

*Mercury* their cheefest God in honour.

\* Daughter to the *Kiuer Inachus*.

*Iulius Cæsar* in comment. lib. 1 Of Spelies, Charms, and Incantations performed by the *Germane* women.

*Cornel. Tacitus* in lib. 2. cap. 1

The manner of their diuination, by any branch cut from a fruite Tree.

Prefaces made by horses bred in Forrests and Woods, by the manner of their neighing & noyse.

and going along with thē: did very heedfully regard their neighing and noyses. And there was not any other presage, whereto the people (but especially the very principall persons in the Citty, yea, and the Priests themselues) did giue more credite, then to this: as perswading thēselues that they were the Ministers of the Gods, and came neereft in counsell to thē. They had another obseruation of presaging, whereby they could foretell the issue of their warres, how cruell or dangerous soeuer they were, and how they should succeed. They would take a prisoner of that Nation, with whō they intended to make warre, and he should combate with one of the brauest and most gallant spirits of all their owne people, & with those weapons belonging to the Country. Afterward, the victory of the one or other, turned to the preiudice and disaduantage of the vanquished, and of his Nation.

A prediction for the success of their dangerous wars.

#### CHAP. XV.

*What Ceremonies were obserued among the Gaules, at the times of their Burials, or Funerals, &c.*

**T**HE manner and Ceremonies of their Funerals, are set downe in *Cæsar*. Their Funerals (saith he) are (after the Gaulish brauery) magnificent and sumptuous, with throwing all those things (whatsoeuer) into the fire, which they imagined that the dead person (during his life time) most esteemed and affected, especially his Beasts. And some short while before this memory, such seruants and domesticke attendants, as were iudged to be dearely loued of their Masters (to make the Funerall Ceremony the more intire and compleate) were burned together with the other things. *Cæsar* hauing affirmed this, methinkes *Pausanias* deserueth to be laughed at, when hee saith in the tenth Booke of the warres of *Brennus*: That the Gaules contemned, and held the buriall of their dead in disdaine, because, that by the opinion of such cruelty, they might affright their enemies, not hauing any more pittie on the dead, then on other liuing persons. In this point *Cæsar* refuteth *Pausanias* and *Titus Liuius* also, where he speaketh of the Gaules besiedging Rome, his

words, in the fift Booke of his third Decade, are these. *They heaped and piled men one vpon another, and so burned them indifferently together: because they would not bury them each after other, whereby they ennobled the place magnificently, in imitation, and answerable to the name of the Gaules Sepulchers.*

As for that which *Cæsar* saith, *That all that which was pleasing to the dead person, was cast into the fire with him:* At Rome, into the fire made for *Julius Cæsar* himself, the Trumpeters threw their torne garments; the Legionaries, their Armes; the Matrones their Chaines and Jewels, yea, and the precious purple deckings of their children. *Cæsar* doth not declare apparently, whether the seruants & domesticks were throwne into the fire, liuing or dead: but that he meant the liuing, may easily be coniectured by that which *Mela* saith. *They wer such (saith he) as voluntarily wold cast themselues into the fires made for their parents, kindred, and masters, holding opinion, that so they were sure to liue with them.* We haue such another example, in the 5. of *Ciceroes Tusculanes*, wher it is said; *That the women of India, when their husbands died, had a custome of combate and iudgment, to make prooffe thereby, which of them was best beloued of her husband, for one man had many wiues. She that carried the honour of the combate, being followed and attended by her other companions, was (with great ioy) placed in the fire, and there burned with him: the other that had fought, and lost the day, returned home mourning, and disconsolate to her house.* This cruell manner of behavior, may well keepe company with the other ceremony, of immolating or sacrificing humane oblations.

*Tacitus* speaketh in this manner, concerning the Funeralls of the Germanes. *They bring the bodies of their companions into doubtfull battels, and that there may be found no ambition of glory among them, for interring of their dead: they onely obserue, that the bodies of the most noble, or of greatest apparance, may be burned with certaine wood. They do not heape vpo the pile of wood, neither their garments, or any odours: but only allow to each man his proper Armes, & into the fire of some, they make addition of their horses. One only sod or turffe of earth, is building sufficient for the Sepulcher, they contemne pompous workmanship and honourable labor*

*Ti. Liu in li. 5 Dec. 3.*

Such things as were burned with the dead person at Rome.

*Pomponius Mela. in li. 4. cap. 5.*

*Cicero in Tusculan. 5*  
A custome among the women of India, to try who best affected her husband.

The manner & ceremonies of their Funerals.

*Pausan. in li. 10 de Bel. Bren.*

The manner of the Germanes Funerals, according to *Corn. Tacitus*

labor about Monuments, as being offensive to the dead. Complaints and teares are soon overpast with them; but griefe & sadnesse is of longer continuance: for women to weepe is honest, onely men are to remember.

Plin. in lib. 3. cap. 1. His accusation against the Druides, concerning the Magick-Art.

But Pliny in his thirteenth book & first chapter, speaking of the Sacrifices, & the whole discipline of the ancient Gaules; frets himselfe against the Magick Arts, as fraudulent and deceitfull, seeming to reprove and accuse the discipline of our *Druides* with the same crime. Let no man meruail (saith he of the Art-Magicke) if great authority be giuen to such discipline. Because it onely will comprehend and redigest the three Sciences all into one, which haue most command ouer our humane will.

First of all, no one doubteth, but that it receiue birth & beginning from Physick, and that vnder pretence of yeelding helpe by little and little: it hath vsurped the place, as feigning it selfe to be more high and healthfull, then Physicke, and with such enticing and desirous promises, makes addition of some strength and power of Religion, whereby men (yet to this day) do abuse themselues. And yet to satisfie them better, they haue intermingled the Mathematicks, because there is not any one, but he is very couetous, and desirous to vnderstand future things concerning himselfe, and of his fortune, as beleeuing vndoubtedly, that such knowledge cometh from Heauen. Thus the reason and vnderstanding of men being surprized, and seriously busied in this manner: the discipline is fortified with a triple bond, and growne to such an encreasing greatnes; as euen in these dayes (in most parts of the world) it beares away the reputation from all other, commanding ouer the Kings and Princes of the East. From whence issued the Magickall faction, Persian, Mosaicall, and Ciprian. Finally, the sixe hundred, sixty & seuenth yeere from the building of Rome, *Cnens Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Publius Licinius Crassus* being the Consuls, an Edict was made, that no man was to be offred in sacrifice, and assuredly, the celebration of such prodigious sacrifices vanished away. But contrariwise, the Gaules kept them, euen till our memory: For *Tyberius Caesar* wholly abolished the *Druides*, & such kind of Prophets & Physitions. What menti-

The Mathematicks made a colour to their deceiuing.

Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Licinius Crassus, Consules of Rome.

on shall I make of this discipline, which hath out-stept the bounds of the Ocean, entring into Britanny, where (at this day) it is celebrated with all reuerence, & such ceremonies, as it seemes that they haue taught it to the Persians? It hath attained to such consent with the whole vniuerse, (although it can grow to no agreement, or can well know it selfe :) as we do little conceiue, how highly we are beholding to the Romans, who vtterly abandoned all such monstrous behavior: being formerly fauoured (as a charitable work) to kill and sacrifice men, yea, and a very wholesome thing to eat them.

So far extend the words of *Pliny*, whereby ouer and beside the Arts formerly remembered, he attribureth Physicke also to the Gaulish *Druides*. But he greatly blameth the frauds therein concealed, & deservedly commendeth the Romanes, for excluding such monstrous qualities out of their Empire. But would to God, that they had onely abolished the frauds and deceits in such Arts, and not the true Arts themselues, nor the Schooles and profession of them: For then vndoubtedly, wee should in duty thanke them, and crowne them with honour. But *Pliny* saith, that *Tyberius* wholly ouerthrew the *Druides*. Notwithstanding, the same man discovered Magicke, by some example of the *Druides*, as in the last Chapter of his seauenth Booke, speaking of Glew, or a certaine Gumme, hee hath these words.

We may not omit (saith he) in this case, one admirable matter of the Gaules. The *Druides* (by such name they terme their Magicians) esteeme nothing more precious then Glew and Gum, and that the Tree where it groweth, during the time it hath vigour: they themselues do then make choise in their Woods and Forests, which haue such power to nourish those Gummes, that they will not offer any sacrifice, without the leaues of such a Tree. And it may be very likely, that from the Greeke interpretation, upon this occasion, they were called *Druides*. In briefe, they hold opinion, that that which taketh birth or originall with those Trees, is sent from heauen in signe that such a Tree is chosen of the Gods. Such a Tree is very rare to finde, but being found; they take it with great ceremony and religion, & aboue al other, at the time of the Moons sextile, or sixt Moon, which is the beginning of their

Britaine embraced such sauage behaviour equall with the Gaules.

Physicke attributed to the *Druides*, among the Gaules.

Plin. in li. 17 cap. vlt. Concerning the Glew and Gums esteemed among the *Druides*.

At what time the *Druides* vled to gather their Gums & Glew.

Months and yeares, and of the world after thirty yeares. Because that then she is in her strength, not being in diminution of her moiety, and they terme it by a word in their language, signifying; To be helping in all things. They prepare the sacrifice and a banquet vnder those Trees, bringing thether two Bulles wholly white, the hornes whereof are as yet scarce able to be bound. The Priest, cloathed in a white Robe, mounteth vpon the Tree, and cutteth the branches with a Sickle of Gold, and such as fall, are receiued in a white cloth. Then they offer their sacrifices, making their prayers, that God will make their gift prosperous and happy, for them to whom they intend the giuing. They are of opinion, that such things being giuen in drinke to any sterile or barren body, either of women or beasts; will make them fruitfull, and beside, that it is a soveraigne remedy against all poisons. Thus sometimes a Religion is made among men, in matters meereley frivulous, and not of any importance.

Thus you see what *Pliny* saith, concerning the mysteries of the Gaules Magick, wherein he findes the grecke etymology of the name of the *Druides* (although that it is a Gaulish name, to wit, of *Druyon*, as already hath beene said) as in all languages you may finde infinite words, which (by some conniency) seeme to be deriued from another tongue: as in like manner the Mathematicians, in their moneths and yeares, and the Chronology of their ages, do declare sufficiently, that the Mathematicall disciplines, albeit after the Greekes descriptions, do not alwaies fall out to be one and the same. But let vs pursue some other examples of *Pliny*.

In his one and twentieth Booke, and the eleuenth Chapter, hee speaketh thus. There is a certaine hearbe, like vnto *Sabine*, called \* *Selago*, which is gathered without any yron weapon, by the right hand, thrust into some left-handed gloue or sleeue, in manner of a theefe. And the party must be cloathed with a white garment, hauing his feete naked and cleanly washed: and sacrifice must be performed with Bread and Wine, before any offer of gathering, and modestly brought thether in a new Napkin. The *Druides* of the Gaules haue written, that this hearbe is very soveraigne against any perill or dreaded danger, and also that the smoke thereof is profitable for the diseases in the eies. They haue also another hearbe, which they call *Samola*,

which groweth in moist and waterish places, and they vse to gather it alwaies with the left hand: it serueth against all diseases in Swine and Kine, and whosoever gathereth it, must not (by any meanes) be seene, neither must he bring it into any other place, then a gutter or brooke, and there breake or bruise it in the water, that the Beasts may swallow it in their drinking.

In the same place is recited another Magicke of the Gaulish *Druides*, whereunto (in the third Chapter of the twentieth Booke, written by the said Author) there is another very like euery way. *Moreouer* (saith hee) there are a certaine kinde of Egges, wherof great account is made in Gaul, and whereof the Greekes haue not made any mention. Summer causeth an infinite number of Serpents to heape themselues together, writhing and embracing in a kinde of artificiall hugging: when either by the moisture issuing from their mowthes, or slimy scumme of their owne bodies, that which they call the Serpentine Egge is engendered. The *Druides* say, that (by their hissing or whistling) it is exalted vpon into the Ayre, and in the meane while, it must be receiued downe in some robe or garment, because it may not touch the earth. But he that receiues it, must make great speed away vpon an horse, because the Serpents will pursue him swiftly, vntill they find hinderance by some Kiner or Water. The prooffe and experience thereof is, when it floateth against the water, especially when it is enchafed in gold. But as the cunning of Magicians is well contriued, for the more ingenious covering of their fraud: so they say, that it must be taken in a certaine Moone, as if it were lawfull in humane iudgement, to accord such an operation of Serpents. Verily, I haue seene this kinde of Egge, of the bignesse of an indifferent round apple, bearing a crust or shell like a gristle, seamed with little mowthes or openings, like to them which are on the armes of the *Polypus* or *Pourcontreil*; and the *Druides* holde it for a most notable thing. It is highly esteemed, as for giuing victory in fights and combates, and to haue access to Kings & Princes: by such an abuse, and no other reason that I know, a *Romane* knight of the *Vocontians*, was put to death by the Emperor *Claudius*, onely in regard of fighting, for he alwaies carried such an Egge in his bosome. Neuertheless, the embracing and colligation of Serpents, and the alliance of the most cruell creatures, seemeth to haue

Another  
hearb for the  
help of cattel

*Plin. in li. 20*  
cap. 3.  
Concerning  
the Egges of  
Serpents.

The *Druides*  
opinion of the  
Serpentine  
Egge.

The Author  
aouerheth to  
haue seene  
such an Egge.

A *Romane*  
Knight put to  
death by the  
Emperor, for  
the Serpentine  
Egge.

The ceremonies in the sacrifice of the *Druides*.

A present remedy against barrenness and poyson.

*Plin. in lib.*  
2 I. cap. 11.  
\* A hearb vted much of the *Druides*, for all eyesores, hedgehyfope

beene the cause, whereby strange Nations (as an argument of peace) made a Caduceus of Serpents writhed round about, and it hath beene a custome also, that they should be created on the Caduceus.

Thus hath *Pliny* noted the Serpentine Egge, to proceede from the Gaules Magicke, and that for this cause onely, the Knight was slaine by the Emperour, who stood in feare of this Magicke. Finally, the Romanes, to abolish vtterly the discipline of the *Druides*, tooke occasion by this Magicall superstition: but though impiety, superstition, magicke and vices may be rooted out, yet vertue will continue still sound and intire. Would to God that the Romanes had maintained in like place, and in like number, the Gaules as the Greeks. The Empire hath bene snacht from the Greeks, but Learning and Artes was left with them still. Greeke hath bene constrained to make way for the Latine tongue: but yet continually Grammer, Rhetorick and Philosophy hath bene, and yet is taught in greeke. What greefe then was it to the Romanes, to expulse not onely the Gaulish Iudges from their seates: but the professors also, yea, the very sciences & disciplines of the Gaules out of their Schooles?

*Immortall Gods, the Gaules authentick race,  
You thought to hold true eminence and place,  
And so should still, were gifts in equall grace.*

But we conuert our affections too earnestly, to the glory and honour of our owne particular, which honour we may bemoane, being too greedily carried away with a mighty spleene against the name of the Gaules. But let vs now proceede to finish the rest.

CHAP. XVI.

*Of the Iustice exercised in Ancient Gaule, compared with that of the Romanes, by diuiding the chiefe men into two degrees, of Druides and Knights, and two kindes of Magistrates, with the punishment of disobedience to superior Officers.*



Therto wee haue gone thorough three parts of the proposed labour, to wit; The prudence of discipline; The entire knowledge of truth; and likewise of prouidence. There yet remaineth the fourth part, namely of Iustice, which is Princeesse and Mistresse of all other manners. It behooueth vs then, to seeke for the principality of ancient *Gaule*, and what it was; what power the people had, and what policy was maintained among them: that which we terme the Platonicall good and benefit of Temperance, Fortitude, & of Prouidence, whereby each man hath that belonging to him, without vsürping on any thing appertayning to another.

The Common-wealth, at least that of *Gaule*, whose lockes of hayre beeing long enough in *Casars* time; was meerly Timocraticall, and in many parts very like vnto the Roman liberty, as by that which followeth, hee which will examine things particularly, may easily perceiue. Let vs then obserue what *Cesar* hath said, and especially concerning customes and behaviour. *In all Gaule, or Gallia* (saith he in his sixt Booke) *all men that are of any marke, or made any account of, are diuided into two sorts; to wit, into Druides, and into Cheualiers: for the common people is of no other reckoning, but as varlets and slaues, not daring (of themselues) to do any thing, neither are they admitted to counsell in any matter.* Behold what partition *Iulius Cesar* hath instituted of himselfe, albeit it is not altogether true which he speaketh of the people, as shall at large bee deliuered heereafter, in place more conuenient for the purpose.

In this partition of *Cesar*, There is one (saith he) that Presideth, or is as Pimate ouer all the other Druides, that hath cheefe command and authority of the rest. He being dead, if there be any one among the other, that hath the aduantage in worthinesse or desert: he is to succeed. If there be many of equall parity and condition; he is to be chosen (by voices of the Druides) from among the rest. Diuers times they contend for the soweraignty or Mastership by weapons, and so striue who shall haue the prime place.

Here *Cesar* proposeth two distinct kinds of Magistrats, one to rule or gouern in diuine things, & other in such as are humane and ciuill. Among the *Druides*, he institu-

The fourth part of the intended discourse, namely of the Iustice of the Gaules.

The common-wealth of Gaule in the time of *Cesar*.

*Iul. Cesar in Com. Lib. 6.*

*Iul. Cesar in Com. Lib. 6. ut sup.*

No force or violence can preuaile against vertue, let sinne and shame be rooted vp.

Partiality in affection, can neuer be an vpriight Iudge in censure.

Two kindes  
of Magistrats  
propofed by  
Cæſar in Gaul

teth one, to be as the high or cheef Prieſt, and he defineth his election, to bee eyther by Dignity, or by Suffrages, or by Arms. And there is no great difference, between the institution of the Roman high Prieſt, and this other man: but onely, that at Rome he is annuall or yeerely, & in Gaul it ſeemeth he hath bene perpetuall. That the Druides haue bene ſpread ouer all Gaule, euen in Cities, Townes and Burroughs, their eſtates haue ſhewne ſufficient manifeſtation: for the *Druides* did euer command ouer the three principall parts of the Common-wealth: as in profeſſion of Artes, in iudgments, pleadings, and ceremonies belonging to their ſacrifices. *All the younger ſort* (ſaith Cæſar) *haue their recourſe to them, to be enſtructed by them, and to learne ſciences, as alſo a great number of verſes; ſo that ſome continue there twenty yeares, only to learne knowledge.* And ſurely, an honeſt ſtipend or recompence, can neuer want Maſters to giue enſtruction.

The yong mẽ  
reſort to the  
Druides, to  
learne of the

The Druides  
exempted  
from war &  
taxations.

*The Druides* (ſaith Cæſar) *are not wont to goe to warre, but ſtand exempted from it, and immunity of all other taxationes & charges. So that in regard of ſuch faire acknowledgements and freedoms, there are many that come to bee ranked among them, and to follow the ſtudy of their diſciplines, they are ſent thither by their parents & kindred. Let me now entreate yee, and (euen in honeſt charity) but to obſerue well this place alledged by Cæſar. Can there be any thing more excellent, or more magnificent, then when the Primates of a Country, or the Gouvernors and very greateſt Princes in a Common-wealth, do make profeſſion of diſciplines? Perhaps, ſome will conſider ſweatingly on this point, as though wee would haue the cheefeſt men, and thoſe that are the graueſt in our Citties, to keep Schooles, and apply their paines to enſtruct other. Notwithſtanding, let me tell ye, *Plato* would haue ſuch men (and no other) to take the charge of enſtructing, & deliuering the knowledge of Sciences: becauſe ſuch a place ſhould be as a Seminary or ſeed-plot, of great, iudicious, and learned men, meeete to adminiſter and beare authority in a Common-wealth: wherein the grafts and plants muſt needs be the more rare and excellent; by how much the grafters and planters are moſt vertuous and honourable.*

Plato, his ad-  
vice concern-  
ing men of  
iudgement &  
learning.

I wonder at the opinion of *Pliny*, in many paſſages alledged by him, and eſpecially in this, where he writes: *That with the ancient manners and faſhions of Rome, the Land abounded, & did daily bring forth double encrease. What was the cauſe* (ſaith he) *of ſuch aboundance? The earth was then husbanded by the hands euen of the cheefeſt warriors, and, as it is credible, that the earth ioyed and reioyced, to be honoured with a ſhare or culture crowned with Laurell, and by the labour of a victorius triumphing conqueror: euen ſo did it trauaile and endeuour it ſelfe the more induſtriouſly, to produce the ſeed ſowne in that nature, as to proſper their other warlike proceedings. And the like diligence, for well husbanding the ground, as alſo to order and direct a potent Army, or elſe in all other things, which are performed by noble and honeſt hands: do encrease the more abundantly, and become ſo much the more fertile, by how much they are the more carefully executed. But now adaiies, this faire and honourable myſtery, is exerciſed by ſoule, infamous, and condemned hands, by men that are either theeues, or bawifol, or haue loſt their eares, or branded with ſome ſuch other wicked imputation. Notwithſtanding, the good earth is not deaffe, who being called *Mother*, and bids herſelfe to labour and fructiſe, by a Latine word, called *Coli*, which ſignifieth alſo to do honour, as beeing thence deriued: whereby it plainly appeareth, that whatſoever ſhe now doth or produceth, ſhe doth it but in meere diſdaine, and againſt her owne liking. And therefore we muſt needs meruaile, that no ſuch profits ariſe in the times of theſe labourers, as in the famous daies of thoſe flouriſhing Captaines. So farre extend the words of *Pliny*.*

But by your fauour, do not we conceiue, that it is as conuenable for vs, to ſpeake of the exerciſe of diſciplines, as of thoſe which concerne the earth? Euen ſuch was the fertility and aboundance of the Gaules diſciplines, when in the times of our *Druides*, the Schooles of the *Muſes*, became the Pallaces of Kings; the chaires of Maſters, were the ſeates of Princes; the number of Students, was the company & following of honorable Lords. Then *Pallas* delighted to be in a royall Colledge, vſing one & the ſame Rector & gouernor in the common-wealths affaires, & to declare the Sciences and diſciplines, explicating thoſe enſtructiones in one ſelfe ſame manner,

*Plin. in lib.*  
*22. cap. 4.*  
Of the ancient manners and behaiours of Rome in the earths husbandry.

Good and commendable actions doe euer illuſtrate & manifeſt themſelues.

The Authors answer to the former allegation of *Pliny*, concerning the flouriſhing condition of Rome.

manner, for governing their Commonweales. And by the same discretion and providence, they instituted the rules of Arts, Lawes, and Ordinances: wherein all things increased the more prosperously, and more abundantly (by honest labours) as they were the more diligently and respectfully followed. There were many in those dayes, who being spurred on by such recompences, and the expectation of those proposed honours; addicted themselves (gladly) to apprehend those disciplines; being sent to the same end & purpose (from the remotest parts) by their parents and kindred.

Hereupon, and for the same occasion, *Lucian* was the more willing to haue the Gaulish and *Ogman Hercules* depicted; not onely couered with the despoyle of a Lyon, and a massy Club: but also decrepite, bald, aged, wrinkled, and meager; drawing a great number of Conquered men after him, in chaines of gold fastned to their eares. Their tongues also vvere pierced thorow, and at them hung little Chaines of gold, in such sort, that those valiant disposed and conquered gallants, followed the *Hercules* that drew them, he turning estfoons his face and looks to behold them, with very milde & affable behauiour. And what else was all this, but the eloquence of the *Bardes*, and also the wisdome of the *Sarronides* and *Druydes*; which euen at the first sight (without any more regarding) caused such admirable affection to the same. The great number of Students, which submitted themselves vnder their charge, onely to learn their disciplines and goodly knowledge in so many noble things: figured those Chaines of golde. And euen so the Schollers, hung by the eares at the mouths of their Master, as being taken & bound by his rich words, and the sweet doctrine flowing thence. Then did all disciplines flourish, in regard that the professors of them were rare and excellent. But so soon as by the Romaine Empire, the salary and honour of Learning was taken away and abolished, euen as sodainly was the profession of those Disciplines esteemed and held to bee but a seruite and mechanical thing. Which was the onely occasion, that (necessarily as it were) those honest and liberall studies languished for a long time; and by an ouer-tedious experience,

hath approoued the saying of the Orator to be true; *That Honor is the Nurse of arts, and all hearts are enflamed with the loue of the Sciences, onely in regard of their glorie.* For neuer should any account bee made of such things as are misprized and condemned by euery man.

Thus the losse and burying of the Gauls disciplines, are due to none but vnto the Romaines, by whose tyranny the honour of their profession, and their liberty together, was violently taken from the *Druydes*. Wherefore *Mela* (who flourisht vnder *Claudius* saith. *Now are not the braue and worthy Schooles of the Druydes; because they are become clandestine, and suppressed by other, banished into the deepest & furthest off Forrests.* So that the Discipline of the *Druydes*, was not onely robbed of her former honour, but compelled in meere feare of danger, to hide her selfe in caues and thickest woodes. *Lucane* seemeth to take knowledge thereof with *Mela*, speaking thus of the *Druydes*.

————— *Your dwelling now,  
Is in the strongest and profoundest Forrests.*

*Cesar* also in his fift booke. *The Gauls* (saith hee) *perceiuing from whence the beginning of warres came, held their consultations in the night time, and in desert places.* Likewise in the seuenth booke. *The Princes of the Gaules, in their Councils (appointed in Woods and concealed places) complayned amongst themselves of their seruitude.* Neuerthelesse, we conclude not, neither by the authority of *Mela*, nor of *Lucane*, nor of *Cesar*, that the Colledges of the *Druydes*, that the assembly of Councell, and deliberation of their men of Warre, were in the woods: for that wold appeare rather to be a signe of seruitude and constraint, then of erudition or consultation. But proceede we on to speake of the salary; wages, and honest presents, vsually giuen to the ancient *Druydes*. *The Druydes* (saith *Cesar*) *doe not onely take the reward of their honest profession, but ouer & beside, the Gaules giue them great honor and reuerence. All cases in controuersie, bee they eyther publike or priuate, are referred to their iudgement. If there happen any thing to bee done amisse, or any murther committed: if there arise any dissention, concerning inheritance, succession, or bounds of Landes: they*  
are

The voluntary inclination of the Gaules in former times.

Lucian his picture of Hercules among the Gaules, & the allusion thereof.

The extremity of the Roman Empire, against the Gaules Learning.

The Gaules discipline overthrowen by the Romaines tyranny. *Pomp. Mela* in lib. 4. c. 9.

*Iul. Cas. in com.* lib. 5. & lib. 7.

Of the wages and giftes to the ancient *Druydes*.

*Iul. Cesar in comment.* Lib. 6.

are the men that give sentence, and constitute the reward of well doing, and punishment of misdemeanors. Strabo addeth heereto (I know not how) that by their Magical superstition, they iudge of the fertility of the yeare, according to the multitude of criminall causes.

But proccede we with the rest of *Cæsar*. If there be any man, either a priuate, or publique person among the common people, that wil not obey their ordinances & decrees: he is interdicted from comming to the sacrifices, which is the most greenous punishment in all their Nation. They that stand so interdicted from the sacrifices, are reputed among the number of lewd and wicked people: All men flyes from them, and euery man stands in feare to speake to them, or to keepe company with them, as dreading some Contagion or Plague should happen to them by such frequē-tation. And if they demand Law or Justice, it is denied, and may not be granted them, neyther may they enioy any preferment or honor, or the least reuerence done vnto them by any. But what manner of sentences or iudgements do the *Germanes* obserue? What penalties and punishments are amongst them? It appertaineth to none but *Priests*, who haue the full power of commaunding (saith *Tacitus*) to impose silence in publicke consultation. Morouer, it is not permitted but to *Priests* onely, to chastise, beate, or bind them, not as the paine or punishment of the offence, nor by the commaund of the Prince: but euen as by diuine permission, & as a commandement giuen by God, whom they make account to be then in presence, and to be assisting in their fights. In Warre also they carry certaine Pictures and Images, which they bring away from their hallowed places. The difference of punishment is answerable vnto the delict, Traytors, and such as forsake their Captaines of their Nation, to doe any seruice vnto a Stranger-enemy, are hanged vpon the Trees. Vagabondes, Rogues, ydle liuers, and all such as are noted of foule infamie, are drowned in mudde, or in some Marish place, & covered allouer with filth. The variety of punishment is much respected there, to the end, that the enormity of the offence, may be knowne by the qualitie of the infliction, and that vice may by no meanes be covered. But in crimes of lesser nature, the parties which are conuincd, are condemned in Fines, of a certaine number of Horsses, or other Beasts, whereof one part of the forfeite

is giuen vnto the King, or to the Cittie: and the other part is giuen to him, for whom the penaltie is done, or to his neereſt Kindred.

Returne we now again vnto the *Druides* of the Gaules: for, *Cæsar* deseribeth the times and the places, where they did vse to keepe their Sessions. The *Druides* (saith hee) vpon certaine dayes in the yeare, and vpon the Borders of the *Caruntes* (the which Countrey is reputed to bee the verie middest of all Gaule or Gallia) do vse to keepe their great dayes meeting, in a certaine consecrated place, where all sortes of men, that haue suites or Controuersies, make their Assembly, being obedient vnto the sentences & iudgements of the *Druides*. *Cæsar* doeth not distinguish the times of the yeare, but onely the place, which was on the *Limites* and *Confines* of the *Caruntes*, as being the Center and middle of Gaule, where the *Druides* of all the Countries of Gaule (euen as of all the world) were wont to meete together. Neuerthelesse, the Cittie of the *Caruntes*, named *Chartres*, was (in those ancient times) of much larger extendure, then now it is; and it is very likely, that it contained not onely the *Chartrain* Diocesse, but that also of *Orleance*. For before that *Cæsar* arriued there, it was a Realm, which afterward was put by *Cæsar* into the power of *Tasgetius* the *Carunt*, as himselfe hath written in his 5. booke.

In breefe; it seemeth that the Realme of *Orleance*, which afterwards was a long time maintained to bee a Realme by the *Franconians*, was the very same of *Chartres*: Considering withall, that *Genabium* or *Genaba*, was one of the Townes in the *Caruntes* Kingdome, and seated vpon the Riuer of *Loire*, beeing in the time of *Cæsar* beyond *Orleance*, a farre off by a great many Miles, and which hindered him in his way, when hee went from <sup>a</sup> *Agendicum* to <sup>b</sup> *Gergobia*. But those *Druides* assembled themselues together in that place from all partes, as in the Center of Gaule, according as *Cæsar* hath spoken. I say then, that in all Gaule, and in the Citties, Townes, and Villages of Gaule, there were *Druides*, who gouerned in suites and Controuersies, and likewise in the Ceremonies of Religion: In breefe, the care of all things was committed to them. The *Druides* were then dispersed thoroughout Gaule, as now adayes are the

*Julius Cæsar*  
in *Com. lib 6*

People about  
*Chartres* in  
*Celtica*.

The generall  
meeting of all  
the *Druides*  
of Gaule toge-  
ther.

*Jul. Cæs. in Com-*  
*ment. lib. 5.*

aA Towne of  
*Senons* in  
*Celtica*, cald,  
*Sen* or *Pro-*  
*uence*.  
b The Towne  
of *Cleremont*  
in *Auuergne*.

*Cæs. in com.*  
*ubi supra.*  
Interdiction  
from their sa-  
crifices.

The obserua-  
tion amongst  
the *Germanes*

*Corn. Tacitus in*  
*lib. 4. cap: 2.*

*Priests* onely  
haue the pre-  
heminentie to  
inflict punish-  
ment.

Punishment  
inflicted ac-  
cording to the  
quality of the  
offence.

the men of the Church: notwithstanding the Princes were wont to refer to a common Councell (at certaine times of the yeare) all the suites of their Citizens and subiects, wherein the chiefe Priest of the *Druydes* gouerned onely.

Such (in elder times) was the Councell of the *Amphictiones*, which during the liberty of Greece was kept in *Delphos* (as *Pausanias* report. th in his *Phociques*) & in the middest of Greece. Whereby appeareth, that the *Druydes* of the Gaules, were like to the *Amphictions* of Greece, & their place as sacred in the Chartraine Countrey, answerable to the Temple of *Delphos*, made so famous by the Oracles of *Apollo*. The matter would haue beene a little the more noble, if *Caesar* had called the place *Delphos*, which was consecrated within the limites of the Countrey of *Chartres*. Heerein is shewen the authority, and (almost) royall power, which the *Druydes* not onely held in priuate and particular, but intirely ouer all the people. The profession of Disciplines was in great reputation; the estate of iudgment a most famous authority; the power to performe sacrifices, and to speake of Diuination, appertained vnto royall Maiestie.

The first degree of the Gaulish Commonwealth, was that of the supreme Magistrate; next, the Princes; then, the Chualiers; the people made election according to his aduice, and for his benefit, and the commodity in generall, the Princes gaue him order how to make his warres; and such as did not well by their instruction, they would expulse and banish the. But you may demand of me, how this is to be proued? I will answer from *Caesar*, who speaketh thus in his sixth Booke. *In Gaule* (saith he) *there are, certaine factions, not onely in all Cities, Burroughes, and quarters, but also in euery particular Household, & the Princes or Heads of such Factions, are they whom they conceiue (in their iudgment) to be the worthiest persons for authoritie: by whose aduice and determination, the verie greatest matters of waight or importance, either for publique affayres or Councell, are wholly disposed. Vpon which occasion it seemeth, that this matter hath bin thus ordered from reuerend Antiquity, that none of the meaneest should be destitute of helpe, against a rich or potent superior. For there is no man,*

*that will indure or suffer, that such as appertaine or depend vpon him, shall any way be oppressed or circumvented: for if he offered to do otherwise, hee shall not beare any sway among the people.*

Thus you heare what *Caesar* saith, whereby may be vnderstood, the *Timocraticall* gouernment of a Commonwealth, which *Plato* and *Aristotle* so much commended, and which Greece (being in her libertie, and Italy also) did keepe so carefully: wherein, all the kinds of a iust and equitable policy are comprehended. Note the selfsame reason, in the whole charge of the affaires of Gaule; for there was royaltie in the annuall Magistrate, whereas *Aristocratie* was discerned in the Senate, and briefly, *Timocratie* in the plaine power & authority of the people, by whom the Senators and Magistrates were created. And therefore let vs goe somewhat neerer, and examine the testimonie of *Caesar* a little more narrowly, speaking of the Commonwealth of our Ancestors.

*Such was the freedom and liberty of Gaul* (saith *Caesar*) *that in euery City, Towne, and Burrough, and almost in euery house, there were certaine factions, and it was in such sort, that euery one was permitted to deale closely and vnderhand, by voices and suffrages: so that the very meaneest and simplest, had power to giue their sentence, and deliuer their voyces.* Heere then we are to vnderstand, that the Electors of the Magistrats amongst the Gaules, were such kinde of men. And heereby wee plainly perceiue, that the authority of the people was not small in their Commonwealth: in regard that by voices and suffrages of the people, the Magistrates were then created. But what was hee that had the power to make election of these men? He that was reputed to be in the greatest authority, & beside, all the affayres of consequence, and the whole deliberation of the Councell came onely to him. But why was it requisite, that so much authority should be in one Magistrate? *Caesar* himselfe makes answer vnto this Obiection. Because (vpon this occasion) it seemed that Antiquity (venerably) had so instituted it: to the end, that no man among the people (how meane or poore soeuer) should stand in neede of ayde against the richest oppressor. For he might not indure that any of his faction should be oppressed or circumvented. This then was the end of the

A common Councell, or generall meeting for all suites.

\*A noble Councell in Greece, so named of Amphictyon the son to Helonus, who appointed the same. *Paus. in lib. de Phocis.*

The royal power and authority of the Gaules *Druydes*.

The order & degree of the Gauls Commonwealth.

*Inl. Caesar in Com. lib. 6.* Particular factions throughout Gaule, in euery City, Towne, and Village.

The Timocraticall gouernment of a Commonwealth allowed by *Plato* & *Aristotle*.

*Caesar in comment lib 6*

Authority of the people amongst the Gaules in creation of their Magistrates.

The voyce of the people in election of their Magistrates.

The punishment of one that beginneth well, and neglecteth his care of the weal-publike.

The politicall authoritie of the people.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 7.

\*Marfiles in France, a citie in Prouence, which was as famous for Learning as Athens. Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 9.

Iul. Caf. in comment. Lib. 1.

the Magistrate, and the reason why the people said; *We will not haue this man, except by his vertue, and by his authority, he do defend that no man offer vs iniury. We will not haue this man, because he is both bad and ignorant.*

But if a good Prince, who (at the beginning) hath made prooue of his vertue, happened afterwards to change his manners; and, as one that hath no longer care of the weale-publike, proposeth his owne particular profit before the publike, and carry himselfe otherwise then the Ordinances of the people haue commanded: he is excluded and banished, and (as *Cæsar* saith) *Deprived of all power and authority among his owne people.* And to the end that this might not be imagined to be obserued in some one City only, *The selfesame course (saith Cæsar) is kept thoroughout all Gaule.* Heerein then may be noted, the politicall authority of the people, when Magistrates are not onely chosen by the people, but also depofed & expelled. But *Cæsar* saith nothing, whether this principality was constituted in the authority of many, or of one onely, neither for how long time it continued. Neuertheless, *Strabo* (in his fourth book) defineth both the one and the other, saying: *There were many kinds of Aristocratical policy, in ancient times they elected euery yeare a Prince, as the people elected a Chiefe or Commander for the warre.* Thus wee see, what *Strabo* saith: but a matter so goodly and commendable, should bee enriched with some examples.

*Cicero* hath so highly extolled the commonwealth of the *Massylians*, that before the people of Rome, in the defence of *Fonteinus*, hee sayde: That the Discipline and grauity of the City of \* *Marfiles*, deserued not onely to bee preferred equall to Greece, but almost with all other Nations of the world. In that City (sayth *Strabo*) there were fixe hundred Senators, whome they tearmed *Timouches*, as men honourable, and who (all theyr life time) enioyed that honour: from foorth of which number, were elected and chosen fiftene Princes, to iudge such suits & causes, as happened day by day amongst them. And questionlesse, these were the fixe hundred *Marfilians*, and the fiftene cheefest men among them, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh in his first booke. But let vs

go on with the words of *Strabo*. *Out of these fiftene (saith hee) they elected three, which had the most authority and power.* In this manner *Strabo* describeth the Common-wealth of the *Massilians*, which neuertheless I alledge not as a name of *Gaule* onely, because it was better beloued and esteemed to be Greekish, rather the *Gaulish*: but also, because none of those *Timouches* was to bee elected, that had not bin a childe borne there, and had not bene a Citizen, euen to the third race or descent, as the same *Strabo* saith. Vpon this occasion, *Aristotle* (and very desertfully) calleth the Common-wealth of the *Massilians* *Oligarchia*, and not *Aristocratia*: for this declareth her *Oligarchie*, that Princes were not elected by their vertue, but in regard of their race.

I doe not alledge (I say) this Commonwealth, as an example of the *Gaules* Common-wealth: I desire to deliuer their owne true estates indeed, and those that truly were of *Gaule*, and first of all in generall of all *Gaule*; next, of the Nations, and then particularly of euery Citie. The seauenth Booke of *Iulius Cæsar*, shall serue as a sufficient Testimonie in my common example, wherein *Gaule* is intirely described, both in orders, and all reuennues: albeit in the seauenth yeare of the warres in *Gaule*, great store of the afflicted Townes and Citties, had diminished much of their reuennues. First (by a Common Councell) *Vercingetorix* was elected for cheefe Commaunder, as *Cæsar* himselfe saith, when the *Hedwans* fought, that the Empire might bee giuen to them, as the matter came then in controuersie. *The whole Councell of Gaul (saith hee) was called at a Bibracte or Beaulne, where arriued a great number of men, and the Election was appointed to the most voyces: but by generall consent it was concluded that Vercingetorix should be Emperor, & the chiefe Leader of their Armies.* Onely *Cæsar* saith, that the men of *Rhems*,<sup>b</sup> the<sup>c</sup> *Lingones*, and the<sup>d</sup> *Treniraines*, were not present at this Councell: but hee maketh no mention at all of the *Aquitaines*.

Afterward, when *Vercingetorix* was befiedged neere to<sup>e</sup> *Alexia*, the *Gauls* then called another Councell; wherein was ordained, that a certaine number of martial men should command ouer euery towne. And it was concluded, that fixe & thirtie

The nature of the timouches election among the people.

The Common-wealths trulie of *Gaule*, and according as they were in the 7. yeare of the *Gaulish* warre,

a Bibrax the Towne of Bray, in the country of Rochell in France.

b A Towne in Champaigne in Belgica.

c Langres in the iurisdiction of Tull in Celtica.

d Triers, and the Country thereabout

e Now called Ailet, Lamfoys, or Alysa.

thou-

The powers that commanded over the feueral towns and Citties.

thousand men should command the *Heduanes*, and their neighbors the *Secusians*, *Ambinaretis*, *Aulerkes*, *Bramnouikes*, & the *Bramnonians*. The like number was appointed to the men of *Auverne*, together with the *Cadurcians*, *Heluterians*, *Gaballes*, and *Vellaunians*, who were vnder the dominion of the *Auvernians*. To the *Sequanans*, *Senones*, *Riturgianes*, *Santorigeans*, *Ruthenes* and *Carantes*, were appoynted twelue thousand men. To the *Bellouacanes* ten thousand, and as many to the *Limosines*. To the *Poitteuines*, *Tourangeans*, *Parisians*, and *Heluetians*, eight thousand to each. To the *Suessiones*, *Amiangeans*, *Mediomatricians*, *Petrocorians*, *Neruians*, *Morines*, and the *Nitiobrigians*, five thousand to each. To the *Aulerkians* and *Cenomanians* as many. To the *Atrebatians* four thousand. To the *Bellocastrians*, *Lexobians*, and *Aulerkes Eburones*, three thousand to each. To the *Rauracians* and *Boians*, two thousand a peece. To all the Citities that border vpon the Ocean, and (according to their manner) are called <sup>a</sup> *Armorica*, six thousand.

Here we haue a view of the publique Councell, vniuersally obserued throughout Gaule, and one selfesame manner of behaiour, and answerable to the *Amphyctiones*, of assigning by a Councell publique, the estate and reuennewes of euery City. Notwithstanding, one onely man did not command ouer all these Companies: but there were foure captains, with whom were ioyned some Councillors of these Citties. *Caesar* in the same place saith; *That the whole charge of these Affayres of the Empire, was giuen to Cornius the Atrebatian, to Viridomarus, to Eporedorix the Heduanes, and to Vergasillanus of Auvergne, Cosine Germane to Vercingetorix by the mothers side: and vnto them were assigned certaine other chofen persons of the Citties, as Councillors for the warre.* Neuerthelesse, we may obserue, if in all the Gaulish Nations, the same estate of commonwealth was kept, as among the *Celts*, *Belges*, and *Aquitanes*.

In the time of the warre in Gaul, it neuer hapned, that the *Celts* kept the like ceremony of Councell: for the greater part of them were associated with the *Romaines*, either by amity or alliance, or by what kind of dutie else, I know not. Notwithstanding, in the war of the <sup>c</sup> *Venetes*,

a coniuration was made of the *Armorican* Citties, the <sup>d</sup> *Venetes*, the <sup>e</sup> *Osisines*, the <sup>f</sup> *Lexobians*, the <sup>g</sup> *Nannets* or *Nannetians*; the <sup>h</sup> *Diablinters*, the <sup>i</sup> *Curiosolites*, the <sup>k</sup> *Vuellians*, the *Ambiliates*, and the *Eburones*. Suddenly were *Ambassadurus sent* (saith *Iulius Caesar* in his third booke) and by aduice of their Princes & Noblemen, they conferred together, to do nothing without Councell, and to abide such disasters as Fortune should send vnto them, Solliciting the rest of the Citties, to chöose rather to continue in the liberty which they had receyued from their Ancestors, then to endure the seruitude of the *Romaines*. Neuerthelesse, the cheefe Head or Commander of all the Army, is not named by *Caesar* in any part whatfoeuer. And yet in the publique councell of the *Belgians* (whereby was plainly and openly determined against *Caesar*, the intire liberty of all *Gallia*;) the maine and eminent charge of the affaires (by the wil and consent of all men) was put on *Galba* King of the <sup>k</sup> *Suessiones*, as well in regard of his owne good deseruing, as for his wisdom and prouidence.

In this warre at that time, the <sup>l</sup> *Bellouacanes* contributed to the number of three score thousand armed men; the *Suessions* fifty thousand; as many the *Neruians*, the *Atrebatians* fifteen; the *Ambians* ten; the *Morines* nine and twenty; the <sup>m</sup> *Menapians* seven; the *Caletines* ten; the *Velocastrians* & *Veromanduans* as many; the *Aduaticians* nineteene; the *Condrusians*, *Eburones*, *Ceresians*, *Pemansians* (which al by one name are called *Germanes*) forty thousand. Here is to bee seene a Common Councell indeede, and therby likewise, the intire power and authority of euery Cittie. Such a coniuration also was amongst the *Aquitaines*, of whom *Caesar* writeth thus. *Then the Aquitaines began to send forth Ambassadors, and to enterchange Hostages, to muster men of warre, and to craue ayde of the Cantabrians their Neighbors: as also to elect for their Captaines, certain men that had serued (all their time) with Q. Sertorius, & therefore were reputed to bee most expert in the actions of Armes.* It is then plaine and apparant by the places before alleadged; that the policy proposed by *Caesar*, was not onely common to all Gaule: but likewise generally in recommendation to all the Nations.

d People of Landriquer in Britaine.  
e Of Londull, in little Britaine.  
f Of Nautes in Britaine Britonant.  
g Of Cornwel in little Britaine.  
h Of Perche.  
i Of Auräche in hle Britaine.  
k Of Liege in Belgica.

k The people of Soylons in Belgica.

l The people of Beauoyfin in Celtica.

m The people of Gelderlād & Cleueland.

*Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 4.*

n The people of Biscay in Spaine.

a The whole Country of little Britaine.

4. Captains to ioyn with the other Councillors.

b Artois in Belgica. *Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 7.*

The Celts did differ from the Gaules in the ceremony of Councell.

c The people of Vannes in Britaine.

CHAP. XVII.

*Of the forme of Government obserued in the Common-wealths of the severall Citties and Nations: and what their Rulers and Magistrates were: as also how they attained to their authority.*

The particular government in euery Common-wealth of the Nations.



LET vs now particularly illustrate the Governments in the Commonwealths of the Nations and Citties of the people. And first of all, let vs speake of the Celts, among whome the Heluetians haue bene reputed to be the most braue and valiant Nation. What administration & government of Commonwealth hath bene obserued in their cheefest City? The City of the *Heluetians* was situated betweene *Rhein* & *Rhone*, as also the Mountaine *Iura*, in a triangular forme or shape, hauing twelue towns, and foure hundred Villages, & the whole diuided into foure Regions: yet not for warre onely, but likewise for iustice, and for doing right to all men. There were two, named by *Cesar* himselfe, *Tigurine* and *Verbigenia*. These Regions were as one Parliament, that had the whol charge of the affairs of the Realme, and for matters of consequence, were wont to come into a publike Councell; where for the Election of a Prince, hapned a coniuration amongst them of the Citie, to burne all their Townes, Burroughes, and Villages, to forsake their own limites, and by force to seize and surprize the kingdome of the Gaules.

The situation of the Heluetians in their Cities, townes and villages.

\*The Canton of Zurich.

Orgetorix cheefe in the conspiracie against the Heluetians, which hapned to be reuealed, and hee imprisoned.

For the better execution of this enterprize, *Orgetorix*, one of the most apparant and Noblemen was made choise of; and this act declared at the first, euen a meere and certaine *Timocraticall* affliction. *Orgetorix* overcome with a couetous affection of Soueraignty and reigning, imbraced this Conspiracy: but the issue requirith obseruation, after the matter came to be discouered. This happening to the knowledge of the Heluetians, by some presumptions and coniectures; *Orgetorix* was taken prisoner, and they would haue

compelled him (according to their manner) to confesse the truth: which if it fell out to be approued, their Law condemned him to be burned with fire. *Orgetorix* summoned to this Sessions al his friends, kindred, and alliance, who were in number ten thousand men, together with his seruants and debtors, who were a great company, that they might assit in the case of iudgement. Hee preuayled so well by this multitude of men, that hee freed himselfe from answering to his enditement, or disclosing vppon what occasion hee was incited to this matter of conspiracy.

In the meane space, while the Cittie (being offended) sought to maintain the execution of their Lawes by the sword, & the Magistrates mustered men from all parts: *Orgetorix* dyed in prison, not without suspition (as the Heluetians imagined) of murdering himselfe. *Kingdomes* (saith *Cesar*) were bought in Gaul, by such as were most potent and abounding in riches, and such as had the meanes to command most men at their pay. But what these kingdoms were, is easily to be coniectured, by the example of *Orgetorix*, and by others beside, whereof we are to speake hereafter. The Commonwealth then of the Heluetians, was parted in this manner by Regions, as at this day that of the Switzers is, who vsurp and make vse of the borders of the Heluetians. Next, there were three great Cities of the *Heduanes* and \* *Aruernians*; let vs now suruey these Commonwealths, and first that of the *Heduanes*, who were the very brauest and most valiant people, when *Cesar* made his warre in Gaul. Let vs make a good obseruation of this Commonwealth, and how (in three kindes of a iust and commendable government) it was iudicially ordered & maintained.

By a yearly election of Priests, in a certaine place, at a certaine time, & of diuers descents, amongst the *Heduanes* was chosen one called a *Vergobret*, who had full power as a King, and absolute authoritie of life and death; but he was not permitted to go forth out of their iurisdictions. *Cesar* in his first booke, making mention of the *Heduanes*, speaketh in this maner. After he had summoned together the chiefe Noblemen and Princes in his Campe; amongst whom were *Diuitiacus* and *Liscus*, who at that

Orgetorix supporteth his bad cause by power.

Orgetorix thought by the Heluetians to kil himselfe in prison. Iul. Caf. in com. lib. 1.

\*People by the Riuer of Leyre in France

The election year by year of a Vergobret among the Heduanes

Iul. Cesar in comment. Lib. 1

that time was the cheefe Magistrate, and by the *Heduanes* called *Vergobret*, created yeare by yeare, & having power of life and death.

The rest is reported in the seauenth Booke, where is declared how the Senate and people of the *Heduanes*, were in a great sedition about their Magistrate, for the appeasing whereof, *Cæsar* was called: these are his own words. *The Princes Ambassadors of the Heduanes, came to Cæsar & intreated him, that he would come to succour their Citie, especially in a time of such necessity, when their Common-wealth was in great danger. For whereas (in former time) they were wont to haue but one Magistrate yearely, who had authority Royall: now there were two that bare that Office, yet both making their vaunt, to bee created by order of Law. One of them was called Conuictolitane, a man in the floure of his youth, of great power, and well allyed: the other named himselfe Cottus, of a most ancient race, and one that was able to doe much: whose brother, named Valetiacus, had borne the same Office the yeare before. Moreouer they sayd, that all the City was vp in Armes, that the Senate and the people were diuided, each holding apart their seuerall factions: And if this mutinie should bee suffered for any long time among them, and no other means of help were afforded, they would make prize and bootie of one another, and all must goe to generall ruine.*

*Cæsar*, though he knew it to be a dangerous matter, to forbear his wars, and depart from his enemy: yet, in regard he was not ignorant what great inconueniences do grow out of such dissentions; and fearing withall, that such a Cittie, so well allyed to the Romane people, which he had alwayes maintained, and furnished with all things he could deuise; least also the part that was most distrustfull of him, should send for ayde to King *Vercingetorix*, he resolved to go thither, & preuent the perill betimes. And because, by the Lawes of the *Heduanes*, the cheefe Magistrate might not absent himself out of the countrey, as doubting thereby, that hee should diminish any part of their right & Lawes; hee went himselfe in person vnto them, and called before him al the Senat, and they also among whom the strife had happened. When the whole Cittie was (wel-neere) assembled together, and hee was fully informed, that by the consent

of a few, priuily congregated together in an vnmeete place, and at an vnlawfull time; vnderstanding withal, that one brother had subrogated the other in his place, contrary to the lawes, which plainly did prohibite, that two of one Linage and family (being both liuing) should not onely bee disabled from creation in the Magistracie, but also not admitted into the Senat: *Cottus* was compelled to giue ouer his Office, and *Conuictolitane* (who according to the custome of the City, vpon the ceasing of the former Magistrats, had bene created by the Priestes) had the full authority appointed to him. *Cæsar* wrote all this himselfe, about the commotion of the *Heduanes*, whereby most clearly appeareth: that the royall dignitie was in the *Vergobret*, and the authority of the Seigneurie in the Senate; and finally, the Democraticall power in all the people.

But to know what, and how noble this City vvas, vve need no more then to look vpon so many Towns, as were in the protection of the *Heduanes*, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh in his Commentaries. Among them of greatest note in this Commonwealth, is *Bibraet* named, whereunto *Cæsar* (as he writeth in his first booke) meant to go (as to the principal place of the *Heduanes* Nation) to haue Corne of the *Heduanes*. And to this place (as it is recorded in his seauenth booke) *Litauicus* had withdrawne himselfe, because this vvas a Citie highly authorized among the *Heduanes*; and there the Magistrate *Conuictolitane*, with a great part of the Senat came vnto him. Thither also were all the hostages of Gaule brought, when *Cæsars* Guards vvere slaine at *Nouiodunum*. And there likewise vvas assigned the Council of all Gaule, against *Cæsar*: and thither also (finally) *Cæsar*, after that he had recovered the *Heduanes*, betooke himselfe to winter for that season. This City (I say) was the very principal of the *Heduanes*, & (as the ambassador said in the Panegyrick of *Constantine*) it vvas after called *Julia*, *Pollia*, *Florentia*, *Flavia*. Moreouer (in his 7. booke)<sup>a</sup> *Cabillone*, & <sup>b</sup> *Matiscon* on <sup>c</sup> *Arar*, are named among the *Heduanes*, and *Nouiodunum* on <sup>d</sup> *Lezere*. These that I haue named vvere their Tributaries, but their honors were the greatest in all Gaul. For the *Biturigijs*, vvhich in elder times vvere the ancient Kings of the Gaules; the *Senones*,

*Cæsars* sentence concerning this important difference.

*Bibraet* a cheefe Cittie among the *Heduanes*, & whereto *Litauicus* had made his retreat.

<sup>a</sup> The Towne of Chalons in Burgundy.   
 <sup>b</sup> The Riuer Soane.   
 <sup>c</sup> *Matiscon*, a city of Celtica by the Riuer Soane, now called *Macon*, or *Macon*.   
 <sup>d</sup> *Lezere*, *Loyre*.

The *Heduanes* in sedition about theyr Magistrate *Iul. Cæs. in comment. Lib. 7.*

Two Magistrates instead of one, *Conuictolitane* & *Cottus*.

Great dangers grow out of particular variations.

*Cæsar* goeth in person, to appease the dissention amongst the *Heduanes*.

§The People of Beaucey-fine in Celtica.

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 6.

Plin. in Lib. 9. cap. 17. & 18

The Commonwealth of the Aruernians, and the extendure thereof.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 7.

The two famous batels of the Gaules.

Titus Linius in lib. 61. cap. 10.

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 1.

and (by the same meanes) the *Parisians* (who were in the protection of the *Senones*) and the *Bellouacanes*, are called by *Caesar* their Clients, as being vnder their protection. So then, the City and Commonwealth of the *Heduanes*, had the most absolute authority in all Gaule anciently: according as hee hath written in his sixt Booke, but as wee may sooner see in his first booke; at all times it had the principality throughout Gaule, especially before it had aspired to the friendship of the Romane people. But after that the *Heduanes* were called Cousins and Brothers to the Romaines: what decrees of the Senate, how many times, and in what honourable manner were they pronounced on their behalfe? VVe see then, that such and so great a City of Celtick Gaul, hath had this *Democraticall* Commonwealth, and *Pliny* numbers it not among the Tributaries, but among the Cities allyed together.

Now, concerning the commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, it was sometime the cheefest of Gaule; for (anciently) there were two leagues throughout Gaule, as we reade in the first booke: the *Heduanes* were the ring-leaders of the one, and the *Aruernians* of the other. And *Strabo* hath related in his 4. booke, that that of the *Aruernians*, was more potent thē the other; extending their Seignery so farre as the confines of the *Narbonians* and *Masilians* to the Pyrenean Mountaines, to the Ocean, and to the *Rhine*. In like manner he speaketh faithfully, concerning two cruell battailes of the Gaules, giuen vnder the conduct of *Bituitus* the *Aruernian*: and *Strabo* reporteth them in the same place, & *Titus Linius* in his 61. booke. The one was against *Domitius*, at the confluent of *Sulgo* and of *Rhone*; and the other against *Fabius* at *Tisara* & the same *Rhone*: whereby we may plainly perceiue, that ther was the same forme of Commonwealth, as formerly we haue spoken of.

For the Romane Senate, as it is in the first booke, being willing that the vanquished Gaules, or repulsed (at least) from the confines of the Roman Prouince, should continue in their franchises and liberties: nay, which is more, to the end that Gaule might remaine in the greater libertie; ordained, that *Bituitus* himselfe (King of the *Aruernians*, according as *Titus Linius* ter-

meth him in his 61. booke) who was gone to Rome to purge himselfe, should be kept in guard within *Alba*: but *Congentiatius* his son was taken and brought to Rome. Afterward, *Celtillus* the Father of *Vercingetorix*, although he had held the principall place of all Gaule in a warre, yet notwithstanding, because hee pretended to make himselfe King, as it is the 7. booke, the City put him to death. *Vercingetorix*, by the meanes of his own people, was saluted as King of the *Aruernians*, and likewise it is said in the same book, that all the Gaules called him King: neuertheles, vpon the same occasion hee was charged with treason, and hee came in iudgement before them as soueraine Iudges, and in the end, couetousnes in desire of rule, proued alike to the father and son.

Thus the Kings were excluded out of the Commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, & they remained at liberty, euen to the time of *Caesar*. And *Pliny* (in his time) remembereth it amongst the Cities of the *Celtes*, which were at freedom: and then it had no lesse protection, then they of the *Heduanes* as is already made manifest by the numbring of military forces formerly declared. The city then of the *Aruernians*, hath anciently bin the Lady ouer that of the *Heduanes*, and after that, the *Heduanes* affected rather to bee brethren and cosines of the *Romanes*, then of the *Aruernians*: they became like vnto them in habits and manners. And when at the last coming of *Caesar*, the *Heduanes* were overcome & spoiled by the *Germanes*, yet were they then far greater in forces. Finally, when (by the courtesie and fauor of *Caesar*) the *Heduanes* were not only replanted in their former condition, but it plainly appeared that they had more countenance and authority, then euer before: yet the other were equall to them, and alike in wealthie possessions. But in fauour and esteem throughout all Gaul, they were much greater, as the election of *Vercingetorix* hath sufficiently shewne. VVherefore we may perceiue, that the liberty of a Commonwealth remained in these two cities of *Celtike Gaul*. For the remainder of the other that were of meaner ranke, hee speaketh not so much as of any one King, or of a Prince: but only we heare no other name, then of the people, and of the City.

The city of the *Senons*, was accounted among

Bituitus & his son Congentiatius sent to Rome to the Senate.

Vercingetorix and his father both put to death.

King expelled out of the Aruernians commonwealth.

The Heduanes ransacked and spoiled by the Germanes.

The freedom of a commonwealth, in two Celtike Gaul Cities.

\*People of Sens in Celtica.

among the principals, and of great authority among the Celts. Of some store of Towns that were vnder it, *Caesar* hath named two, *Agendecum* & \* *Vellaunodunum*. *Caesar* wrought by certaine meanes, that *Canarinus* was their King; because *Moritasgus*, brother to *Canarinus* and his ancestors, had held the same authority in that realme; for *Caesar* had vndertaken this colour, only to establish a kingdome there. Neuerthelesse, the *Senones*, although *Caesar* was present, essayed by a councill publike, to put *Canarinus* to death. And as he (having intelligence thereof) fled away, they pursued him so far as the Frontiers, expelling him from his house & kingdom. The commonwealth of the *Parisians* was the like, by that which we reade in his 7. Booke. For the *Parisians*, by a Common Councell of diuers Citties, vndertooke warre for the liberty of their country, electing *Camulogenus* to bee their commander, by reason of the experience he had in actions of Armes, and the good will they bare vnto him.

*Carnutum* also was a great City, as already hath bin shewn, & *Caesar* wrought the like meanes to establish a kingdome there. Among the *Carnutes* there was one *Tasgetius*, a man descended of a great place and whose Ancestors had held dominion in that City. *Caesar* (as he saith himself) in regard of his vertue, and for the good will he had found in him, because he had bene a great helpe to him in all the wars, planted him in the same place which his Ancestors had held. He had reigned but 3. yeeres, when his enemies being authorized by many men of the city, openly slew him. These Citties then had their *Bruti*, as well as Rome. So *Caesar* named the Senate of the *Eburones*, *Lexobians*, and *Venetes*. At the same time, *Tentomatus* was king of the \* *Nitiobrigians*, but by a publike Councell of Gaul, hee yeelded obedience against *Caesar*. This may serue as sufficient, concerning the gouernment of the *Celts* Citties.

What then is to be said of the Citties of the Belgians? By what manner of Empire were they particularly gouern'd? The extendure of the men of *Rhemes* was very great: because it ioyned with the *Sequans*, *Mediomatrices*, *Treuirians*, *Veromanduans*, and the *Suessiones*. Notwithstanding, in all these parts, he nameth but two towns

or Citties, <sup>c</sup> *Durocotorum* and *Bibrax*. In the sixt Booke, the councell of Gaule was assigned at *Durocotorum*; and in the second booke *Bibrax* was besieged. Concerning the men of *Rhemes*, in the time of *Caesar*, they hadde the managing of the Gauls, and held the second place in dignity, next to the *Heduanes*. *Caesar* nameth their Senate, and the Prince and Prouost of the city; as that *Vertiscus*, whereof wee haue already spoken.

In the time of *Caesar*, the *Suessiones* had *Diuitiacus* as their king, who was the most powerfull man in all Gaul, and who opened a great part on this side of the country which he helde, holding also the Empire of Great *Bretaigne*. After *Galba* (of whom he hath spoken) he succeeded. But we may vuell perceiue hereby, what manner of kingdome this was: in regard that the *Suessions* (who were brothers & coufines to the men of *Rhemes*) vsed the same course of authority, and the same lawes, having one and the same Gouernement; and one Magistrate, as they had. For such are the vvords of *Caesar* himself, by vvhom one only Magistrate was allowed in their cities. But yet notwithstanding, the *Suessiones*, although they were brethren; yet they had a field (apart) of great largeness, and very fertile, and twelue towns, vvherof *Caesar* nameth onely one, vvchich is *Noiudunum*, and vvchich *Caesar* (after the *Belgians* were retired to him) passing thorough the countrey, essayed to surprize. But hee could not compasse it, by reason of the deepnesse of the ditch, and height of the wall: and yet there were but verie few people to defend it.

We come now to the *Bellouacanse*, what kind of commonwealth was kept among them? These men were highly esteemed vvith the Belgians, for their vertue, authority & number of people. For their extendure was from the limits of the *Suessions*, & also from the *Normans*, so termed at this day (euen there vvhere the riuer of <sup>b</sup> *Seine*, throwes it selfe into the sea) so far as *Callete*, knowvn by the name of *Callice*. *Caesar* nameth *Bratuspantium*, a city of the *Bellouacanes*. But by vvhat forme of commonwealth did they gouern their city? They chose their Princes, as (among other) *Corbus*, vvho though his Army had bin defeated; yet vvould he neuer for any discomfort hapning, or possible to befall him; nei-

<sup>c</sup> The City of Rhemes in France.

<sup>c</sup> Diuitiacus K of the Swetsiones, and held the Empire of Great Britain

A Towne in Belgica, neere to Paris, calld Noyon.

<sup>c</sup> Belgari. 68. discussum.

<sup>b</sup> Rising nere the borders of Langres, and low Bourgundy.

\* Villenufin Loraine.

Canarinus K. of the Senons but expelled by them.

<sup>c</sup> Jul. Caf. in com. lib. 7. The commonwealth of the Parisians.

The Citie Chartres in Lionnois.

Tasgetius K. of the Carnutes, slain by his enemies.

\* People of Mount-pelier in Celtica.

The commonwealth obserued among the Belgians.

ther forsake the fight, nor retire into the woods, but fought valiantly, & in wounding many, compelled his conquerors to runne in vpon him, and so to kill him in their rage and fury. *Caesar* also maketh mention of the Senate of the *Bellouacanes*, and authority of the Comminalty; whēce ensued the excuse, which the Senate of the *Bellouacanes* made to *Caesar*: That during the life of *Corbus* the Senate had neuer the like power in the City, as the common ignorants had.

But now concerning the most potent Citie of the *Neruians*, after what manner of order wer they gouerned? The body of the *Neruians*, is diuided into members of diuers names, as of *Hannonia*, *Flāders*, and *Brabant*, and the name of the *Neruians* signifieth no more then a Citie or Towne, including (as now adayes our words are) of *Hannoyers*, *Flemings*, & *Brabanders*. And why you may aske mee? Whereto I can make no other answere, then as already I haue done, when as the *Neruians* had neither Towne or City: but I will discourse the bounds and limites of that sometime most noble Citie, according as *Caesar* himselfe hath described it; obserue then what I shall say vnto you.

When the *Ambians* had submitted themselves, *Caesar* went thither, to goe to the *Neruians* which were theyr Neighbors. And hauing made three daies iourney into the Country of the *Neruians*, he found by report of some that hee had taken: that there was no more then tennē miles distance from his Campe to the riuer *Scaldis*. This *Scaldis*, which passed thorough the middest of the *Neruians* Country, runneth now through the middest of *Henault*: wherefore the Country of the *Hannoyers*, is comprehended within y of the *Neruians*. Of *Caesar* himselfe wee may learne the limites of the countrey of *Flanders*, which is in firme land, and also of *Brabant*, for there is a passage in the fift book, which maketh well to this purpose. VWhen *Ambiorix* (after that *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, Lieutenants Generals, were ouercome with a Legion and fīue Companies neere to *Vatuca*, which is in the *Eburones* land) exhorted the *Neruians* to doe the like to the Legion that passed the winter season to their country, vnder the charge of *Quintus Cicero*. Hee perswaded easily (saith *Caesar*) the *Neruians*, and there-

upon dispatched messengers immediately to the *Centrones*, *Grudians*, *Leuakes*, *Pleumosiāns* and *Gordunes*, who were all vnder their obedience, and ioyned together the greatest forces that they were able to make. These are the very words of *Caesar*. But the *Grudians* & *Leuakes* were enskirted with *Lo-uane*, in the Countrey of *Brabant*; and the *Gordunes* (as much to say as the men of *Gaunt*) were in the Mediterrane countrey of *Flanders*. Likewise the *Pleumosiāns*, whom some doe hold to be them of *Cortroy*: And they that are of this opinion, do plant the *Centrones* in the Diocesse of *Liege*.

This so great Commonwealth of the *Neruians*, and which was of such large extendure, elected a Prince, such as *Boduognatus* was in the first warre of the *Neruians*. It had also a very great Senat, for *Caesar* reckoneth vp fixe hundred Senators of the *Neruians*. After that the *Atrebatians* were vanquished, *Caesar* gaue them *Comius* (who was of the same countrey) to bee their King: that is to say, that of a Prince, which was but for a time, he created one that should continue. Hee maintained the franchises of the City, & gaue to them their laws and rights, and annexed the *Morines* to his Empire. Neuerthelesse, this King enioyed his authoritie no long while, for after that the *Atrebatians* had put themselves vnder *Caesar*'s obedience: his sway ceased, & *Comius* bare Armes against *Caesar* again. The *Eburones* then also had two Kings, *Ambiorix* & *Catvulcus*; but their authority was such, that the cominons had no lesse command ouer them, then they had to contradiēt them.

The commonwealth of the *Morines* was answerable to that of the *Heluetians*, although it was diuided by diuers villages, & had extendure farre off from them: as to *Callis*, and all along the coast of *Piccardie* and *Flanders*, in the Forrests & marishes; euen so far as the *Menapians*, who dwell vpon the confluent of *heine*, as also of the *Meuze* or *Maze*, and who were their neighbors, as is to be seene in the *Teucthers* war, in the 4. booke. But the *Tremirians*, as well for a kinde of gouernement, (wherein they were very skilfull) as also for the occasion of tumult and sedition, very frequent among them; resembled in quality the *Hedvans*. *Cingetorix* and *Indiciomarus* quarrelled for the principallitie, euen

The Senate & Comminaltie of the *Bellouacanes*.

\*People inhabiting about Tournay in Belgica.

Hannoyers, Flemings and Brabanders.

*Caesar* his iourney to the *Neruians*.

\*The Riuer *Skeld*, running through Tournay & falling into the *Maze*.

*Iul. Cæs. in comment. Lib. 5.*

*Centrones*, *Grudians*, *Leuakes*, *Pleumosiāns* and *Gordunes*.

The Prince & Senate of the *Neruians*.

\*The people of *Tirwin* in *Belgica*, or (as *Iosephus* *Moler* sayth) the *Flemings*.

\*The people of *Ge'derland* & *Cleueland*, or of *Iuliers* in *Belgia*.

euen as did ſ other two, *Conuictolitane* & *Cottus*, but *Cæſar* ſeated again *Cingetorix* as he had done *Conuictolitane*. Thus the government of the Belgian Citties, were mingled with three formes of eſtates.

The *Santone Aquitaines* ſeemed to be governed by ſuch a kind of cõmonwealth. For that City, when ſhe made prooffe of her own vertue, by fighting both on foot and horſeback, and well to ſuſtaine all aſſaults in her own defence: ſhe rendred hir necke to ſuch authority. But *Adcantuanus* their Prince (of his owne power) ſtept in to do his duty, and ſallied forth with 600 *Soldures*, or *Soldurij*. Wherefore I think that the government of the Gaules Commonweales, hath bin already ſufficiently explicated, and by ſo many examples, as we may well conclude, that the principalities of the Gaules (according to *Cæſar*) were ſuch, as wold not ſuffer that the ſubiects (ſhould be oppreſſed or circumuented; but if any Prince did otherwiſe, hee helde no authority amongſt his ſubiects. VVe haue ſpoken then enough of the gouernment and authority obſerued among the ancient Gaules.

Let vs now liſten vnto the Commonwealth of *Great Britaine*; and that likewiſe of the *Germanis*. There is mention made in the fourth Book, concerning the Princes of the *Britains*, with their conferences and conſultations held among theſelues, for the common good of *Great Britaine*. And in the ſiſt booke, the common counsell is obſerued by *Cæſar*; and that the whole charge and command of warre againſt *Cæſar*, was put into the power of *Caſſibelane*, and the diuerſity of Kinges which were ſubiect vnto that common Council, doe ſufficiently declare, that *Great Britaine* vſed the ſame kinde of gouernment that *Gaule* did. *Cæſar* alſo deliuereth (almoſt) the very ſame gouernment of the *Germanis*. When a Commonwealth (ſayth he) either endured war made vpon it, or attempted any, *Magiſtrates* were elected to vndertake the charge of the war, and they might alſo take or ſaue life. In times of peace, there was no common *Magiſtrate*, but the *Lordes* of the Countries, and of the *Burroughes*, who exerciſed law to their *vaſſals*, and appeaſed all their contentions.

In the time of *Tacitus*, *Germany* had ſome Kinges: but they were ſuch as had more honor then power; in other mat-

ters they were like to the *Gauls* manners. They made Kinges (ſaith he) for their Nobility, and Captaines for their vertue. Nor had thoſe Kinges any vndeſined or free power, & the Captaines were obeyed more by example, then by command: either, whether they were deliberated; in ſight, or doing their deuoyre vpon the point, making wonderfull prooffe of their prowefſe. As concerning the Captaines or Princes (as the ſame Author relateth) & likewiſe for them, termed companions of the Princes, thus it followeth.

The Princes alſo they elect in the publike Councils, which doe hold the iuriſdiction of *Burroughes* and *villages*. Euery man hath an hundred Companions, who are of the popularity, and doe giue aſſiſtance vnto them in Council together, and alſo in their Authority. A Noble or generous ſtock of fame, whoſe high deſerts of theyr Fore-fathers, doe challenge to haue the dignity of a Prince, amongſt the younger ſort of people: They are accompanied with other of more robuſt complexion; and ſuch as haue had (long time) good prooffe made of them: and yet they bluſh not a iotte, to be ſeene amongſt ſuch Companions, albeit there are ſome degrees in this companie, according to his iudgement whom they follow. VVhy then I may ſafely ſay of the *Germanis* (according to *Tacitus*) that their *Magiſtrates* haue bin anſwerable to their Kinges, Captaines, or Princes, and likewiſe to them called the Companions of Princes.

I come againe vnto the Knights of the Gaules, which (in the times of warre) haue the managing of the affayres. And theſe Knights (thus ſaith *Cæſar* in his ſiſt booke) when there is neede, and any warre hapneth: they are all employed, and according as each man hath authority and meanes, ſo hath hee moſt ſeruants and clyents about him, & this is the onely fauour and power that they doe know. Heerein is continued the ancient *Gaules* manner, for election of *Magiſtrates*, and we may learne by a new argument: that the *Gaules* Princes were choſen for their Vertues, and for their deſerts towards the Commonwealth, and that this eminencie came from Vertue onely. For euery Prince wold not ſuffer his ſubiects to be oppreſſed, nor deceyued (ſo hath *Iulius Cæſar* formerly ſaid) but if hee ſhould do otherwiſe, he muſt beare no authority among his people. And hereto doth this

Concerning Kinges & Captaines among the *Germanis*, and the Companions of Princes.

The election of their Princes.

The ſtronger ought alwaies to helpe the weaker.

*Iul. Cæſar* in *Com. lib. 6.* The knightes of the *Gaules*. The words of *Cæſar* himſelf

\*The people of *Santone* in *Aquitaine*.

\**Soldurij* (as *Cæſar* ſayth) were in the *Gauliſh* Language, ſuch kinde of men, as deſtinied & vowed themſelues to the amity of any, to take part in all their good or bad Fortunes.

*Cæſar* in *comment lib. 4. & 5*

*Great Brittain* had the ſame gouernement as *Gaule*, and the *Germanis* very little differing.

*Corn. Tacitus* in *lib. 4. cap. 7.*

justly make answer: That this is the onely fauour and power which the Knightes knowe, if according as they haue most meanes and authoritic, so they shall haue the more seruants, and the more Clients about them.

The differēce  
betweene ser-  
uants and cli-  
ents.

By seruants or vassalles, are meant such as stand obliged or indebted (of whom I haue formerly spoken) and who, vpon that occasion are dedicated to the seruice of those Knightes: for, these vassals serue as Waggoners to their Masters, and carry their shields. And the Clients (as it is in the seauenth Booke) neuer dare, euen in the extremitie of all misfortune, forsake or leaue their Lords. Thus then the vassals or seruants, do accompanie their Knightes and Masters in warre, and the Clients doe attend on their Lords, and these are the companions of the *Germanes*, whereof *Tacitus* speaketh, as already hath bene saide.

Strife for po-  
pularitie, and  
eminency in  
the Princes  
fauour.

There is great ielousie amongst these companions, who shall haue the cheefest place about his Prince: and amongst the Princes, who shall be followed by the most and best companions or attendants. It is held a high dignity, to bee dayly rounded with a great troope of young and choise men: it is an honour in time of peace, & security in time of warre. This honor, and this glorie is not onely in euerie Nation, but euen in the neighbouring Cities, coueting as much to be accompanied with such a company of men, as with so manie vertues. Whereof practise is made by Ambassages, and plenty of presents sent; nay, oftentimes, they will vndertake Armes, for the bare name to be termed a souldier. When a man is in the fight, it is shame to a Prince to be surmounted in vertue: and it is a more shame to his follower, if he doe not equall the Vertue of his Prince. It is a most infamous & shamefull thing, and not to be washed off in a mans whole life time, to return from the battell, his Prince being there slaine. The principall Oath that he takes, is to defend and sustaine him, and if he doe any braue or worthy acte in his owne person, to referre it to his Princes glory onely. Princes fight for victory, companions and followers fight for their Prince. *Tacitus* writeth: *The Prince recompenceth such as follow him: for they receiue (saith he) from the Princes liberality: this Horse of seruice, that*

*Corn. Tacit.*  
in l. 5. c. 11.

*victorious and bloudied Sword: for such Bankets, although they are not properly serued, yet are they sumptuous to them, & men are well contented with such wages.*

But can you tell me, what were the recompences of the Knightes amongst the Gaules, and who managed this other part of their Common-wealth? As for the recompence of the *Druydes*, it hath bin spoken of already, which was honor, the greatest payment that could be, and only proper to vertue. Neuerthelesse, the Common-wealth it selfe could not be ingratefull towards them in recompences: considering that there were Imposts & Tolles, which appertained to each Cittie, as is to be seene in the first Booke, and their greatnesse of Tribute, in the sixt Booke. *Tacitus* hath declared among the *Germanes*, what worthy recompences were performed to Princes. Citties had a custome, to collect (with their owne good liking) by the poll or head, either of their cattle, or of their fruites, to giue to their Princes: which being receiued as an honor, serued also to supply necessity. About all, they tooke delight in presents giuen by their neighbouring Nations, not onely by particular persons, but in general: as of choise Horses, faire Armour, trappings for seruice, and also of Chaines. And since then they haue taught vs to accept of mony.

Recompences  
to the Gaules  
Knightes for  
their seruices.

Recompences  
to Princes a-  
mongst the  
*Germanes*.

But let vs pursue other manners of the Gaules Common-wealth. *Cæsar* doth often accuse the infirmity of the Gaules, because in aduice they were sodain and mutable: but especially in this place of his 4. Booke. *There is a common custome (saith he) amongst them, to compell passengers or way-faring men, to stay whether they will or no, and to enquire of them, what each man hath heard, or knoweth of euery matter what soeuer. The popular and common people, they sticke about Merchants in the Citie, and constrain them to tell, out of what countries they come, and what things they knowe, or haue heard of there.* The ancient Gaules, had not onely this wonderful desire, to know matters of nouelty: but besides, that they should be imparted, and made knowne to them and theirs.

*Cæsar* his bla-  
ming the  
Gaules for  
their varia-  
blenes & rash-  
nesse.  
*Iul. Cæsar* in  
*Com. lib. 4.*

I will set downe two examples of some admiration, the first is in the fift booke, of the victorie which *Iulius Cæsar* had against the *Neruians*. During the brute of *Cæsars* victory (this he writes himselfe)

the

Cæsars victory of the Nervians. *Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 5.*

the men of Rhemes (with incredible swiftnesse) carried tidings thereof to Labienus, in somuch, that whereas he was about three-score miles from the Garrison of Cicero, and that Cæsar came thether after the ninth hour of the day: yet notwithstanding, there arose such a cry or noise before the gates of the Campe, and before it was midnight; that the men of Rhemes (onely thereby) gaue understanding to Labienus of the victory, & made a signe of their reioycing with him. But the other is an espéciall, and most notable cry or noise, when the Romanes were ouerthrowne at *Genabum* before Sun-setting: yet before the first watch was set, the cry was heard to the *Aruernians*, the noise running through all the Townes of Gaul, as Cæsar affirmeth in his seuenth Booke. For so soone as any important matter happened, by a cry they made it knowne in the fields, and so along thorough the Countries, and still as it was heard, others sent it in like manner to their neighbours, and according as it came to them. And that which had bene done at *Genabum* before Sun-setting, was knowne in the confines of *Aruerne* before the first watch, & yet the distance was aboue an hundred & sixty miles. So saith Cæsar, and haply it may seeme, that that singular description of Fame, which is set downe in *Virgill*, tooke hence the first originall.

Strange cries and noises obserued among the Gaules.

*Virg. in lib. 9. de Aeneid.*

Fame, an euill, vnmatchable in swiftnesse, Is sudden, mouing, gadding with rashnesse.

Rumor is commonly a babling liar.

Cæsar describeth the like celerity and effect of this cry, as *Virgill* doth of Fame. This concerneth the bruite and cries among the Gaules, whereby being moued, they often held Councils of important matters: wherof (not long after) they repented themselues, in regard they gaue credite to vncertaine novles, and found them in the end to be nothing but fables, But hee that thus reproveth the common people of Gaule of lightnesse; commended their constant & politicall wisdome. Those Citties (saith he) which are accounted to gouern best their Common-weals, haue their Lawes, which ordaine, that if a man that hath heard any thing of his neighbour (eyther by report or otherwise) concerning the estate of the Common-wealth: he is to impart the same to the Magistrate, and not to any other whatsoever. Because it hath bin oftē seen, that rash-

*Iulius Cæsar in comment. Lib. 6*

headed men, and of small understanding, are affrighted by false noises, or prouoked on to unhappy attempts, and (dreadlesse) enter into important enterprizes. The Magistrate concealeth what he thinketh fittest; and discovereth to the Commons, any matter needfull to be knowne.

This last passage of Cæsar, refuteth (very strongly) popular seruitude, for it testifieth, that euen in those Cities, which gouerned best their Common-weales: that yet the Commons haue their authority, because the Magistrate imparteth to the people, what is necessary for the to know. *Strabo* auoucheth in his fourth Book, that this was also vsed in the Councils of the Gaules. If any one (saith he) did interrupt him that spake: the publike Minister stept vp with a drawne sword, and vsing threatnings to the party, commanded him to hold his peace. If he would not do it, he aduertised him in the same manner a second and third time. In the end, he would cut off such a peece of his garment, as the rest should afterward do him no seruice. *Tacitus* expresth it more plainly, as hee doth many other things; concerning the manner of electing Magistrates, and the Councils kept among the Germanes.

The Princes (saith hee) hold a Councell, wherein matters of meanest importance, and such also as are of greatest consequence, are handled together: And yet in such manner, that those affaires which appertaine vnto the people, are managed and ordered by the Princes. They assemble together (if there happen no sudden accident or aduerture) on certaine daies, either at the new Moone, or the full of the Moone: For they beleue, that those seasons are most happy to treat on ther affaires. And they do not make their account by the daies, as we vse to doe, but by the nights. The fault ensuing on their liberty, is, that they are not altogether on the day assigned: but two or three daies is lost, to attend for such as slacke to come.

The same Authour declareth another strange thing of the Germanes, affirming, that many times they deliberate at Banquets, to reconcile enemies, to make alliances, and to gaine grace of Princes, yea, euen then to consult of peace or warre: because as then (rather then at any other time) they haue their spirits most open, eyther to simple thoughts, or more earnest to them of greater importance. This Nation,

A good obseruation to preuent ydle rumors.

Popular seruitude reproved by Cæsar

*Strabo in Lib. 4 cap. 7.*

*Corn. Tacit. in li. 5. cap. 3*

Ceremonial daies of meeting for generall conferēce

Matters consulted on at Banquets by the Germanes.

Nation, which is neyther subtile nor cautelous, will discouer the secrets of their soules in iesting manner: for the minde being naked and discouered, bethinks it selfe better on the day following, & then hath more regard to cyther time. They deliberate when they know no dissembling, and determine when they cannot erre. Such also was the custome of the Country, when the Gaules helde their chiefest consultations: as hath already bene declared, in the leuying of their men for warre.

*Tit. Liv. in li. 31  
Decad. 6.*

The ancient  
Gaules came  
armed to  
Councell.

*Titus Livius*, speaking of the Gaules, reporteth the same in his one and thirtieth Booke, saying. *Then is seene in them a new and terrible apparance, because (according to the custome of their Nation) they are armed when they come to Councell.* Why then the *Pallas* of the ancient Gauls, came herselfe armed to the Councell: and because they would not do any thing, but it should expresse the courage of the *Gauls*, their assemblies were alwayes made by sound of Trumper. For *Hirtius* writeth so of the *Bellouacanes* Senate, hauing knowne their misfortunes by all contrary things. *Corbus* being slaine, all their Cauallery ouerthrowne, and the very valiantest of their foote-souldiers, when they thought that the Romans drew nere vnto them; then suddenly they assembled a Councell by sound of Trumper, crying all with one voyce, to send Ambassadors and Hostages to *Cesar*.

The garments  
of the german  
sitting in coun-  
cell.

What shall wee say of the Germanes? What garments did they weare whē they came to councell? *They did not any thing (saith Tacitus) neither in affaires publike or particular, but all in Armes. They went armed about their daily negotiations; and came in the same manner to their Banquets.* Blame not then the counsels of the Gaules to be done in Armes: for the Romane Orator could say in his owne Language.

*Let Armes giue place to Gownes.*

The habits of  
Warre and  
Peace.

\* The Roman  
that was de-  
feated by  
Tully.

Because Armes are the accoustrements of Warre, and the Gowne is the habite of Peace, followed and attended on by Eloquence. And when the Court of Rome was enuironed with souldiers of Armes, at the pleading of \* *Milo*: the spirit thereof was not onely terrified, but the whole body also trembled with feare. But Elo-

quence vnited it selfe with the Armes of the Gaules, so that there wanted not at one time and place, both Commanders of warre, and learned Orators: for the Gaules Orators (by the irradiation of Armes) were encouraged to speake the more brauely. Princes were pleading Orators in the Gaules counsels, where (in generall) all might heare, that had interest in the case in question, as is euident by the examples of *Cesar*.

Princes were  
pleading Or-  
ators.

*Among the Germanes (saith Tacitus) in publike Councels, the King or Prince, according to his age, according to Nobility, according to the place for warre, and according to his readinesse in utterance: was much rather heard for authority in perswading, then any power in commanding. It was also permitted in a full Councell, to accuse of crimes deseruing death. The cry or noise of the people by listening fauourably, or otherwise: signified to the Romane Orators, that their Oration had found good or bad successe. But the counsell of the Gaules, which was made in Arms, as it was reasonable, made a signe by their Armes (although the clattering of weapons was a signe among the Gaules) how they tooke liking of that which had bene said. *Cesar* writeth so in his 7. Booke, speaking of the Oration of *Vercingetorix*: *All the people made a cry (saith he) and according to their custome, made a clattering with their Armes, as they do, when they approue the Oration of any man.**

*Corn. Tacit.  
in li. 9. cap. 9*

*Julius Cesar in  
comment. Lib. 5*

*Marcel: in l. 1. 1.*

*Marcellinus* declareth in his 21. Booke, that after *Julian* had made his Oration: the Army of the Gaules applauded him, and mingled dreadfull cries, among the loud clashings of their Targets. The Gaules consultations were in Armes; their Orationes were approued by Armes, and the oath they take, was vpon Armes. The *Caruntes* (as it is in the 7. Booke) promised in a full councell of the Gaules, that they would be chiefest in the warre against *Cesar*, and because they could not in fielde giue assurance by the meanes of Hostages, fearing how matters might come about: to the end that all might be certaine and sworne, after they had brought together al their Ensignes of warre (as alwaies they vsed to do in very ceremonious manner) they requested, that they wold begin the war, and the other would not forsake them. And in the same Booke there is a most holy oath, to assure the battel giuen by

The Carun-  
tes in the war  
against Cesar

A sacred oath  
made in war  
in open field.

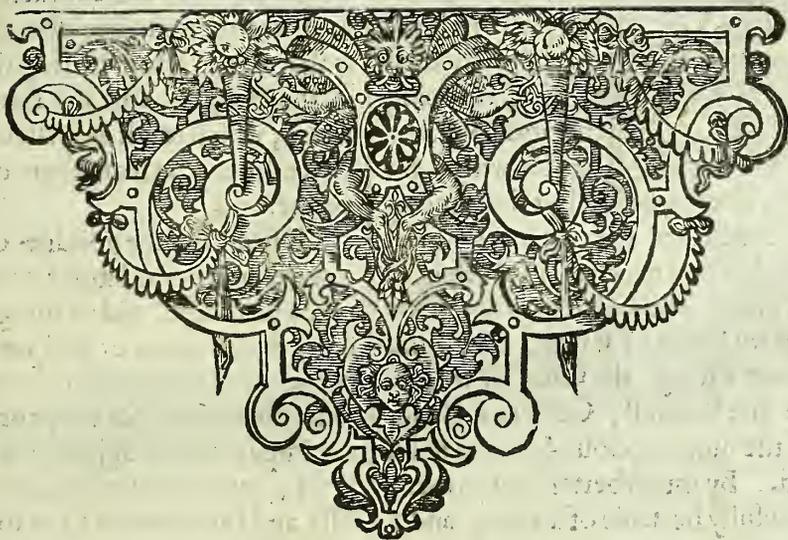
by the horsemen. They on horse cry altogether, that this holy oath may be imposed on euery man: Neuer to be receiued into his house; neuer to goe backe to his parents, nor to his wife, vntill hee haue twice thwarted ouer the enemies armies. Wherto that of *Marcellinus* conformeth, speaking of *Iulian*: All were commanded to sweare in his Name, & setting solemnly the points of their swords vnto their throtes, made execrable oathes and curses on themselves, if they brake their voves.

But now it is time to finish our discourse. Hauing thus reported the man-

ners and customes of ancient Gaule, the temperance of the peoples liues, their assurance in dangers, their wisdom in artes and disciplines, their iustice, in ruling and establishing the best meanes, for good ordering and gouerning their common-wealth: There remaineth now no more, but if we can recouer the like leisure (hauing finished some other studies already entred on) we hope to proceed in the manners and customes of our new Gaules or Frenchmen, which will yeelde the more delight and pleasure, because the subiect is of a farre more excellent nature.

The Authors  
conclusion of  
his long labor

## The End of the first Booke.

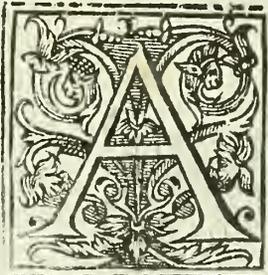




THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the new Gaules, or those that are called (now adaies) Frenchmen, or the people of France, succeeding after their Predecessors, the Ancient Gaules.



S among all parts of the Earth, Europe, (though it is the least) holdeth the verie cheefest rancke, as beeing the principall, and most worthy: So

it is not to bee doubted, but that among all the Countries of Europe, France must needs be the most excellent in al respects. The people of Arabia that now are, haue a customary kinde of saying, that if the world were a Ring, the City of Ormuz must bee the Beaziell, Collet or Head, wherein the most precious Stone is to be enchafed. By much better reason then, may it lawfully be saide of France, and a true saying:

It is the lesser eye, & the Pearle of the world.

As one of her owne Poets formerly hath sung. Which no way can be accounted strange, when consideration is iustly made, of the great blessings, commodities, and graces of Heauen, wherwith the Land is and hath bene endowed. For there is nothing else found to be compared therewith; be it if we regard the fertility and abundance of all things, not onely necessary for the life of man, but also for all sorts of pleasures and delights. Bee it also, for the sweetnesse, temperature, & amenity of the Ayre: not hauing any other, more graciously regarded by the eie

of the Sunne. No lesse commendable (for valour) is the courage and spirit of the people, which haue inhabited there to this present time, who not onely haue extended their renoune through all Lands habitable: but also haue excelled in whatsoeuer can bee applied to the height of minde.

Above all (as most admirable) is the dignity, greatnesse, and Maiesiy of their Kings, redoubtable and exalted (for their vertues truly heroycall) aboue all other on the earth. In this excellency then, there are three things to be discoursed: the first is that of the Land it selfe; the second is of the People; and the third is of their Kings, which result as well from the two Precedents, as from their owne proper vertue.

Concerning the goodnes of the Land, it were an infinite labour to expresse so many blessings, and all things eise which it produceth, euen of best vse for the life of man, and that in such abundance, as sufficeth not only for the people; but also are imparted and dispersed to other Nations, without any incommodity to it selfe, and (in a manner) not to bee discerned. The fat fields, covered with good wheate and all graines else of any kinde, filles the Graunges & Garners euery haruest season. The Mountaines and Hilles, cloathed with goodly Vineyards, which bring foorth most healthfull and delicate wines: & almost euery where stored with all kinde of fruite trees. There is not a iote of vnprofitable Land, all is laboured and husbanded, or serues for pasturage for feeding beasts, which causeth such plenty of all sorts of flesh. There ye may likewise behold goodly Woods & Forrests, filled with all kinde of game and Venison. Most excellent Flax & Hempe, wherof cloth is made in great abundance. Dyers woad also, Scarlet holme-oake, Saffron, with many

The Maiesiy and dignity of the Kings of France.

The three arguments of this instant discourse.

The goodnes and excellency of the Country.

Cornes.

Wines.

Fruices.

Pastures.

Woods and Forrests.

Flax & Hemp.

France the cheefest country of Europe

Ronsard in Cant. 5.

France abound- ing in the fertility of all things.

many singular Plants and Hearbs, not onely for Medicine, but also nourishable.

Heereto I may adde, the admirable sight of great and goodly Riuers, both nauigable, and abounding with fish, dispersing themselues through France, as veines in the body of man: making the mid-land Regions as apt for commerce, as those on the Sea-coasts. Beside a great number of other waters, great Pooles & Pondes, Fountaines, and cleere running Riuers, all meruailous and delectable. Then haue yee goodly houses and buildings; an infinite number of rich and great Cities, Townes, Burroughs, Villages, Castels, and other Edifices. Moreouer, greater plenty of people, then in any other Region of the world. This is that which is so much wondred at by strangers, who haue thought France to bee a terrestriall Paradise: making more account (in this case) then Frenchmen do themselues, because it is so ordinary and frequent vnto them. But to such as haue sayled into farre remote strange Countries, or otherwise haue had intelligence of them: they hold it a happinesse to themselues, to see the felicity of France so farre beyond other, and therby to know their owne good. All these graces might much better bee acknowledged, if we did but seuer and consider them particularly.

First, for Wheate and other Corne, which is the principall sustentation, to maintaine and strengthen the bodye of man: it encreaseth and aboundeth so in France (and that of the best that can bee) more then in any part of the world, and likewise all other sorts of graine. It is not a time now to acknowledge so great a happinesse, for wee see that our Elders haue better knowne and felt it, when the Land was not throughly so well husbanded and tilled. As wee discern by that which is written by *Strabo, Iulius Solinus Polyhistor, & Pomponius Mela*, who speake thereof expressly. Also *Cicero* reporteth, that (in his time) was brought to Rome, and into Italy, great quantities of Corne from the Gaules. *Pliny* the Great hath also obserued the same, for speaking of the Corne of France, he saith: That it was most cleane Corne, and that it yeilded foure pound of Bread, more then any other. It is well known in these dayes, that *Spaine*

furnisheth herselfe with the Wheate and Graine of France, and that it is to her as a nursing Mother. And *Portugall* it selfe, which is described to bee one of the most happy and fertile countries of the Spains, hath recourse to France: as we may see by y which *Ozorius* saith, a Portugall Bishop of *Sylues*; & the same is reported likewise by others, who haue written of Relations.

And for Wines, the country is no lesse fruitfull, in producing such as are very good, and in great affluence. This hath also beene confessed by our Ancients, according to the testimonie of *Solinus* and *Pliny*, who renoune *Bituricam vitem*. Perhaps this may be interpreted, not of *Bourges*: but of the wine about *Bordeaux*, wherof the people are called *Bituriges Vinisci*. He speaketh also of the wine of *Beziers*, whereto hee giueth the cheefest place among all them of Gaule. And *Iulian* the Emperor said, that there were good vines in the grounds of *Paris*. Behold how *Columella* makes his moane, at that which the Italians did, for planting of Vines: forsaking their owne country, they went to seek in the delicate grounds of France, in the Isles *Cyclades*, and those of *Andoulouzia*. Whereby we may perceiue, that he equalleth the grounds of France and their wines, with them of *Muscadella*, *Greeke*, and of *Spaine*.

*Pliny* saith, that in Italy they highly esteemed the Grapes of France, making mention also of a certaine kinde of admirable Grape there growing; which daily turneth it selfe to the Sunne, like as the *Heliotropium* doth, and therefore is called after the Greeke word *Streptos*. Wine is transported from France to Rome, which is there accounted very delicious: especially, that which is gathered in the grounds of *Vienna*, which they call *Picatum*, as *Platarch* declareth in his *Symposiaques*. Notwithstanding, there is a difficulty found in these words, as namely, that which *Vopiscus* saith, in the life of the Emperour *Probus*. That he had permitted to the Frenchmen to haue and plant Vines. Notwithstanding, it appeareth, that they were in France before his time.

The resolution of this, dependeth thus; that by the Edict of the Emperor *Dormitian*, he had enioyned to the inhabitants of the Prouinces, to cut all the Vines, fewe excep-

Nauigable & fishing riuers.

Houfes, Citities, Townes, and Villages.

The great plenty of people.

Of Wheate & other Corne.

Strabo in lib. 4. Polybist: cap. 49. Pomponius Mela in lib. 3. ca. 2. Cicero pro Fontio.

Plin. in lib. 18. cap. 7. Nitidissimi grani, & quatuor libris plus panis reddere, quam far aliud.

Of the plenty of Wines. Polybist cap. 24. Bituricam vitem. Plin. in li. 14. cap. 2. Bituriges Vinisci. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 6.

In Misopogone. ouerat ptep autis eumelos ayada. In presat. lib 1. de re Rust. Vindemias condimus ex insulis Cycladibus ac regionibus Gallicis Ecticisq;

Plin. lib. 14. c. 3. Mirum ubique cum Sole circum: gi vnam que ob id Strepitos dicitur. in Italia Galliam placere trans Alpes vero Picenam.

Plut. Lib. 5. quest. 3.

Sueton. in Domit. cap. 7.

The former doubt resolved.

Of the plenty of fruit-trees.

Strabo in Lib. 4. τὴν γὰρ τὴν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ναρβονικῇ ἀποστὰς ἀποτὴν Ἰταλίαν

Plenty of Pasturages.

Strabo in Lib. 4

Plenty of Deare and other game.

Plenty of good horses.

In Claudio. Quid equarum quas fama nobilitat celticorum? Gnomast. lib. 5. cap. 5.

excepted. Induced so to do, because vpon view taken, that some yeares there was abundance of Wine, & scarcify of Corne: he conceiued, that the eare-able Landes were left barren, in regard of the Vines. Afterward, the Emperor *Probus* tooke off those inhibitions in Gaule, permitting them to haue Vines. And so to this day, the wines of *France* are transported by great quantity into *England*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Germany*, *Denmarke*, *Sueden*, and into other Notherne Regions.

Moreouer, *France* produceth store of fruite Trees, bearing (in abounding affluence) most excellent, dainty and delicious fruites: as well stone-fruite of all sorts, as those of other nature. And yet notwithstanding, *Italy* and *Spaine* cannot vauit to haue any that come not into *France*: as Oranges, Citrones, Pomegranates, Oliues, &c. For though the Land doth not produce these euey where: yet notwithstanding, *Prouence* & *Languedock*, which is the *Narbone Gaule* of our Ancients, do beare the same fruites, yea, and much better, as hath beene noted by experience. Also *Strabo* obserued it well enough. *The Country of Narbone* (saith he) *produceth all the same fruites as Italy doth.*

Our Ancients haue also giuen thereto another commendation, to haue great store of pasture grounds, and so (by consequence) plenty of beasts to feed in the. *Strabo* testifieth as much, making so good esteeme of the woolles and clothes of this Country: that they are carried thence to diuers parts, and therewith all *Italy* is sufficiently furnished. But ouer and beside the great commodity, ensuing by the flesh of domesticke creatures: there are Deare in abundance, as also all kinde of game, & Fowies in no meane plenty.

And to the ende that nothing should be wanting, in necessary matters for support of life: the Country is not destitute of good, proper and profitable horses, as well for ordinary trauell, as also for combates, fights, and battels; bred in the Nation, and continually nourished. The Romanes were thereto addicted, but principally to the horses of *France*: as is to be scene in *Trebellius Pollio*, who saith, *That the Horses of the Celts, were renowned aboue all other.* *Pollux* the Grammarian, interlaceth (among the rest) dogges of a good and gallant breede, apt for the *Celts*

hunting, or such dogs as the Gauls vsed.

This may serue sufficiently for terrestriall creatures, because to number the particularly, would require an infinite labor: let vs come now to them that liue in the waters. It is apparantly knowne, that the coasts of the Sea which enuiron France, are richly stored with fish, and the fish also to be delicate and excellent, better the elsewhere is to be found. And as for the mid-land Regions, where Sea-fish is wanting: the fresh and sweete waters are most copiously stored. For the Rivers, Streams Pooles, Ponds and Rioulets haue most dainty fresh-fish, and countlesse in number. Daily experience makes prooffe thereof, *Strabo* auoucheth it, and *Ausonius* sings it, making mention thereof in his worke called *Mosella*.

There are many other commodities, which come and encrease vnder this ayre, for the necessity, vtility and ornament of mans life. Among other, Flax and Hemp, and the cloathes made of them, are labored and sought for by strangers: whereof great traffique and transportation goes to other Nations, & returns home store of money to *France*: In brieffe, it is one of her best wealths and riches.

In this place, to stay no longer on a matter so frequent, and ordinary in vse, as cloathes and other works, it may appeare lawfull (with *Pliny*) to enter into consideration (it may bee) of one of the most admired things that is in nature: To say, that so small a plant should bee the cause, that the Sea cannot bound men within limits, nor separate their Countries, but suffers herselfe (thereby) to bee vanquished. This is that herb that drawes *Syria* neere to vs, *Egypt* to *Italy*, and *Affrica* and *America* to *France*. In a word, it is that which makes man tread vnder his feete, and trauese ouer that dreadfull gulfe, the heape or pile of the whole Element of water, the vaste and profound Ocean; wherein principally appeareth the admirable workes of the high and Soueraigne Creator of all things. And the same *Pliny* wondreth not a little, that (offo small a graine) such a matter should come, as carries men through all the Cantons of the world. Which onely is by the meanes of Sayles & Cordages, the principall helpes and wings of nauigation. Such workmanship are performed in *France* in mighty quanti-

Abounding plenty of fish.

Strabo in li. 4. Ausonius in Mosella.

Of the Flaxe and Hempte.

Plin. Lib. 19. in Praefat. Quodue miraculum maius herbam esse, que admoveat Egyptum Italiae Et infra Denique tam paruo semine nasci, quod orbem terrarum vltro citroque portet.

quantities, and thence transported to infinite other Countries: especially into *Spain*, where they haue greatest need, to arme and prepare their Ships for seruice. And this is that w<sup>h</sup> hath so often serued them, and yet daily doth in their greatest nauigations: beside their very finest clothes, and others of all fashions, broght thether to them. *Pliny* also recordeth, that (in his time) the *Gaules* were esteemed and renowned for this reueneue.

*France* produceth also *Woad*, apt and needfull for al good Dyers; and the grain for *Scarlet dye*, anciently called *Coccus*, which groweth in the Country of *Narbonne*, and *Saffron* likewise, with infinite other shrubs & hearbs of great vse, especially in *Physicke*. *Boterus*, *Benefus*, and other strangers haue obserued and reported, that there is a Mount in *Auuergne*, called the Mount of gold, full of an infinite number of rare and singular simples, proper for *Physicke*, which nature there produceth liberally, & without any constraint. So that to speake no more then truth, *France* hath no neede of the rich East & West *Indiaes*. It is a little world, a collection and an abridgment of the happinesse and felicity of all Lands: not onely for necessity and profite, but also for the delicacy of life. And if we goe so farre as medicaments themselues, such *Simples* are there to be found, as equall the drugs of strange Countries, which yeeld nothing else.

There are also goodly *Thickets*, *Woods* and *Forrests*, to furnish whatsoeuer is requisite (beside fewell) for building, engines for warre, fabrication of ships, and other vessels, as also for moouables and household-stuffe. Heerewithall one of the cheefest considerations which causeth *France* to be esteemed, is, that it is wholly inhabited and well husbanded: not a iote of desert or waste ground, no place empty, nor any thing but hath his vse. Heare what *Strabo* acknowledged in his time, vnder the Empire of *Augustus*. There is not any thing unprofitable (saith he) nor any idle grounds: except such as are hindred & used with *Pooles* and *Forrests*. By much more reason may we now say, y<sup>e</sup> al grounds there are better tilled and husbanded, the in those times they were: & that y<sup>e</sup> *Pooles* and *Forrests* yet remaining, are not a iote the lesse beneficiall, but rather more then

some other grounds be.

But no man can better breesely figure foorth the felicity of this goodly peece of Landship, seeming heere to be done but in distemper or dry colours: then it hath bin already wrought by two Ancients, *Iulius Solinus Polyhistor*, and *Pomponius Mela*; the one of the describing it thus. *Happy Gaules, in fatted Lands, wholly proper and commodious, in bringing the reuennues of fruites: A great part planted with Vines, shrubs, and fruit-trees. Most happy and rich, to produce all kindes of creatures, and that which is needfull for them: washed with cleere w<sup>aters</sup> of Ri<sup>uers</sup> and Fountaines.*

*Pomponius Mela* speaks thus. *Terra est frumenti precipue & pabuli ferax, & amana lucis immanibus: noxio genere anamaliu<sup>m</sup> minime frequens. It is a land principally fertile, and abounding in Corne & pasture grounds: pleasant and delightfull for goodly and great Woods, and wherein few liuing creatures are to be found hurtfull, or doing any harme.*

In like manner, *Mesire Michell Suriano*, a *Venetian Lord*, and one of the *Clarissimes*; hauing bene *Ambassador* from the high and honourable *Common-wealth of Venice*, in *France*, in the time of King *Charles the 9.* left vs this figure, of his own skillfull handy-worke.

*Fu sempre riputata la Francia richissima, & piena d'ogni comodita, & abundantissima di tutte le cose ne essarie alla vita humana: perche essendo quasi nel mezzo della piu nobil parte del mondo, che e l'Europa, ha il cielo molto temperato & benigno, libero da quei freddi grandissimi di Allemagna & da gli eccessiui caldi di Spagn. L'aere benche sia alquanto ventoso, e pero salubre & sottile, & non ha del grosso & paludoso come la Fiandra vicina. Il paese e ameno & piaceuole, pieno di fiumi, & tutti nauigabili: non ha monti aspri, saluo nel estremita de' confini: ma nel mezzo per tutto sono colline & pianure, tutte fertili & laorate. Et fa tanta copia di biade, & di vini, di lini & canepa, di guadi & di altre cose, che non solamente bastano per vso del regno, ma serue ancora a mandarne fino in Spagna, Portogallo, in Inghilterra, Soria, Danemarka & altri paesi piu lontani.*

*France* was alwaies reputed to be most rich and full of all commodities, and abounding in all those things necessary for the life of man. For (beeing as it were) in the midst of the most noble part of the world, which is *Europe*: it hath the heauens very temperate

H and

*Plin. lib. 19 cap. 1. Itane Gallie censentur hoc reditu Et infra. Vniuersa Gallie uelate sunt. Woad growing in France*

A Mount of gold in Auuergne.

France hath no need of the Indiaes.

Of Woods & Forrests.

*Strabo in lib. 4.*

*Sol in poly. c. 22. Felices propinguibus globis, accomode prouentibus fructuaris: plere que consuevitibus & arbutis, omni ad usum animalium suntu beatissime. Riguae aquis fluminum & fontium. Pomponius Mela in lib. 3, cap. 2*

and benigne, free from those mighty coldes of Germany, and the excessiue heates of Spaine. The Aire, although it be somewhat windy, is therefore healthfull and subtile, and hath no grosse & paludus moistures, as nere neighboring Flanders hath. The Country is milde & pleasing, full of Riuers, and all nauigable. It hath no sharpe Mountaines, except on the extremity of the Confines: but in the middest, euery where are little hillocks & plaine champaigne grounds, all fertile, and husbanded or tilled. And yeeldeth such plenty of Corne & Wine, of Flax and Hempe, of Woad, and of other things: as not onely serue for the use of the kingdome, but also sufficeth to send into Spaine, Portugall, into England, Scotland, Denmarke, and other Countries farther off. The same Suriano, hauing bene (before that time) Ambassador in Spaine, & made there his Relation: speaketh not in the same manner, but in other tearmes farre different.

Among the causes of this fertility, and delicious abundance in so happy a seating: one part of this felicity may be referred to the temperature of the Ayre, & the Climate of Heauen, vnder which it is scituated: Being iustly the midst of one of the temperate Zoanes, to wit, the 42. degree of Latitude, about which is *Marseillis*, and the coast of *Prouence* and *Languedock*, so farre as about the 50. degree towards the North; which is the breadth of *France*. Whereunto in like manner do contribute, the great number of waters wherewith it is bedewed: which serue as well for the generation of fruites, as pleasure and amenity, beside (in greater manner) for commerce and traffique. For *Gaule* hath bene alwayes (throughout) furnished with sprightly Fountaines, and cleare running Riuers, with some of small and greater current, yet very nauigable, for the carriage and re-carriage of Merchandizes, and communication of the Prouinces one with another; a mighty commodity, and (then which) there is not a greater in the world.

This is that also, which makes the midland Regions, and the Cities & Townes there seated, as Merchantable as the Sea coasts, as strangers themselues haue both knowne & reported; that there are more great and nauigable Riuers in *France*, thē in all other parts of the earth; & though they speak it as an hyperbole, yet nothing

commeth neerer to truth. For in all *Italy*, hardly can any nauigable Riuer be found beside that of *Poe*: and likewise in *Spaine* almost as few, at lest that haue any course (how little soeuer) in length. *Strabo* hath made good obseruation therof, as before is saide, and that in euery Country heere, are Riuers, which come and returne to all parts, coasting the very principall places. But (about all) that of \* *Seine* is to be admired, a sweet Riuer, the most profitable and commodious for nauigation, & this only (among all those in the world) is best bounded and restrained within his bed, fildome or litle ouerflowing, and when it ouerfloweth, doth little or no harme at all, yeelding (beside) a most cleare water, and fit to be drunke; abounding also with plenty of fish.

Which moued the Emperor *Iulian* to speake in this manner. *Very sildome* (saith he) doth this Riuer exalt or abase it selfe, & it keepeth (almost) one ordinary course in winter, as it doth in summer: furnishing generally with a most neate water, sweet & cleare to the eie, and wholesome to be drunk by such as will. And although this should not be alwayes certaine: yet notwithstanding, there are few to be spoken of, concerning other Riuers to be seene, in comparison of this. Whereto may be added, that which is spoken by *Botero Benese* the *Italian*, these are his owne words. It beareth such great Ships, and sustameth so mighty burthens, as they that see it, will not beleue it, and there is no Riuer, that (in proportion) gouernes an equall weight: so that although it exceedeth not mediocrity, yet admirably it supplieth the businesse and the necessities of *Paris*, &c.

I might also make some reckoning of diuers waters there, producing effects admirable and prodigious: but because it would be a labour long and infinite, to stand vpon all their particularities; I will satisfie my selfe, to touch that which concerneth matters wholesome and medicinall, wherewith the fauour of Heauen hath in like manner graced this Region, to the ende it should not faile in any thing.

There are many Wels or Springs, which are found in diuers parts of *France*, that haue certaine properties and vertues, as receiuing a iuyce & taste, by the mixtion of Niter, Sulpher, and Allum, which are vnder-

*Strabo* in lib. 4.

ἀνταρὰ  
αὐτὴ ποταμὸς  
κατὰ ἄρτας ἄριος.  
Ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῷ  
Ἀλπίων, τοῖς ἰν  
τῷ Κερμαίνου καὶ  
τῷ Πυρῆας.

2 A Riuer rising neere the borders of Langres, and lowe Bourgundy, in the country of Alcet. It runneth through Paris, & diuiding Celtica from Belgia, falleth into the British Ocean by New-hauen.

In Misopogoe

In lib. 1. d. 11  
cause della grā-  
dexzo delle citā  
Porta nauigli-  
tante grossi &  
softiene carichi  
tanto grandi,  
& non esfiuone  
che a proportio-  
ne regga a pesi  
uguali; si che  
quantunque nō  
eceededata medi-  
ocritā: suplice  
perō mirabilmē-  
te alle necessita  
& a bisogni di  
Parigi, &c.

vnderneath, and entred into their fource : in regard whereof, they haue power to remedy many great diseases, iudged otherwise incurable; as dropfies, and the stone in the reines, and others, the causes whereof are vnknowne, and ordinary remedies vtterly vnprofitable for them.

*Quæsitæque nocent artes, cessere magistri.*

Such are the famous Wels of *Pouques* in *Niuernois*, and of *Forges* in *Normandy*. Such also are many other, especially towards the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, which haue the vertue to stay the bloody fixe; to soften and make come forth (in forme of paste) the stone that is in the bladder or reines; to fetch again sight almost lost; to warme and strengthen the nerues; and to cure the gout. In the time of *Pliny*, he had then discovered something, for hee makes mention of a certaine Well, in the Towne of *Tongri* among the *Gaules*; the water whereof sauioured like yron (as all other Wels almost doe) which healed *Tertian Feuers*, and the diseases of the stone, as also the running of the reines.

Now, to speake of Mettals and Mineralles, *France* cannot be destitute, neither can other Nations make vaunt of any advantage about it, if due search might be made. *Strabo* declareth, that in his time, the *Gaules* affirmed themselues, to haue the best in the *Cemenes* and *Pyreneans*; and that therefore they would not giue place to any other people, especially the *Spaniards*, who made their glory, in hauing great quantities. Gold, which is held and esteemed to be the most precious, shining, resplending, and domineering aboue all other, yea, qualifying the Sunnes bright beames, is to be found in *France*. For *Strabo* testifieth, that there was excellent Gold, and in great quantity, in *Cemenus*. To which purpose, we reade in *Procopius*, a Greeke Historian, that the Kings of *France* caused mony to be stamped of Gold, with their marke and character, found in *France*: reporting withall, that other barbarous Kings had not that prerogatiue, no, not the Kings themselues of the *Persians*.

In like manner, *France* hath Riuers, among whose sandes, gold is mingled, as being excoriated from the Mines vnder their current, according to the opinion

of the most learned Philosophers: And they further say, that this gold commeth, as being deriued by continuall agitation of the waters rowling, and maketh it so much the purer, about the *Marcassity* or *Rocke*, yea, or that in the earth. Among other Ancients, *Diodorus Siculus* assureth vs, that there are many of these Riuers in *France*. *Ausonius* (by his verses) celebrates his golden *Tarne*: and (euen now) it is a matter most certaine, that there are such Riuers in *Gascoigne*, which descend, either from the *Pyreneans*, or the *Cemenes*. Let the *Cappadocians* cease the, to make vaunt of their *Pactobus*; the *Thracians*, of their *Hebrus* or *Marissa*; the *Colchians* of their *Phasis* the *Italians*, of their *Eridanus* or *Poe*; and the *Spaniards*, of their *Tagus*.

And as for Mettall, whereunto the second value is giuen next to gold; *Strabo* affirmeth, that there are many Mines in *France*, as *Cæsar* himselfe also doth the like; and (at this day) good prooffe and experience hath bin made thereof. *Cæsar* saith, there is found Copper and Brasse in large abundance. But about all, there is great plenty of excellent Iron & Steele: whence it came, that reuerend Antiquity so highly commended the Swords and Courtelasses of the ancient *Gaules*. Let the skilfull *Iulius Pollux* be credited, who saith; that the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* made his choyse of such a man to be Schoolemaster to his Sonne, who preferred the *Gaules* Courtelasse, among those other weapon that were most excellent. This Mettall highly aboundeth there, & is the most common in *France*. Beside, it best agreeth with the Frenchmens generosity, who haue euermore made themselues famous by Armes, and bin knowne by their manhood, to all the vtmost parts of the world.

Gold and Siluer, so much esteemed among vs to be precious, are no more apt for Armes, then other instruments and vtensilles for the commodity of men, and the great account we make of gold, proceedeth onely from the rarity thereof. But we ought rather, to value things by their vtility & vse, although they be common, as *Aristotle* saith; among which is Iron, the most profitable Mettall of all other, & not by the to be surmounted: so y (without it) with great difficulty can gold (more harmefull and lesse beneficiall) be

*Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 9. cap. 7.*

*Ausonius.*

Mettall in worth next to Gold. *Strabo in lib. 4. Cæsar Bel. Gal. lib. 7.*

Iron & Steele.

*Onomast. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

The Frenchmen haue euer bin worthy souldiers.

Gold onely esteemed for the rarity.

*Arist. in Ethic.*

Wels that cure very strange diseases, onely by the vertue of their water.

*Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 9.*

Of Mettals and Minerals in France.

Of Gold.

*Strabo in Lib. 4*

\* A hill by the Alpes, not far from the Riuer *Varus*. *Procop. in lib. 3. Belli Goth*

Gold in Riuers of France.

Herodot. in l. 3.

Ile De Los Ladrones.

The French were neuer couctous of gold or siluer.

To get gold, hath bene the losse of many liues.

Plin. lib. 32. cap. 2.

Of Salt.

obtained. The Ethiopians. (saith Herodotus) contemning gold, doe value copper beyond all other; and at this instant, siluer is made more account of in China, the gold is. The people dwelling in the Isle De Los Ladrones, in the Sea called Su, although they haue no more store of gold, then of other mettals: yet notwithstanding, they couet not, or demaund any of passengers Ships sayling by them; but call to them with loud cries, to let them haue yron, which they acknowledge to be most necessary.

It is to be credited, that there are no lesse store of Mines (both of gold and siluer) at this day in France, then formerly hath bene knowne, and spoken of by our Ancients: as daily might bee discouered, if men would giue their mindes to search and breake open the ground for them. But the French wer neuer affected to such greedy desires, the earth yeelds and casts them vp commodities sufficient, goods & treasures in abounding plenty: without violencing or deluing into the earths entrails, and very profoundest deeps, euen (as if we should say) to burye men aliue, renting and tearing hard Rockes in peeces, leuelling high Mountaines, to melte and fine them, with the losse of an infinite number of liues. Day and night is spent in these extreme passions, to get this vile mettall, and then to adore it as a God, being the true cause & originall of the greatest miseries that can happen to man: albeit Nature (in her purity of wisdome) placed it to be trodden on vnder our feet, and hid it close in the earth, as a thing vnworthy to be seene.

There are many other treasures & gifts of Nature, which are affoorded vs by France. Quantum apud nos margaritis Indiciis precium est, tantum apud Indos in Corallio. gignitur in Rubro mari, laudatissimum vero in Gallico sinu ad Stoachades. Looke how much (in these quarters) we esteeme the Pearles & precious Stones of India; as much reckoning there is made of our Corall. And though it encreaseth in the gulfse of Arabia; yet notwithstanding, the most excellent commeth from the Isles Stoachades, now called the Isles of Ieres; so saith Pliny.

Among so many benefits and commodities, Salt likewise is one, the best & most wholefome that can be in any Country: in which regard, it is sought for by stran-

gers, euen whence commeth great store of gold and siluer into France, beside that which is of her owne ordinary vse. Botero ranketh it among the foure things which aboundeth in France, tearmed by him Adamants; as drawing to them the gold of strangers countries. These foure Adamants (saith he) are Corne, Wine, Flax and Hempe, and Salt.

In diuers parts of France, are the materials fit for all kindes of building. Hard stone and other matters, wherof infinite are to be seene in goodly, great, and rich buildings, Castles, and publike Edifices, wherewith the Country is wel filled, and cities beautified. Nor is it destitute of the fairest Marbles, in which respect, wee may not omit that which hath bene obserued by our Ancients, as a thing particular giuen to Gaule: that those Stones and materials do encrease in the Quarries; how liberally soeuer dispersed abroad, as Vlpian the Lawyer hath left vs in writing.

It was not then without great reason, that the Poet Manilius calld France Rich. And Dion tearmes it Florishing in riches. It seemeth also to be knowne to Iosephus, who declareth, how King Agrippa deliueering to the Iewes, what inconueniences might come vnto them, by reuolting a gainst the Romanes: demanded of them if they could speake of more wealth then the Gaules had; more strength then the Allemaignes or Germanes; and better vinity and vnderstanding, then among the Greekes, all which (neuerthelesse) were vnder the dominion of the Romans. And the better to perswade them, in the commodities and aduantages of all those people, being vnder their yoke & obedience: he saith of the Gaules, that they were (in multitude) three hundred & fiue kindes of people. And had among them (by his manner of speaking) Welles and Springs of all happines and felicity, watering and bedewing the whole Land habitable, with riches and good blessings. He addeth beside, that ther werethen in Gaule, aboue twelue hundred Townes and Cities.

In like manner, Caesar hauing bent all his hopes, one day to make himselfe Master and Monarch of the whole estate, power and dignity of the Romane Empire. and finding himselfe in want of money, charged with great debts, and yet (necessarily) to lay out greater largesse and expences,

In lib. 1. delle cause della grandezza delle città

Of hard stone

The fairest Marbles.

L. Fruetus 95. suir. D. soluto natum

Dion in lib. 4. Astron.

Ioseph. in lib. 2. de Bel. Indai. idu Kaisareu tou Galatunou plethou diuise day eidu souphotou pas tou pletonomias.

Cæsars intent to make himselfe the Roman Monarch

pences : to compasse the maine Master-peece wherat he aimed ; Among the multitude of mighty Prouinces, hee chose principally the Gaules (saith Suetonius) whose profite, riches, occasion, and opportunity, was to him subiect & matter sufficient, apt & conuenable for so great triumphing. Shewing thereby, that it was the goodliest, richest, most potent, and worthy Prouince of the Romane Empire, & thought it there the fittest, to exalt himselfe to the Maiesty of Rome. Which accordingly came to passe, for by the means of the Gaules riches, not onely he discharged himselfe of his great debts: but enriched likewise al his friends, practising with diuers, & winning an infinite number of Lords in Rome, yea, they that were the cheefest Magistrates: In brieffe, hee omitted not any kinde of bounty, as well publike as particular,

Among other matters, hee attempted the building of a Pallace, for the iudging of causes, the meere place costing him aboue 1400000 crownes, and al this came from the pillage of the Gauls. He feasted all the people of Rome, which was a thing (well neere) impossible and infinite. He doubled the pay of his Legions & companies of soldiers, to perpetuity; enriching the rest with good gifts, beside great distributions, as well of monies as slaues, as also lands and victuals, which he caused to be giuen to euery Citizen of Rome, & likewise to his Captains & Soldiers. For Plutarke saith; He emptied out of his owne Coffers, the riches of the Gaules, to such as help him to the publike government of Rome, euen what they would haue. He acquitted Curio the Tribune, of a great sum of money, which he ought him: And gaue to the Consull Paulus, 1500. Talents, amounting to 900000. Crownes of french coine.

All this bounty, all these goods & treasure, were taken in Gaule, & (as Suetonius saith) without any spare of the Temples, which he knew to be rich in gifts: & many times sacking Cities, rather for the greedy desire of booty, then any other iust cause. And Cicero saith: That he had overcome Nations, abounding in all things & in all the seueral kinds of power; this he meant of the Gaules. For, not only was that true which Procopius saide; That Gaule is much more powerfull then Spaine: but also aboue all the other Prouinces of the Romane Empire, according to the iudgement of

Cæsar. So then, it may iustly be saide, that Gaule, as well for riches, as for the me that he found ther, gaue entrance to the great power of Cæsar, & was the cause, means, and instrument of his designes, & obtaining the Empire of the world, which hee enjoyed, in despite of so many Romane Lords, his aduersaries and competitors.

But among so many prosperities, it is a matter both rare & admirable, that there are to be found few or no discomodities at all wherwith the land should be annoied. There is not any Region in the world, how goodly or happy soeuer it may be said to be, but is subiect to sundry inconueniences, that make a counterpoise to the felicity therof. Arabia, which carrieth the surname of Happy, wherein, beside so many blessings it affoordeth, the odors & perfumes there growing, maketh the aire all embalmed, as it were: yet in counterchange, it hath two very great discomodities. One is, that in those Forrests of most odoriferous trees, throughout in euery place, are found a great number of small and short serpents, of the same colour as the earth is, that subtilly sting and bite men, before they haue any power to perceiue it, or defend themselues against it; and being thus bitten, they cause their death in a million of torments. The other is that these so happy people are subiect to a strange disease, proceeding frō their ouermuch ease, and hot perfumes of the country: so that to helpe themselues, they are enforced to find out all kinds of stinking and infectious smels, euen the foulest that can be, so saith Diodorus. So that there is no happinesse in any part, neither any such pleasing sweetnes; but it is conioynd & neighbored with one grieffe or other.

The Regions of Africa, those that are the most delicious of al, are ordinarily affailed with an infinite number of wilde beasts, horrible Dragons, Serpents, & other venomous creatures: beside Lions, Leopards, Panthers, Ounces, & prodigious monsters, which Africa produceth from time to time, often raising siedge against the inhabitants, compelling thē to seeke out new dwellings. China, which is described to vs to be so fortunate, and abounding in all things: hath many afflictions. Fire failes frō heauen there vsually and such wonderfull rauage is made, that not only it embraceth & consumes particular

No matter of discomodity to be found in France.

The inconueniences that are in Arabia Fœlix.

Small stinging Serpents.

A strange sickness.

Diod. Sic. in lib. 3. cap. 18.

The infelicities of Africa Dragons, Serpents, & dangerous wilde Beasts.

The afflictions of China.

Fire from heauen.

Sueton. in Iulio cap. 22. Ex omni prouinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, cuius emolumento & opportunitate idonea esset materia triumphanturum.

The cunning of Cæsar to compasse that which he aimed at.

Sueton. cap. 26. in Iulio.

Plut. in vit. Cæsar. ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς τελευτησάντων ἀπὸν ὄντα πῦρ ἠὲ ἀσφάκτος πᾶσι τοῖς πολιτοῦσιν, The bounty & liberality of Cæsar.

Sueton. in Iulio cap. 53.

Pro. M. Marcello. Genes omni copiarum genere abundantes.

Procop. in lib. 1. de Bel. Got.

Inundations  
of water.

Earthquakes.

\* People of  
Libya abiding  
on the land  
neere the  
Syrts.  
*Herodot. in li. 4.*

Seldome is a-  
ny delight  
without dan-  
ger.

Perill of the  
Aspicke.

The Snake.

The Viper.

The Basliske  
Earthquake.

Deluge.  
*Herodot. in li. 3.*

The misery of  
Batica in  
Spaine.  
*Strabo in Lib. 3.*

The Gymna-  
sian Islands or  
Balcares pla-  
gued with  
Conies.

cular houses; but Villages, Burroughs, & great Cities altogether, yea, many times whole Prouinces. Deluges and inundations haue also wrought there strange effects, spoyling, ouerthrowing, and defacing whole Countries, & that very often Earthquakes, ingulfings, and impetuous showres of raine, are (as a man should say) there daily: thus you see what delight and happinesse, is in the greatest & most renowned kingdome of the East.

There are Countries, which suffer colds and insupportable freezings: as other are meerely burnt and wasted with heates. Witnesse the \* *Nasamones*, who in regard of this heate (they dwelling beyond the Torride Zoane) do curse the Sunne when it passeth ouer them. Thus then other Regions, being esteemed so happy for perfumes, odours, & such kinde of delights: doe sometime pay very dearely for their pleasures; perill is euermore neighbour to ioy, and contentment is close followed at the heeles, with some or other mishap.

Whosoever thinketh to gather the sweets of their fairest flowers, or the iuyce of their most delicious plants; may as soone meete with deadly poyson, and in stead of sweetnesse, finde such bitternesse, as quickly will bring him to his graue. Either by the Aspicke lying close hidden, whose pricking causeth sudden sleepe, & procureth death in that sleeping. The Snakes byting, bringeth a deadly drought with it. The Viper filleth the whole body full with venome, by his byting. The Basilike slayeth by his very sight onely. The earth by quaking, endangereth to swallow men vp, or ouerthrow and kill them in their houses. A deluge suddenly carrieth away, and couers all with water. The Lyon or the Tyger comes onely to deuoure.

*Strabo* hauing related the goodnesse of *Batica* in *Spaine*, which is now *Granada* & *Andaloufia*, saith withall; that the country is persecuted with an affliction very strange yet reputed to be ridiculous. It is by the great and immense multitude of Conies or Rabbits, which feede on, and consume their seedes, plants, and rootes of trees. He also saith, it hence ensueth, that almost throughout *Spaine*, yea, and the neighboring Isles, are thereby afflicted. Adding beside, that the inhabitants of the Isles *Gymnasiaes* or *Balcares*, now called *Maïorque* and *Minorque*, sent Ambassadors, to

request ayd of the Romanes, against these hurtfull creatures, and to chase them out of their country, as beeing vnable to endure their multitude. And succour was necessarily required in so great a warre, which doth not alwayes happen (saith he) but when the country is subiect to be infected with some plague of pestilence, famine, or such other affliction and punishment sent from Heauen.

*Marcus Varro* writeth, that a Towne in *Spaine* was wholly vndermined, and ruined by those Conies, & another in *Thes-salie*, by Moales. Some that haue bene dispeopled & forsaken, in regard of the great multitude of Frogs. Another in *Affrica*, by Locusts. Also, that the inhabitants of the City \* *Gyaros*, now called *Gura*, in one of the *Cyclades*; were expelled thence by Rats: and that in *Italy*, an ancient City called *Amyclea*, was vtterly ruined and lost by Serpents. There is a Region in *Affrica*, where a great extendure of the country is become desert, the people which dwelled there being driuen to all extremities, and quite exterminated, onely by Scorpions and Pissemires, which are a kinde of venomous Ants. *Theophrastus* reporteth, that others were expelled by \* *Scolopendraes*. And *Strabo* saith, that *Spaine* was ordinarily infected with a strange multitude of Rats: whereupon (oftentimes) followed contagious diseases. The like happened once to the Romanes, when they were in the countries of the *Basques* and *Astures*: so that they wer glad to hire men to chase them away, the Rats came so fast vpon them, and hardly could they saue themselves from them. An ancient Philosopher, named \* *Dicaarchus*, wrote a Book, of the ruine of men, and had collected together, how many ruines had happened in diuers countries, by reason of the inopinate multitude of beasts: by whose impetuous violence, he sheweth, that some Nations haue bene lost and consumed.

*France*, on the contrary (God be praised for it) neuer was subiect to so many miseries, & there is not any Region found in all the habitable world, being so happy, tasteth lesse inconueniences. Deadly poison cannot deceiue him that gathereth there her wholesome flowers & hearbs, or perfumes. The Lyon or Tyger, the rauinous Beare or Panther, cometh not to set vpon the traoueller, or driue the husband-

*Plin. in li. 8.*  
*cap. 29.*  
*Diod. in Lib. 3.*  
*cap. 13.*

\* An Isle in  
the Aegium  
sea, one of the  
Sporades.

\* A worme  
that hath ma-  
ny feete, and  
is very veno-  
mous.  
*Strabo in lib. 3.*

\* A Silician  
Philosopher,  
*Aristotles*  
*Scholler.*

France may  
compare with  
any Region  
whatsoeuer in  
the world.

man

No venomous creatures in all France.

Of the Aspicke in France.

In lib. 1. cap. 2.

The flesh is soueraign for diseases.

Bald. Ang. Abbatius lib. de Vipera.

The Egyptian hieroglyphick of health.

None of these nouelties are in France.

Lib. 7. cap. 80. Gallie terra motu minime quatuntur.

man from his home. The Serpent cannot annoy the passenger or haruest Reaper by his byting, because there is none at all to be found there. A man may safely take the Evening or Mornings benefit on the greene grasse, without dread of any venomous creature, which are most dangerous in other countries. But admit that there were some kinde of Serpents or Snakes in some peculiar parts: yet are they very few, and no harme at all discerned to come from them. No Egyptian Aspicke is there to bee found, and that which is termed in France an Aspicke: it is no Aspicke at all but rather a Viper, as is verified in the Obseruations of P. Bolognius. Neuerthelesse, it is rare or sildome to be seene there, and benefit (rather then any harme) is to be receiued thereby. And say that this Serpent were very venomous: yet notwithstanding, it serueth most commodiously for the life of man, and Treacle is compounded thereof. The verie learnedst Physitians do hold, that the flesh thereof is soueraigne for many diseases; and, that which is much more, it hath power to lengthen the life of man, in such as make ordinary vse of it, as manie of our Ancients did, and other healthfull people yet liuing, who haue heretofore referred the cause of their so long healthfull continuance. Thus our Ancients, and especially the learned Egyptians, vsed the Snake as an Hieroglyphick, marke and signe of health: presenting it to their Goddesse *Sanitas*, rouled about with other creatures.

Moreover, France is not subiect to the miseries and horrors of earth-quake. Neuer shall ye there heare the earth grone, bellow, then tremble, shake, and swallow vp houses, Burroughes, & whol Townes, making groweth of Mountaines, by leuelling and plaining other places, to drie vp waters and riuers, and then sodainly to let loose Flood-gates of Nouelties; to stay their violent course of a streame, and then to make it run directly against his currét: to let forth flaming fires, to finish that with greater desolation, which the former Earth-quake had left behinde it. By an especiall priuiledge of heauen, France stands exempted from all these; experience hath made it apparant, & Pliny long ago witnessed it, when he saide: *That the Gaules were not shaken by tremblings of the earth.*

To know the quiet condition and felicity of France in this case, wee may compare and consider other Nations & Provinces, and what great afflictions and ruines haue insued to them by such harmes, in most part of the worlds Regions. We finde, that in Italy and other Countries, in the time of the Punicke warres, the people were tormented with Earth-quake, seuen and fifty times in one yeare. VVho would not be amazed, to heare that two hilles should approach neere each to other, to iustle (as it were) together; then, to retire and auancer on againe, after the manner of fight, stirring and mouing furiously, with an horrible noise and breaking? A great fire and smoake rose vp betweene them; and by this their rude encounter, houses and villages (seated in the valley) were bruised and beaten downe, & both men and beasts smothered to death: euen as it happened in the Territorie of Modena, in the yeere 622. and in the City of Rome, in the time of the wars of Marius and Sylla. This was seene in broad day time, by a great number of passengers & Romane Citties, who beheld this wofull spectacle, from the neere-neighbouring high-way, or hill ascending to the Capitoll.

It was a strange thing, that trembling or Earth-quake, which happened vnder the Emperor Tiberius, and in the 5. yeare of his Empire (to the end we may not, as Orosius doth, confound it with that which chanced twelue years after, miraculously, euen at the passion of our Sauour: ) Tacitus reporteth, that in this yeere (which was the 770. of the City of Rome) in one night, twelue great and famous Cittes of Natolia, were ruined and vterly ouerthrowne; such as was Ephesus, Sardis, Cuma, Philadelphia, and other of the same ranke. And that which vvas most terrible, they had not the meanes of open flight, an ordinary succour in such misfortunes: yet thereof they were deprivied, because the earth shrunke and opened vnder their feete, and swallowed them vp immediately. Herewithall arose shinings and flames of fire among the ruines; and that which vvas plaine champaigne grounde before, was exalted to Mountaines, and contrarywise, Mountaines became euen and leuell ground.

Heere might also bee alledged, the vfuall

Plin. l. 2. cap. 84

Two great mountaines met together.

Plin. l. 2. cap. 83

Corn. Tacit. Annal. 1.

Plin. in l. cap. 84 Euseb. in Chron.

Strange earth  
quakes at Con-  
stantinople.  
Paul. Diac. hist.  
Miscel. lib. 14.

Marcel. lib. 17.

Paul. Diac. hist.  
Misc. lib. 15. &  
Cedrenus. l. 16.

Plin. lib. 7. c. 60.

The temper-  
ature and  
mildnes of the  
aire.

No Moun-  
tainer of ice  
and Snow in  
France.

suall and frequent earthquakes at *Constantinople*, and whereto it hath bene alwayes subiect. And in such manner, as during the reigne of the Emperour *Theodosius*, there happened such an Earth-quake, as lasted foure moneths continually: the people beeing constrained to flye out of the City, not daring to return in againe. There was another as strange, which chanced in some yeares before, in the City of *Nicea* in *Natolia*, which was ruined; and the dreadfull effectes thereof are particularly written by *Amianus Marcellinus*, and vnder the reigne of the Emperour *Constantine*. *Zonarus* reporteth, that thirteene great Townes of Champaigne ground in *Italy*, or in the soyle called *Terra di Lauora*, were vtterly ouerthrowne. But among other, the City of *Antioche* was wonderfully afflicted. In the reigne of the Emperour *Iustinian*, it was ouerthrowne; and an infinite number of men therein swallowed. Soone after, it was re-builed by the liberality of the Emperour, and two yeares were not fully expired, when this goodlie and flourishing Cittie had bene newly finished; but againe in like manner it was wholly ruined, and the greater part of the inhabitants buried in the downfall. This was in the beginning of *Iustinians* empire. Such miseries neuer hapned in the Kingdome of France: *Gallia & terrarum motibus minime quatuntur.*

It is likewise a happinesse particular to France, that the sweetnesse and temperature of the Ayre is such; as, in comparison of that in other Prouinces, there is neyther excessiue colds, nor insupportable heats. And if in some yeare it happen otherwise, it is but once in an hundred yeeres, and of so small continuance, that it is onely but as a scantling: therby to let the Frenchmen know, the sharpe rigour and discommodity that other people endure, to the end they may the better vnderstand their owne felicity, and shape their conforments answerable therto. Length of Winters, and of Nightes; the bitter North-east windes of *Scythia*; Mountaines of Ice and Snow, neuer hindereth their Commerce, nor their Voyages at all seasons of the yeare. Theyr Seas doe not freeze, as often it dooeth in *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Mare maior*, euen so farre as the streights of *Constantinople*. On the contrarie side, extremitie of heate con-

straines not men to keepe them a long while hidden vnder ground, without daring to come forth but in the night time: neyther to sleepe in the water, and like the *Amphibij* or halfe Fishes, to dwell there the most part of their time. That which is reported of many people, & particularly of the dwellers in *Barbarie*, *Ormuz*, and them of *Taprobane*, now called *\* Samotra*: not any thing heere is like vnto them, but all most temperate. From so sweete an Ayre, can proceede nothing but healthfulnesse, the Heauens being no way subiect to ingender frequent and irksome Diseases. Therefore did *Caspar* deseruedly set this commendation on France: *To be a Countrey most sweete and healthfull.* And so the English-men likewise, in the recitall of *Froissard*, doe note France, *To be a most safe Countrey, and very sweete, a courteous Countrey, with mild aire, and delicate Riuers.*

It is an admirable matter also, that France produceth such diuersity of things and in such abundance: there being no Countrey throughout the World more commixed, and that hath lesse meanes of subiect, for recourse vnto other. It is by a priuiledge and particular right, and against the Law which Nature hath giuen vnto other landes; but to speake vprightly of France, it is proper to all, and in such sort, as there is not any thing particular to other, which is not common in it. In regard whereof, and considering what hath formerly bene said, there needs no doubt to bee made: but that which *Virgil* meant to say in commendation of his *Italy*, was much more fitting for the Land of *France*.

*Hic ver assiduum, atq; alienis mensibus astas,  
Bis grandid pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbor,  
Ac rabida Tigres absunt, & sana Leonum  
Semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentes:  
Nec rapit immensos orbis per humum, neq; tanto  
Squamem in spiram tractu se colligit anguis.  
Adde tot egregias vrbes, operumq; laborem.*

Beside, that which he could say concerning the amenity or delectableness of *Italy*, was but for some certaine places; & the *Italians* themselues do know wel enough, that whatsoeuer they do admire or commend, in any particular part of *Italie*, it

That liue  
most of their  
time in the  
water.

\* In the Indi-  
an sea, beeing  
in length 1000.  
miles, and in  
breadth 625.

Lib. 3. Bel. Civil.

Froiss. in vol. 3.

The plenty &  
abundance in  
France.

Virg. Georgic. 2.

Batro. Rel. uni-  
uersal. part. 2.

How France is seated for Navigation.

is to be found euery where in France, and is meerey common there.

Moreouer, the Kingdome is most absolutely seated for Navigation: because on the one side it hath the Mediterranean sea, and the Ocean sea on the other, enuironing it by a long extendure, and wherein are many goodly and commodious Ports and Hauens. As for the Land it selfe, it is as in the very middest or hart of Europe. . . Suriano, in his relation of France, hath well obserued it, and makes great reckoning of the commodiousnesse of the situation, vsing these very words.

Il regno di Francia, come quello che è in mezzo de la Christianità, è comodo & oportuno piu d'ogni altro per vnire & diuidere a sua volontà le forze de i piu gran Principi, & de i popoli piu bellicosì, perche à dinanzi l'Italia, & l'Inghilterra a le spalle, a man destra la Spagna, da sinistra è la Germania, di qua Swizzeri, di qua Flamenghi, & oltra di questo è fra due mari, il Mediterraneo dell' una parte, & l'Oceano d'all'altra: onde per mare & per terra puo facilmente fauorire tutte le imprese & tutti li disegni di ciascun Principe & Potentato del mondo. Et quanto a se è sicurissimo di ogni banda & per Natura, & per Arte.

The Kingdome of France, as that which is in the midst of Christendome, is oportune & commodious (more then all other) to vnite and diuide (at her owne will) the forces of the very greatest Princes, and of the most warlike people. Because it hath Italy before it, England to shoulder it, Spain on the right hand, Germany on the left: on this side the Switzers, on that side the Flemings. And beside all this, it is betweene two Seas, the Mediterranean on the one part, & the Ocean on the other: so that by sea and land, she may easily fauour all the enterprizes, and all the deseigns of euery Prince and Potentate in the World. And as for her selfe, she is most secure on euery side, both by Nature, and by Art.

Let no man then thinke strangely of it, if France be endowed with so many celestiall graces and fauours, and so wel peopled and inhabited, that any thing can be comparable thereto, in all other Countreyes whatsoeuer. There is not a iotte of voyde or waste ground; the goodly and great Citties and Townes, are all well filled with inhabitants, and very neer neighbouring one to another. Trauailing vpon

the common high-ways, from any part whither you please: you shal finde them bordered with great villages, faire Houses and Castles, and the people swarming euery where, euen as if al France were but one City.

It is not so in other regions, for in some there are immense Forrests, Lakes, and Marish grounds, taking vp immeasurable roome; as in Germany, and in the Low Countries: In other places, are great and sterile Mountaines, which take vpp no meane part of the Countrey: as Botero acknowledgeth, that the Apennines vsurpe a whole quarter of Italy. There can you not behold (as you may in France) small hills and dales, sweetly cloathed, and flourishing with delicate fruite trees, or vwealthie Vineyards, or else employed to some other profitable vse. As for the Alpes and Apennines, for the most part, there is nothing to be seene but sharpe and craggie rockes, bearing their heads vp vnto the clouds, couered with Mosse & Saltpeter, and hauing very dreadfull downefalles. There is nothing but hardness, rocks full of horror, places vnaccessable, vnprofitable, and fruitelesse, eyther for Men or Beasts,

Concerning Spaine, so much as it is far off from this happinesse of France, euen so (in comparifon) is it as slenderly peopled. Behold the perspective thereof, according as Strabo hath drawne it downe for vs. Spaine (saith he) for the most part is very ill inhabited. For the Mountaines, Forrests, and Plaines (wherby the earth is dried, meager and barren, being but slenderly holpen with waters) takes vp too much ground. The same Author saith in another place; that hee cannot beleue that there hath bin so many Citties or Townes in Spain, as some haue reported, or else they counted Villages for Townes. For (saith hee) The Nature of the Countrey cannot receyue any number of Townes, in regard of the barrennesse of the ground; by being farre off; & retired from one of the worlds corners: and also the ayre breathing not gracious & agreeable. Thus you see the true description of Spaine, and this hee sayeth, because it is found in som Authors of Antiquity, who haue tearmed it to be happy and fertile: it is to be vnderstood of the Sea shores, and some Countries, where (in trueth) it is so. As in Batica, containing nowe the

Strabo in lib. 3  
The Icheras, the  
the Icheras, the  
the Icheras, the

The iniuries that are in other countries different from France.

Spain no way comparable to France.

Strabo in lib. 3  
The Icheras, the  
the Icheras, the  
the Icheras, the

Strabo in lib. 3  
The Icheras, the  
the Icheras, the  
the Icheras, the

What happinesse and fertility is in Spaine.



fert rockes, wild Forrests, which haue no other Inhabitants but sauage beasts. But rather, by commanding infinite numbers of people, that acknowledge him as their Soueraigne, willingly obey him, and reuerently respect him for their own good. This is that which maketh his state assured, and maketh him dreadfull to neighbours or enemies.

The true dignity of a king.

Moreouer, what great numbers of people *Gaule* hath produced at all times, yeelds proofes sufficient, as well by the troopes heeretofore parting thence, the Countrey being vncapable to containe them; as also others, that haue gone and filled all other regions on the earth, aswel by Colonies and plantations in their coming thither, as some other Countries still inhabited by them, whereof we shall haue cause to speake more particularie heereafter.

The plentie of people among the ancient Gaules, and the new.

This great number of men is the cause that France is adorned with so many faire and goodly Cities, as alwayes it hath bin, and at this day more then euer. *Iosephus* maketh mention, that at the time as *Cæsar* inuaded *Gaule*, there were then aboue twelue hundred. Among them that are now at this present, there are three hundred; wherein there are three and thirtie Bishops Sees, and fourteene Metropolitan or Archbishopspricks; besides, an infinite number of other, a great company whereof are so potent in extendure & dignity, as they equall the verie capitall Citties of strange Nations, sparing here (beside) to speake of their strength.

The number of Cities wher *Cæsar* inuaded *Gaule*.

I forbear also a matter remarkable in France, that there hath beene (and some say now is) seauen and twentie thousand Burroughes or Townes, being Parishes, and hauing Steeples, and amongst them Villages so great and wealthy, as may compare with good Townes in other Countries; not bringing within the Lists of this account, all the Hamlets, Graunges, and particular houses; because they are innumerable.

33. Bishoppricks, & 14 Archbishopspricks.

Heere giue me leaue to sit downe and rest, as not knowing how to bee silent, or in what manner to speake, of the great, puissant, and opulent Cittie of *Paris*; which hath exalted her head aboue all other of the world. To forget it, I cannot; to speake worthily, or to describe and present it to the life indeede, it is impossible

The Authors modestie, in speaking of the City of Paris.

for me. It is the seat of the Kings of *Frâce*, it is the principall residence of their Maesties; it is the dwelling of their Soueraigne Iustice: which is there rendred & distributed by the Court of Parliament, being called the Court of Peeres; from whence all other are deriued; the same is the Chamber of Accompts, or of the Exchequer, and the arriual for all the reuenewes of the Realme whatsoeuer.

Also in this Citie, is that most ancient Vniuersity, so famously renowned thorough the world. All there is admirable, either in regard of the greatnesse and extent, or for the infinit structure of so many buildings, both publike and particular: but aboue all, the prease and throngs of people wherewith it is inhabited, and which commeth thither from all parts, so that the like can hardly be spoken of in any place else. Beside, it is seconded vwith abundance of all things, that can be desired for happinesse of life.

The famous vniuersitie of Paris.

*Paris est en scauoir vne Grece seconde,  
Vne Rome en grandeur Paris on peut nōmer.  
Vne Asie en richesse on le peut estimer,  
En rares nouueantez vne Afrique seconde.*

That is;

*Paris in knowledge may be Greece, as wise;  
A Rome for greatnes, Paris may be nam'd:  
An Asia in wealth it may be found;  
A second Affricke, for rare nouelties.*

Heereto might be added the grace of the situation, the fairest and fittest that is to be seene: for being as pleasing and delectable, as commodious and profitable. In the very middest of rich Prouinces, enuironed with many Nauigable riuers that come and render their riches to *Seine*: passing thorow the middle of the Cittie, to gather and bring thither commodities from all the Countreyes round about, coming from, and into an Ayre so good & healthfull. In which respect, though hauing such mightie access of people: it is lesse subiect to contagious diseases, then other the greatest Citties are ordinarily afflicted withall. And when any do happen, the effects are much more moderate, of far lesse danger and contagion, then is to be seene in other places.

The situation of the City of Paris, most pleasant and wholesome.

It is reported of the City of *Constantinople*, that from three yeeres to 3. yeeres, (without sayle) it is most strangely tormented

Hist. Miscel. lib. 14. cap. 9.

Strāge plague  
in Constanti-  
nople, and in  
the Graund  
Caire.

mented with a pestilence, which doeth greatly dispeople it: to the no meane amazement of many, that haue made deep search into the cause. So it is in like manner affirmed by diuers, that the *Grand Cairo* is euery yeare afflicted with the Pestilence. Vndoubtedly, when I consider with my selfe, that great *Louys*, vulgarly called *Chlouis*, stayed his opinion, and made *Paris* the seat of his kingdome, leauing many other Cities which were then far greater: and that before him, the Emperor *Iulian* (being come into France) established there his ordinary abode, and called it *Amiable* or *Louely*. I am compelled to admire therein, their great Wisdom and vnderstanding, in choosing a place so commodious, so pleasant and answerable; although then it seemed to be one of the least Citties of Gaul. It would require an entire volumne to speak thereof, and yet none will credit vwhat it is, except they haue the happinesse to see it: & the sight may much better satisfye them, then all that can be sayde or written of it. Therefore I wil end this discourse, adding onely that which is sayde by *Botero Parigi*, *Città che di popolo, & di abbondanza d'ogni cosa, auanza di gran lunga tutte l'altre di Christianita. Paris, a City that in people and abundance of all things, goeth farre beyond all the rest of Christendome.*

In *Misopogne*.

Lib. 1. Delle  
cause della  
grandzza delle  
Città.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the People dwelling in this fruitfull Land of France, what they were being anciently Gaules, and afterwards Frenchmen: their Manhood, Valour, and successfull Fortunes.*



ough hath bene sayde (though too vnskillfully and altogether weakly) concerning the beauty, bountie, perfections & excellencies of the Land it selfe in all things: let vs now see (according vnto our intended purpose) what the people haue bene and are in their condition. Such as haue heard of

so extraordinary felicity, perhappes may quickly condemne mee, by alledging it as a matter impossible: that in a Region so pleasant, gracefull, and abounding in all kindes of goodnesse: the inhabitants can any way be vertuous, valiant, and courageous. Great *Cyrus* was of that Opinion, when his victorious *Persians* laboured to change their Countrey, in regard it was sharpe, rough, rude, and Mountainous; for one of them which they had conquered, that was more pleasant, consisting of goodly plaines, and euen Champaigne grounds. Which hee would not suffer them to doe, but shewed them, that like vnto seeds and plants, so are the liues of men made conformable vnto those Regions where they abide. As if hee would haue sayd, that in a fair & fortunate countrey, the mindes of men alter, and quickly become effeminate.

*Hanniball*, not onely inuincible by the Armies of the Romaines, but also by so many victories ouer them, bringing them neerer to their vtter ruine, then euer they were or had bene: was ouerthrowne and confounded, by the soft and easefull delights of *Capua*. The sweets of his winter sojourning there, did enervate and weaken both him and all his army, which the rough Alpes and freezing snowes, had formerly made vnconquerable. Euen so we may say, and very truly, that the high and mighty courage of *Alexander*, was softened by the luxury, sumptuousnes, and dissolutions among the Persians.

It is a matter verie frequent and ordinarie, that the Prouinces of greatest happinesse, become a prey to others, in being voluntarily destitute of couragious men, For, a more warlike people coming to inuade them, after they haue continued there for some time: they forget their former generosity, as if they were wholly changed, and with the very ayre of the countrey, had deriued to themselues the verie same Nature. *Sicily* hath alwaies bin the butte and ayme of all warlike people, as of the *Grecians*, the *Carthagenians*, and the *Romaines*, and of many other beside.

Also in *Egypt*, which is one of the verie choifest, fertilest, and richest Nations of the worlde: the most martiall people that come to stay there, doe after enter into such a lazie condition; that they stand in neede of chafing thence, euen as they

The wisdom  
of *Cyrus* a-  
gainst the fol-  
ly of his soldi-  
ers.

*Hannibal*' vi-  
ctorious a-  
gainst the Ro-  
maines, lost al  
his honor at  
*Capua*.

*Alexanders*  
dissolutions in  
*Persia*.

*Sicily* the aim  
of warlike na-  
tions.

The fruitful-  
nes of *Egypt*,  
and hurt it  
doth to marti-  
all people.

He proceed-  
eth on with  
his second dis-  
course.

they did to the first inhabitants: The like great and frequent changes haue bin often obserued, as well in ancient as more moderne times; and namely, vnder the Mahometane *Calyffes*. It is reported of the Wel\* *Salmacis* in *Caria* (which is one of the regions of *Natolia*) that such as drinke the water thereof, of men, doe immediately become women. But the truth is, according to the relation of *Vitruuius*, that it is a place so goodly, pleasant, and where the people liue in such delights and dissolutions; that the courages of men, after they haue liued there any long while, becommeth altogether effeminate or womanish; which gaue such a subiect to the Fable, as if they had bene changed into women, and receyued into another Nature. Some haue attributed (to the selfesame reason) the vnmanlinesse of the latter Grecian Emperors of *Constantinople*, through the ouer-much delicacie of the Country.

All this is contrary in France, for amidst such a great affluence, and euen among a world of pleasures; generous spirits are borne, truly warriors, and of men excelling in all vertues, it yeeldeth withall the like abundance of euery other thing; yea, euen among those Frenchmen as suffer themselues to be led into all pleasures, in peaceful & vndisturbed times; yet are they not thereby softned a iotte, neyther loose any of their courage, valour, and adresse to actions of Armes. But euen, as if they were meerely borne thereto, nor euer learned any other kinde of exercise: being euermore readie to giue ouer all pleasures, to follow the warres, march to fights, and throw themselues first into the mouth of danger. This is their true exercise, their naturall inclination, vvhich they knowe not how to forget or giue ouer: and whensoever they delight in hunting, yet are they more readie to returne to Armes.

The like naturall disposition is described by *Zozimus*, of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who although hee was a man giuen to much pleasure, and addicted himselfe thereto at due seasons: yet notwithstanding, when occasion required, he was alwayes readie to vndertake Armes, whereof as patiently hee endured all the paines, toiles, and incommodities, euen as if hee had taken a great pleasure and felicitie

therein. Such a man was *Demetrius* King of Macedon among the Grecians, and *Marcus Antonius* among the Romaines; and *Scipio* giues very little ground vnto them in martial disposition. *Cesar* also, speaking of his Army (composed for the most part of Gaules) saide: *That his Soldiers, howsoever they were perfumed, yet they left not (for all that) to fight valiantly and courageously. Milites suos etiam vnguentatos, bene pugnare.* The like account vvas heretofore made, that the Belgians were the most hardiest and valiant amongst the Gaules: because, they would permit no Merchandizes to bee brought into their Country, that any way might serue to soften the naturall inclination of Men. But he knew well enough soon after, that valiancie and Militarie vertue was so natural, vnto them that were borne and nourished vnder the ayre of Gaul, as it could not by any meanes bee quailed in them, or separated from them, by the plentie of any thing seruing vnto voluptuousnesse.

Some haue held opinion, that the rigour and austerity of the Persian youths, and their continuall manner of liuing in so stricte a kinde; prooued to be the onely cause, that they were much better men of warre, than their neighbours. And surely, the Lacedemonians differed not from this coniecture of them, when they saide: They made no great meruaile why they went so boldly to warre, and exposed themselues vnto death; considering, what small delight and contentment they tooke in life, in regard of the harsh and rigorous discipline of their lawes. But the Gentlemen of France, although they be borne and bred delicately, they do neuer fayle in generous courage: Armes, and verie hard Trauailes in Warre, are vnto them as sportes and pastimes; and, to speake iustly, they are born thereto, without neede of so much cunning and instruction, as others haue to exercise and prepare them.

Those people that Fraunce hath bred and yeilded, haue alwayes bene redoubtable for their Armes, to all other Nations of the world. The Romaines well felte it, when they were hewed in peeces by the Gaules, on the day at *Allia*. And afterward, when (vpon their sodaine coming on them) they were constrained

Men addicted to armes by nature.

See more of Iuston in Iulio, Cap. 67.

The stricte forme of life obserued amongest the young men of Persia, wondred at amongest the Lacedemonians.

The Romaines felt the manhood of the Gaules to their cost.

\* A Spring neere to Halycarnassus.

A morall Allusion of the Fable.

Frenchmen are truly borne warriors.

Zozim. in vit. Imp. Valentin.

The error of  
the Romane  
historians.

Polyb. hist. in l. 1.

Suet. in vit. Ti-  
berio cap. 3.

In Lib. 1.

Cicero in Orat.  
De provincijs  
consularibus.

In fine Bel. Ing.  
⁊ (quæ ad nostrâ  
memoriam Ro-  
mani sic habue-  
re, alia omnia  
virtutis sue pro-  
ne esse, cū Gal-  
lis pro salute, nō  
pro gloria certa-  
ri.

to hide themselves in their Capitoll; the which yet was not sufficient to saue them till (in the end) they were gladde to pay a great quantity of golde and siluer to the Gauls, for their ransom. And although their historians labour to make men beleue, that *Camillus* the Dictator exterminated the greater part of the Gaules, & brought back againe that which was giuen for ransom; yet notwithstanding, *Polybius* a very ancient Author, neere enough to those times, well experienced in the history, & being an excellent writer beside, hee declareth the contrary, saying: *The Gaules went away victorious, hauing granted peace to the Romanes, by meanes of a great summe of gold, which they brought thence with thē. Which is moreouer confirmed by Suetonius*, who sayeth; *One of the house of the Neroes, Ancestors to the Emperour Tiberius, hauing made warre on the Gaules called Senones, descending from them that surprized Rome: brought backe the gold of the ransom which had bin payed them, & that it was not recovered by Camillus, as the rumour ranne.* And beside, those very men that sacked Rome, returning thorow Italy, made alliance with the elder *Dionisius*, the Tyrant of Siracusa, and aided him vvith theyr troopes against the Locrians and Crotones his enemies, as it is auouched by *Trogus Pompeius*.

If the losse of the Gauls had bin so notable, as *Liuius* hath described it: they could not haue peopled a greater country in Italy, & made war so often on the Romans, as at diuers times they did. *Wee had enough to do* (saith *Cicero*) *to resist them & to defend our selues, being continually assailed by them. And our Captaines and Commanders in war perpetually accounted, that it was fitter to defend & beare off their blowes in such a war, then to set on or assault them.* It is wel known of great *Marius*, when he opposed himselfe against the effortes and stratagemes of the Gaules, that hee neuer durst attempt to enter their Lands. They to whome all other war was easie, lost all their fencing trickes against the Gaules. *Hitherto* (saith *Salust*) *the Romans euermore conceiued, that all things gaue way, and were to be yoaked by their vertue. But only against the Gaules, when they were to fight with thē, not for honour and glory, but for defence of their lues.*

Nor did they tearme this warre but tu-

mult & insurrection, because that by the promptitude of the Frēch, in vsing arms; they had not the leisure to beate their drum, to raise or call their companies; but suddenly, without any choise, tooke such for soldiers as could carry Armes. They had a particular Exchequer or Treasurie by it selfe, destined to be imployed onely about the charges of the Gaulish warres, whensoever they hapned: as being one of the greatest & most extreame necessities belonging to their City. And though in all other wars some stood exempted from going to them, as such as had spent their time in war, being called *Veteranes*, or ancient seruitors; yet (in such a case) they much needs march, without any regard at all of such exemption. *Vt oportet bello Gallico vt maiorū iura moresq; prescribunt, nemo est Ciuis Romanus, qui sibi vlla excusatione vtendum putet.* According to the Lawes of our Ancestors (saith *Cicero*) and according vnto ordinary custome, there is not any Romane Citizen, that must think onely to propound any exemption, when there happeneth any war with the French.

Nay, that which is more, the *Romaines* quitted and gaue them freely the honour belonging to actions of arms. *Cato* voluntarily confesseth in *Salust*, *That the Grecians had gone beyond the Romans in eloquēce, and the Gauls them, in the glory of war.* And this is the reason, why they alwaies stood in feare of the country that brought forth a people naturally warriors, & in so great a number. When they named that Province, they would say, *It was too fearefull for the Romaines.* Neuer was any speech of the least stir or tumult in Gaule, but they would all tremble. And thereupon, immediately after the death of great *Cesar* the Dictator, it was propounded to the Senate to giue ouer Gaule, leauing it to full liberty, although it was formerly conquered and assured. These are the very words of *Appian*: *There was* (saith hee) *made a Decree and arrest to the Senate, concerning Gaule: all the Senators being possessed with feare. A little lower hee saith: Some amongst them were of the minde, That they must needs giue ouer, and forsake all the whole Countrey and People, leauing them at libertie, and to enfranchise them from subiection vnto the Empire. So much they stood in feare and dread of the Neighbourhoode of Gaule.*

An Exchequer in Rome onely for the Gauls warres.

Cicero pro Fanticio.

In Coniurat. Catilin. Facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos Romanos ante iussit.

Cicero de provincijs Consularibus. Gallia Romanis adeo timenda.

In lib. 3. de Bel. Ciuil.

And

In Orat. de provinciis. Conu. Alpius Italam munierat ante natura, non sine aliquo diuino numine: nam si ille aditus Gallorum immani, tati multitudi que patuisset, nunquam hac urbs summo Imperio domicilium ac sedem probuisset.

And Cicero saith; Nature hath munited Italy with a rampier of Alpes, not without diuine providence. For if that entrace (sayth he) were laid open to the fury and multitude of the Gaules: euer would the City of Rome, the seate and dwelling place of the Emperre, onely Soueraigne of the worlde, bee besieged.

It is not to the Romains only, that the French haue made knowne their vnconquerable corage, and to feel the strength of dreadles armes; what Canton? what quarter of the world is there, where they haue not planted their conquering Ensigns? The Celts (for so the Grecians termed the French) are found to dwell in most parts of the vniuerse, as hauing leste France, in regard of their ouer-great multitude, to seeke new countries elsewhere, which they conquered with their swords, and became Masters of them. They are dispersed ouer all Europe, and hardly is there any quarter, where they haue not left the markes of their victories, and records of their name. Spaine is full of such Colonies, whose names would bee considered out of diuers countries, according as ancient Geographers haue stiled them. And first to speake of the *Celtiberians*, who are prooffe sufficient to our purpose, and accounted to be the most valiant people in Spaine. No doubt, as they stil retain the name, so doe they (in like manner) keepe the vertue and valour of the Gaules their Ancestors, that came to inhabite there, and also to make a Plantation of theyr name.

Some foure thousand of those *Celtiberians*, defended most couragiously the city of *Numantia*, and sustained the siege for foureene years, against the Effortes of many Roman armies, yea, and of theyr very cheefest Captaines, vntill such time as they were inforced to send their *Scipio* thither. In the end, the so long besieged *Celtiberians*, chose rather to burn themselves and their City together, then to yeeld to their implacable Enemies, vnto whom they left nothing to adorne theyr triumph, but their very name onely.

At this very day, *Portugal* and *Gallizia* do carry the names of their first founders the Gaules. They entred also vpon a great part of *Italy*, comprehending (in the same respect) the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*, wher they first entred in the reigne of *Tarquini-*

*us Priscus*, King of the Romaines, about the year of the world, *MMM, CCC, LX*. There they founded *Millain*, & afterward *Brescia*, *Verona* and other Cities: this couragious, hardy, and warlike Nation (I vse the very wordes of *Trogus*) the cheefest next to *Hercules*, and iustly deseruing to be called immortal; they (I say) ouerwent the sharpnesse and bitterness of the Alps, vnpassible for the snowes & colds. They are found to dwell thorow all Germanie, where are the *Boemes* and *Carnes*; in *Pannonia* or *Austria*, and *Hongaria*; in *Transsylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Albania*; in *Thrace*, where they haue reigned a sufficient legth of time. This may be the reason, why som of our Ancients named Europe, *Celtica*, *Κέλτικη*, because that the most part of the inhabitants, called themselves *Celtes* or *Gauls*, as is plainly auouched.

For the same respect, an ancient Geographer saide, that the Northerne part of the earth, was inhabited by the *Scythians*; the Eastern by the *Indians*, the Southerne by the *Æthyopians*; and the Occidentall or Western by the *Celts* or *Gaules*: each place and part of the world taking first denomination, according to the excellency of the people, that were the principal and most renowned in euerie part. The verie same Gaules haue made all *Macedon* and *Greece* to tremble, and haue solde peace to all other people, who came to buy it, before they were any way assailed, as affrighted with the name of the Gaules onely. *Trogus* reporteth it in this manner: *Tantus terror Gallici nominis erat, ut etiam Reges non laceffiti, vltro pacem ingenti pecunia mercarentur. Such was (saith he) the terrour of the Frenchmens name, that Kings neuer beeing encountred, came of themselves, and by theyr owne meere motion, to purchase their peace with great summes of Money.*

All the lesser *Asia* were as slenderly able to resist them, for it hath bin wholly subdued by them. In like manner, such account was made of their man-hoode, that there hapned not any war in the East; but they were the forwardest partakers therein. It was euermore to them, that afflicted Princes fled for succour, as it is declared by the same *Trogus*, and here you may reade his owne verie Words. *Gallorum ea Tempestata tanta fecunditatis inuentus fuit, ut Asiam omnem velut exanimem*

Trog. Pomp. in lib. 24.

Many Lands inhabited by the Celtes.

Ptolom. lib. 2. Quadripert.

The foure quarters of the world, and how inhabited.

Trog. Pomp. l. 24

The lesser Asia subdued by the Frēchs.

Trog. Pomp. l. 15

\*People of the Celtes in France, planting themselves by the Riuer Iberus.

\*A Citie of Celtiberia in Spain, besieged 14 yeares by the Romaines.

Called also Gallia Togata, and Citerior Gallia, now named Lombardie.

*aliquo implerent: Deniq; neq; Reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu vlla bella gesserint, neq; pulsi regno ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerint. Tantus terror Gallici nominis sine armorum inuicta felicitas erat, vt aliter neq; Maieſtatem ſuam tutam, neque amiſſam recuperare ſe poſſe, ſine Gallica virtute arbitrarentur. Deniq; in auxilium à Bythiniæ Rege inuocati, regnum cum eo parta victoria diuiſerunt, eamq; regionem Gallo-Graciam cognominauerunt. There was then ſuch an aboundance of youthfull French, that they filled Aſia, euen as if it had bin ſwarms of Bees: in ſuch ſort, that the Kings of thoſe quarters of the Eaſt, attempted not any war, wherein they had not Frenchmen vnder pay. And if they chaced to be expulſed from their eſtates, they had no other recourſe, but to throwe themſelues into the armes of the French. Such was the terror of the Frenchmens Name, or the inuincible felicity of their Armes; that Kings knew not howe to provide, nor conſerue their Maieſtie, or to recover it againe being loſt, without the valor of the French. To conclude, being called by the King of Bithinia, to lend him ſuccour, after they had parted away with victory; they alſo parted or diuided his kingdom with thẽ, and ſurnamed the Countrey Gallo-Gracia, or French-Greece.*

Thoſe verie Gaules whereof we now ſpeake, were come away from Thrace, where they (before) had eſtabliſhed a Kingdome: which continued afterward, till the time of *Clyarus* their laſt king, according to the report of *Polybius*. . . The people of *Thrace*, of *Bizantium*, and of *Cherroneſus*, being then their tributaries. All this is affirmed and maintained of the ancient Gaules.

Nowe, as concerning ſuch as haue caried the name of Frenchmen or Gauls, ancient ſtanders, and dwellers in partes neerer hand, as well on this ſide, as beyond the *Rheine*: they long time made warre with the Romanes, purſuing them with their Armies, and ouer-labouring them by ſo many courſes; that at length they expulſed them quite from amongſt the Gaules. They were firſt obſerued to appeare vnder that name of Frenchmen, in the time of the Emperor *Galien*; and from thence onward, the Roman Hiftories are copious, how manie times they paſſed and repaſſed the *Rheine*, to make warre with the Romaines, vhen

they thought to teare away Gaule out of their hands. Panegyricall Authors, exalting thoſe Emperors with praifes to heauen, that had in any encounter (how ſilly ſoeuer) got any aduantage againſt the French; do yet make it ſufficiently known what great account was made of this people and generous Nation, yea, more then of any other, as being moſt fearefull to them, and to whome (for this cauſe) they yeelded themſelues tributaries.

Vnder the Emperor *Claudius* the 11. they inuaded *Holland*, and other neighboring Countries, and made thence their courſes and wonted expeditions, as well by Land as Sea; vntill they extended their power ſo onward, that they entred ſomewhat farre into Spaine. *Zozimus* and the Rhetorician *Eumenius*, doe report a certaine voyage of theirs, and a chance well deſeruing memory. The Emperor *Probus* hauing made warre on them, and wonne the vpper-hand in ſome encounter; hee tooke diuers of them priſoners, which he led away into Aſia. Soon after, they made an eſcape, & being imbarked in certaine ſmal veſſels, which they found fitting for their purpoſe: they ouer-ran and rauaged the coaſts of Greece, and the Iſles of the Ionian ſea, beſieging and taking *Siracufa*; and afterward paſſing the ſtraites of *Ge-baltare*, returned home againe into their owne country. The verie greateſt affairs, that euer the Romanes had with Straungers, were alwaies againſt the Gaules, or French, who neuer would ſuffer them to liue in quiet.

In the end, the Emperors well vnderſtood their valour, and made vſe thereof to their ſeruice. *Constantine* the Great, in the warre hee made againſt *Licinius*: had great ſtore of them in his Armie, vnder conduct of a verie valiant French Captaine, named *Bonicus*, whoſe manhood is well noted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*. At the ſame time, partly by conqueſt, partly by conniuece of the Emperours; they extended the Gaules name very farre, and did ſo great ſeruices to the Romanes, that they filled whole Legions of them. Eſpecially, vnder the Emperors *Conſtans*, *Conſtantius*, *Valens* and *Valentinian*, as is to be ſeene in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Zozimus*, and diuers other Hiftorians of thoſe times.

Afterwards, *Gratian*, hauing ſworne more

Gallo-Grecia ſo named of the valiant Gaules, that declared their valour there.

*Polyb. in lib. 4.*

The ancient Gaules inhabiting on either ſide the *Rheine*.

The valour of the Gaules in the Emperor *Galiens* time.

The inuaſion of *Holland*, & other places of the Gaules.

The ſucceſſe of the Gaules that were led priſoners into Aſia.

The warre of *Constantine* againſt *Licinius*, and ſeruice of the French to him

*Marcel. in lib. 7.*

*Mellobands.*  
The affection  
of the Emper-  
or Gratian to  
the Gauls for  
his own good.

more strict alliance with them, could find out a *Mellobands*, Prince of the French, beside many other Captaines and Soldiers: by whose meanes he assured his owne estate, and carried away great Victories from the Germanes, whereof thirty thousand were slaine in the field. This Prince did so highly esteeme of them, as they serued him in all occasions: yea, they filled vp the Army which he gaue to *Theodosius*, to make quietnesse in the East, and to repulse thence the Gothes. Moreouer, he fauoured and aduanced them to great charges of his Court, and euen (as if (in respect of them) he began to grow in distaste with his Romanes; so prooued it (partly) to be the cause of death.

It is most plaine and apparant, that for the space of about 200. yeares; they were the threshing Flaile, the terror & amazement of the Romane Empire: wherto (to vse the same words that *Claudian* sayth of them) *They sold peace and quietnesse at the prizes of money, and tooke great recompences to cease their fights.* The Epithets vvhich the Authors of those times gaue them, were the names of *Terrible, dreadfull, and redoubted Warriors*; as being the onely nation, that (more then all other else could do) amated, bruised, yea, & vitterly brake in peeces the Romane forces:

After that this Monarchy of the French in Gaule was fully established: they could then vndertake other great enterprizes & voyages. How many times did they passe in Armes, both into Asia and Affrica, to chase thence the Infidels, Sarazens, and Turkes, to deliuer the Holy land, and the Christians that were there in their seruitude? There hath not bene any expedition in Christendome, wherein they haue not bene heads and conducters, yea euen the better part it selfe. Many times haue they succoured & re-established the Emperors of *Constantinople*. And in the end, to reuenge the death of *Isaacius Angelus*, (whom they had resealed som short time before) cruelly murdred by the Tyrant *Mursuffle*: they took in their assault) that great City, where they commanded (almost) foure hundred yeares. They made themselues so knowne thoroughout the East and South parts, and haue so liuely engrauen there the memorie of theyr name: that (euen to this day) all the Orientals terme the inhabitants of Europe,

*Claudian* his  
words of the  
Gauls,

The passage  
of the Gauls  
into Asia and  
Affrica.

The Gauls  
gaue great  
succour to the  
Emperors of  
Constantino-  
ple.  
*Nicet. Choniates*

by the word *Franki*, as thinking that name to be vniuersall. As in like manner the Arabians and the Abyssines, who call Europe by the name of *Frankia*.

*Ozorius*, the learned byshop of *Sylues* reporteth, that the *Indians* when the Portugals make warre against them: they call them by no other name then *Franki*, as confessing naturally, that since the braue expeditions of the French, against the Turkes and Sarazins; this name (full of admiration among those people) had so spread it selfe thoroughout all Asia and Affrica, that alwayes afterward, the same was to be attributed vnto all the Western people.

But to deliberate no longer at this time on all the expeditions of warre, and voyages attempted by the French for the christian name, for the defence of religion & the Church, against Moores, Sarazins, Turkes, and other Mahometanes, in diuers Countries of the world, and the glorious and goodly actions there by them performed: Can any thing bee tearmed more hardy, valiant and generous, then that which they did for conquest of the holy Land? Vndertaking so long a Voyage, crossing so many Countries, & with such store of difficulties: Nothing could dant or turne them; nothing seemed impossible to them, being altogether inflamed with a zealous & diuine desire. They exposed themselues to all kindes of dangers, iuconuenience of places and passages, famine, thirst, pestilence and warre: meerly prodigal of their liues, for religious zeale. In whatsoeuer we read concerning antiquity, yea euen of the fabulous ages, neuer are to be found such deedes of prowesse, as they did in that conquest.

Let *Godfrey of Bullen* set himself before you, with his gallant French troopes, trauersing al *Germany & Hungaria*, & ariuing at *Constantinople*; there is assailed by diuers ambuscadoes on the Emperors behalf, yet ouercoming them al, euen as if it were against his wil to preuaile. Then looke on him passing the straits of the *Hellespont*, be sieging the city of *Nicea*, one of the strongest in all the East, munitied with al things sustained and defended by a people resolute, as wel for assaults giuen, as sallies repulsed, or by any cunning to bee circumvented. During this siege, the Army of *Soliman*, consisting of 50000. men,

The Portugals  
warring  
on the Indias.

The painefull  
trauailles of  
the French,  
for conquest  
of the Holy  
Land.

*Guil. Tyrius* in  
Lib. 1, 2, 3, &c.  
De Bello Sacro.

Nicca taken  
by the Fréchi

A battell giue  
by the French  
in Caramania  
against Soli-  
man and his  
Turkes.

A worthy stra-  
tagem of  
Godfrey of  
Bullen, in an  
vrgent neces-  
ty.

The sharpe &  
seuere besied-  
ging of the  
City of Anti-  
oche by God-  
frey of Bullen.

comming expressely to rayse the siedege, is ouercom, broken, and cut in peeces, & the City surprized in the end.

After this, behold another battel giuen in *Cicilia* or *Caramania*, by thirty thousand French onely, against an Armie of two hundred thousand Turkes and Mahometanes, led by the same *Soliman*, and the Sultane of *Persia*. These two hundred thousand Turkes, hauing (at theyr first charge from farre off) couered all the Christian Army with a cloud of Arrows; and making a counterfet shew of flight, sent another shower of shafts in the same maner, and then a third, they not hauing any meanes to ioyne or come nere them. So that there was scarcely one man among the Christians, but was wounded with their steeled Arrowes, some in the armes, others in the legges, and many in diuers parts of their bodies, notwithstanding the helpe of their Targets: euen as if we saw the like Army of the Romanes led by *M. Crassus* against the Parthians. Vntill such time as *Godfrey* resolued to make a pretence of flight, and (indeed) retyred; as if he had bene no longer able to endure them. Which moued the Turkes to pursue after them out of order, as if they were altogether ouerthrown and dishartned. But when the French behelde them within their compasse, that they might deale with them by handy stroakes: all wounded as they were, they giue such a couragious charge vpon the Infidels, that they foiled and vanquished the whole Army. So proceeding on, the Citties of *Tharsus* and of *Edessa*, and all the other betweene them, were likewise taken.

*Antioche* besiedged by a long siedege, the besiegers being incessantly assayed, as well with the yssuing forth of an Army that was within, as by the ambuscadoes of many troopes at liberty abroad, besides cutting off victuals, and all other commodities from them. In these extremities they were also oppressed with contagious diseases, famine, and other kindes of necessities and miseries, euery thing being opposite and contrary to them, and the Emperor of *Constantinople*, doing his very vttermost to endamage them. All which notwithstanding, they lost not a jot of courage, or became any way at all disheartned in this theyr enterprize, although to make their misery much more:

there came also on them another dreadfull Army, containing all the powers of the East, and appearing impossible to bee resisted. But the Christians conducted by *Godfrey of Bullen*, ouer-spent and wearied as they were, hauing giuen the battaile; ouercame the great Armies, and droue them to flight.

It let passe an infinite number of particular charges, encounters, combates, fights, ambushes, surprizes and assaults, to come to the siedege of Ierusalem, where they met with all resistance possible, both by force and cunning: which neuertheless (in the ende) after infinite famous actions of Armes, was wonne by liuely force, and in a generall assault. All this was done in lesse then two yeares, from the yeare 1097. to the yeare 1099. when Ierusalem was wonne, and in the Moneth of Iuly. Then was *Godfrey* chosen King of Ierusalem, who yet refused the crowne of gold, saying; *It fitted not him to weare that pompe, where his Lord and Sauior wore one of sharpe pricking thornes.* Euery one of the other Princes & French Lords, which made vp the body of the Army, were also partakers in the chiefe possession of Citties and Prouinces thereabout; & there was not a man among them, but was capable of holding the Empire of the world, and by farre greater reason, then is reported of *Alexanders* Captaines. And this may iustly be the cause (in part) that the successe was not so great as it might haue bene: they beeing able to haue passed on, so farre as the extremest parts of the East, to conquer all the Country, and plant their Ensignes on the banks of the Indian Seas. In brieffe, there was neuer any thing comparable thereto, neither for religious piety, nor manhood in Armes. It was also a matter admirable in *Godfrey*, that being Souldier; he should bee culpable of so great prouidence, iustice, and moderation of spirit. It is reported of him, that although he was King; yet he cloathed himselfe, and liued so simply, as the very meanest Souldier about him. So that vpon a certain day, diuers Lords of the Country being come vnto him, to present him with gifts, but (to speak truly) to espie and take knowledge of what they could: being brought before him, they found him sitting on a Sacke ful of straw, & vpon the ground. After they had well obserued

The happie  
successe of  
the Christiás  
against the  
Infidels.

The conquest  
of Ierusalem  
by Godfrey  
of Bullen.

The honor &  
rewards of so  
great deser-  
uing.

*Guliel. Tyrinus*  
in lib 7. cap. 20

The admirable humility and moderation of Godfrey of Bullen & his answer to certain Lords.

observed it, being driven to no meane admiration, they made enquiry; how so great a Prince, being a Lord of such matchlesse merit, having shaken all the East, and seized on the very greatest kingdome, should be seated so poorely, without any pompe, no rich hangings, nor any Guard about him, to make him dreadful to such as should come neere him. But he demanding what they had saide, replied thus: *It is the best seate for a mortall man, and by good right the earth should suffer and serue to beare him for a time: in regard that (afterward) it must be the house for his body to dwell in.* Which when the Lords had heard, admiring his answer, humility, and wisdom, they returned thence, saying: *This is (indeede) such a man, as ought to rule ouer all these Regions: and to him (in equity of desert) it belongeth, to command ouer all other people whatsoever.*

How long time the french held the kingdome of Ierusalem.

Thus the kingdome of *Ierusalem* was held for the space of about fourescore & tenne yeares by the French, who (in the meane while) made warre vpon the Infidels, being succoured from time to time by the Kings of France: among whom, *Lewes* the seuenth, called the young, and *Philip Augustus* went thither in person. But afterward, this kingdome was conquered by *Saladine*, first *Souldan* of *Egypt*: And then the French, vnder conduct of their Kings, ceased not alwayes to attempt voyages and expeditions, as shall be declared in place more conuenient. Heere I forbear to speake of the great warres and goodly exploits in Armes, of the French against the *Allemaignes*, *Hunnnes*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Saxons*, *Sarrazins*, *Gothes*, *Lombards*, and *English*, which are to be discoursed heereafter.

The apparant singularity of the French, aboue all other Nations.

There is not any other people, that haue caused themselves more to bee spoken of, to spread their renowne so far, and enterprize matters more great, goodly, & difficult, then they haue done. Other Nations neuer could come neere them, no, not the *Spaniards*, of whom *Strabo* yeeldeth testimony, that they neuer did, or euer durst vndertake great occasions. They being (saith he) exercised and inured to slender exploits, & lowe or base enterprizes; as some light ambuscadoes, courses, and brigandages or theeueries. But concerning the valour of the French, and the greatnesse of their

Strabo in Lib. 3  
ἐπιδοτο ἄν και  
ἀνδρικοί τῆς  
βίος ἡ ὄνομα, τὰ  
μικρὰ πλεονεξίαι,  
μαχίαι δὲ οὐκ  
ἐπιλαβόμενοι.

courage; there remaineth very sufficient proofes in antiquity. Some haue attributed this quality to them, to be voyd of feare, and boldly to cast themselves into the midst of dangers. *Strabo* reporteth, that certaine Frenchmen being brought to *Alexander* the Great; when hee demanded of them, what it was they most feared; made this answer: *Nothing at all, except the Heauens should fall on our heads.* Signifying by this manly reply, that feare had no power to freeze their blood, or vsurpe any place in their warlike soules.

Strabo in lib. 7.

A braue answer of the French to Alexander the Great.

In like manner, they neuer knew what it was to flye, or turne their backs in the most dangerous fights; neither to giue so much as the least inch of ground: as the Emperour *Leo* declareth in his *Art Military* or *Tacticks*, and *Chalcondilus* the Grecian, in his *Turkish History*. Both of these Authors do affirme, that they hold this the heauiest sinne, which can happen to be committed by them. The selfesame is also auouched by *Aelianus*, who deliuereth these very words. *Among all men, they that most affect dangers, and most valiantly expose their liues to perilles; I vnderstand them to be the Gaules. The whole subiect of their Songs, is of such men of vertue, as died valiantly in foughten battels. Crowned they combate, and adorned with Markes & Trophies of their victories: as well to honor the worthy acts which they haue done, as to serue for memory to posterity, according to the manner of the Grecians. But aboue all, flight is held so dishonest and shameful among them, that very many times, they will not get them gone, or make escape away from a tottering house, though it be ready to fall vpon them, or all on a flame, and themselves in immediate danger to be burned.* This may seeme very strange, and rather blame worthy, then commendable: yet it is done in no other regard, but only to shew what their resolution hath alwaies bene, as shunning all occasions, whereby they might bee reputed timorous.

Leo Imp. in Tac. Chalcondilus in Hist. Turk.

Aelian. De var Hist. lib. 12.

In like manner, the Emperour *Julian*, speaking of his sojourning among the *Gaules*, saith; *That it was with the most warlike, and onely couragious people of all other Nations.* *Pausanias* declareth, that although they were wounded quite thorough their bodies with the sword, and euen cleft in twaine with axes sharpe slices; yet notwithstanding, not a iote of their

In Mithropogone. παρα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔμμεναι τοῖς καὶ θυμῷ καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν.

Pausan Phocis

Vnconquerable resolution in the French and what opinion the Greekes had of them.

Arist. in Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 7.

No distinction of yeares among the Gaules from marching in Armes.

Marcel: in l. 15.

\* One that curteeth off his thumb, because he will not go to war.

their courage abated. And when they wer shot through with darts and arrowes, so long as any respite of life remained, or the very last gaspe or breathing; they fought stil manfully, and made a massacre among their enemies: yea, there were many among them that snatched the Arrows & Darts out of their own wounds, and shot them backe against the Greeks, or, being neerer hand, slew them with the same Arrows and Darts, euen by meere stabs. Whereat the Greekes being amazed, to behold such wilfulnesse in fight, such courage, contempt of death, & prodigality of life; not knowing whereto they should attribute it, nor (to speake truly) what to say of it, (becing wont to commend no men but themselves) they saide; *This goes quite beyond the nature of men.*

In the same case and respect, *Aristotle*, imagining that such strength and valiancy was without example, and aboue the capacity of any humane spirit: attributed this viuacite of soule, to a kinde of furious and naturall insensibility, not fearfull of any thing; neither earthquakes, nor the roughest stormes or tempests: *Euen like* (saith hee) *as it is reported of the Celts or Gaules.* Warre was their true trade & exercise, there was not a man among them, that would excuse himselfe from marching to the field, without any distinction of ages. The olde man, wearied and spent as he was, went to it as cheerefully, as hee that farre greater force and vigor. A yong lad, euen in the first floure of his time, found therein no difficulty at all; he made offer of his youthfull members freely, to be hardened by colds, and inured to trauailes, alwayes disposed and ready to support most difficult occasions, yea, and the very dreadfulllest accidents of war.

In brieft, as it is confirmed by *Marcellinus*, a faithfull Author, a Souldier or mā fit for the warre, who hath liued any time among them; shall neuer be there mette withall, as among the Romanes: where there were some, that to shun the warres, wold cut off some member of their owne, especially their thumbs; *Whom we termed* (saith he) *in derision and mockery*, \* *Murci.* To men of such base and seruile condition, as will thus cut off a ioynt, to make themselves vncapable of being Soldiers, may bec referred that iniurious French

disgrace, *Poltron*, à *police trunco*; *A knaue hath his thumbe cut off.*

This generosity and greatnesse of courage, is likewise familiar among the womē of France, whereof we haue testimony in the same Author *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who writeth thus. *If a man of Gaule enter into a quarrell, his wife being with him; there is not any troupe of strangers able to resist or stand against their strength. Especially, when the women are moued & enflamed with chol-ler, stretching forth their brawny armes, griping their strong knit hands together great and white as snow: so that both with feet & fists, they discharge blowes as liberally, as if they wer stones from slings, or quarrels from Crossebowes.* And as they are thus excelling in magnanimity, so are they as complete in other perfections: but cheefely in prouidence, discretion, and good aduice.

VVe reade, that before the Gaules passed into Italy, a strong sedition happened to grow among them, which disperfed it selfe into a ciuill warre. But the women, euen as the two Armies were ready to meete each other; threw themselves into the middest betweene them, and questioning the reason of their difference, drew them to so great equity, and fulnesse of content on eyther side; that they begat admirable and reciprocall loue and kindnesse among them, not onely betweene the Townes and Citties, but also in the houses neighbouring together. Wherupon, after that time, they continued all consultations of their affaires (as well concerning warre as peace) with their wiues, and pacified all quarrels and differences with their neighbors and kindred, onely by their meanes. And therefore, in the composition which they made with *Hanniball*, when he passed by the Gaules, they concluded (among other Articles) in this manner. That if it so came to passe that if the Gaules pretended any wrong to be done them by the Carthegenians; the Carthagenian Captaines and Gouernours (which were in Spaine) should be the Iudges thereof. Contrariwise, if the Carthegenians could alleadge, that the Gaules had offered them any iniury; the women of Gaule should bee Iudges therein. And therefore *Plutarke* had great reason, to ranke those Ladyes in number, among them reputed to be vertuous women.

The sprightly courage of the Gaulish women. *Marcel. in l. 14.*

*Piut. in De clar. Mulier.*

The composition that was made betweene Hanniball & the Gaules.

The

The Gaules called their wives to consultations and counsels.

Kingdomes in India where Noble men admit not marriage.

Of Bertrand du Guesclin, and his noble minded Lady, Tiphania.

Behold what generous words of a woman can doe.

The Gaules euer called them to their counsels and consultations, as well for warre as peace, because they knew their naturall disposition to be such; as not a woman among them, would seeke any to soften and weaken (willingly) the boldest or most couragious enterprize her husband could vndertake. And this may be the cause, why the ancient Romane Soldiers would not be married: As now at this day, there are certaine kingdomes of the Indiaes, where the Noble-men will by no meanes admit marriage. But the Gaules knew well enough, that this sexe were so farre off, from any way hindring their Martiall designes; that they would by no meanes permit the very least inclination to negligence or cowardise; they rather serued as sharpe spurres to their vertue, to excite, encourage, and animate them more and more.

To this purpose, I may not omit a notable example, though not of the ancient Gaulish women; but of a French Lady, as yet recent and fresh in memory. *Bertrand du Guesclin* had bene alwayes a most valiant Knight, and one highly renowned in all Histories. After he had performed many worthy enterprizes, euer to his fame and honour: he married with a beautifull Lady, named *Tiphania*, descended of a noble family. After which marriage, he growing to leaue, and discontinue his former exercise of Armes; as he late discoursing with his Lady, she gently began to blame and reprove him, declaring, that (before their marriage) hee followed the warres, wherein hee had atchieued the cheefest reputation. And that it neyther suted with the nature, nor duty of a true Gentleman, to lose the least repute of honour wonne before, by ouer-much affecting a new made choise. As for mee (quoth shee) who ought to shine by the bright radiance of your fame, I shall account my selfe too low deiected, if you giue ouer a course so well begun, and lose your spirits in doating loue, w<sup>ch</sup> it to one more worthy then my selfe.

These words did so neerely touch the Knight, that hee began againe to follow Armes, wherein he carried himselfe so valiantly, that they did well and worthily attribute it to him, to stand as a stout Rampier for France, in the very sharpest times of warre, and euermore made a meere

Barre of his body, against the hottest inuasions of the English. By vertue of his valour, King *Charles* the fift, hauing reconquered most part of those territories, which had bene insulted on in the reignes of the precedent Kings: alwayes helde head against that valiant *Edward*, surnamed the Blacke Prince, and Prince of Wales, and disappointed all his hopes. It was he that re-established *Henry* the 11. King of *Castille*, in his kingdome, in despite of all the Armies and English forces. Hee was also made Constable of *France*, by King *Charles* the fift, who helde him in such endeared affection for his valour, that hauing bestowed great gifts on him in his life time; after his death, hee did him so much honour, as to let him be buried at *S. Denis*, at the feete of the same Toombe, which this King had prepared there for himselfe.

Whatsoever is heere set downe, concerning this honourable Lady *Tiphania*, hath bene, and is as familiar to all the Ladies of *France*, who partake in the selfesame affection; and couet rather to enflame, then freeze their husbands forwardnesse, in winning honour by Armes; and the like they are (in all respects) to their children. For whosoever will but aduisedly well consider, on the admirable generosity, and greatnesse of courage in the people of Gaule; they will make no meruaile at all, of those bolde words vsed by the braue Souldier *Vercingetorix*. *If I could (quoth hee) write together all the French: I should compose such an Army of men, as if the whole world did conuere, and bend all force against them, they were not able to withst and them.* Take it as a vaunt or brauado who will. The very prooffe of their fights and conquests, made but by some part of their people, may yeeld sufficient testimony, that if the words spoken by *Vercingetorix* had bene put in execution; they would haue prooued true, and the same effect must needs haue followed.

And to speake truly, if we conferre them with other Nations, we shall apparently perceiue, that the French haue gon beyond all in Military vertue. So many expeditions, and yet in so farre remote Countries, so many warres attempted, & fortunately finished; so many foughten battels; and so many actions of Generosity,

The honorable actions of Bertrand du Guesclin.

All the Ladies of France are equall to Tiphania.

Inl. Casin com. lib. 5.

The Romanes  
alwayes stood  
in feare of the  
Gauls.

Polyb. in lib. 2.

Of the second  
Punicke warre.

Had leagued  
with the  
Gauls, & led  
them into  
Italy.  
Polyb. in lib. 4.

The Gauls  
had war with  
the Romanes  
about 200.  
yeares.

Stratagemis &  
cuning, argue  
the least part  
of manhood.

sity, haue made them sufficiently knowne to the world. The Greeks and the Romanes (albeit their sworn enemies) doe render but too true testimonies thereof: not speaking (in the like tearmes) of any other people whatsoever. But especially the Romanes, who neuer feared any Nation so much as they, whom they acknowledged to be fatall to their City, and the greatnesse thereof. So that when the Gauls of Italy, but particularly those on the hither side of the Alpes, made but a countenance of removing themselves; or designed any enterprise: they were immediately possessed with terror, and in a continuall apprehension, omitting no needfull prouision of all things, euen as if their City were to be besieged againe, or halfe surprized. *Polybius* saith. *They verily perswaded themselves, that they should neuer become Masters of Italy; no, nor conserue their owne lands sufficiently; so long as they had the Gauls to be their neighbors.*

They felt againe the force of the warlike Gauls in the second Punicke warre, when *Hanniball* went to encounter them in Italy. That great Captaine passed then through Gaule, and made alliance with the Gauls, whose valor was well enough knowne vnto him: and hee conducted them into Italy, where they did him great seruice against the Romanes. And notably doth *Polybius* remember them, when in that great day at *Cannas*, there were slaine 4000. Gauls in the fiede on the Carthagenian side: *That were* (saith he) *the principall instruments of the victory, wonne by their blood for the Carthagenians, which was the most deadly day for the Romanes, next to that of Allia, where the Gauls ouercame as many.* I forbear to speake of all the other encounters, battailes, and most signale warres, which this couragious Nation had against the Romanes, for the space of about two hundred yeares. It is easily discerned (euen out of their owne reports) how many times the Gauls had the vpper hand of them, and what dismal feares and amazements they haue put them to. Also, where they haue noted downe any conquering of the Gauls, it may be well obserued, that it was compassed onely by some stratagem, deceit or cunning, wherby (according to their own saying) they brought all their purposes to passe.

In a word, after that the Gauls of Italy were emptied of men (by continual wars) and brought into subiection, *Polybius* reporteth, *That there was the end of the Gauls war, the like wherof was neuer heard or seen, be it for courage, boldnesse, and resolution in Souldiers; be it for greatnes of fights; be it for numbers of slaine men, or multitudes of their troupes.* Further he proceedeth on in the accidents of their wars, by way of giuing some encouragement to weak mindes, against the dreadfull attempts of the Gauls: *Who made seizure* (saith he) *on the Greeks not only before, but also in my time.* Of any other nation, he findeth none but the Grecians & the Romanes, that can deliuer any such true testimony of them: which rendreth faith sufficiently on their side; (among al other people) they neuer could be followed. Albeit *Cicero* in his time, speaking of the Spaniards and the French) saith; *That the Spaniards exceeded in number, but the Gauls or French in valiancy.* Wherby is euidently seene, that in the comparison of these two Nations, he giueth the honour to the French, attributing to the other, nothing but number.

And yet me-thinkes it is strange to be credited, that the Spaniards should exceed the French in multitude of men, considering, that Spaine (as hath bin spoken heeretofore) is described to be but badly inhabited, euen by ancient Geographers, and them more moderne: whereas contrariwise, that France is so filled with mē, and so greatly inhabited, as it is wonderfull to behold. But it may bee, that the mighty numbers of the Gauls were not (as then) knowne, Gaule being not subiectioned to the Romanes, as Spaine was, which they held almost wholly. For whatsoever shall consider, what Armies the Gauls gathered from time to time, to make warre vpon the Romanes, according to the recital of *Casur* himselfe: wil iudge that Spaine, nor any other Prouince of Europe, could not be so fully furnished.

Moreouer, it would not be much differing from our purpose, if wee should set downe, what troupes of strangers the Romanes then kept at their pay: & namely, that they had more mercenary Soldiers out of Spaine, then euer they could get from France. Because those people being more barbarous, lesse ciuized, & polished with good cariage; gaue themselves

*Polyb. in lib. 7.*

*Polyb. ubi supra.*

*Cicero pro Platio Hispani numero, fortitudine Galli.*

Concerning the slender inhabiting of Spaine.

*Iul. Cas. in com. Lib. 7.*

The Romanes had more mercenary Soldiers from Spain: then from France.

selues to no other exercises, but to wander at randome among the Mountaines, there to pilfer and rob from one another, or else to serue as mercenaries, partly to the Carthagenians, and partly to the Romanes, after they had once got footing there. On the contrary, the Gaules (of whom no question was at any time made to be all warriors, excelling in valour and greatnesse of courage) in regard that they were much ciuilized, neuer liued after so base a manner. And although they had such plenty of warlike people, yet wanted they no meanes of freeing themselues from ydlenesse, when their grounds were to be tilled and husbanded, or other Arts and Trades vsed, necessary for the life of man, as well in times of greatest turbulence, as seasons of more security. For no where can it bee read of them, as it is of the Spaniards, that they left their Lands barren, because they would not till them, but referred them wholly to their wiues to take that paines, who both before and after their times of childing, were feigne so to toyle and moyle themselues.

Other of our Gaules employed themselues in the studie of Letters, and exercises of Religion, and contemplation in celestiaall matters: witness so many skillfull *Druides*, and such beside as followed after them, renowned for their Learning through all the parts of the world. So that the Gaules dwelling beyond Gaule, serued but very slenderly to the Romans, vntill such time as they had conquered Gaule: then they found the sufficiency of their assistance, and acknowledged not only their vertue and valiancy, but also their infinite number of warriors. And this was the reason, why *Cicero*, speaking afterward to *Cesar*, concerning his victories in Gaule, said: *That hee had overcome Nations, innumerable in multitudes.*

Now, to speake of all other Countries, there is hardly any one of them, but it hath bene as a prey to strangers. *Italy*, sometime the Conqueresse of many people, with her Rome, calling her-selfe, cheefe Lady of the world: was shee not (for long time) exposed to the rauages, irruptions and pillages of the *Vuisigothes*, *Herules*, *Gerpides*, *Ostrogotes*, and *Lombards*: who intirely sacked and rent her in peeces (each after other) and droue the people out of their dwellings? *Spain*

became inuaded in the same manner, and afterward was cantomed by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Sweues*: yet were they also expulsed (in following time) by the *Vuisigothes*, who established their owne abiding there. Next to them, came the *Ostrogotes*, who held the Country powerfully so long, till the *Sarrazines* ouercoming them, were vsurpingly possessed of well neere all *Spain*. *Allemaigne*, or *Germany*, was not it likewise made subiect to the inuasions of those people which dwelt more Northerly, who at length ouerthrew the whole Romane Empire? I say nothing of some other quarters of the world, where the like fortune hath many times happened: yet this is most certaine, that thorough all the Prouinces of the earth, there haue bene changes of people, and of frequent Colonies.

But to speake more particularly of *Spain*, at the first it was filled with people of the French Nation, as along the Riuer \* *Anas* or *Ana*, now called *Guadiana* in *Castille*, so farre as the Promontory *Artabrum*, or *Cabo de finis terra*, in *Gallicia* in *Portugall*. Also the *Celtiberians* in *Castille*, by the testimony of *Strabo*, *Ptolomie*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Pliny* and *Appian*. Fro whence it ensueth, that some ancient Geographers, as *Ephorus* and others, haue comprized them vnder *France*. But be it howsoeuer, *Spain* hath continually bene taken, held and commanded by strangers: as by the *Ionians*, *Lydians*, *Thracians*, *Rhodians*, *Phrygians*, *Cypriots*, *Phaenicians*, *Egyptians*, *Phocenses*, and *Carthagenians*, according as their owne Historians haue acknowledged. Since then, by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Sweues*, that inhabited there for a long time: and afterward by the *Vuisigothes* and *Ostrogotes*. At last, wholly filled with *Moores* and *Sarrazines*, who held it in possession aboue seuen hundred yeares. And there they remaine yet to this day (according to some Writers) in the Mountaines of *Andalouzia*, called *Alpuxarras*, whether the Armies of Conquerours could neuer come or reach.

Heereby may bee gathered, that they are a mingled people, and composed of so many feuerall Nations, as haue dwelt there in the countries from time to time. As their very language it selfe (euen the best polished and most frequent) sufficiently

Spain in the same condition.

Allemaigne or Germany in no better estate then the other.

\* The Riuer Guadiana, which diuiddeth Granada from Portugal Strabo in Lib. 4.

Diuers strange Nations commanding Spain. Vaseus & Tarrapha.

Moores and Sarrazines yet abiding in Spain.

The Spaniards are a compounded people.

The naturall breeding and ciuility of the Gaules.

The negligence of the Spaniards in tilling their grounds, leauing them to be done by their wiues.

Learned studies among the Gaules.

Cicero pro M. Marcello.

All Countries subiect to the spoiles of strangers. Italy & Rome

ently

ently sheweth, consisteth (for the most part) of the Gothish and Arabick. It would aske an infinite and wearisome labour, to make search for all the mutations that haue ther happened. But France is a Country, which hath least bene that way ill entreated: as hauing kept herselfe more pure, entire, and neate from rauage, and incursions of so great numbers of strangers.

\* *Timagenes*, an ancient Greeke Author that flourished in the time of *Augustus*, cited by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, saith; *That according to the opinion of his Nation, the Gaules were Autocthones, that is to say, Originaries, and borne in and of the selfesame Country.* Declaring thereby, that they were not come or deriued of any strangers Colonies; which the Athenians also attributed to bee a matter of great honour. I know well, how it may be objected to me, that *Marseilles* was builded, and inhabited by the *Phocenses*: yet there was none other but that onely Colonie, beside that which is reported of the children of valiant *Hercules*, which he had by the women of France, and who there commanded for sometime, as is testified by ancient Monuments and Antiquities of the Gaules, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, *That he himselfe had seene in Gaule.*

As concerning the Britannians or Bretons, who being expulsiued out of *England* by the *English Saxons*: they withdrew themselves into *Bretaigne*, the called *Armorica*. I hold, agreeing with the iudgement of many learned men, that they being ancient Pillars of the French, parting from the firme land of the *Gauls*, to dwell in the Isle which was before it: comming backe afterward, to refuge themselves in France; did but re-establish their owne ancient Country, and returne to their true originall. Naturall reason, for the neighbourhood both of the one and other, doth apparantly shew it selfe. The same is confirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, & by the common opinion that then was, as also by the similitude and likenes, both in faces and manners of the inhabitants. And beside, there is to bee seene in the Geographicall description of that Island (according to *Ptolomy*) the names of many Gaulish people, who vndoubtedly had planted Colonies there. Such were the *Belgians*, the *Parisians*, the *Atrebatians*, &

the *Cornabians*.

As for the French, they were no strangers, they entred among the *Gaules*, not as enemies, but as friends and brethren to the *Gaules*: to deliuer them from the tyranny of the *Romanes* and *Gothes*, who had expulsiued them, and were (in that manner) restored to their former freedome, and so the *Gaules* and French became but one people, as shall heereafter more plainly be declared.

The *Gothes*, hauing so long time kept their reuels in *Spaine*; to speake truly, came also among the *Gaules*, but yet for a very thort while: nor was there any Ensigne or remarkable valor in those *Goths*, making comparifon of them with the French. It is said, that their property was to be fearefull, and soone put to flight: so reporteth *S. Gregory Florentius*, Archbishop of *Tours*, who liued somewhat neere to those times. And *Saluianus*, that eloquent Priest of *Marseilles*, acknowledged the *Gothes* to be the most feeble and slothfull, among the generous Nations of the North parts. When they were in *Gaule*, and stood to encounter with the French: they durst not tarry, or make any head against them. The Kings *Mero-ueus*, *Chlouis*, and *Childebert*, beheld them to passe ouer the *Pyrenean Mountains*, yet they assailed and ouercame them in battaile, euen in *Spaine*, hard by *Toledo*, their capitall abiding. The *Burguignons* and *Germanes*, who had inuaded some small parcels of France, were soone cut off, and quite extermined.

So the French and *Gaules*, conserued themselves within their own limits, without hauing any stragers mingled among them. And as (in former times) they filled the world with their Colonies or troops of people, so did they continually the like afterward: hauing againe peopled *Germany* and *Italy*, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Great, and his successors. So that it is not without good reason, that (at this instant) the very greatest houses of *Germany*, deriue their originall from the French: as is declared by *Hermanus*, Count of *Nuear*, in an Epistle which hee sent to the Emperour *Charles* the 5. on the the *Annales* of *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne*.

True it is, that the *Gaules* haue bene ouertaken by the *Romans*: but what people knew how to resist them; considering their

The entrance of the French among the *Gaules*.

The *Gothes* came among the *Gaules*.

*S. Greg. Florent* in lib. 2. cap. 27.

*Alaricus Rex* *Gothorum metuens ne propter Syagrium iram Francorum incureret, ut Gothorum pacuere mos est, vinetum legatis tradidit. Eod. li. cap. 37. Cumque secundum consuetudine Gothi terga vertissent. Saluian. li. 6. & 7.*

The best houses of *Germany* deriued of the French *Herman. Com. de Nuear in Epist. ad Car. 5.*

The pure and entire condition of France

\* A Rhetorician of Alexandria, reaching in Pompeis house. *Marcel. in l. 15.*

*Marseilles* in France, built by the *Phocenses*.

*Marcel. in l. 15.*

The Bretons expulsiued by the English Saxons.

*Cornel. Tacitus* in vita *Jul. Agricole*.

Colonies planted in *Armorica* or *Bretaigne*.

their admirable order, and exact Military discipline? *Iosephus*, very fitly to this purpose, attributeth thereto all their great conquests and large extendure of the Romane Empire. So that after he hath demonstrated the forme of their Campe, their ordinary exercises for Armes, and a sumonary obseruation of all their behaviour, he concludeth. *All these being well considered, wee neede make no doubt to say; that the possessions was much lesse then the possessors. Adding withall, that hee extended so farre in declaring all this, not as any commendation to the Romanes power; but rather as a comfort to the conquered.*

Moreover, of the Westerne Prouinces, France was the last conquered by them, whatsoeuer is else saide to the contrary. Whereas (on the other side) *Spain* came among the first into their hands, in the time of the wars against the Carthagenians. France was that Country, that longest of all resisted, and against which (to speake no more then truth) their inuincible Armies, yea, they that were victorious throughout the whole world; became meereley edgelesse and blunted, as not able to beare off their blowes. All other Romane Captains vtterly lost their labour, *Caesar* onely excepted. Which is no meane honor to the Gaules, to yeeld themselues vnder the yoke of so great a Prince: who is acknowledged to be the most wise and perfect Captaine that euer was. And yet for all that, France was not conquered at the first onset, neyther made surrender of her spoyles, without sweate and blood. That great Commander in warre, tooke intollerable paines, and trauelled for the space of ten yeares continually, with all the power and strength of the Romanes, which then held the more part of the wide world. And yet (euen then) he had not preuailed neither, if hee had not serued his turne with Frenchmen themselues, & made a conquest of *France*, by *France*. Diuisions and partialities, which were then on foot among them (an ordinary and fatall ruine to the most potent kingdomes) called him thether, when finding all to bee diuided in diuers factions, ciuill warre kindled among them, allied with many, and fortified with their troopes, as namely them of *Authun* and others; it was so much the more easier to be surprized by him, and in such an op-

portunity of advantage.

All which notwithstanding, it is an admirable matter, and well worth the obseruation, that in the resistance made against him, by people so disioynted & perplexed: yet in ten whole yeares, the Gaules fought thirty ranged battailes, wherein, according to the account made by *Appian*, there were slaine well neere eleuen hundred thousand able fighting men. And beside, himselfe testifieth in his Memories sufficiently, with what manner of people they had to deal: & they likewise could no way performe, without receiuing great losses, as there he feareth not to confesse,

If wee had but his *Ephemerides*, or particular Iournall booke, we should see other matters of his owne confesion; considering, that *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the conquest of the Gaules, saith: *He pacified them, after many great losses on either side sustained in ten years war.*

And as touching his owne person, it is recorded, that in a certain encounter, he was releued, (notwithstanding all his Greatnesse and goodly Armour) by a Gaule, who hauing remounted him vpon his owne horse, bare him away through all the throngs. But there came another Gaule, who brauely cryed to his companion, *Cecos Caesar* in the ancient Gaulish language which is as much to say, as *Let Caesar passe*, & this was the reason of his safe passage. Wherein they worthily declared, that it was honour enough to their generous mindes, to carry *Caesar* safely away from danger, when they had him in their power, and could haue slaine him, *Satis est profraffe*.

The Grammarian *Seruius* citeth this example out of the *Ephemerides* or Iournals of *Caesar*, which wee cannot come by in these dayes. In like manner, *Caesar* knowing them wel, and hauing (on the other side) experimented the dulnes of the Easterne people; in the war which he had against *Pharnaces*, King of *Pontus*, saide. *Most happy was Pompey, that he had nothing to do with the resolute French, but with the faint-hearted men of the East. & got the surname of Great at so cheape a Market.* In brieffe, the Gaules were neuer ioyned to the Romane Empire, by any power in the Romanes, but thorough their owne proper forces: as a great Captaine speakeeth in *Tacitus*. *Verè reputantibus Galliam suis met viribus concidisse.*

*Ioseph. in lib. 2. de Bel. Iudaic.*

The words of *Iosephus* concerning the Romanes.

France last conquered by the Romanes.

None of the Romanes could conquer France, but *Caesar*.

*Caesar* made a conquest of France, by France itself, and in a time when they were at diuision among themselves.

*Appian in lib. 3. de bello ciuili, & in Celsis.*

*Caesar* kept a Diary booke of all actions in Armes. *Marcel. in li. 1. g.*

*Caesar* releued by a Gaul in great extremity.

*Seruius Aen. xi. In hunc versum Dire prunque ab equo.*

Who was Sonne to king *Mitridates*.

*Histor. Lib. 4.*

Ioseph. in lib. 2. de Bel. Iudai.

And as King Agrippa declareth in Iosephus. It was not through want of courage, or any dull neglect, that they were overcome: considering the Romanes themselves said, it was fourescore yeares; before they could fasten hold in one small Meridionall or Southerly Prouince of Gaule, & after ward fought so much against Caesar: But rather it was by the frugall managing of their owne felicity, wherein they pacified both destiny and fortune: whereby they plainly saw, that the Romanes got the upper hand rather by force the otherwise, and (in a word) by the diuine permission or providence. Nay, and that which is much more, after so long warre, against such power, and so great a Captaine, yea, and after so many losses: yet notwithstanding, Gaule fell not into the Romans hands, as being subiected, but rather as allied, and in farre better fashon then all the other Prouinces.

Gaule not so much conquered, as louingly leagued.

De Bello Galico. lib. 8. in fi.

He that continued Caesars Commentaries, saith: That while hee wintered in Belgia, he had a carefull eye, onely to maintain the people in amity, without giuing to any one either will or occasion, to rise or take themselves to Armes. For that which hee most of all desired, was, that vpon his departing, there might happen no occasions to stay him: or if hee had cause to bring an Army thither againe, yet that he should not bee troubled with any long warre, whereunto Gaule gaue listening with very good attention, when she saw her selfe out of apparant danger. Wherefore, causing the Citties to come before him, with his best respect, and greatest honour he embraced them, and gaue very goodly gifts to the principall and most apparant persons: not imposing on the rest any charges, or extraordinary subsidies, wherby he contained them in peace, and the better disposition to obedience throughout all Gaule. And so by this cunning, Gaule (at last) gaue place, and became mildely quieted. For the affability of Caesar, and the courtesies he extended towards them, did more conquer them in one winter, then all his Forces, Legions and Armies could doe in ten yeares.

Gaule could endure no apparant danger.

One winters kindnesse in Caesar wonne more then all his Legions could do in ten yeares wars.

Ouer and beside, the titles of Alliances, of Peace, and of friendly conference, are so frequent in the Romane Authors, euer where they speake of Gaule; that it plainly testifieth on her behalfe, that shee

was not conquered by Armes, but rather left at louely liberty, by friendly parlances and confederations. Which Ammianus Marcellinus himselfe also confirmeth, for he saith, that Caesar; After many losses on the one side & other sustained, during a war often yeares continuance: in the ende (by eternall pactions and agreements) ioynd the Gaules to the Romane society and alliance. We see also, that they left some people in Gaule wholly free, as (among other) the men of Auvergne; who termed themselves as Noble as the Romans, and called them their brethren; the men of Authun, the Marsellians; them of Lionnois, Forests, and the round neighbouring Countries.

Now as concerning Subsidies & Contributions, a Romane Governour, named Cerealis, sheweth plainly in Tacitus: That such tribute was but for maintenance of the Legions, and for preservation of peace in the Prouinces; which could not bee continued without Armes nor Armes without wealth. As for the rest (saith hee, speaking to the Gaules) all is in common with vs, oftentimes you giue command to our legions, your selues also gouerne in the Prouinces, as others do in our Empire. By the selfe-same reason, that which bound them most to duty, was the entire amity of the Romanes to them. Caesar made a great number of their Citizens Romanes, and Augustus in like manner, though in more sparing fashon, with some restriction fro vulgarizing so great an honour of the City or Bourgeship of the Romanes. Afterward, the Emperour Claudius gaue the right of Senatours to the principall of the Gaulish Lords. And in the ende, Galba, for the signale seruices which the Gaules had done to him and the Romane Empire against Nero: hee made them all Citizens, without exception.

Gaule not conquered by Armes, but courtesie. Marcell. in li. 15 Post de cernalis bellimutuas clades societati nostre federibus iunxit aternis.

Plin. lib. 4. cap. 19.

Corn. Tacit. in Histor. lib. 4.

Caesar made many of the Gaulish Citizens Romanes.

Annal. Tacit. 11 Idem. Histor. in lib. 1.

L. in orbe Romano D. de Statu homin.

Treasure of the Gaules.

The like was neuer done in, or for Spain, where there were but some Colonies w had the same right, and no more then to any other Prouince of the Empire: who obtained that priuiledge, but by generall Edict of the Emperour Antonius Caracalla. Nor was it without great reason, that they made such great account of this Prouince: considering, what great aduantages it gaue ynto them. For, were it in respect of treasure, rich Gaule furnished them with more reuenues; then (by vsing the common manner of saying)

(saying) all the rest of their Empire, as it is recorded by *Velleyus Paterculius*. Were it for leuying vndaunted Souldiers, and for such as they mustered from thence: therein consisted the maine strength of al their troopes. And that *Caesar* knew well enough, and published it sufficiently abroad, as hauing made choise of them aboue all other, and (by their meanes onely) came to possesse the Empire of the whole world. For ouer and beside what hath formerly bene said, concerning the wealthy treasures of France: the valiancy of the Gaules holdeth the most eminent place, by whose courage he was especially and principally serued, to gaine that greatneisse, whereunto hee had so long time aspired.

The victory which hee wonne against great *Pompey*, ought to bee attributed to the valour & warlike vertue of the Gaules. And if he had not bin furnished with such men, valiant and strong, not onely against the enemy, but also to endure famine, and all other kindes of necessities, euen to the feeding on bread made of grasse & roots; he had bin lost in his hopes, and vtterly defeated by the long & lingering delaies of his enemy. This was that which most of all amazed *Pompey*, who gaue expresse charge, that such bread should not bee seene in his Camp; for feate of disheartning his Souldiers, or driuing them into detestation of their paines, whē they considered, the sharpe extremities suffered by their enemies, with whom they dealt so cruelly, that they left them nothing to feed on, but euen as brutish beasts.

Moreover, *Caesar* hauing sent a small number of Gaules, for great succour to *M. Crassus* against the Parthians; these were the men, who (in that most vnhappy day for the Romans) performed most strange exploits of Armes, and shook the enemies victory very sharply. These were the men, in whom young *Crassus* reposed most confidence, as being the warriors, with whom he performed admirable actions of prowesse. For they receiued (with their bare hands) the sharpe points of the Parthians Pikes, and closing with them body to body, threw them to the ground, among their horses feete; where they lay all along stretched out, ynable to releue themselves, onely through the massy weight of their Armor. Many ther

were beside, who forsaking their owne horses, crept vnder the bellies of the belonging to their enemies, to pierce & stab them with the points of their Swords: which causing the horses to bound aloft, by extremity of the anguish they felte; trampled vnder their feete both their masters & enemies together, and so fell dead without any rescue.

The same *Caesar*, prepared a complete Legion of Gaulish Souldiers, which hee called the *Larke*, and added it to the Roman Legion, and whereto (at length) he gaue the honour of Bourgethip. Nay, and that is much more, hee not knowing how he might worthily enough recompence the Gaules: made a great number of them Senatours, to the great discontenting of many *Romanes*. And as for the Cauallery or horsemen, wherin the *Gaules* euermore excelled all other Nations in warre: *Caesar* had (almost) none other, but continually ready at his seruice ten thousand Gaulish horse, according as it is declared by *Appian*. These were the French horse, that afforded so many great seruices to *Caesar*: as well in *Spain* against *Affrinus* & *Petreus*, Lieutenants to *Pompey*, as afterward in *Affrica*. Where it is said, that in one fight, lesse then thirty Gaules in number, fought against two thousand Mauritians, and droue them to flight.

Nere to *Munda* in *Spain*, *Caesar* fought against the sonnes of *Pompey*, where all had bin vtterly lost for him, hee knew not any meanes for helpe or redresse: till the Gaulish horsemen reconfirmed all, and was the cause, that the day (beeing before reputed for desperate) came solie to *Caesar*. His successors found themselves alwayes well serued, both with ordinary horse and foote of the Gaules. *Tacitus* maketh mention of a Cohort or Regiment of the *Sicambrians*, which did many remarkable deeds, in the warre against the Thracian Mountaineers: *Who were* (saith he) *prompt and hardy against dangers, and no lesse dreadfull for their Armes and order of marching in battaile aray*. This I do the more willingly sette downe, because of those Gaulish *Sicambrian* Nation, the French are properly descended.

The Poet *Claudian* auoucheth, that as other Prouinces furnished the Emperours with diuers commodities: so did

*Velleyus Paterculius*. Soldiers for the wars out of Gaule cheefely.

*Caesars* victory against *Pompey*, ascribed to the Gaules.

*Plut* in *vit. Caesar*. *Pompey* was astonished at the bread whereon the Gaules fed on in warre.

The Gaules sent to succor *M. Crassus* against the Parthians.

*Plut* in *M. Crassus*.

The admirable seruice of the Gaules to young *Crassus*.

*Caesars* Legion of Gaules, tearmed by him the *Lark*. *Sueton* in *Iulio*. cap. 24. *Sueton* in *Iulio* cap. 76. & 80.

*Appian*. De *Bel. Ciuili*. lib. 2.

Autor de *Bello Affrico* in *princ. seude Bello Ciuili*. 5.

*Caesar* succored by the Gaules on a desperate day

*Corn. Tacit*. in *Annal*. 4.

De laudib. *Severne*. Dat *Gallia* robur militis.

Greece spoyled & wastefull by the Goths.

The Gauls hated to be commanded by dissolute Emperors.

Tacell. Polliste. In xxx. Tyrann's. De Posthumio 2.

Popiscus in Caro.

The Gauls were neuer truely subiected to the Emperors.

France alwayes fit them with men for the warres. The same Author saith in another place, that vnder the Emperors *Arcadius & Honorius*, about the time of the insurrection and reuolt of *Gildon*, a great Army, composed (for the most part) of *Gauls*, was brought to succour Greece, then rauaged and spoyled by the *Gothes*: and they performed there such deeds of valour, as holpe the Country to recouer her right. So that being (for long time) wel entreated by the Romanes, partaking in the honours and administration of the Empire: it was no matter of maruaile, that their peace should be of so long continuance. One onely thing also was irksom & burdenous to the, in regard wherof, they troubled the Romane Empire with some stirres and perturbations, the *Gauls* being naturally addicted to vertue and seuerity. And therefore they hated to be commanded by such Emperors as were negligent, dissolute, and quite giuen ouer to all vices: which made them despise subiection to such as was *Tiberus, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Heliogabilus, Galien*, and other such like monsters of their names. They would endure none but vertuous Princes, and such Gouvernors were the fittest men to confirme and keepe them continually in peace.

Heereupon was it, that the Emperour *Valerian*, in a Letter of his said; *That hee had made a certaine man, named Posthumius, Governour of Gaule. A man (saith he) well worthy of the Gauls seuerity.* A word sufficient to reiect the obiection of leuity, wherewith some would haue reproched them. Another Author, writing the life of the Emperour *Carus*, confesseth: *That to command the Gauls, there needed an Emperour very constant and vertuous.* So that being vnable to suffer the detestable vices of many Romané Emperors, they departed (at euery occasion) in this respect fro their obedience: whereby it may be iustly said, that they continued alwayes free, and being not truely subiected, gaue their seruice to no other Emperors, but such as themselues reputed worthy. Vntill such time, as vpon the declination and fall of this great Empire, by the insatiable avarice of Romane Gouvernors, and other insupportable charges: they altogether fell off from them, and gaue ayde to their compatriots the French, and so wholly

did roote out the Romanes name.

But to examine a point (heeretofore handled) somewhat more particularly, it cannot bee saide with any reason, that France was conquered by the Romanes before Spaine: neither that the Spaniards made any more resistance, or continued longer time from subduing or subiection. For on the contrary, it appeareth, that the Carthagenians possessed themselues (in few yeares) of a great part of Spaine: euen at such time as the Romans fell likewise on it, and carried away their share without any difficulty. Witnes the treaty of peace, made betweene the Romans & *Hafdruball*, chiefe Captaine for the Carthagenians, wherein it was couenanted, that the Riuier *Iberus*, now called *Ebura*, should bee the bound of the Empire for these two people, and that the *Saguntines*, free people originally of Greece, who were betweene them both, should confederate with the one and other.

After this, it is sufficiently knowne, that the Romanes had long time made warre against the Carthagenians in Spain, who gaue them there many valiant fights. During which while, no estate, or fewe, made mention off among the Spaniards; who stood but as spectators, in expectation of the yssue, to see which of those two people should haue command ouer them. This was at the beginning of the second Punicke warre, when the *Scipioes* (after they had spent eight yeares in war) were slaine by the Carthagenians. And afterward, *Great Scipio*, surnamed *Africanus*, being sent thither, after diuers encounters, and taking Townes from the Carthagenians: expelled them wholly thence, & first of all made it a Romane Prouince, in the yeare of the Citie of Romes foundation *CCCCXLIII*. All the busines which he had with the Spaniards, was for some reuolts of particular people, whom he likewise as soone suppressed. So that very truely *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath saide: *That all the Prouinces of firme Land in Spaine, were the first conquered, & made one Prouince by the Romanes.*

All Historians agree together, reporting also, that in the yeare *CCCCCLII*, two Pretors were created at Rome to gouerne Spaine, which was then diuided in two parts, and termed *Citerior & Vlterior*, to wit, on this side, and beyond *Ebu-*

France not conquered by the Romanes before Spaine

Ti. Liv. lib. 21 Inpr.

\* Sagunt, a City in Spain beyond Iberus and a mile from the Sea.

The second Bun'ck war whereia the Scipioes were slaine, & the coming of great Scipio into Spaine.

Marcel in li. 25

Ti. Liv. lib. 32

Cato Senior sent into Spaine.

Plut. in Catoe moior. Tit. Livius in l. 34. Anst. de Vir. illust. c. 47.

At what time the Romanes first entred into Gaule.

Strabo in Lib. 4

A defective kinde of making warre.

\* People of Boetia in Spaine. \* People betweene Galicia and Portugall.

ra. The elder *Cato* was also sent thither, to quallifie the reuoltes of some people. When he had ouercome them, & made prouision, that no more rebellions might afterward happen: he sent his Letters & command to euery City in particular, to this effect, that they should cast down to the ground their wals and fortifications, & disposed the action so orderly, that his command was obeyed in the Cities, and he arriued ther at the same time. So they being verily perswaded in each City, that this command stretched but to that place onely: yeelded the more willingly, which otherwise they would not haue done. Whereupon ensued, that in one day, all their Townes were dismantled, and their wals rased. In regard of which successe, *Cato* made his vaunt; *That hee had taken more Townes in Spaine, then there were daies.*

Now, as concerning Gaul, the Romans neuer had footing there, but in the yeare *IVCXXII.* & in Prouence only: about an hundred years after that *Spaine* was wholly conquered. Nor had they there but a very small parcel, which was a nere neighbor to them: all Gaule being neuer made a Prouince, but by *Cesar*. By what likelihood of truth can it the be said, that *Spain* was brought vnder the power of the Roman Empire, after France? Neuertheless, it is very true (as *Strabo* saith) that the difficulties which the Romans had in *Spaine*, to make it peaceable, grew onely through the reuolts of some particular Townes & people, and by the incursions of theeuers gathered together in troopes, and these (of necessity) were to be chastised. So, making war, not in grosse, or with a body of iust Armes, but by peeces and parcels, one after another, in small courses and surprizals: the Romans had more trouble to finde out, then conquer them. Againe, although *Spaine* was held & commanded wholly by the *Romanes*, yet notwithstanding, there remained some people, dwelling in difficult, sharpe & mountainous places, as \* *Basques*, & \* *Astures*: who afterward, in the time of *Augustus*, were wholly vanquished, and added to the rest of *Spaine*. As also (about the same time hauing conquered *Aquitain*) he made it a Prouince, as the three other of *Gaul*.

Moreover, there cannot bee found so great a number of worthy Captaines, as

foorded by any country, like vnto *France*. As were among the ancient *Bellouasians* and *Sigouasians*, chiefe of the first & furthest-off expeditions among the *Gaules*: *Brennus*, that surprized *Rome*, and another *Brennus*, who afterward subdued the most part of *Europe* and *Asia*. *Dumnorix*, *Diuiticomus*, *Ambiorix*, *Dumnatius*, *Vercingetorix*, *Diuitiacus*, and many more recorded by *Cesar*. And to set Kings aside, who can count all the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords & Gentlemen, that haue excelled in the Art of wars. They are not to be numbred, such as haue beene in later times, as *Godfrey of Bullen*, king of *Ierusalem*: beside so many Princes and Lords, as went in the expeditions to the holy Land, the wars of *Spaine* and *Affrica*, against the *Turkes*, *Moores*, and *Sarrazins* at sundry times. The Marshall *Bouciquant*, in the dayes of king *Charls* the fift, as also *John de Saintrè*, knight; *Bertrand du Guesclin*, Constable of *France*; *Enguerrand*, Lord of *Coucy*; the *Conte de Dunois*, cheefe of the famous house of *Longueville*, the right hand and maine helpe to King *Charles* the 7. for expulsion of the bolde English. *La Hire*, *Pothon de Xaintrailles*, *Tanneguy du Chastell*: *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, one of the Ancestors to great *K. Henry*, hee, that after he had conquered a great part of *Italy*, bare away the renowned victory of *Rauenna*, trampling (vnder his feete) all the forces of *Spaine* and *Italy* coniured against him. *Odet de Foix*, Lord of *Autrec*; the Captain *Bayard*; the Lord of *Chamont*; *Louis de la Trimouilles*; *Guillaume* and *Martin du Bellay*; *Charles de Bourbon*, Constable of *France*; *Frances de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguyen*; *Charles* and *Timoleon de Cosse*, of the house of *Brissac*, and an infinite number more, most honourably remembered by the best Historians.

What shall we say of our Kings *Merenens*, *Chlouis*, *Childebert*, *Chlothaire*, *Charles Martell*, *Pepin*, *Charles the Great*, *Hugh Capet*, *Loys le Gros*, *Phillip Augustus*, *S. Loys*, *Phillip the third*, *Phillip le Bell*, *Charles the fift*, surnamed the wise; *Lewes the twelfth*, *Frances the first*, and the valiant *Henry the fourth*, Father to the King now reigning?

On the contrary, *Trogus*, speaking of *Spaine*, saith. *In tanta seculorum serie nullus illis Dux magnus, prater Viriatus fuit,*

What famous Captaines France hath yeelded from time to time.

Godfrey of Bullen, King of Ierusalem.

One of the best Soldiers that euer France bred.

Famous warlike Kings of France.

Trog. Pomp. in lib. 4.

Viriatuſ the  
hardy Luſita-  
nian.

qui annos decem Romanos varia victoria fatigauit. Adeo feris propiora quam hominibus ingenia ſunt. In long ſucceſſe of ages, they neuer had any chiefe Guide for warre, beſide *Viriatuſ Luſitanuſ*, who laboured the Romanes for the ſpace of ten yeares. So that (ſaith he) they came neerer in nature to ſavage beaſts, then to men. And addeth further, that they followed ſuch a Captaine, rather by occaſion, then out of any iudgement, hauing not made any election of him.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Nor can there be deſired a better, and more certaine teſtimony of valour, and generous nature in the French, then that which *Strabo* deliuereth in theſe words. All thoſe people whom we terme *Gaules*, are *Martiall, couragious, & ready* (of theſelues) to fight: And yet not withſtanding, they are very ſimple, and no way wicked or euill inclined. Heere to he addeth. That they bring nothing to the fight but vertue and courage, without any craft, ſuperchery, or brauing. And although (ſaith he) they are full of heat to fight; yet are they (for all that) capable to vnderſtand reaſon, and eaſie to bee perſwaded. Willing to vndertake the quarrell, for ſuch as they ſee to be iniuriouſly wronged and offended.

In Lib. 7.  
Copias habebat  
in Gallia bella-  
re conſuetas, lo-  
cis can peſtribus  
& contra Gal-  
los homines aper-  
tos minime que  
inſidioſes, qui  
per virtutem  
non per dolum  
dimittere conſu-  
euerunt.  
Cicero in  
Philip. 5.

The Author of the Commentaries on the warre which *Cæſar* made in *Africa*, be it *Hirtiuſ*, be it *Oppiuſ*, or whoſeuer elſe, ſaith. That the *Gaules* were men open-hearted, and no way deceiuers, uſing to fight by vertue, and not by ſubtilty or fraud. The ſame *Strabo* auoucheth in another place, ſaying: They are all warriors, and principally good Knights, for the beſt *Cauallerie* of the Romanes, was compoſed of the *Gaules*. The Romanes alwayes made moſt eſpecial account of the *Gauliſh* horſemen, for *Cæſar* found himſelfe to bee beſt ſerued with them. And *Cicero* hearing that the gouernment of *Transalpine Gaule* ſhould be giuen to *M. Anthony*; cryed out. *Eſt enim opinio decreturum aliquem M. Anton. Galliam vltimam quam Plauius obtinet: Quid hoc eſt aliud, quam hoſti arma largiri primum neruos belli pecuniam inſinitam. Deinde equitatum quantum velit? Can any thing elſe be done heerein, but onely to thruſt Armes into the hands of an enemy? Firſt of all, inſinite ſummes of money, which are the nerues and ſinewes of warre: And next, as many men well horſed, as he wold haue with him.* This paſſage is ſufficient, whereby

to conceiue and certainly obſerue, the wealthy treaſures of France, and the opinion held thereof.

The exerciſes of theſe people, ſpake fully the matter of war ſo much by them affected, alwayes louing a manly & cheerful diſpoſition of the body, and contemning groſſe corpulency: ſo that they condemned (in very great fines) all ſuch yong men, whoſe bellies exceeded the ordinary meaſure of their girdles, according to the auouching of *Strabo*. Moreouer, the French haue bene reputed to ſurpaſſe all other Nations, in theſe two noble and warlike exerciſes, hunting, and ryding great horſes. Hunting, which is nothing elſe but a lively image of warre, and an aſſiduate meditation thereof, as *Xenophon* ſaith. *Eginhard*, the nurſing-childe of *Charles the Great*, and his Secretary, writing his life, ſpeaketh thus. *Exercebatur aſſidue equitando ac venando quod illi gentilitium erat, quia vix vlla in terris natio inuenitur qua in hac re Francis poſſit equari.* He exerciſed himſelfe daily to hunting, and to mount on horſebacke. Wherein (ſaith he) he relliſhed of the whole Nation. For there is not any people in all the world, that can heerein ſurpaſſe, but onely may endeour to equall the French.

But before I can finiſh this diſcourſe, concerning the warlike vertue of the French. I cannot forbear to ſay ſome-what of that which they performed on the day of \* *Nicopolis* againſt the Turkes: where a man may well ſay, that a ſmall handfull of French Gentlemen, excelled (in prowefſe) whatſeuer wee reade in Hiſtories, of all the braue exploits in war that euer were done. Not *Leonides* of the Greekes at the *Thermopyla*, nor *Ceditius* of the Romanes in *Sicily*, is any way worthy compariſon with them: the hiſtory followeth in this manner.

*Charles the ſixt* reigning in France; the King of *Hungaria* ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, entreting that ſome ſuccor might be afforded him, againſt *Baiazeth* firſt, Emperour of the Turkes, the moſt remarkable warrior that euer was of the houſe of the *Ottomans*. The King conſenting thereto very gladly, many Lords & Gentlemen of France prepared themſelues to be ſcene in this voyage, to the number of about a thouſand or twelue hundred. Among others, there was the *Conte d'Eu*, Conſtable of France; the *Conte de la Marche*;

The exerciſes  
of the *Gauliſh*  
people declar-  
ed their affec-  
tion to Arms

Strabo in  
lib. 4.

Hunting and  
riding great  
horſes.

Xenophon.  
In vita Caroli  
Magi.

A City in Bi-  
thynia.

Froiffard in  
vol. 4.

The hiſtory of  
the few reſol-  
uer French  
on the day  
fought at Ni-  
ccopolis.

*Marche*, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lords of *Trimouille*, and *Iohn Conte de Nevers*, son to the Duke of *Burgongne*, who was chief Commander. When they were ioyned with the king of *Hungariaes* army, hauing past the riuer \* *Danubius*, they bare away (in assault) the honor of diuers Townes: and at length came to lay sidge before the City of *Nicopolis*.

While the greater part of the Army besiedged the City, *Enguerrand* Lord of *Coucy*, taking with him five hundred Lances: made vp into the Countrey, to seeke some enemies that they might fight withall, and it is credibly reported, that (verie nere vnto them) there was a troop of Turkes, of about twenty thousand in number. Now, albeit this multitude exceeded their small companie beyond all measure: yet notwithstanding, they resolved to grapple with them. And hauing first of all drawne them beyond a wood, wherein there was an ambuscado; they came and charged them in the rere. The fight was (for all that) cruell, and of long continuance, wherein the French, although they were so few against so great a number; yet they did performe wonders that day. So that in the end, the Turkes being disheartned, faintned extraordinarily, & more then fifteen thousand lay slaine in the field.

Some short while after, *Baiazeth* being come with a dreadfull Armie, consisting of more then three hundred thousand fighting men: they aduanced themselves to deale with the enemies armie, being not worthy to be termed any number, because they were (in all) but seauen hundred, when they beganne the fight. The French small troops, made a goodly sight to behold, being all well armed and appointed, in rich glittering and gorgeous Armors, wanting no cost of golde and siluer, and brauely mounted on gallant horses, most sumptuously barbed & caparassoned; so that such as saw them, might well haue rearmed them an Armie of Kings. But (beyond all the rest) vvith what force, ardour and courage they fought, although they were meerey shut vp, and round railed or ringed in with innumerable enemies. At the first onfet, they wholly defeated and ouerthrew the auantgard and first battell of the Turke, beating them on stil before them, euen to

the verie midst of the bodie of the maine army, where was *Baiazeth* himselfe.

Many there were, who performing meer miracles of manhood in fight, cleit or hewed out their passage throough the prease, and very thickest of all the Turkish Army, compelling them to make them way, both for going on and returning backe again, euen to two or three severall times of enforcement. And yet no one man among that poore small troop, who seeing the vnauoydable danger of death, was desirous to take hold on any advantage, or shew so much as a countenance of retiring, albeit their enemies (gladly) offered them many meanes. All resolved to loose their liues, but yet the enemy bought them at very deere rate, filling the field with mountaines made of their dead bodies: euen till such time as the fight hauing held a great deal of the day, the most part of the French lying dead on the ground, and the rest (a very small number) wearied vvith killing the Turks, and pierced through with wounds being overwhelmed with multitudes, were (in the end) taken prisoners. But it was generally held for truth, that if the great body of the Hungarian army (being vvellnecere the number of an hundred thousand able men) had seconded them, or vsed neuer so little resistance, in making (but a shew of withstanding the enemy, to hinder the French from being so enclosed; (by any forwardnesse in redeeming them, and not fearefully fly away on heaps throough the valley, as the Hungarians most cowardly did, suffering themselves to be murthred, without any offer of fight) the day had remained to the Christians. And I dare speake it, that the power of the Turkes, which afterwards so great enlarged it selfe (meerey throough our diuisions) had then bin vterly ruined from the top to the bottome.

Then you plainly perceiue, that of this small troope of resolute Champions, the greater part of them lay dead in the field, hauing made a slaughter of infinite enemies, more by fifty times then they were; and fought to their latest drop of bloode; but verie few of them remaind prisoners. But on the next day, *Baiazeth* going himself in person, to view the fiede of battell, and take acknowledgement of the dead, when he found that for one

French

Most admirable corage & manhood, deliuered apparently by the French, and in a time of most extreme triall

Great negligence in the armie of the Hungarians, to faile the men which fought for the

But few prisoners taken of the small French company.

The greatest riuer in Europe, rising out of the hill Arnoba in Germany. In Illyricum it receiueth 60. other riuers into it, where it is cald Ister and there is broadest.

500. hundred French Lances, set vpon 20000. Turkes & their succes

A far vndifferent army of Turkes, to meddle with so fewe of the French.

Biazeth had but little ioy in his deare victory, desiring to deale no more with the French.

Frenchman slaine, whole heapes and piles of Turkes filled vp the field, and all his Army left in such pittifull condition, he tooke it so despitefully, and entred into such outrageous choller, as beeing vnable to consider on his losse, or take any means for contentation, hee commanded a passage vnto death thorough the army, of all the prisoners, except about some twentie of the greatest Lords: as the *Conte de Neuers* the Generall, and others; who being knowne, were saued and put to their ransomes. *Biazeth* complaining on so sadde a victory, which cost him so deare, could not depart thence but very pensiuely; and in plain truth, such another ouerthrow would absolutely haue confounded him altogether.

This may seeme sufficient for the valiancie of the French. But som may obiect, that such warlike people, accustomed to liue among Armes and Martiall exercises, should bee voluntary disdainers of matters appertaining to Iustice, acknowledging no other right then that of armes. *Forbear* (said *Pompey*) *till to morrow, to alleadge your Lawes to vs, who haue our swords by our sides.* This is quite contrary to the French, who are no way to be lesse commended for their iustice then for their valor and excellency in actions of armes, and haue euermore bene accounted to be true louers of Iustice. *Agathias* a Grecian authour, who liued more then a thousand yeares since, hath prayed and commended the French for their Iustice. *Whereof* (saith hee) *they are verie desirous, as also great louers of their Country.* He further addeth, *That because they possesse a most assured estate, they haue (as their bases and support) many goodly principles engrauen in the hearts of their Kings and People.* Why then let mee vndoubtedly tell yee, that among all other Nations, the Gaules & the French haue most highly cherished and loued Iustice, and haue alwayes religiouslie honoured it, yeelding themselues thereto, and making continuall exercise thereof, without any passion.

And to make repetition of an infinit number of goodly institutions, and diuers examples of their Iustice, it may well appeare by this notable custome, which both Greeke and other ancient authours haue obserued among them. To wit, that if any one haue slaine a Citizen or Bourgesse, he hath no other infliction but banishment; whereas, if hee commit the like offence on

the person of a stranger, he is punished with death: for the paine is augmented in consideration of the stranger, to whome the more easily the iniury may be offered, so much the more (they hold) that the offence which he hath done, ought to be seuerely punished and reuenged. It may be thought somewhat hard, that a stranger should be fauoured and defended, more then a Citizen. To cut off which difficulty, we see by the diuine law, ordained on the strangers behalfe, that he is so oftentimes repeated and defended, that a man must very carefully keepe himselfe from harming him, and that iustice must be rendred him equal with a Citizen. And questionles it may be truly said, that (euen at this day) ther is not any country in the world, where a stranger is more humanely entertained, lesse offended, and more defended in all right of iustice, then among the people of France.

In like manner, wee finde by probable histories, that (very often times) Princes and strange people haue referred their differences to the iustice of France, aswell of the Kings, as of the Parliaments. Among other, the reputation of their Iustice in King *Dagobert*, was spred so farre into strange Nations, that the Hungarians, the Sclauonians, and other people neighboring about, desired him to be the Iudge in their differences. And more, the Sclauonians said, that if euer he cam into their countrey, they would acknowledge & obey him, as if he were their King.

Furthermore; let it neuer be said or imagined, & barbarism at any time had entertainment among the Gaules. Continually they were most human, hauing milde and wel polished spirits by nature, & being aduantageously shaped or fashioned for the study of al arts & Sciences: especially they studied eloquence in such sort, that the elder *Cato* in his originals cited by *Charisius*, hath rendred this testimony of them. *That they wer quick conceited & industrious principally in two things; in the Art military, & in wel speaking.* The proof hereof appeared in that *Hercules* of Gaule, so much renowned by our forfathers, figured in such fashion, that from his mouth hung dangling downe at his tongue, manie small chaines of fine gold, wherewith he tied & bound the people by the eares, leading them whether so euer he pleased, & with their

Concerning matters belonging to iustice

*Plutarch in vit. Pompey.*

*Agathias in l. 1.*

The French great louers of iustice.

A notable example of Iustice among the French. *Stobem.*

A Stranger more fauored and defended then a Citizen by the law of God.

Strange princes & people haue referred cases in Controuerly to the Iustice of France. *Suet. in lib. 9. cap. 23.*

No barbarism at any time among the Gaules.

*Charisius. Gallia duas res industriosissime persequitur, rem militarem, & argenti loqui.*

their owne good wills, free from al constraint. Declaring by this figure, what precious account they made of wel speaking, and what power wordes had: no lesse (but rather greater) then that of Armes, to subdue people, & cause them become obedient willingly.

Vnder the Romane Emperors, there was a combate of eloquence in the City of Lyons, fought in Greeke and Latine; wherein, such as were vanquished, gaue the prizes to their victors, and were constrained (besides) to write in their commendation. And as for such as performed no matter worth the esteeming, they were bound (by necessity) to wipe out what they had done with a Spunge, or with their owne tongues; except they better affected, to be either beaten vvith rods, or throwne headlong into the Riuer. Wherto may be referred that which *Iuuenal* saith.

*Palleat vt nudis presit qui calcibus anguem,  
Aut Lugdunensem Rhetor dicitur us ad arā.*

And the same Author makes mention also, concerning the Eloquence of the Gauls, which they instructed vnto other people.

*Gallia caufidicos; docuit facunda Britannos.*

I am enforced to extend my selfe somewhat further in this discourse, by making report of a few more testimonies; to ouerthrow the false conceiued opinion of some, who haue esteemed, that the people of France (in their first times) vvere not addicted to Sciences, erudition, nor the study of Letters, wherein they are verry greatly deceiued. For on the contrary, it is plaine to be proued, that (as in all other thinges) so therein also they haue most singularly excelled, and taught the same to the Romans. He that first instructed the Art of eloquence or well-speaking in Rome, was one *Lucius Plotius*, a Gaule borne; vnder whom *Cicero* (beeing then but young) was some yeares vvith his Brother *Quintus* also. And about the same time; or not long after, another Gaul was highly renowned in Rome, named *M. Antonus Gniphos*, beeing endued with a mighty spirit of singular memory, and infinitely skilfull and eloquent, as wel

in Greeke as in Latine, and verie liberall (wherefoeuer he came) to teach what he knew. So that for these goodly and commendable qualities, hee bare such sway in those times: as his house was much frequented by the very greatest Romaine Lords.

It cannot be denied also, but that the great Oratour *Cicero* went often thether when he was Prætor. But that which (aboue all other) may make him most Famous, was, in being Teacher to the great Dictator *Cæsar* himself. Surely, not without some especial prouidence therein, to the end, that this Prince might hold wholly from Gaule (not onely the encreasing and establishing of his Greatnesse) but also this honor, wherein (not a iot lesse) hee excelled, then in actions of armes. Gaule hath euer since kept her selfe in this reputation. *Quintilian*, vvho vvvas a Spaniard, made great reckoning of the eloquence which was taught in Gaule, and about the declination of the Roman Empire, *Symmachus* Governour of Rome at that time, in one of his Epistles, sayeth; *That if he would performe any worke woorthy of memory, he must go of necessitie, and dreine it out of the Gaulish knowledge and elegancie.* The same man also acknowledgeth, *That whatsoeuer was in him, either of eloquent or polished speaking, ought the due thereof to the aire of France, where hee had learned them.* And in another place hee saith, *That Mount Helicon, sacred vnto the Muses, was transported from her owne place, into Frante.*

Saint *Hierome* writing to a certayne Father, vvho vvvas very carefull for the institution of his sonne in vvell-speaking; saith; *Post studia Galliarum que vel florentissima sunt, misit Romam non parcens sumptibus, vt obertatem Gallici nitoremq; sermonis grauitas Romana condicet.* After (saith he) he hath performed his studies among the Gaules, where they are most flourishing; for sending him vnto Rome, make no spare of expences, to the end, that the abundance, delicacy, and luster of the Gaulish language, may be scasoned with the Roman grauity. The same author sayeth in another place, *That France is fertile in Orators.* In another place also he saith: *That shee hath alwayes abounded in most eloquent men.* As illustrating vnder that title, *Votienus Montanus* in the time of *Augustus*; afterward relega-

A Gaule was schoolemaster for eloquence to Cicero and Great Cæsar.

*Quintil. in lib. 10. cap. 9.*

*Symmach. in lib. 9. Epist. 9. Gall. cane fa- caudie hausus requiro.*

In lib. 8. Epist. 66. Gallia de- dux Heliconis.

S. Hierome ad Rusticum Monachum.

Proem Epist. 2. Ad Galatis.

Words of more power then weapons

*Suet. in vit. Caliguli. cap. 20.*

*Iuuenal. in Satyr. I.*

Satyr. 15.

An answer to a false conceiued opinion.

*Suet. declaris Rhetor.*

*Suet. de illust. Grammat.*

Corn. Tacitus in  
in *Annal.* 4.

Tacit. *cod. Lib.*  
*Euseb. in Chron.*  
*Quint. in lib. 5*  
*Trog. Pomp. lib.*  
*43. in Fi.*

Nazarius and  
his learned  
daughter Eu-  
nomia.

Claudian in  
*Reb. Gallo.*

Auson in *Mosel*

Druides, Vu-  
uates, Euba-  
ges, & Bardes.  
The learning  
of the Bardes.

Strabo in *lib. 4.*

relegated or exiled into the Islands *Baleares*. *Domitius Afer* of *Nismes*, who came with great charges to Rome, being generally renowned for the cheefest Orator of his time, and esteemed so highly by *Quintilian*, that he acknowledged him for his Master. Next, the father of *Trogus Pompeius* the historian, of the house of the *Vocontians*: who kept in his hand the ring of the Emperor *Caligula*, as beeing the keeper of his seales. Then *Gabinianus*, *M. Afer*, *Iulius Florus*, *Iulius Secundus*, verie famous Oratours vnder *Vespasian*, and many more whom I omit, to come to more moderne times, wherein *Aquitaine* onely hath more furnished Rome with Senators and Orators, then all the rest of the world beside.

A testimony heereof was the Learned *Nazarius*, Author of some Panegyricks, yet remaining with vs. And that which is more admirable, was the daughter of this *Nazarius*, named *Eumonia*; the miracle of her age, who was not a iot inferior to the very worthiest Orators. Beside an infinite number of others, mentioned by the authors of those severall times, too troublesome for vs to rehearse but one halfe of them. Heere to appertaineth the writing of *Claudian*: That *Gaule* with her Learned Citizens, did ordinarily guard the Emperor, and served him in the most part of his affairs. Moreouer the greater part of the Roman Senate, and a number of the Magistrates beeing great and famous persons of that age, are especially noted to bee Gaules. So that wee may very well auouch that, which *Ausonius* sung in his *Mosella*: *It is no longer Rome, that onely made shew of her Catoes, in regard that Gaul did euery way equall her.*

Other Sciences also haue carried as full saile there. In the first times shee had her *Druides*, *Vuates* or *Eubages*, & *Bardes*, of whose learning we haue yet lefte some remaines and memories. The *Bards* composed in Verses, and conserued to all posterities, the names and commendable actions of vertuous men, as spurre sufficient to animate the very dullest corages. The *Eubages*, called also *Vuates* by *Strabo*, applyed their studies to the contemplation of celestial things; as also vnto Naturall Philosophy. As for the *Druides*, they are sufficiently famous, and although wee haue spoken to good purpose of them in

the former booke of the ancient Gaules; yet some especiall things there omitted, may the better in this place be remembered in larger manner.

They instructed and taught about all things else, that mens soules wer immortal: which is the foundation of all religion, and the very strongest bond of human society. They discoursed also on the stars, and of their course and motion: also of the greatnesse of the world, the earth, the nature of things, the power of God; & gave instruction in al these to their youth. This is auouched by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Mela*, and *Strabo*, who say, *That the most of them held the world to be immortal.* An opinion surely (after many great disputes and alterations) found to be most true by the verie best Philosophers and Diuines, framing a distinction thus.

Assuredly, the world is of eternal and incorruptible matter, in regard of the celestiall part, which receiueh no alteration, neither shal receiue any at their consummation: but by  $\S$  adiunction of light and whole perfection. But what is vnder the caue of the Moone, composed and mixed with Elements for the vse of man, shal perish by fire, and returne into their first essence and Elementary quality. The course of heauen shal stay, and by consequent, al motion and corruption cease; according as it was held by *Peter Lombard* long since Bishop of *Paris*, & called *Master of the Sentences*; and with him all the Theological Scholastickes, and the Angellical Doctor, *Thomas Aquinas*.

They beleued also, that (one day hereafter) the water and fire shal haue Dominion; wherby we may perceiue that they had notions comming neere to truth and our beleefe, albeit altered and confused. For that which they conceiued of the water, they saide was already come, and for the matter of fire we doe credite the like, & expect the consummation of the world thereby. Why then it is no matter of maruel, if hauing imparted their knowledge to other people, *Aristotle* should confesse, *That Philosophy receiued her originall from the learned Gaules, whom hee calleth Semnotheans, and auoucheth France to bee the Mistresse of Greece.* All the Gaulish Philosophers were in such reputation: that the people conceyued the goodnesse of the yeare, the happinesse and honor of their

The immortality of the soul taught by the *Druides*.

*Marc. in lib. 10. cap. 14.*  
*Pomp. Mela, in l. 7.*  
*Strabo in lib. 4.*

A distinction of the worlds immortality.

*Pet. Lomb. in l. 4. Sentent. dist. 48.*  
*The Aquin. contra gentes, lib. 4. cap. 97.*  
*Strabo in lib. 4.*

*Arist. in Magico. apud Dioge. Laert. in pr.*

*Strabo in lib. 4.*

their times, to consist in the multiplicite of them.

This shal suffice to shew, that such men were not well informed, as haue written, that the French did not adiect themselues to Sciences; considering, that they haue alwayes continued in the exercise of Letters and Learning. And for that purpose they had (from time to time) many famous Schooles, established for the instruction of youth. *Marseilles* equalled *Athens* in learning; so that very oftentimes the *Romaines* sent their Sonnes to that Academy, rather then to *Athens*, as it is reported by *Strabo*, who wrote in the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*. We reade moreouer, that the Emperour *Augustus*, sent thither *Iulius Antonius*, the youngest sonne of his Sister, to study there. And *Tacitus* reporteth, that the probity, integrity, and knowledge of *Iulius Agricola*, his Father in Law, came by the nouriture & instruction, which he receiued at *Marseilles* in France.

About the same time, *Austune* also became famous for the study of letters and liberall Arts, whereof wee haue the testimony in *Tacitus*. And againe, after these publike schools, who were established by the Emperour *Constantius*, father to *Constantine*, who to that purpose sent thither the Orator *Eumenius*. There is a Law in the *Code Theodosian*, of the Emperours *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, wherein is declared, that there were a great number of Townes in France, which flourished by the excellency of Masters, Oratours, and Grammarians, in the learning both of Greeke and Latine. Among which towns also, were them of *Bourdeaux*, *Tholouse*, *Narbona*, and many other. *Ausonius* likewise speaking of that of *Bourdeaux*, sayth; That then issued from the hand of one onely Doctor, Neetor *Mineruius*, a thousand Famous Advocates or Councillors at law, twice as many Senatours or graue Statesmen.

These Fountaines of all erudition, haue not dried vp in France vnder the reignes of their Kings; but rather haue increased and abounded more and more, by multiplicity of Schooles, publikely established in many other Citties; wherto they since haue giuen the right of an incorporated body or vniuersity. And by this occasion, such Vniuersities, in fauour of the studie of Letters and Sciences so founded and

erected, haue beene endowed and adorned by diuers Kinges, with goodly great priuiledges and particular fauours. Among which, that of *Paris* hath extraordinarily surpassed all other in the world. To her, as to the Queene of Learning, resortes the affluence of people from strange Nations, there to learne the Sciences, and especially holy Diuinity. This is as the Faire, Mart, or Market of the whole world, for the liberall Arts, and for instruction in all Languages. This is as a Nursing Orchard of good plants and ingenious spirits, in all vertue and faire erudition: from whence hath beene selected (like swarmes of Bees) learned men in infinit numbers, that haue dispersed themselues, and meerey peopled most parts of the earth. Also it hath beene the module and originall, whereby all other haue taken example, not onely for France it self, but likewise for all Europe.

Pope *Innocent* the third, made such estimation thereof, that from thence he selected all those men, whom hee intended to aduance to the Bishoppricks of Christendome, and other dignities in the Church. Beside, it appeareth by good & sufficient testimonies of other Vniuersities, for more then three hundred yeares since, that the studies of *Paris* haue beene the Foundation (in great measure) of the Church. *Studium Parisiense esse fundamentum Ecclesie*. And euermore it hath beene the cheefest in opposition against heresies, to combate and ouercom them, euen so soone as (at any time) they began to grow. Infinite victories and triumphs hath she crowned her selfe withal, in so famous a contention, whereof I spare to make any report; because they are no lesse carefully then elegantly set downe by the Lord *Loysell*, in his Tract of the Vniuersity of *Paris*. Wherein also hee hath most learnedly obserued, the true institution of that Vniuersity, against the vulgar Fables which haue beene noyed thereof. There are likewise many other Vniuersities; founded, and established in diuers Citties and Townes of France, as in *Tholoufa*, *Bourges*, *Orleance*, *Angiers*, *Poitiers*, *Cahors*, *Mont-pellier*, *Nymes*, *Caen*, *Nantes*, *Rheims*, &c.

Also from France, and all her Schools, haue proceeded men as learned and excellent in all kindes of Sciences, as in piety and

The famous Vniuersity of Paris, & great resort of scholars thither.

The affection of Pope Innocent 3. to the Vniuersity of Paris.

Paris the conqueror of infinite heresies.

A great many of Vniuersities founded in France.

*Marseilles* in France equalled *Athens* in learning.

*Strabo* in Lib. 4.

*Cornel. Tacit.* in *Iul. Agricol.*

*Corn. Tacit.* in *Annal.* 3.

*Orat. Eumenii* de *Schol. instaur*

*Lib. 31. Cod. Theod.* De *profess. & n. d.*

*Ausonius* Professor.

The increase of Schooles & Vniuersities for Learning in France.

France hath  
yeelded great  
plenty of lear-  
ned Byshoppes.

S. Hillary, by-  
shop of Poi-  
tiers.

S. Sulpitius  
Seuerus.

Pontius Pau-  
linus the Se-  
nator.

Rusticus,  
Phoebadius,  
Prosper, Ale-  
thius.

3. archbishops  
of Vienna.

S. Germaine,  
byshoppe of  
Auxerre.

S. Gregorie  
Florent, Arch-  
byshop of  
Tours, com-  
pared to S.  
Gregory Na-  
zianzene.

and probity: and as this Discourse would require whole volumnes, so yet it would exceede possibility to name and re-count them all. There haue beene many wise & learned Byshoppes canonized for their sanctity of life, who haue establisht Christian religion in many Countreyes, and suppressed monstrous heresies, dispersed in many parts of the world. As S. *Hillarie* Byshop of *Poitiers*, the true confounder of the *Arrian* heresie, where-with the Church was too much tormented, euen at the beginning of her increasing. Saint *Sulpitius Seuerus*, whose learned writings lets vs yet sufficiently see his piety, and painfull endeouours together, as the Arch byshop of *Bourges*, that liued vnder the reigne of King *Gontran*, and also a more ancient Priest of *Aquitaine*, of equall standing with S. *Hierom* and S. *Martin*, with whom he was very familiar, & who wrote his life.

*Pontius Paulinus*, who being a Senator, descended of a great family, and infinitely rich, gaue all his goods to the poore, & becoming an Ecclesiasticall person, was afterward elected byshop of *Nola* in *Italy*. Of the same country of *Aquitaine*, were also S. *Rusticus*, S. *Phoebadius*, and *Prosper*, *Alethius* the Priest, so much commended by S. *Hierom*, for his sanctity, eloquence, and learning. *Ecditius*, *Auitus*, and *Mamertus*, instituter of the Rogations, Arch byshops of *Vienna*: S. *Sidonius Apollonaris* Byshop of *Auvergne*; S. *Lupus* byshop of *Troyes*; and S. *Germaine* byshop of *Auxerre*, who setled and assured Christian religion in England. *Eucherius* Archbishop of *Lyons*; *Saluianus* and *Gennadius*, priests of *Marseilles*, and S. *Vincentius* Monke of S. *Honoratus*, in the Isle of *Lerins*. And since the Monarchy of some later Kings, S. *Rhemigijs*, and S. *Gregory Florentius*, Archbyshop of *Tours*: who is compared by *Fortunatus*, an ancient Christian Poet, to S. *Gregory Nazianzene*, as giuen to the East, and by *Gregory the Great*, Pope, giuen to the South, as he for *France* was to the West. It was at the same time, when Pope *Gregory* (hauing seene at *Rome*) not onely aduired him, but did him so much honor as could bee deuised, *Arnold*, Byshop of *Metz*, *Hincmar* Archbyshop of *Rheimes*, *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferriers* in *Gastinois*, *Arnold de Lisieux*, *Fulbert* & *Tues*, Byshops of *Chartres*, *Sugerus* Abbot of

S. *Denis*, S. *Bernard* Abbot of *Cleruaux*; *Peter Abbayelard*, of whome there went a Prouerbe in his time, that there was not any thing in al the world, reaching either to the highest heauens, or to the lowest bottome of the profoundest deepes, but they were all familiarly knowne to him. Also *Peter Lombard*, byshop of *Paris*, so admirable in the profession of Diuinitie, that (euen to this verie day) all Christendome acknowledgeth him for her Maister.

Hee should neuer make an end, that would take on him to recite all the great men of France, not onely such as haue preceded them of these times, but infinit numbers beside; whereby may bee iustly said, that Learning and the Sciences, not onely receiued their ancient flourishing splendor in France; but also haue imparted themselues (as before) to all other regions of the earth. There hath bin heere tofore (beside all them formerly named) one *Eumenides* of *Marseilles*, a most wise Philosopher, who (among manie other things) made a very serious inquisition, & learnedly wrote on the originall of *Nilus*. *P. Terentius Varro* (surnamed *Atacinus*, of his Countrey in *Narbonne Gaul*, on the riuer of *Atax*, now called *Auda*, which belcheth it self into the sea at *Narbona*) much renowned among the Roman Poets, for making foure bookes of the *Argonautes* affaires, diuers Epigrams, and the *Sequanes* warres, recited by *Pliny* in many places, as also by the Grammarian *Priscian*.

Heere we may not forget the Philosopher \* *Phanorinus*, so highly renowned vnder the Emperor *Adrians* reigne: a native of *Arles*, as *Philostratus* reporteth in the discourse of his life. *Nazarius* the Orator, and *Latinus Pacatus*, Author of the excellent Panegyricke of *Theodosius*. About the same time flourished *Rutillius Numatianus* a Poet, and *Ausonius* of *Burdeaux*, most worthy the name of a Poet, since the dayes of *Augustus*: diuers namelesse workes of his haue bene found, and (for their especiall deseruing) haue bene attributed to be *Virgils*. Hee was chosen for Schoolemaister to the emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*: for it was an ordinary course in those times, when there vvas any necessity of learned men, eyther to instruct the Emperors sons, or the great

Peter Abayelard a famous man for Learning & knowledge.

Eumenides of Marseilles, an excellent Philosopher.

\* A famous riuer in Narbonne.

\* He was scho-ler to Dion, & wondred that being a French man borne, he should speake Greek so well.

Ausonius Schoolmaster to two Emperors.

test Lords of the Romane Empire, they were fecht frō France, as we read in many places of the works of *Symmachus*, then Governour of Rome, & who suckt (himselfe) the milke of the Muses of France.

I forbear to speake of those strangers, who by becomming there learned, haue honored their owne countries; thogh respiring first the sweet ayre of France, and borrowed a beame from her bright splendour, to giue some luster thereof to their places of birth. In breefe to speake truly, it is as difficult a thing, to name all the famous persons that haue flourished in France, as it is easie for other people to make a shew of all such as they haue had, which would rise to a far inferior number. Moreouer, many great persons (beeing strangers there) hauing diligently suruayed the spirits of the French, haue found them by experienced iudgment, to be full of life, subtile, proper & prompt to all occasions, cleare sighted, and piercing into the Sciences; thinking it very conuenient that whereas some haue esteemed the ancient Gaules to be light and mutable, they should rather say, & very iustly, that they were tractable, apt and ready to performe any thing imposed on them whatsoeuer.

Of this minde was *Iulius Caesar Scaliger*, an Italian, a man most learned and iudicious, who speaketh in this manner. *Illud est comprimis aduertendū, non esse cum animorū mobilitate coniunctā fidei iacturam. Gallos enim vides ad omnia momenta vel euentuum vel disciplinarū promptos, paratos, versatiles: ut semel quicquam vel visum vel auditum, illico apud eorum ingenia & deponat & amittat nouitatem, in eo ipso penitus extēplo videntur nati atque educati. Qui animorum vigor igneus, maturaque celiritas nulli alij nationi data est à natura. Quoquod incubuere felicissime sese dant, ocysimè proficiunt gnauiter exercent: mercaturam, artes, arma, litteras, eruditione, subtilitatem, candorem, eloquentiam. Omnium tamen gentium atque nationū, fide sunt maxime integra & constāti. It is a matter that well deserueth to be noted or considered, that the defect of faith is not alwaies conioyned with the mobility and lightnesse of spirit. That it must needs be so, I see that the French are prompt, ready, and tractable, at all moments and occasions, be it eyther for the diuersity of accidents, or bee it for the Sciences: and that in such sort, as so soone as they haue seene or heard any thing,*

*immediately it loseth all nouelty with them, and carrieth no such matter of newes in their mindes, for it seemeth as instantly bred and borne with them. This hot and fiery vigor of vnderstanding, and this promptitude with maturity & iudgement, hath not bin giuen by nature to any other Nation. On whatsoeuer they purpose a resolution, they apply the selues thereto very happily, profic therein most speedily, and exercise it carefully: either Merchants, Artes, Armes, Letters, erudition, subtilty, affability, freedome, and eloquence, or any thing else. And yet notwithstanding, among al nations, they are the most vpright, & intirely constant of their faith and word.*

Moreouer, as there is nothing that doth so much ciuilize and sweeten manners the the study of good letters, & to win knowledge in the Sciences, which do beget in our soules all humanity and courtesie, and expelleth all rudenesse in carriage: euen so is it very true, that there are none more gracious and humane, then the French, especially towards strangers. The mildnes that is inwardly, and lodged vp in a french mans heart, makes plaine outward shew and appearance in his countenance. In his forehead he carrieth a naturall franchise, and freedome in life and ciuill conuersation: all laid downe evidently, without dissembling any thing, or vsing any cunning or flattery. Good iudgement was made hereof by the emperour *Iulian*, who said; *He thought himselfe most happy, to meet with such good naturde men, so facile & fellowly, & yet (neuerthelesse) without flattery.*

It is a world of time since the Gaules had no mean reputation, for entertaining courteously, and liberally welcoming strangers among them. *Diodorus* the *Sicillian* highly commended the courtesie of the Gaules in this point. And *Tacitus* hath written particularly of the Getmans, that came from the Gaules, and had meereley learned it of them. And when the French name began first to appeare, *Salianus* of *Marseilles* gaue them the vertue, to be kinde to strangers. Aboue all, this people hath alwaies helde Religion in singular recommendation, as being the foundation of vertue: & they haue continually bin deuoted to diuinity, euen when they had no true knowledge thereof. *Cesar* saith, *Gallia admodū dedita religionibus.* And *Liuius* describing the siege of the Gaules at the Capitole, saith, that a man of the house of the *Fabij*, being cast down frō

Strangers that haue learned their best knowledge in France.

The opinion of diuers worthy strangers conceiuing the French.

*Iul. Caf. Scaliger In Exerit. 167. Sect. 2.*

Scaliger his obseruation concerning the French.

The French are naturally addicted to singular qualities.

None more benigne and kinde to strangers then the French.

*In Missopogne.*

*Diod Siculus in lib. 5.*

*Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 9.*

*Iulius Cesar in comment. lib. 6. Tit. us. Liuius in lib. 5. cap. 7.*

\* One of the seven Hills in Rome.

Sei atomitis Gallis in raculo audacie, seu religione etiam motus cuius baud, quaquam negligens gens est.

Advers. Vigil. Informem Geryonem Hispania providerunt: Gallia monstrum non habuit. Sed viris semper fortissimis & eloquentissimis abundavit.

The Gaules made Iudges of the Donatists schisme.

Optatus Milevit. Lib. 3.

Sigonius in lib. 3. De regno Ital.

the top of the Cittadell: without dreading any thing, went to Mount \* *Auentine*, to make an annuall and solemne sacrifice in his family, and returned to the Capitole thorough the midst of the enemies. They looked vpon him, without any violence or assaying, & suffered him to passe on; *Being astonished at such resolution, as at a miracle: were it through respect and reuerence to Religion, whereof (saith hee) that Nation is very carefull.*

But after that the bright beames of the Gospell began to shew their splendour, it is hardly to be credited: with what feruor of soule this people embraced it, with what veneration, and (euen vpon heapes) voluntarily presented themselues to deeth, to restifie the zeale of their affection to Christian Religion, and seale with their blood the sincerity of their faith. On the other side, saith *S. Ierom*, *Spaine sometime brought forth Geryon the dreadfull monster. Heresies haue swarmed in most part of the earths quarters: Gaule onely hath conserued her selfe in the truth, without deuouring herselfe. But hath abounded alwaies in great personages, learned, and holy in life together. Arrianisme had infected all Christendome, only France hath continued pure: for her Bishops carefullly imployed their paines, quickly to stifle those heresies & schismes which grew too troblesom to the church.*

Whē it came so to passe, that the schisme of the *Donatists* exalted it selfe, and many partialities, quarrels, and hatreds by particular persons were intermingled: the Bishops that were in the faction with *Donatus*, required of the Emperor *Constantius*, that Iudges might be sent from the *Gauls*, onely for their piety and learning. Wher vpon the Emperor granted vnto them 3 Bishops, *Rheticus* of *Austun*, *Maternus* of *Cologne*, and *Marianus* of *Arles*: who went to Rome, and together with Pope *Miltiades*, hauing exactly lookt into the matter, decided the cause, and condemned (by their sentence) the error of the *Donatists*, as it is reported by *Optatus*, one of the Orthodox Bishops of *Affrica*, who hath left vs in writing the history of this schisme, & gaue his helpe to the suppression therof.

In the year *VCCLVIII*. Pope *Stephen* the third, entreated *Pepin* King of France, by his expresse *Nuntio*, that he would send him the very learnedst Bishops of France, to the ende, that by their authority, hee

might reforme & re-establishe the church, which he performed accordingly. Wherby is plainly discovered, in what esteeme and account, the learning & piety of the Prelates of France hath alwayes bene.

According to this purpose of ours, it may be very truly maintained, that *Gaul*, among the Prouinces most towards the West, did first receiue the Christian faith, next vnto *Italy*; being brought thether in the first birth and infancy of the Church. For ouer & beside the Apostle of France, *S. Dionisius Areopagita*, who is said to be sent thither by *S. Paul*: it is certaine, that one named *Crescentius*, the scholler of *S. Paul*, did first of all preach the christian faith in *Gaule*, and there performed the office of a Bishop and Pastor: as is to be gathered from *S. Paul* himselfe, from *Epiphanius*, *S. Clemens*, *S. Ierome*, & *Eusebius*, who report, that he was sent thether by *S. Peter*, and that there he dyed. I set aside what our Annalists haue recounted of *S. Peter* and *S. Phillip*, that they came thether. But I may not omit what is said by *Epiphanius*; that *S. Luke* came into France, and there declared the faith of Iesus Christ.

All that can be imputed to the ancient *Gaules*, concerning the acte of religion, is, that they sacrificed men. But this manner of sacrifice was not particularly to the *Gaules*, they hauing dealt no otherwise therein, then was vsed (well neere) by all other people. The like is reported of the *Scythians* in generall, and *Mela* nameth thē to be the *Essedones*. The *Carthaginians*, whē there hapned among thē any plague or famine, or any other publike affliction, they made their recourse to this superstition, & ordinarily bloodied the Altars of their *Hercules* with humane sacrifices, yea they would sacrifice their owne children to *Saturne*. *Strabo* saith, that the *Lusitanians*, a people of *Spaine*, wold offer vp their prisoners in war. And *Seuerus* declareth, that the *Massilians*, a people of *Greece*, & well educated, would feed a man very immeasurably for some space of time, then they wold conduct him through their city, charging him with accursed execrations & imprecations; and in the end they would sacrifice him, to expiate their publike offences, and to lay on him the penalty of all their sins. Among the *Grecians* it was very common, not onely during the *Troyan warre*, of *Iphigenia*, sacrificed at the

Gaule first receiued the Christiana faith next to Italy.

Crescentius, Disciple to S. Paul.

2 Tim cap. 4. ver. 10. Epiphani Her. 51. D. Clemens lib. 7. Apostolic. consil. cap. 46. D. Hieronym. in Catalog. script. Ecclesiastic. Epiph. Her. 51.

An imputation laid on the Gaules for sacrificing men.

Plin. in l. 7. c. 2. Pomp. Mela in lib. 4. c. 9. Trog Pomp. l. 18

Plin. l. 36. cap. 5

Strabo in lib. 4.

Seuerus in 3. Act. in pri.

Sacrifices of the Grecians.

the gate of *Aulis*; but likewise of *Polixena*, in the Land of *Troye*. Long time after, *Themistocles* (a little before the day of *Salamina*) by command of his diuinators, caused three noble Persians to be sacrificed. And about the same time, *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, offered twelue men in sacrifice. Many examples more are there of the Grecians, declared more at large by *Plutarke*. What thinke ye then of the Romanes? Were not they addicted to the same superstition, and vsed the like sacrifices of humane oblations? Wee finde it faithfully set downe, that they sacrificed two Gaules, a man and a woman, to their Tutelary or household God. I cannot imagine what should be the reason, why they chose their offerings to be of that people, rather then of any other; if it were not in this respect, that they supposed they should present a more acceptable sacrifice (in so doing) to the God of their City, then to offer any other people, whereby he might be offended, because once they had consumed Rome in cinders, and therefore they might bee iudged the more able (afterward) to ouerthrow the whole Empire.

*Plutarke* reporteth, that they caused some of the *Gaules* to be buried aliue, during the Consulship of *Marcellus*: by reason of a Gaulish warre which had happened to them, and whereof they stood in fearefull doubt. And that afterward, euen till his time, they would haue celebrated the like bloody anniuersaries; which might not be permitted (it may bee for the immanity) and all the world to see it. The like was put in practise at Rome, soone after the dismall day at *Cannas*: & the Emperor *Domitian* likewise sacrificed two: They had a *Iupiter*, surnamed *Latialis*, to whom they made offerings of human blood, and of the liues of men. This *Tertullian* saith was ordinarily done in his time: and *Lactantius* and *Eusebius*, who liued soone after vnder the first Christian Emperours, do affirme as much.

The often & frequent spectacles, among the *Gladiatores* or Fencers, were they any thing else, but euen a cruel and bloody sacrifice of many men. Nay, which was most detestable, to cause them kill one another for other mens pleasure? They were not any small number of one or two, but ordinarily five hundred, a thousand, two thousand, and three thousand: and it hath bin

observed, that at such times, ten thousand haue bin thereto exposed. Let *Cicero* then and *Plutarke* cease to reprove the Gauls with this custome, seeing that they themselves, both Greeks & Romans, haue observed the same. Nay, the Greeks did far worse, for not contenting themselves with such sacrifices, they would needs know what good meate it was to feede on humane flesh, and as *Pliny* hath left written, to taste of all the parts of a man. If it was ill done to sacrifice a man, how much more detestable was it then, to serue in his flesh for food to the table? As for *Cicero*, I pardon him very willingly, for that which he said in one of his pleadings of the Gauls: because it was to serue his own cause, and for the reproofe of witnesses, which made whatsoeuer he saide the lesse considerable. Contrariwise also, as himselfe hath written. *He may soone deceiue himselfe, that thinkes out of mine Orations and Pleadings, to deriue any auailable authority of my opinion, or else a forme of testimony, by that which I haue said: Because (saith he) it was the cause that spake, and not I.* And yet if wee obserue more neerely, what *Caesar* hath said concerning this case, wee shall perceiue that the *Gaules* made glad sacrifices of malefactors, as thinking such an offering to be most agreeable to the gods, as (indeede) there could bee none more proper, then the iust punishment of wicked persons. And yet notwithstanding, sometimes they were constrained to goe so farre as innocent folke, meerey for the defect of other: because this opinion was noted in the, that the Gods could not be pleased, for the life and safety of one man. but by offering to them the life of another.

Howsoeuer, they deserued herein no imputation of blame, because what they did, was by superstition, the excesse of true religion, not holding it for any error, to offer to God what might bee most acceptable: which made them to present him with so noble a creature, the only perfect of all other, and so consecrated to him the most precious oblation of all oblations: wherein they are the lesse taxable for their custome (thogh indeed cruel) yet not proceeding so farre as other, as the *Grecians*, who fell voluntarily into Atheisme. Among Gods people, we see that *Ieptah* fell into the same error, vnder the shadow of a vow & deuotion; albeit I know very wel

*Cicero in Orat. Pro Fontio.*

The Greeks would feed on the flesh of men. *Plin. lib. 28. cap. 1.*

*Cicero in Orat. Pro Cluentio.*

*Iul. Caesar in Com. Lib. 6.*

A good and worthy opinion of the *Gaules* iustice

Superstition thought to be the excesse of true religion

Concerning the vow made by *Ieptah* for his faire daughter.

*Plut. In Themistocle.*

*Plut. In Pelopida.*

A Gaule man and a Gaule woman sacrificed by the Romanes.

*Plut. in Marcell.*

*Titus Livius in Lib. 22.*

*Tertul. in Apologetico. cap. 10.*

The Gladiatores or Fencers of Rome

that the Hebrew Text hath no other carriage, but that he offered to God, no more but the virginity of his daughter onely, & that this is the opinion and interpretation of the most learned Rabines. I passe ouer the abhominable idolatries of the *Iewes*, to the Idoll *Moloch*, who practised the very same. Yet what hath beene said, might (perhaps) sauour of some signale and sensible apprehension, or presage, that man could not be saned, but by a man himselfe: And that one day, man should bee redeemed, and brought into his former condition, by the blood and passion of a man. This haue I set downe in their excuse, it being a zeale proceeding from religion, when as then they walked in darknes, destitute of any knowledge of the true God. Now, forasmuch as I haue heeretofore indifferently vsed these words, *Gaule* and *France*, *Frenchmen* and *Gaules*, as being no other then one and the same thing, wherof some may conceit very strangely; I hold it conuenient, & futable to our purpose, to deliuer a sufficient reason therefore. That which our Ancients had named *Gaule* or *Celtica*, was afterward designed by the name of *France*. Likewise, the Kings of France haue long time commanded, in all those parts which were tearmed the ancient bounds of *Gaule*, betweene the *Rheine*, the *Alpes*, the *Pyreneans*, and the *Mediterranean* and *Ocean Seas*. These were the ancient limits of France, which also by seasons, and vnder certaine Kings, haue extended themselues a great deal further. But if any parcell therof be at this day dismembred or cut off, that may not change the true appellation of things. Considering, that such distraction is nothing but the acte, the right alwaies remaines in his perfect integrity. And as for the French, it will be auouched, that they are one selfsame people with the *Gaules*, on whatsoever side search be made, and the truth set downe of their originall.

I may not stay my selfe heere, to fight with the false opinion of such, who thinking to make the *Gaules* the more honorable, would haue them to be descended from the *Troyans*, because it hath bin already done by others. But it is a point so cleare and apparant, that there is no man (now adayes) so silly versed in letters: but plainly knoweth, that they are altogether meere fables and fictions. There hath bin

another opinion, and pursued by many, who imagineth the French to bee come foorth of *Allemagne* or *Germany*. And according to this conceit, there shall be no place of distinguishing the *French* with the *Gaules*: because it is most true to say, that *Germany* hath beene peopled by her neighbor *Gaule*. So in making the French to come from thence into *Gaule*, is to returne them backe to the place where they receiued their originall. For it is to be credited, that Prouinces which are the most temperate, haue bin the first inhabited, & after that men are encreased in multitude, they then make their recourse to more remote places, which are of ruder quality, and more subiect to cold. Beside, *Cesar* himselfe (long since) testified, that the *Germanes* or *Allemaigns*, called the *Gaules* their Brethren: for the similitude of their manners, and the customes of both these people, reported by our ancestors, may instantly make faith for this their fraternity.

Others would fetch them from the *Pannoniaes*, as it is reported by *S. Gregory of Tours*. Now it is very certaine, that the *Gaules* did sometimes people both the *Pannoniaes*: especially at that time, as *Brënnus* made warre in *Macedon*, and throughout all *Greece*. And the Geographers, as *Stephanus*, *Arrianus*, and *Strabo*, do nominate the *Celtes* among the people of *Pannonia*. There is yet another opinion, the truest and most certaine, and yet notwithstanding little enough knowne. For oftentimes (saith an ancient Writer) it cometh to passe, that the originall of great people is as much unknowne, as that of our greatest Rivers. This is that which hath bin obserued by diuers passages of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *S. Gregory of Tours*, and other neighbouring Authors, concerning the beginning of this Monarchy: that the French came from *Sicambria*, and that the *Sicambrians* are many times taken for the French.

Now we are to note, this *Sicambria* is not that *Sicambria*, which some haue vsually seated in *Franconia*: but it is described by auncient Geographers toward the North, wholly ioyning to the riuages of *Rheine*, as wel on the one side, as the other. But more principally towards the place, where that goodly streame falleth into the Sea: a place of very difficult acceffe, by reason of the great Marishes thereabout. *Suetonius* maketh mention that the Emperor

The Authors opinion of the *Gaules* superstition, & his excuse in their behalfe.

How ancient *Gaule* became afterward to be called *France*.

Confusion of actions may not alter matters of truth.

That the French should be descended from the *Troyans*.

That they should come out of *Germany* into *Gaule*.

*Julius Caesar* in comment. lib. 5.

*S. Greg. Turon.* in lib. 2. cap. 9.

*Trog. Pom. in lib. 24.*

*Stephanus. Arrianus. Strabo.*

*Sidonius Apollinaris* in mult. loc.

Concerning the diuersities of the *Sicambriaes*, that in *Franconia*, and the other.

*Suet. in vita August.*

perour *Augustus* caused those valiant *Sicambrians* to passe on further into the firme land of the *Gaules*, and namely, that he gaue them \* *Batavia* to dwell in. This he did, some way to content them, and to hinder their courses: as also to serue his owne turne with this warlike Nation, being vpon the extremities or vtmost parts of *Gaule*. And beside, we reade in *Tacitus*, that there was daily at the Emperors seruice, a *Sicambrian* band or Cohort, highly esteemed for their valiancy.

Heereby we may know, that they are descended of the same country with the *Gaules*, and it is to bee credited, that these were the people onely, which neuer came into subiection of the *Romane* Empire, in the time of *Cesar*: in regard of the difficult places, and badnesse of the country which then they held. This *Sicambrian* people, knowne & renowned by the name of *French* onely, in the time of *Galien*, vnder *Posthumius*, one of the thirty tyrants, about the yeare of our Lord, *CCLXIX*. could not keepe themselues alwayes in their Northerly corner or angle of *Gaule*, such as (at this day) *Holland* and part of *Friesland* are: but they made their extendure into neighboring countries, & continually there tormented the *Romanes* in *Gaule*, after whose liberty they longed frō time to time. And part of them passing into *Gaule* among the *Romanes*, were there highly esteemed, and came to vndertake the cheefest charges, as we may reade of many of them, in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

Part of this people also, namely they that were transported by *Augustus*, continued (for long time) in obedience to the Empire, as appeareth by many examples, and Histories set downe by diuers Historians, which I may not heere recite, because (for the most part) they haue bene diligently collected by the Lord *Fauchet*, in his *French Antiquities*, where this true opinion is approued, by the passages of *Zozimus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Procopius* and *Zonarus*. At the fall of that great Empire, those inuincible *Sicambrians*, *Francos*, or *French*, accustomed to make ordinary courses into *Gaule*, perceiuing the inuasion of Northerly people, as the *Alanes*, *Vandales*, *Bourguignons*, & *Gothes*; they could not endure, that their ancient country shold remaine any longer so subiect, neither by the tyranny of *Romane*

Magistrates, nor by the inuasions of barbarous people. Hereupon, taking apt occasion, they proceed on further into the midst of the *Gaules*; where they were receiued (in open armes) by their olde mother, and by the other *Gaules*, who ioyning with them, shooke off the yoke of the *Romanes*, & expulsed also the strange Nations, y had so insolently intruded on thē.

From thence forward, both one & other named them *Frenchmen*, as being but one people by originall. Nor can it be conceiued, that the *Sicambrian* people shold be enemies to the *Gaules*, but rather called by thē as their fellowly brethren, to helpe in their enfranchizing, being receiued with the liking of euery one: as these places of *S. Gregory of Tours* do sufficiently shew. *Interea cum iam terror Francorum resonaret in his partibus, & omnes eos, amore desiderabili cuperent imperare, &c.* Also in another place: *Multi ex Gallijs habere Francos dominos sumo desiderio cupiebant.* Moreover, it is to be seen in many places of the histories, written by the same *S. Gregory*, that the *Gauls* were neuer trod downe by the *French*; but administred in publike charges, & took part in their honors, not as a conquered people, but as companions, friends, and associates, and as making but one people. In regard whereof, a man may vse the names of *French* and *Gauls*, & *France* and *Gaule*, being but one and the same thing. And the country euermore inhabited by the same people originally, being neuer thence expulsed, nor subiect.

A country the most happy, the most fertile, the most abounding in all things, and the most agreeable with the world, & least incōmodious. The people dwelling therein, the most martial; & warriors at all times, that the Sunne neuer beheld better. By others also commended, for all those good and vertuous qualities, wherwith any humane spirit can be adorned, quicke, apt, & ready to whatsoeuer they apply thēselues, with moderation, curtesie, and humanity, as none greater can be desired. The happinesse & felicity of this Land, together with so many commendable qualities of the people, haue bene published (in some measure) by the Poet *Buchanan* of *Scotland*, when at his returne from *Portugall*, coming backe into *France*, he made these verses, which I thought fit here to insert, to serue for a conclusion of this discourse.

\* Holland in low Germany

Cor. Tacit. in lib. 6. cap. 9.

The Sicambrians renowned by the name of French.

The Sicambrians long desired the liberty of Gaul

Ammian. Marcell. in l. 14. cap. 7

Antiquit. de D. Fauchet.

Zozimus, Procopius, and Zonarus.

The Sicambrians could not endure the slavery of their country.

The Sicambrians and Gaules called Frenchmen.

S. Greg. Turon. in lib. 2. cap. 23.

Eod. lib. cap. 36.

His conclusion for the Gaules and French.

The excellency of the country and people of France well remembered by Buchanan.

*Ieiuna misera resqua Lusitania,  
 Glebaeque tantum fertiles penuria  
 Valet longum. At tu beata Gallia  
 Salua, bonarum blanda nutrix artium,  
 Caelo salubri, fertili frugum solo,  
 Umbrosa colles pampini molli coma,  
 Pecorosa saltus, rigua valles fontibus,  
 Prati virentis picta campos floribus,  
 Velifera longis amnium decursibus,  
 Piscosa stagnis, riuulis, lacubus, mari,  
 Et hinc & illinc portuoso littore  
 Orbem receptans hospitem, atque orbi tuas,  
 Opes vicissim non auara impertiens :  
 Amœna villis, tuta muris, turribus  
 Superba, teet is lauta, cultu splendida,  
 Vitu modesta, moribus non aspera,  
 Sermone comis, patria gentium omnium  
 Communis, animi fida, pace florida,  
 Lucunda, facilis, Marte terrifico minax,  
 Inuicta, rebus non secundis insolens,  
 Nec sorte dubia fracta, cultrix numinis  
 Sincera, ritum in exterum non degener.  
 Nescit calores lenis aestas torridos,  
 Franit rigores bruma flammis asperos,  
 Non pestilentis pallet Austri spiritu  
 Autannus, aquis temperatus statibus :  
 Non ver soluis amnium repagulis  
 Inundat agros, & labores eluit.  
 Ni patrio te amore diligam, & colam  
 Dum uiuo, rursus non recuso visere  
 Ieiuna misera resqua Lusitania,  
 Glebaeque tantum fertiles penuria.*

### CHAP. III.

*Of the Maieſty, Dignity, and high Eminency  
 of the Kings of France: And what infi-  
 nite actions of Honour they haue done  
 from time to time, to renowne the glory of  
 that kingdome.*



It is not yet sufficient, neyther maketh it vp a perfect felicity, that *France* should bee filled with so much wealth and commodities, as the earth can any way yeeld; also that the people are so generous, endued with so many commendable qualities, beside, most humane and acceptable conuersation. If all do not correspond to this prosperity, and that the forme of her estate & good government, is not the main height

of all this happinesse. Wherein it may well be said, that *France* hath bene as graciously fauoured by heauen, as in al other things whatsoever. There hath neuer bene seene so many ciuill warres and factions, for change and alteration of the State, as hath often happened in many other Prouinces. After she had once tasted the Monarchall Governement of one onely naturall Prince (which all the greatest Philosophers, such as were brought vp in free citties, haue confessed to be the best) she neuer found any change, neyther did it euer make offer of it selfe, or any way proposed.

*France* well may boast this in common, with a great part of the people of the world, that she is a Monarchall estate: but yet this is more particular to her, that she hath suffered no mutation for so many Ages; but hath bene inuicably alwayes conserued in her owne Royall estate and governement. And it may as truly be said, that her Kings haue excelled as much about others in the world, as *Frace* it selfe hath gon beyond all other Lands. Then to come to the point of her Kings, and of their Greatnesse and Excellency: it resulteth first of al, from that which hath bene discoursed heeretofore. Because there is no man, but will tearme that king potent, rich, and redoubtable, that commandeth ouer a country so fertile & well furnished: and he will also vouchsafe, that Kings commanding a people so vertuous and generous together, must needs be Paragons in generosity and courage, yea, & true models of all vertue. Moreouer, what other Kings can make their vaunt, to haue so goodly, so opulent, and so happy territories, and to command ouer such a people? In like manner, what Land can say, that it hath had like Kings, and so great in all respects, as they of *France* haue bin? This is in generall, and the touching of this point thus were sufficient, without need of any further inquisition; because it is euident to the eyes of all men, euen as what hath bin related in our former chap.

But to discourse more particularly on their other prerogatiues. First, it is a matter most constant and certaine, that the Kings of *France* are Soueraigns in their State, holding their kingdom but of God onely, and by the Sword: this needs no other profe, because it is granted without

The Monarchall governement of a naturall Prince.

France neuer subiect to mutation in governement.

The happines of Kings in their governement.

The Kings of France are truly Soueraigns in their State, & their Soueraignty hath continued 12 hundred years.

What it is that maketh the full felicity of any kingdome.

contra-

dition. Also, they have bene in this possession, not onely for exceeding the memories of men, or for three hundred years a tearme more then sufficient, for establishing sure and inuiolably a Soueraigne estate, as maintained *septah*, chiefe of the *Israelites* against the *Ammonites*, but also for twelue hundred yeares. There needeth no other testimony then that of Pope *Innocent* the third, who speaketh it expressly in his Decretall, *That the King of Fraunce acknowledged not any Soueraigne, in temporal occasions.*

This was it which made so superfluous impertinent, inept, and idle, the disputation so much canuazed amongst the Doctors Imperialists, to witte; *Whether the King of France were subiect to the Empire, or no,* and whereabout the Doctors disputing vainly, contraried themselves, and sufficiently ouerthrew their owne iudgements. *Peter Belluga*, an ancient Spanish Doctor, in his treatise of a Prince, & *Oldradus* an Italian Doctour (the cheefest of his time do maintaine; *That the kingdom of France acknowledgeth not, either by acte or right, any Prince of the world.*

The Emperors themselves also, haue auouched as much; declaring by diuers actes, That the King of France is Soueraigne, & that he depended not on them in any fashion whatsoever; which will be more amply handled, in a place fitter for the purpose. To as silly effect was that, which Doctor *Lopez Madera*, a Spaniard hath written; *That the Kings of France doe take their Title, by a concession made vnto them by the Emperor Iustinian, according to the recitall of Procopius.* But a man can set no sure footing, on that which is saide by a subiect to the Empire. And beside, soon after, *Iustinian* himselfe could say; *That he quitted whatsoever hee had pretended to the Gaules, because he held not there any thing.* And in other places, he speaketh not of all the Gaules, but onely concerning them of *Prouence*, and the neighbouring Landes, which the *Gothes* held before, & which he pretended appertaining vnto him, by his conquest made of them. VVhich Lands, the *Gothes* hauing made ouer to the Kings of France, *Iustinian* approued the concession, and on that consideration, departed with all his rights and pretensions.

The French do not ground their grants, as the same *Lopez* did for Spaine, on the

grant which he pretended to be made by the Emperor *Honorius*, to the Gothe *Alaricke*. They deriue their title from higher place, and not from the Romaines: who had no other right, but an vniust inuasion by *Armes*. For these are the Gaules, namely, such as enfranchised themselves from the Romanes, and that by meanes of the French, their auncient Columnes and Compatriots. And therefore it is apparently seene, that they haue no way vsurped by nouelty, but rather haue regained their first condition and liberty, as being reduced to their primitiue nature. A matter very fauorable, and a reason most impertinent among the Ciuill Lawyers. In like manner, what was more iust then that which the Romanes caried away by force of *Armes*, and was taken again from them by the very same meanes? But this is infallible, that the Kings of France are Soueraignes, knowne to be such, at all times and euery where, without any controuersie, or friuolous contradiction.

It cannot bee so sayde of many other Kings, and namely it hath called in question the King of Spaine. For Pope *Gregory* maintaineth in his Register, that *Spaine* is parcell of *Saint Peters* patrimony, and is to make prouision for his Lord: hauing therfore inuested a certain Count or Earle of all that which he had conquered from the Moores. In consequence whereof, by report of their own Spanish writers, *Ramirus* the first, King of *Arragon*, payed a tribute to the Popes: which his son *Sanchio* after continued to Pope *Alexander* the second. And since this subiection to the Romane Church, as from feodataries, it hath bene acknowledged by other Kings.

VVe read that *Peter* the second, King of *Arragon*, beside acknowledgement of feodality, submitted & rendred his kingdom by ordinary censuall (to Pope *Innocent* the third) of two hundred and fifty peeces of Arabian Golde, which had free course then, as appeareth by the Registers in the *Vaticane*, which were extracted and ouer-written by *Ciacconius* a Spanish author, who wrote the liues of the Popes, & by diuers histories of Spaine.

In like manner, the Realmes of *Sardinia* and *Carfica* doe depend vpon the holy See, and the inuestiture of them kept in the *Vaticane*, which was made by the Pope

Cap. Per venerabilem. Qui filii sint legit.

Pet. Belluga. In speculo Principum, tit. 4. n. 29

Oldradus in Consiliis.

Lopez Mader. In lib. Excellencias de Espagn. cap. 2.

L. Si Francus, 5. n. Passus ne Petrus, D. de Pass.

In l. v. epist. 6. § 7.

Zurica in lib. 1. cap. 22.

Ciacconius in Registr. Vatici.

Pope to *Peter* the third, King of *Arragon*. In consequence wherof afterward, *Iaques* of *Arragon*, did homage liege at *Valencia*, betweene the hands of the Legate, in the yeare, *MCCCLIII*.

I finde also, that *Ferdinand* and *Alphonfus*, Kings of *Arragon*, did make faith and homage, in the yeare *MCCCCXLV*. The Islands of the *Canaries*, and *Cape du Verd*, are held in the same sort, and I reade, that *Lewes* of *Spaine* was inuested, and redred faith and hommage to the Pope, in the yeare *MCCCXLIII*, being charged to pay to the Apostolicall Chamber, four hundred Florins of gold; wherof *Petrarch* also maketh mention. And as for the East *Indiaes* and *Peru*, it is very certaine, that Pope *Alexander* the sixt, in making partage of that which was newly discovered, betweene the kings of *Castile* and *Portngall*: reserued expressely to himselfe, the full power and soueraignty, by consent of both the kings, whom afterward he constituted his vassails, in all acquests & conquests by them made, or that should bee made thence forward, as the *Spaniards* themselues haue written. In like case, pope *Iulius* the second, gaue to *Ferdinand* the sixt, King of *Arragon* and of *Castile*, the kingdom of *Granada*, which hee had conquered from the *Moore*s: with this charge, to hold it of the Roman Church, in faith and homage.

All these feodall acknowledgements and subiections of the estate of *Spaine*, as well in generall as in particular, are no matters of nouelty. For before them, and during the reigne of the *Gothes*: the kings alwayes payed tribute to the holy See, in acknowledgement of soueraignty: vntill that a tyrant named *Vitiza*, a little before the ruine made by the *Sarrazins*, refused to pay it. And afterward, by the generall inuasion of *Spaine*, hauing bin wholly discontinued; Pope *Gregory* the seuenth complained thereof in his Register, as is well obserued by the worthy *Cardinall Baronius*. Which may be the cause, that each particular king, beginning to strengthen himselfe against the oppression of the *Sarrazins*, would returne againe to the duty of this submission, and ancient subiection.

On the other side, it is found recorded, that the kingdom of *Castile* is in Fief to *France*. For *Henry* the second, King of

*Castile*, submitting himselfe to *Charls* the sixt, king of *France*, promised as well for himselfe, as for his successors, to be vassall, and to hold his kingdom of *Castile*, of the Kings of *France*, by a treaty in the yeare *MCCCLXIX*. which is kept in good forme in the Treasury of *France*. This king of *Castile*, being expulsed thence by his Brother *Don Peter*, was at length re-established there againe, by power from the king of *France*, vnder conduct of that valiant knight, *Bertrand de Guescline*, Constable of *France*, notwithstanding all the effortes of the English, banded to the contrary.

There is another notable quality, which is no meane aduantage vnto the Realme of *France*, in that it is, and euermore hath beene successiue hereditary, and not electiue. And like as by generall custome, in all succession in the Realme, death seizeth on the liuing: euen so this taketh place, & is obserued so much the more certainly, for succession in the State. Not vnfitly compared to the golden branch in *Virgill*, which being plucked away, another springeth vp instantly, so that there is neuer any defaillance.

*Vno anulo, non deficit alter.*

Whence arose the common saying among the French; *That the King neuer dyeth*. Because that there is alwayes (naturally) another of the same kinde, who (without any controuersie or difficulty) succeedeth at the same instant in the others place. And when as *France* happeneth to be ouer-trauailed and pressed by potent enemies, euen to the losse of her King; yet it causeth no confusion or disorder, neither giueth any aduantage to the enemy, or can he (by such an accident) vsurpe vpon the State. It hath beene prooued (to the cost of some) like vnto a reuiuing Hydra, not to bee surmounted; or rather as a Phoenix, that reuiuet another out of her selfe. Also, that the Kings of *France* were truly bred of an immortall race, neuer parting from hence, to returne to the true place of their celestiall and diuine originall; but they left a successour, who (in the same moment) is made King, without any other formality.

But to render their succession the more assured, & (therby) the kings immortall; it hath

Isles in the Ocean, foure hundred miles from *Spaine*, and tearmed the fortunate Isles.

In lib. 2. De vit. solis. The East *Indiaes* & *Peru*.

The Pope gives a king his owne by conquest.

*Vitiza* the tyrant refused to pay the Popes tribute.

*Baronius* in lib. 5. cap. 17.

As held by homage, vpon promise of assistance in war

The kingdom of *France* is by hereditary succession, & not by electio

*Virg. in Ann. lib. 9.*

The king neuer dyeth in *France*.

Comparisons concerning the kings of *France* in succeeding one after another.

Concerning them that are of the blood-royal in France

hath alwayes beene receyued in France, that such as are of the blood-royall, although they or hee should stand farre off by a thousand degrees: yet notwithstanding, if there be not any other that is nearer, they or he are called to the succession of the kingdom, and possessed thereof, onely by the others decease, without any other contradiction; which hath bene well obserued by Baldus, an Italian Doctor, and hath euermore bene so continued, euen to the person of the King nowe happily reigning, to bee descended from the King, called Saint Lewes. Si in Francia moreretur toto domus Regia, extaret vnus de sanguine antiquo, puta de domo Borbonia, & non esset alius proximior, est o quod esset millesimo gradu, tamen iure sanguinis, & perpetua consuetudinis, succederet in Regno Francorum. Item Guliel. Benedicti, in Cap. Raynutius in ver. duos habens, Num. 78.

Baldus in cap. 2. De feudo Marcbie, nu. 5.

Agath. in Lib. 1.

Agathias the Greek, who wrote in the time of Justinian, obserued the same also, saying; Amongst the French, Children take the kingdom, by succession to theyr Fathers. And in another place, hee saith and reciteth, That Theodebert King of Metz, being deceased, his Sonne Theudibalde, or Thibault succeeded him, although hee was but an Infant. But (saith hee) it was the Lawe of the Countrey that called him thereto. Assuredly a most wise institution, especially, for the representation of succession to infinite ages: to obuiate disorders, inconueniences, and ouerthrowing an Estate, which may happen during a vacancy, and when the successor is vncertaine.

In Eod. Lib.

Assurance in succession cuts off infinite dangers.

Before I passe any further, I may heere tell you, that such succession in a kingdom hath not alwayes bene in Spaine. And there needeth no other prooffe thereof, but the confession or acknowledgement of Spanish Authors; and particularlie, of Lopez Madera, who wrote in the Spanish tongue, and yet but little for the dignitie of the Kings of Spaine. For we find, that the Kings were ther established by election, not onely during the kingdom of the Gothes; but also, after that they were ruined, and in the inuasion of the Sarazins. Pelagius, king of the \* Asturians, & (after him) many other his successors, came by the very same meanes, as is exactly approoned by Molina a Spanish Authour. In a word, all that Lopez produceth, is, that

Such succession not alwayes in Spaine.

Lopez Madera.

A people in Spaine, betweene Galicia & Portugal. Molina de Hisp. primog. lib. 1. c. 2.

the Kings were electiue: but yet, that none were at any time elected, excepting that they were of the Family and House-Royall.

The contrary appeareth, by the certaine sequels of Histories, and namely by the Councils of Toledo, who permitted, that the election should be made indefinitely of all persons; except of Slaues, strangers, and others, that were not of the race of the Gothes. Wherein (it may be) an equiuocation is made; when as Lopez saith, De eadem gente: the interpretation beareth, Of the Family and House-Royall, and not of the Nation of the Gothes, as the Councils vnderstood it. Therein also were many constitutions, for the honour and conseruation of such as were of the race of the precedent Kings: it being a matter necessary to assure them in this manner, because there were other Kings of their house. For whom there needed no such prouision, nor search for such assurances, if the Kings should haue bene successiue. But yet much more by the fifth Councell of Toledo, there is denounced a curse and excommunication agaynst such as shall come to the kingdom of the Goths otherwise then by election. As we read in Ritus, one of their owne Historians, that Bamba a labouring man was made king of Spaine by Pope Leo, and approued by the election of the people.

It neuer hath bene so in France, where the right of succession hath euermore bin inuioably kept: There, the Race-Royall which surpasseth the rest in greatness and vertue, are borne and destenied to reigne.

Nor was it without good cause, that in Greece they made so exact an inquisition and search for such as were of the Lineage of Heraclides, and of the Aecides, to make them Kings, Captains in warre, and Governours of estates. Plato, and nexte to him Aristotle, are of opinion, that Monarchy is indeede the best forme of Government: Were it not as a dream (say they) to find a good king. As thinking it a matter impossible for a humane spirit, in so great a fortune, affluence of so many goods and delights, and such liberty without contradiction, and in so supream a power, to keepe in, and commaund ouer his owne passions. Plato addeth, Wee liue not in the Commonwealth of Bees, where naturally one

Conc. Tol. 6. et 7

The Kinges to be made by election, & not succession.

Concil. Tollet. 5

Ritus in Lib. 2.

No such creating of Kinges in France.

A worthy custom obserued in Greece.

Plato and Aristotle.

An excellent comparison of Plato.

is bred much greater and better, to command over all the other. And yet the very same happeneth to the French, whose Kings come from their very birth, more great (not of body) but of courage, generosity, and vnderstanding, then all the rest: borne and esteemed (by heauen) of another nature, then any common person to reigne.

Would we but a little consider the great difficulties and inconueniences, which are noted in an electiue estate, by reason of such forme of election; we should the better know, what an aduantage, excellency, and prerogatiue France hath. In an estate electiue, the death of the Prince hapning, there is an *Interregnum*, during which time, it falles into \* *Anarchy*, which causeth disorder, vnrulinesse, and confusion; whereon ensue infinite euils, murders, assassines, violences and thefts. As hath bene well obserued in those elections, made for the Kings of *Thunis*, & the Soldanes of Egypt by the *Mammelukes*. Nay, and hath sometimes happened at the election of Popes, in *Sede vacante*.

And which is yet farre worse, the *Interregnum* sometimes lasteth for many dayes, because, beside vnder-handed suites and made factions, there is an naturall inclination to dissention in men. As hath oft bene seene to happen in the Empire of the East, after it yeilded it selfe to be electiue: And in the Realmes of *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, *Denmarke*, and *Sweden*. During these *Interregnums*, nothing happeneth but schismes, diuisions, and many menacings of diuers persons, which ordinarily do draw on ciuill warres, euery one coueting to haue a Prince of his partaking, or as he would haue it.

It hath also bene obserued in the Empire of *Germany*, that many Emperors haue bene elected, vntill they haue had seuen or eight at a time, as after the death of the Emperour *Fredericke* the second. And there could no sufficient remedy be found, for the establishing of a Governour, that might haue commanded in the meane while; because about the election of that Governour, there grew on still the same inconueniences. And perhaps it might haue so fallen out, that the Governour being seized on the estate, would attend no other election, as some haue done heeretofore: finding but few men, that will render vp so great an engagement,

& a thing so attracting, he reputing himselfe iust in all things, if he can keepe such dignity from violation.

Moreover, it commeth so to passe sometimes, that such as haue the right to elect Princes, will deliuer forth some apparances of credence to them; euen to haue them murdered and massacred, if they please them not, or else by corruption leaue them and elect some other. Hereof the Romane Empire can furnish vs with sufficient examples; and that it neuer was more calme, then when her Princes came to the Empire by succession. On the contrary, when the election was in the Soldiours hands, they set the Empire to sale, and filled all the State with rapines, thefts, murders, cruelties, and barbarous brutishnesse. When an Emperour pleased them not, were he the most vertuous man and the best Prince in the world; they would massacre him, without any difficulty, and establish another; as it befell to the good Emperour *Pertinax*, after whose murder, they caused it to bee published through the City, that the Empire was to be sold to the fairest offerer.

In like manner, they murdered *Alexander Seuerus*, one of the best and most vertuous Princes that euer was. And so they dealt with *Probus*, *Tacitus*, and many more, as may bee gathered by the sequell of Histories from time to time. Yet this is not all, each Legion and each Army made his Emperour, all which (in the end) had their throtes cut, after cruell ciuill warres: the poore people enduring all this while, infinite miseries, and there are obserued (in that time) well neere thirty, among whom there was two women.

These inconueniences were ordinary (anciently) in the estate of *Spaine*. *S. Gregory of Tours* saith: *Sumpserant Gotthibanc detestabilem consuetudinem, vt si quis eis de regibus non placuisset, gladio eum adpeterent; & qui libuisset animo, hunc sibi statuerunt Regni.* The Gothes had taken this detestable custome, that if any one of their Kings did not please them; they would murder him, and establish whofoeuer falleth into their fantasie, to be their King. This he wrote concerning *Theudas*, *Theudegyfiles*, and *Agilas*. And in *Germany*, after that this order of election got footing there, there were eight or nine Emperors slain; as *William* of *Holland*, *Raoull*, *Albert*, *Henry* the

The difficulties and dangers in a state electiue.

\* People with out a Prince.

The kings of Thunis, Soldanes of Egypt, and election of some Popes.

The Empire of the East becoming electiue, & the kingdomes of diuers countries beside.

Contrarious election in the Empire of Germany.

Great estate and dignity is not easily parted withall.

The Romane Empire a wooll witness of her owne miseries and calamities.

The Emperour *Pertinax* murdered.

*Alexander Seuerus*, *Probus*, *Tacitus*, & many more Emperours murdered.

*S. Greg. Turon.* in lib. 3. cap. 9.

Kings of the Gothes murdered.

Emperors of Germany slaine.

the seventh, *Frederick* the second, and *Lewis* of *Bauaria*, &c. beside them that haue shamefully bene expulsed from the Imperiall Throne. And of fiftene Sultanes that reigned in *Egypt*, seauen were murdered.

VVith these wee could ranke many equall, and equally worthy, growing onely through hatreds and discontentment: from whence haue proceeded diuisions and seditions; so that the choise and preferring of one man, hath prooued the vter contempt of another. And questionlesse, it wil be very hard for him that hath bene refused, intirely to be obedient to him with whome hee hath contested for the royall authority, as his equal in house, reputation and merit.

Happy *France*, and truly happy, where-to God hath giuen the grace, to breathe but one acceptable libertie, vnder the sweet command of thy naturall and successiue Kings: which hath bene thy warrant from ruine, dangers, & deadly tempests, and hath kept thy State alwaies flourishing, yea, in full strength and vigor.

Amongst other inconueniences that may be met within an electiue estate, this is one: A Prince electiue will neuer be carefull of the state, which he holdeth but by entreaty, or at other mens liking, but of his owne family. For knowing well, that he cannot leaue the kingdome to his children, he makes his profite of the publike purse, deriuing and turning it to his own particulars, by venditions and other alienations. According as *Rodolfe* of *Habsbourg* did, who comming to bee elected Emperour, by the fauour of his Master Elector, the Arch-Bishop of *Magunce*; founded & built vp the house of *Austria* vpon the ruines of the Empire. Euen so farre, as to sell at prices of mony, her freedoms and Seigneuries to Cities of *Italy*; as to *Florence* for six thousand crowns, and to *Luca* for ten thousand, and so to other in like manner. Which prooued to be the end of the kingdom and command of the Emperours in *Italy*: in regard whereof, he was highly blamed by all the Historians of those times, and by such as haue written euer since.

I forbear to speake of many other Emperours, who practised in the same manner, and alienated the hereditary patrimony of the Empire, Cities, Townes,

Territories, and Seigneuries, as well in *Germany*, as in *Italy*, and other places. And by this meanes, diuers Principalities established, and great citties franchised, beare now no more but the bare name of soveraignty for the Empire. Also it is to be credited, that a Prince doing what he can, will ouerthrow all, yet not topsie turvy: but will mingle (as one saith) heaven with earth, but he wil make his issue to succeed, so strong and mighty is this passion. Few or none are found to follow the example of *Moyse*, who knowing and acknowledging his sonnes to-bee incapable to command the people of *Israel* after him; rather chose to establish another, as preferring the weale publike, before affection or charity to his owne. It is recorded, that the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, promised an hundred thousand crowns to each one of the Princes Electours, to haue his sonne *Wenceslaus* elected emperour; and being vnable to pay them, hee was constrained to giue ouer to them the ordinary reuennues of the empire in paiement.

The case is quite contrary in France, where the inheritance and patrimony of him that commeth to the crowne by succession, accrueth and reuiniteth it selfe (by the same meanes) to the crowne. In regard whereof, the Kings haue not two kinds of inheritances, the one particular, and the other publike: for all commeth of one and the same nature, & all is made publike. Wherein is discerned the full effect, of that which the emperour *Antoninus Pius* said to his wife. Seeing (sayeth he) that we are come to the Empire, wee haue lost that which we had before.

But although this kingdome bee successiue in this manner, by the iuiolable custom of the country, rather thē by hereditary right: yet notwithstanding, women, and the descendants of them in that kind, neuer haue bene, neither euer can be admitted, no not in the defect of Males. VVithout reason, some enemies to the French name, and enuious (to speake truly) of this prerogative; would striue to call in doubt the *Salique* Law, which rejecteth women from succession in the kingdome, saying, that the originall thereof is doubtfull and vncertaine. As if a man can desire a better and more certain prooffe, then the successe and possession of so many hundred yeares, since the settled

The liberall promise of the Emperour Charles the 4.

No two kinds of inheritances in France comming to the crowne by the King.

Capitolinus in eius vita.

No female succession in France, according to the Salique law.

Seuē Sultans of Egypt murdered.

Eminency brooketh no competitor.

The felicity of France.

A note well worth the obseruation.

Rodolfe of Habsbourg Emperor, & what great indignity he did to the empire.

The hereditary patrimony of the Empire alienated, and nothing but the bare name remaining.

led establishment of that estate. That law hath beene engrauen, not in Marble or Copper, but in the hearts of Frenchmen and alwayes certainly kept.

*Lopez Madera* the Spaniard, seeing that the like could not be in Spaine, and that the dignity was much lesse, to couer the defect, and bring some shadow for it, laboureth to prooue, by stretching out a long discourse, that the succession of women is very naturall. This carryeth good reason in matter of succession for Patrimony in particulars. In which case (neuerthelesse) we can shew, that the successions by right (well neere of all people) hath alwayes bene referred to the Males: who are as firme pillars and Anchors of assurance to great Families. But in the succession of a mighty estate or kingdom it were a mockery for the French to imagine, that the maintaining of womens succession could be the better. *There is verie great difference (sayde the Emperour Adrian) betweene the search of an heyre of my patrimony, and a successor in an Empire.*

Moreouer, it were superfluous to goe seeke for the originall of this Salique law, and enquire any further, when or how it was made; because it appeareth of a certaine vse, and that it hath alwaies bin kept by the French. Law hath no force, if it be not by custome, which is the very strongest Law of all other. And it may well be sayde, that it is a right of great authoritie, when it hath bene obserued so strictly: as there is no neede of reducing it to a law by writing.

It is no written Law, but borne with them, neither haue they inuented it, but suckt it from nature her selfe, who gaue it them by instinct, & so instructed them: which not only the French, but most part of the people of the world, haue likewise most religiously obserued. If we look vpon royaltie and imitation of gouernment generall in the world, by the Soueraignity, from the very first birth, that is to say, when the world tooke beginning, we shall find, that the first fathers of families gaue command in their houses themselus and not by their wiues, and that the male children succeeded them in the soueraignty of the Family, whereas the Daughters passed to another house, without hauing any part there.

Whence came it, that all people (in

the first ages) were governed by Kinges, (not of many Prouinces) but of a Cittie, or small territory onely, which had bene before but the inclosure of a father of a Family? As is to be seene, as wel in holy Writ, as by the ancient histories of each Countrey. That which great *Aristotle* so faithfully interpreted of nature, hee hath well acknowledged. *In the beginning (saith hee) Townes and Citties were gouerned by Kings, as now adayes people and strange Nations are. For they were composed of people, that liued vnder Royaltie: each Family being gouerned by the most ancient.* So women could not come to the Royaltie, neyther hold part in the succession of particulars. Contrarywise, Fathers of the family receiued commodity by rich gifts and presents which were giuen them, by such as made request for their daughtets: as wee reade in holye Writ, of the Father, Mother, and Brethren of *Rebecca*, the wife to *Isaac*, and as (at this day) it is a common right among all strange people, as well of the East, west, and South, where it is obserued in the same sort.

*Aristotle* reporteth, that the ancient Greeks did buy their wiues: whereof (as yet) we haue the testimony of *Homer*. But since the prime simplicity & good nature of men forooke and gaue them ouer, iustice and peace withdrawing themselues: while in this truly Iron Age) all began to grow more strong, without any right or Iustice, and that ambition (a most pestilent disease) ranne currant in the hearts of men: that goodly order became peruered and ouerthrowne: when the most mightie, such as the Scripture reporteth, as of *Nimrod* and others, of *Ninus*, *Sesostris*, *Nebuchadonozar*, and *Cyrus*, troubled the quietnes of their neighbours, and inuaded their lands. So, on the ruine of a great number of small estates, mightie Empires and Monarchies grewe to be grounded, and gaue commaund both in length and largenesse.

In this inuasion, confusion, & ouerthrowing of kingdomes, as also particular and naturall Principalities, some also mounting vp against their Soueraignes; in sted of naturall Royaltie, brought estates to popularity or Oligarchy. Afterward in regard of these disorders thus happening, the greater part of the people beeing not willing to liue so: became at length con-

*Lopez Madera, in byst. Espagn. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

The wise saying of the Emperour Adrian.

Law hath no power but by custome.

The Salique Law bred and borne with the French.

A comparison of the worlds first beginning.

*Arist in Politic lib. 1. cap. 2*

*Gen. 24 53.*

*Arist in Politic lib. 2.*

The iniquitie of this Iron Age of the world, against the Primitiue Iustice that first florished.

stray-

strained to render themselves to their own nature, & return to the good government of kings, to enjoy their former justice. To the ende that the weakest might be in as safe security as the strongest, and y<sup>e</sup> which pertained to every private person, might peaceably be possessed, and defended by their kings, against the violence of neighbors: which were y<sup>e</sup> 2 principall functions, that incited wading people to reunite & submit themselves to kings. Wherin *Aristotle* also hath placed the definitiō of royalty, to wit: *As well to render Justice, as to defend the subjects from invasion of enemies.* Such were the Judges that governed the Estate of *Israel*, before the establishment of kings. Wherto is referred that which *Herodotus* said: *That the Medes would have Deioces to be their K. to the end to render Justice.* Be it then, that we regard the first originall and naturall institution of kings, or be it the establishment of great Monarchies: yet it is doubtles, that women neither could or cā be any participants. And as for the last institution of kings, for recourse of people, to the ende, they might be defended against violence, & to enjoy Justice: we plainly perceiue, this could neuer agree with the naturall disposition of women, because the vertue of pudicity reiecteth them from those functions, of iudging people, & defending them by Armes. And if in popular and Oligarchall Common-weals, women haue alwayes bin barred from government, and entermedling with the publike affaires: by much stronger reason then they ought to be frō Royalty, in as much as that forme of State is more excellent then the other. It hath bin obserued throughout al the Monarchies, ener pursuing the right of nature. And during fabulous times, if ther be found a *Semiramis* among y<sup>e</sup> *Assyrians*; yet that breaketh not the rule. Considering the story it selfe saith, that to bring her purpose to passe, she disguised herselfe in the habit of a man: and was taken, not for *Semiramis*, but for her Son *Ninus*. And therby it appeareth, that the *Assyrians* did not willingly endure the dominion of a woman, as *Lopez Madera* fondly supposeth. Contrariwise we reade, that that w<sup>ch</sup> caused the ruine of their Monarchy, was, whē *Sardanapalus* (their last K.) imitating the manners, fashions, & behavior of women, offended men so much, that by a iust indignation,

for so many men to bee subject to such a woman, who had no more but the forme of a man; they reuolted from him, and constrained him to kill himselfe.

Women then are not capable of succeeding in the kingdome of France, as we haue already approoued, that in ancient times (ordinarily) they were not. For out of the fabulous times, there is obserued onely a *Queene of Saba*, and a *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*, and so few beside; that their rarity declareth, how contrary a thing it is, violent, and extraordinary to nature. Since the declination of the race and Empire of *Charlemagne* only, we haue seene in some parts of the West, where valour & virility hath failed or relaxed: soueraigne swords and scepters conuerted into distaffes, and by the succession of womē, many the like indignities haue met together in one body. This was that which raysed the houses of *Spain* and of *Austria*, to the greatnes they hold: a kinde of encreasing vnkown before, in any other house or souerainty, because there was no right at all.

When then the Spaniards demand of the French, the prooffe and foundation of the Salique Law; it is fit for themselves to shew the original and beginning of the right for their feminine Crownes, seeing France hath kept the vse of Antiquity, & they haue falne to change among themselves. Which hath bin heretofore obserued and discoursed, by *Seigneur Leschassier*, in his Tract of the right of Nature: where he sheweth, that by the right of nature, women stand exempted from succession in the Realm of France. I remember the answer which *Licurgus* made to one, who discoursed, that the government of many was the best forme of an Estate. *Bring it first of all* (quoth he) *into thine own house.* In like manner, to such as will maintaine the government of women in kingdomes and great Empires; especially in France: a man may well say, let them begin that establishment in their owne houses. It is by good reason saide, that there is neyther beginning nor writing found for the Salique Law. It is a Law of nature, borne with men, and not written, as *Aristotle* saith: *That whosoever is by right of nature, & by right of people, is not written at al.*

Wherto I may adde moreouer, that it is the common right of inheritances, which ought by stronger reason to be obserued in

Women not capable of succeeding in the Crowne of France.

Soueraigne Swords and Scepters changed to Distaffes.

The defence of the French for their Salique Law.

A witty answer made by Licurgus.

*Arist.* in lib 1. tit. 1. 55. Hoc notandum in feudis.

The happy condition of liuing vnder kings.

*Arist.* in *Politic.* lib. 2.

*Herodot.* in l. 1. \* Sonne to *Phraortes*.

Concerning the last institution of kings.

*Trog. Pomp.* in lib 1. Concerning *Semiramis* among the *Assyrians*.

*Lopez Madera* in *Hist. Espagn.*

Of *Sardanapalus*.

Royalty, as being the last and most eminent title of inheritance, and whereon dependeth all the other. So then this right, so naturall, hath euermore beene exactly kept in the estate of France.

Beside, the ancient lawes of the *Salians*, will not permit, that any part of *Salique* land or inheritance (that is to say, of lands distributed to the French, in their entring to the *Gaules*) shall come into the hands of women: but willeth, that it bee wholly left to the males. The same is also ordained in the law of the *French Ripuarians*. If this then tooke place in the succession of particulars, that the lands assigned vnto the French warriors, for recompence of their trauailes, and to serue for defence of the Country, should not fall (as one saith) from the Lance to the Distaffe: by how much greater reason then ought we to esteeme, that this should be obserued, in the estate and succession of the kingdome of France, as the sequell of her owne Histories maketh knowne, that it hath bin at all times so held and practised there?

The great *Louys* or *Chlonis* had foure Sonnes, who by custome (then) receiued and diuided his Monarchies equally. *Childebert* the eldest, was king of *Paris*; *Chlothaire* of *Soissons*; *Chlodamere* of *Orleance*, and *Thierry* of *Mets*. *Childebert* had two Daughters, the one named *Chrodesinda*, and the other *Chrosberga*, as appeareth by the Charter of exemption, of the Abbey of *S. Germane des Prez*, and by that which *Fortunatus*, Bishop of *Poictiers* hath written in his Poems, who addeth, that King *Charibert* was Tutor to those two daughters. Neuerthelesse, neither of them succeeded in the kingdome of *Childebert* their Father: but without all further dispute, it was *Chlothaire* their Vnkle, as hath in like manner bin obserued by *Agathias* the Greeke. Afterward, *Charibert* the son of *Chlonis*, had three daughters also, without leauing any male-childe: the one was married to a king of *Denmark*; the second named *Bertheleda*, of whom *Fortunatus* made an Epigram; and the third, called *Chrodielta*, entred Religion in the Abbey of *S. Crosse* in *Poictiers*: so that none of these daughters succeeded their Father, but *Sigebert*, brother to the deceased king, & that without difficulty or controuersie.

Now if there had bin any means or subiect to worke vpon, it is not to be thought,

that the king of *Denmark*, who had married one of the daughters, could otherwise haue bin removed. Or if he had bin impeached by power, at least he would haue complained, & the authors of those times could not forget to make mention of it. But they not making any account of the daughters, do report, that *Sigebert* succeeded his brother *Charibert*, according to the custome of the Country. *Gonthram*, King of *Bourgongne*, brother to *Charibert*, had but one only daughter, named *Chlotilda*. And yet notwithstanding, he inuested and instituted his Nephew *Childebert* in the kingdome of *Bourgongne*, to enioy it after his death. It is not here to be obiected, that hee did it for any ill will he bare to his daughter, or because hee would disinherit her: For by an acte of accord or agreement, made with his Nephew *Childebert*, transcribed at large by *S. Gregory of Tours*, who liued in those very times; he stipulated great Lands and Seigneuries for her, declaring well therein his fatherly affection; but because the law of France hindered her succeeding in the Crowne, he aduantaged her otherwise as he found the best means to do. The same may be confirmed by the testimony of many strangers, who do al agree in this point, that womē are not to succeed in the kingdome of France: the names of whom, as also their authorities, haue beene (for the most part) noted, and collected by a learned man of this time, in an Epistle which he hath written concerning this subiect.

*Nodgerus*, Bishop of *Liege*, in the life of *S. Landoalde*, written by him in the yeare *VCCCCLXXX*. saith. *Francorum Regnū à sui principio semper per infatigabile, &c. Maximū autem accepit incrementū & firmū sub eo sancta Dei Ecclesia statum, cum Chlotharius Rex IVSTA SVCCESIONE, Chlodoueo quartus Monarchiam singulariter trium regebat regnorum. The kingdome of France frō her beginning, hath euermore bin inuincible and indefatigable, &c. But the holy Church of God hath taken a great and firme encreasing in that State, when as king Chlotharius, the fourth Son of Chlonis was Monarch BY IVST SVCCESION of three kingdomes. He saith by iust succession, and yet notwithstanding, Childebert had left two daughters behinde him.*

*Albert* of *Strasbourg* reporteth in his Chronicle: *In Francia nullus per foeminam lineam*

A connexion of the Lawes of the *Salians* with that of the *Ripuarians*.

From the Lance to the Distaffe.

The 4 sonnes of great *Chlonis*, all kirgs together.

*Fortunatus* in Poem.

*Agathias* in li. 2

The three daughters of *Charibert*.

The ancient custome of any country is a mighty and preuailling motiue.

*S. Greg. Turon.* in lib. 9. cap. 20.

This point confirmed by diuers strange Writers.

*Nodger* in vit. *Landoaldi* lib. 1. cap. 3.

*Chlonis* was Monarch of 3 kingdomes.

*Albert* *Strasb.* in Chron.

*linea successisse dicitur. Neuer hath any person succeeded in France, by the line of womē.*

The Emperor Charles the fourth, Son to John, king of Bohemia, in his life it is thus written. *Eodem Anno obiit Carolus Francorum Rex relicta uxore pregnante, quæ peperit filiam. Et cum de consuetudine regni filia non succedant, prouectus est Philippus, filius soceri mei in Regem Francia.* That yeare (saith he) died Charles, king of France, leauing his wife great with childe, who was deliuered of a daughter. And because by the custome of the kingdome, daughters are not to succeed: Philip, Sonne of my Father in law, was made king of France.

Froissard, a partaker with England writeth thus. Then after the death of K. Charls, the 12 Peeres and Barons of France, assembled themselues together at Paris, with al the speed they could make, and gane the kingdome (by a common consent) to Messire Philip de Valois, and tooke it from the Queene of England & her Son, who was left Sister germane to king Charles, by this respect and reason; because they said, that the Realm of France was of so great nobility, as it ought not go by any means to a Female. And indeed, the Q. of England, and Edward her Son, would not go to the contrary: but acknowledged Philip de Valois for legitimate successour to the kingdome. And that which is more, Edward voluntarily did him homage, in regard of the Dutchy of Guyenne, and the acte of homage was deliberated and aduised by his councill of England.

Now as concerning that which hapned some while after, warre being moued betweene the two kings, for another cause and enmity excited among the, that Edward tooke on him the Name and Armes of France: this was only done by the inuention of the Flemings, who saide, that they could not aide him, except he would qualifie on himselfe, the name of King of France: because they stode bound by oath, not to beare Armes against the K. of France, on paine of paying two millions of Florins. So that in taking Armes for him against Philip de Valois, and to quit the selues of that payment; Edward gaue them a discharge and quittance, as being K. of France. And yet notwithstanding, the K. of England made difficulty of vnderstanding it, hauing attempted war vpon another subiect, as being Vicar of the Empire, and for recouering the towne of

Cambray, which the King then held. But in the end, to haue the helpe of the Flemings, & their allies, who were most important vpon him: he was induced to take the title of king, & the Arms of France, as may more particularly be seene in the sequell of the history set down by Froissard.

Estiuan de Garibay y Gamalloa, a Spaniard, speaketh of the very same, saying. *Porque Philip Conde de Valoes descendida de la corona Real por linea masculina: fue coronado por Rey di Francia, por virtud de la Ley Salica. Al Rey Eduardo por descender de linea de muger, exluyeron de la succession Real, &c. Aunque todas ellas razones d' Eduardo, euaden y esclusen los Francheses con Ley Salica, que en estos dias y ua tomando grande vigor y fuerca para los siglos futuros.* Because Philip, Count of Valois, descended of the Crowne Royall, by the masculine line: he was crowned King of France, by vertue of the Salique law. For king Edward, he being descended by the Mothers line, he stood excluded from the Royall succession, &c. And all the reason alledged by Edward, were euaded & excluded for the French, by the Salique Law, which in those daies was in great force, and continueth also for future times.

Doctor Baldus on the Pandeets saith. *Filia Regis Francorū non succedit in Regno, ex rationabili consuetudine Francorum.* The Daughter to the K. of France, succeedeth not at all in the kingdome, by a reasonable custome among the French. Which is also confirmed by Doctor Petrus Iacobi, on the Books of Fiefs & Inheritances, & many other Doctors. This may (by good right) bee registred among the honors, dignities, & preheminences of France. And such as contend against it, as willing to impugne such a Law, or call it in doubtfull question; do slenderly conceiue, that the state of their owne Country could neuer pretend, nor attribute vnto it selfe such a prerogatiue.

The King of France hath also this great aduantage aboue others, that he is not on ly Soueraignē, but likewise absolute, with full power & authority truly Royal: which is not common to all Princes, although they be Soueraignes. There are very few or none, but are restrained, eyther by lawes, or by assemblies of the generall Estates: who therefore cannot tearme the selues absolute, being so subiected, & their power limited. The perfection & height of a royall estate, is, when the Prince ordaineth

In vit. Caroli Quarti, &c.

Froissard in ch. i.

The Queene of England and Edward her Sonne.

King Edward the third took on him the name of king, and quattered the Armes of France.

King Edward of England Vicar of the Empire.

Estiuan de Garibay. Histor in lib. 26. cap. 16.

Baldus in lib. 2. D. De Senator.

Petrus Iacobi. Tit. ex quib. caus. vassal. in Feud.

Another great aduantage of the king of France.

The perfection of a truly Royall estate.

daineth all by his owne will, doth what he would, without any restriction, and being no way answerable for any of his actions. This was the reason, that *Aristotle* elegantly named such an estate, by the name of *αυτακρατία*, as one would say, *Full and perfect Royalty*. And wise *Salomon* speaking of a true king indeed, saith; *He will do whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of the king is, there is power; and who shall say unto him, What dost thou?* This is also of no meane importance for the good government of an estate; be it to resolve more certainly on the affaires; be it to keepe counsels & designs secret; be it for facility, promptitude, and speedines of execution. He that hath such power, especially in actions of war, as the two great warriors *Alexander* and *Cæsar* had, may sway the Empire of the world. One of them being demanded, how in so short a time, hee had made so many famous conquests: *It was* (quoth he) *by neuer deferring occasion, or using remissenesse.* And the other was so prompt & ready, as many times he was at his iournies end with his Army, before any newes was heard of his comming. Yea, and in such sort, as enemies felt his fingers, before they tooke aduice for his comming. Nor can this be done, if a man depend vpon another, in any manner whatsoever, & the his power is not absolute. The Romanes tooke good acknowledgement hereof, being wont in their very greatest affaires, & dangers of the estate, were it in peace or war, to create a Magistrate, whom they called Dictatour, with such full power & absolute authority. In breese, for the gouernement of great estates, and likewise of great affaires, the account can neuer be well rendred, except it be to one man only. Otherwise, a Prince, although a Soueraigne, can neuer say, as *Metellus Numidicus*, and as it was after vsed by king *Lewes the 11.* *That if he thought his shirt knew his counsell, he would teare it from his backe and burne it.* He that is truly an absolute king, may well vse the aduice of his counsell, in such affaires as present themselves: but in an arrest and resolve, what seems good to himselfe. The excellency of that kingdom, as also of her kings, resulteth yet from two other considerations. One is the long continuance of the estate: a certain prooffe, as well of her good government, as of the supreme and celestiall fauor. The

other, is the antiquity of her race of kings: for to speake truly, there is not any more worthy, no nor more generous blood in the world. Who can in all the kingdoms through the Vniuerse, shew another the like estate, as firm and stable, as hath continued for 1200. yeares? Who can nominate such a nobility & ancientnes of race, so fairely approued, and in so long succession of so many kings. Since the year 440. according to most certaine History. *Meroneus* planted the foundation of that Monarchy, and established it to the *Gaules*: & euen to this instant, the estate hath bin alwaies maintained, and valiantly stood against all violent assaults. In such sort, as the more it hath bin attempted, yea, in very dangerous extremities; then found she her selfe strongest, and more flourishing then before. There is not any thing comparable to such a succession of kings, in al other Realmes, as it will be easily verified.

Moreouer, the noblenesse, dignity, and greatnes of that royall race, hath received no diminution by those two changes, which historians haue there obserued. Let not *Lopez Madera* alledge then, that such changes hapned, because France would not admit the regiment of women. For if we regard the side & line feminine, though the succession be not therein; three races finde themselves all vnited with the other. The second of *Pepin* with the first, as some Chronicles of those times do proue. And that of the *Capets* which is the third, and reigneth at this present happily with the second, as *M. Guillaume de Nangis* hath deduced the Genealogy. The which Pope *Innocent the 4.* in his Decretale, speaking of king *Phillip Augustus*, full well acknowledged, when he auouched that king to be descended of the race of *Charlemaigne*.

But beside this, there are other faithfull Authors, who do declare, that the second race is ioyned to the first, by the males side, proouing from father to sonne, that *Pepin* was descended in direct line by the males, of *Chlogion*, K. of the French, before *Meroneus*, as issued from *Albericus*, one of the sonnes of *Chlogion*. And as for the third race, the true originall thereof, was in that noble and so ancient house of *Saxony*, & of great *Vuitichind*, king of the *Saxons*, who made himselfe Christian with his people, & came to dwell in France, in the time of *Charlemaigne*. He was descended of *Signardus*,

Long continuance of the State, & Antiquity of race.

The first plantation of the Monarchy by *Meroneus*.

Two changes noted by Historians concerning France.

*Cap. Novis De Iudici apud Gregor.*

*Pepin* descended of king *Chlogion*, before *Meroneus*.

The third race of the house of *Saxony* by king *Vuitichind*, and that descent.

*Arist. in Politic. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

*Eccles. 8. 3. 4.*

The honourable dispositions of *Alexander* & *Cæsar* in their actions of warre, and otherwise.

The absolute power of the Romanes Dictatour.

The wise saying of *Metellus Numidicus*

Two other considerations well deserving obseruation.

*Signardus*, who was made Duke of the Saxons, in the yeare VCXXXVI. at such time as *Dagobert* was king of France: Behold the certain succession, *Vuitichind* the great had another Son cald *Vuitichind*, & that *Vuitichind* had another *Vuitichind* & 3. who had to Sonne *Rupert* or *Robert* the Strong, Count of *Aniou*, he being slain against the *Normanes*, in the time of *Charles* the Bauld, king of *France*, and Emperor.

That *Robert* the Strong left his Son *Otho* or *Eudo*, who was Tutor to king *Charles* the Simple, and afterward crowned king; as also was his brother *Rupert*, Father to *Hugh* the Great, Count of *Paris*, Sonne in law to the Emperor *Otho* the first. And by this mariage of *Hugh* the Great, was born *Hugh Capet*, established king by the Nobility of *France*, through default in the legitimate line of *Charlemaigne*, in the year VCCCCLXXXVII. Since which time, the kingdome hath alwayes beene in the hand of that generous and flourishing Linage, excelling still more and more, and reigning to perpetuity.

Next heereunto, there commeth also to our consideration, the admirable and heroyicall vertues of the kings of *France*, which hath mounted their glory vp vnto heauen, & made them known through al the Cantons of the earth. But to forbear the most ancient warriours, the affright & terrour of the Romanes, *Ascaricus*, *Gaiso*, *Marcomir*, *Sunno*, *Mellaubodes*, and *Chlogion*: what a warrior was *Meroneus*, the founder of that Monarchy in *Gaule*? This was the man, who (in despite of the Romanes, and such a mingle-mangle of barbarous people, scattered and dispersed by the *Gaules*) planted there his Standards, and made himselfe absolute Lord of one part. And as for *Attila*, king of the *Hunnes*, that caused himself to be cal'd, *The scourge of God*: he came to rauage *France*, as hee had done all other Prouinces where hee had past. The wise *Aetius*, Governour to what then remained of the Romanes in *Gaule*, was perswaded, that he was not able, nor all the barbarous people re-leagued with him, to endure the furious and fearefull shock, of that huge thunderbolt of war. But made his recourse to the vertue of the French, and to their great *Meroneus*, to fight against the furious entrance of the *Huns*. Wherein he had good succes, for the pride of *Attila* was soone reba-

ted on the *Cathalamian* plaines, by great *Meroneus*; who put to the edge of the sword, that dreaded masse and number of enemies.

Alas, there is no roome here, in a work of no larger circumference, to recount the goodly deeds, and actes heroyicall, well deseruing eternall memory, of al the kings that haue raigned in *France*: for many great volumes can hardly containe them. So high an ascending subiect, deserued to meete with such Writers, as can as worthily set down in writing, what these kings did boldly and vertuously performe. Beside, the aboundance of matter, and dignity of the subiect, would affoord them scanty of ground; and trouble them with a thousand difficulties. It is a subiect much more great, then the wars and encounters of petty Townes and Villages in *Greece*, bandied the one against the other: which neuertheles, by the learning & eloquence of such, as haue attempted to write thereof, are become so much celebrated, and thought worthy of immortality. But Frenchmen, who haue established this Monarchy, contenting themselues with the glory and honour of well doing, care little for any pride of the Pen, adding themselues rather, to execute high & hardy enterprizes; the to set down in writing those of others, much lesse of themselues.

Neuerthelesse, though destitute of such exquisite meanes; whereby to mount to immortality: yet it hath so well falne out, that all their faire actions haue not bin vtterly buried, nor forgotten. But in stead of a worthy Historiā, admiration hath thrust into the mouthes of all people, to know and speake of them; deliuering it so from hand to hand, euen to such as dwell in the remotest Climates, familiarly acquainting them with their manners. And indeede, there are to be found more testimonies of French vertue, in the Histories, Memories, and Annals of strangers, then in their owne. I will therefore leaue that labour to others, that can better acquit theselues therof, if I touch any thing, it shall bee but in my passage along, and onely to make a light demonstration.

It hath bin obserued for an ancient saying; *That all the good kings might be enclosed within the Beazill or Collet of a small king*. But this saying cannot hold in *France*, & hath euermore met with good kings, most excel-

This labour cuer-little to containe the famous actions of the Kings of *France*.

The Greek wars not comparable with them of the French.

Admiration (in stead of a fitting history) hath made the French generally famous through out the world

An ancient Adage concerning good kings.

Robert the Strong, & his Sonne Otho, Tutor to Charles the Simple.

Hugh Capet son of Hugh the Great.

Warriors that terrified and amazed the Romane.

Meroneus founder of the monarchy in Gaule.

Attila king of the Hunnes called himselfe Flagellum Dei.

excellent and most vertuous: hauing bin alwayes happy therein, as in all other things. I will call then vnto you diuine spirits, & generous soules, who haue somtime swayed that Monarchy; to the ende, that being put on by your inspiration, I may, if not worthily sing your merits, yet (at least) figure foorth to life some part of them.

Next to Great *Meroneus*, who first established himselfe in *France*, repulsed the *Hunnes*, and ouercame King *Attila*, the horror and the whippe of the world, account is to be made of that *Chlouis* or *Louis*, who possessed himselfe throughly of the *Gaules*, and vtterly exterminated the Romanes name. This was the quayer of the Romanes and Germanes, and he that expulsed so quickly the *Gothes* beyond the Pyrennean Mountaines, and made them thinke, that hardly could they get ground enough to flie away vpon, or where to hide themselves from his victorious arm. The *Gothes* hauing offended him many times, and broken all agreements made: this Prince vndertooke war against them, to chastise them, and purge the *Gaules* of such a people, as eagerly followed the error of *Arrius*, and laboured to plant it euery yeare.

When as the two Armies were met together, somewhat neere to *Poitiers*, the battaile was giuen, wherein the *Gothes* were wholly ruined, and driuen away in rout. Historians do adde heereto, that the King of the *Gothes*, being named *Alarick*, was met withall in the fight by King *Chlouis*, and fighting hand to hand, hee smote him downe dead to the ground. This is the selfe-same Prince, who (first of all the French) embraced Christian Religion, whereof both he and his successors were alwaies afterward true protectors and defenders. He was the most redoubted of all the kings in the world, and of whom the Emperour *Anastasius*, *Theodorick* the *Ostrogothe*, and the *Vuisigothes* of *Spaine* made no meane account, were it in admiration of his vertue, or were it for feare, they thought themselves very happy, to haue peace and friendship with him, seeking it by diuersity of Ambassadors, & by plenty of most exquisite gifts.

His Sonnes *Childebert*, *Chlothaire*, *Chlodamire*, and *Thierry*, as heires to his crowne, and likewise to his valour and pi-

ety; made themselves admirable & dreadful to strangers. *Childebert*, induced thereto, by horrible persecutions inflicted on the Orthodoxe Christians, as also by the bad and vnworthy vsage offered to his Sister, by *Almarick* her husband, King of the *Vuisigothes* in *Spaine*, who seuerely maintained the *Arrian* heresie: passed with his Army into *Spaine*, quailed & ouercame the powers of the *Gothes*, wonne diuers Citties by assault, and at length took *Tolledo*, cheefe of all, ruinating it in ranged battaile, where also was slaine *Almaricke* their king; returning triumphantly into *France*, hauing added to his Empire, the very greatest part of *Spaine*. Afterward the three Brethren together, wholly ouerthrew the estate of the *Bourguignons*. And soone after, the emperour *Iustinian*, making warre on the *Gothes* of *Italy*, the *Gothes* made recourse to *Theodebert*, king of *Mets*, and youngest Sonne to *Chlouis*, who defended them for a good space of time, giuing such prooffe to the Greekes, of vertue in the French, that *Iustinian* was constrained to compound with the french, as Historians (on his own side) do testifie.

In this first race, there was also *Chlothaire*, who by his victorious arms, wholly subdued Germany, and vanquished the vnconquerable Saxons. On a day, the two Armies being somewhat neere each to other, and the Riuer *Visurgis* running betweene them, this *Chlothaire* beeing on horse-backe and well armed; espied *Bertoaldus*, Duke of the Saxons, in like furnishment on the Riuer other side. Alone & without attending for any other troops, suddenly he crossed ouer the Riuer, to encounter and fight with his enemy; who betaking himselfe to flight, he pursued after with all possible speed, and hauing ouertooke him, fought with him, and left him dead on the ground. So returning victorious backe againe, bearing his enemies head in his hand, he found his people much offended, because they had neglected to follow him. He left *Dagobert* his Sonne to be his Successor, a worthy heire both to his estate and valour, as also excelling in piety and deuotion, as many Churches richly founded and builded by him can well testifie.

Hauing finished the first race, wee come to the second, wherein let vs consider first of all, the cheefe man thereof,

*Charles*

Chlouis or Louys that droue the Romanes quire out of Gaule, & made the Gothes to flie beyond the Pyrennean Mountains.

The meeting of the two armies hard by Poitiers, where King Chlouis slew Alarick hand to hand in fight.

The Emperour Anastasius.

Childebert Sonne & successor to Chlouis.

S. Greg. Turon. in lib. 3. cap. 10. Aymonius in lib. 2. cap. 8. & 19.

The Emperour Iustinian warreth on the Gothes of Italy. Procopius in lib. 2. Bel. Gott.

Chlothaire subdued all Germany and the Saxons.

Aymonius in lib. 4. cap. 18.

Dagobert, heire and successor to his Father Chlothaire.

*Charles Martell*, Prince of the French; whose name remaineth engrauen (perpetually) in memorie of all the people of *Europe*, for beeing their conseruator, in warranting them from the certaine yoake and seruitude of the Sarazins. It was then when the *Arabian* Sarazens (holding all *Affrica*) passed into *Spaine* with very smal troopes: where finding but slender resistance, the *Spaniards* and *Gothes* bequeathing themselues, as ingulfed in all pleasures and delights, and no way addicted to the exercise of Armes, became immediately Masters of all *Spaine*. This victory and conquest drew on thither Millions of *Moors* and *Sarrazins*, and in so great number, that *Spaine* being no longer able of comprehending them, they made account of passing further on, euen to run thorow all *Europe*, and quite to exterminate Christian Religion.

Into *France* they entred with a most dreadfull Army, sacking and spoyling all that they met with, and passed on so faire as *Tours*, seeming, as if there were no force or power great enough, that could resist or stay the course of their conquests. All people and Christian Princes, were full of feare and terror, and (in a worde) *Europe* had vtterly bene vndone: if this *Charles Martell* had not then bene present neere or before the City of *Tours*, making there a barre of his body and French forces. Having giuen them battell with so few French as then were with him: hee ouercame and meere hewed them in pieces, to the number of three hundred, threescore, and fiftene thousand *Sarrazins*. After this, being aduertised that there were yet other great troopes, towards *Narbona* and *Auignon*; hee vvent thither to finde them, & in another daies good successe, wholly ouercame them, & left not a man liuing. So that it appeareth by iust records, that there were slaine in all, seuen or eight hundred thousand: in regard whereof, the fir-name of *Martell* was giuen him. Thus did he dissipate this dangerous tempest, wherewith all Christendome was threatned, and ready to be confounded.

This also gaue good ease to the *Spaniards*, who were scattered in *Spaine*, fled & hidden in the *Asturian* mountains. So that he might wel be named, & in good right, the Buckler, Hammer, sharpe sworde and

Rampier of Christendome. But for him, *Europe* had now bin the seate of *Calyffes* and *Miramolines*. In stead of adoration giuen to the true God, the name of prophane *Mahomet*, and his execrable *Alcoran* should haue bene here preached. The *Saxons*, who were Pagans then, and not capable, but to giue offence to a peaceable king, by their reuolts and wonted seditions; could they haue bin any hindrance? The *Germanes*, diuided into many small Principalities, and gouerned (for the most part) by the kings of *France*, could they haue resisted? In *Italy* there were but the *Lombards*, who in the space of almost two hundred yeares, could not become Masters of all *Italy*, neyther conquer any more but a part, which their first king *Albonine* obtained at a clap, euen when they first entred: The rest was so miserably tormented, by the courses and piracies of the *Sarrazins*: as the poore inhabitants knew not where to hide themselues. The Empire of *Constantinople* remained, hauing worke enough to do, to keepe herselfe within her owne small bounds and limits: beeing pursued by the *Arabes* and *Mahometanes* of the East. Questionlesse, the Christian name had bene extinct, had it not pleased God to serue himselfe with the victorious arme, and courage inuincible of this French Prince, to conserue his faithfull seruants to glorify his name.

This was the same Prince, of whom it was said; *That hee affected rather to command Kings, then to bee a King himselfe*; which was engrauen on his Toombe in these tearmes.

*Non vult Regnare, sed Regibus imperat ipse.*

Thus imitated by the *Virgil* of France.

*This was Great Martel, Prince of the French, Not King in name, but a Master of Kings.*

Much more to be esteemed heerein, then he that saide, *Hee affected rather to command them that had Golde, then to haue any himselfe*. Because the passion and feruour which is borne to honor, and which seateth it selfe willingly in the souls of the most generous; is much more quaint, tickling and violent; then is the desire and thirst after riches. The reputation and valour of that great *Martel* protector of Christen-

Christendome) beeing such, the Church hauing no other prop nor succour, euery one fixing their eyes on him; Pope *Gregory* the third sent him the chaines of *Saint Peter*, and the keyes of the Sepulcher, committing himselfe and the whole *Romane Church* into his protection, to be warranted, not onely against inuasion of *Sarrazens*, but also against the continual courses of the *Lombards*, wherewith hee had beene afflicted beyond all extremitie.

*Pepin*, King of France, son to *Charles Martell*, wonne not a iot lesse glory by his haughty deeds of Armes. This was hee that danted the *Aquitaniens*, and them of *Bauaria*, ouercomming them in diuers battailes, and likewise the reuolted *Saxons*. Soone after, being called for succor by Pope *Stephen*, to defend the *Romane Church* (vexed more then euer) and oppressed by *Astolpho*, King of the *Lombards*, he went with all diligence, & constrained *Astolpho* (who felt his power not equall to his) to flye, and shut himselfe vp in *Pauia* his Capitall City, where hee besieged him, and could not raise his siege vntill hee hadde made an aduantageable composition for the Pope, with whom he left many French souldiers for his further assurance. This composition being afterward broken by the perfidie of *Astolpho*, *Pepin* returned thither againe, and besieged him the second time; compelling him to surrender the Exarquate of *Rauenenna*, and many other places, which he gaue vp to the *Romanes Church*. And returning home into France, hee found there the Ambassadors of *Constantine*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, who bringing him many goodly presents, came onely to request his alliance.

But what can we speake of more admiration, then his sonne *Charles*, to whome (by good right, and for his high deserts) the whole *Vniuerse*, by one consent, gaue the fir-name of *Great*? Hee attempted, maintained, conducted, and brought to end, ten or twelue seuerall warres, all of most great importance & difficulties in all kindes; as well in regard of the places, as for the great multitude and strength of the enemies, against whome hee was to deale. First, against the *Aquitaniens* and *Basques* or *Gascoigns*, a meruailous strong people; yet after many ouerthrowes, hee

ranged them vnder his obedience.

Next, another warre against the *Lombards*, who hauing violated the Articles of peace, which had beene couenanted with them by King *Pepin*, Father to this *Charles*: they infested and tormented the *Romane Church*, without the least breathing or respite. Which was the reason that this Prince, as pious and iust, as valiant, vndertooke (according to the ordinary vse of the French Kings) the defence of the holy See, ouercomming & ruinating the *Lombards* from the toppe to the bottome. He also besieged *Didier* their king, tooke, and led him captiue into France; where ended the kingdome of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and whereby he augmented and enlarged his owne estate. Thus hee purchased rest to the Pope, and beside enriched the *Romane Church*, giuing it no meane part of his Conquests, and encreasing the patrimony of *S. Peter*.

Hee attempted warre also against the *Sarrazins*, passed into *Spain* to fight with them, where he foyled them in many encounters, enforcing them to hide themselves in Towns, which he besieged and wonne away from them, so that he conquered a great part of *Spaine*, chasing the *Sarazins* thence, and continued warre alwayes ther afterward against them, which gaue no small ease vnto the *Spaniards*, who were mightily oppressed and overburdened before.

Then he made an expedition into *Italy*, against the reuolted *Lombards* and *Italians*. Many the like into *Germany*, against the *Bauarians*, the *Danes*, *Bohemians*, *Sclauonians*, and *Vuinides*, all warlike people, and whom hee conquered. Also against the *Hunnes*, an vndaunted people, after they had gotten habitation in *Pannonia*, vnder the conduct of *Attila* their King: yet he vanquished them, and hewed them in peeces in many fought battailes, plucking out of their throats the spoiles of Europe, which they had enioyed and triumphed ouer for so many yeares. And there he found such wealth and abundance of riches, as the very simplest souldiour in the Camp, was wonderfully rich for euer after.

Furthermore, he had no meane meddling with the *Saxons*, against whom hee had warre for the space of three and thirty yeares: they being a people that could

His warre against the Lombards, & bringing their King prisoner into France.

His warre against the Sarazins in Spaine.

His warres against the Saxons for 33 yeeres.

*Pepin*, the son of *Charles Martell*.

*Aymon*, contin. in lib. 4 cap. 63

The Licutenancie of the Empire.

*Charlemaign* or *Charls* the Great, sonne to King *Pepin*

neuer

neuer liue nor abide in quiet, reuolting incessantly, especially when they knew this Prince to be farre off from them, & troubled in some other places. Hee added to his owne estate *Gascoigny*, a great part of *Spaine*, *Saxony*, and the *Pannoniaes*; restraining so powerfully the ordinary courses of the Sarrazines, as all *Europe* lyued quietly vnder his reigne. Beside, hee was so redoubted, loued, and admired altogether by forraigne Kings, that *Aaron*, *Calyffe* of the East, who held (well-neere) all *Asia*, and was feared by all the greatest Kings: sought for his friendship, and sent him rare presents at diuers times, auouching him to be the most woorthy King in the whole world. And although this *Calyffe* was rude and harsh vnto Christians, that dwelt in his countries; yet notwithstanding, he forbare to persecute them, in consideration of *Charlemaigne*, to whom he gaue the City of *Ierusalem*, by sending him the keyes thereof, as also them of the holy Sepulcher.

The Emperours of *Constantinople* also did so esteeme, loue, and honor him, that oftentimes they sent him rich giftes by their Ambassadors, dreading nothing more, then to haue any contending in warre against him. In like manner, *Alphonsus* King of *Gallicia*, and of the *Asturias*, would call himselfe no other, but with this qualification towards Great *Charles*, *His humble and faithfull Subiect*, wholly to him; *Proprius suus* in Latine, as *Eginhard* hath recorded.

But what can be thought more admirable, or tearmed to bee a matter more rare, then in a Prince that was so stout a Warriour, all other ciuill vertues and most humane, should haue an equall meeting together? Singular clemency did euer more accompany his victorious arme. The same *Eginhard* reporteth, that hee could not be enforced to choller, by any occasion whatsoever. Nay, he would neuer yeeld, that one of them which had attempted against his life and State, should be put to death, but onely was contented with their safe keeping. In his victory against the Lombards, hee did not onely pardon *Paulus Warnesfridus*, Deacon of *Aquileia*; but also kept him neere about his person, greatly honouring and gratifying him, for the esteeme of his erudition and knowledge.

This Lombard was vnworthy of so great grace, in conspiring afterward with other Rebels, and vsing treason against his King and Benefactor. VVho neuertheles, after he had discovered the conspiracy, & surmounted all that the reuolts could do, againe he pardoned this *Paulus Warnesfridus*, being no way willing, that he should be punnished for his perfidie and rebellion. Onely he commanded his retirement, and banished him (for a while) to a certaine place. Afterward hee brake the bounds of his banishment, and fledde to *Ragaisius*, Duke of *Beneuento*, to excite him also to reuolt. An occasion, whereby the king was councelled, greuously to punnish both the one and other for this double treason. Yet the good Prince would lend no eare thereto, but saued & pardoned both their liues: onely he charged *Paulus Warnesfridus*, to write the History of the Lombards, the continuation of *Europe*, and some other works.

This was not only a light punishment, but honourable also to him that had the charge thereof: wherein, beside a most singular example of clemency, appeared an admirable affection vnto learning, for that onely respect, to loue and honor the man, who had so often falne into treason. Such was the loue & great account which he made of learning; and himselfe, albeit liuing in an age vngracious enough, & full of barbarisme, yet did hee speake Latine elegantly, and his mother tongue so readily, euen with naturall eloquence and admirable perswasion: hee vnderstoode Greeke also, but spake it hardly. Beside, he was well seene in all the Sciences, hauing *Alcuinus* to bee his Schoole-master. All dinner while, hee caused one to discourse, or reade ancient Histories: wherein he tooke no meane pleasure, but moulded thereafter the forme of his owne life.

No lesse was he to bee commended for his iustice, carefull for rendring it to his subiects with all sincerity: himselfe taking knowledge of such causes as concerned any difficulty, vndertaking the defence and protection of VViddowes, Orphanes, and other miserable people, to warrant them against all oppressions of the mighty. Hauing also established many good Lawes and Ordinances, for the rooting vp of vices, and furtherance of iustice.

Good nature in a Prince may be too much abused by Traitor.

A mercifull iniunction by a wronged Prince.

His iustice & vprightnesse to his subiects

Aaron the great Calyffe of the East.

He was loued and feared by the Emperors of Constantinople.

Eginhard in Ant. lib. 4. cap. 9

stice. In regard of his piety and singulare deuotion, hee made sufficient apparance thereof, as remaineth witnessed to this day in strange Countreys, by his wealthy foundation of Churches and Monasteries. He was ordinarily present at solemn prayers in the Church, and at all Canonick houres, euen in the night time. Great care had hee, that diuine seruice should be honourably celebrated, & the Churches well serued, despending great summes of money, to haue them fitted and furnished with all conuenient rich Ornaments, and matters to them belonging.

Moreover, he was somewhat prouident and curious, that the church should be beautified and shining, by the probity, integritie, and sanctitie, expressed in the liues of the Ministers, and Ecclesiasticall persons to them appertayning. Being alwayes heerein so carefull, and for establishment of the better order, that hee caused five Councelles to bee called and holden, and collecting the Decrees of them, made the same to be published & obserued: holding nothing in more great recommendation, then to see the Church honoured, and flourishing in all holines. He was liberall vnto all men, especiallie to the poore, as well of his owne Kingdome, whom hee mercifully releued: as also in straunge countreies, whereto hee sent rich Almes; alwayes coueting friendship with the Easterne Kinges, to aswage the persecutions of poore Christians.

But aboue all the rest, one thing seemeth very strange, that Ambition could neuer gette footing in the soule of this Prince, although it had beene, and is, a frequent and ordinary disease, in the very greatest courages, and most generous spirits. For, although hee was crowned Emperor of the East at Rome, by Pope Leo the third, vppon the cries and acclamations of the Roman people, who both desired and elected him: yet let mee tell ye, it was so farre from any search or proceeding thereto in him, as hee knew nothing thereof, neither euer gaue his consent thereto. For Eginhard assureth, hauing heard himselfe to confirme it, that if hee had knowe the purpose of the Pope and people; he would not haue gone into the Church on Christmasse day, in

the yeare VCCC. when that acclamation, election, and coronation was performed. It was a thing so much against his minde, and whereof hee made such slender reckoning. Hee dyed at the age of threescore and eleuen yeares, hauing reigned seuen and forty yeares. And, at his height of humane felicity, hee left his Sonne *Lewes* his successor, and heyre to his vertues, who for his exceeding great mildenesse and meekenesse, deserued the sur-name of *Pious*, or the *Debonnaire*.

In his yong yeares, his Father made him King of *Aquitaine*, where he carryed himselfe in such sort, governing so wisely and with such discretion, that such prudence and vertue was highly admyred, especially in those tender yeeres. Himselfe rendred iustice to his subiectes, attending thereon three dayes in euery weeke. Hee vsed great iudgement for well choosing men of worth and merite, to vndergoe places of important charge, as Officers and Magistrates. Hee eased the people so much as possibly hee could, in taking away harde Tributes and Subsides, and moderating others, euen in the mildest manner.

And yet notwithstanding, hee was a good Warriour, not onely in defending & safe keeping his owne Frontiers: but also proceeding very farre into Spain, to make warre vpon the inuading Sarazins, whom hee foyled in many battels, encounters, & besiedgings of Citties conquered by him, hauing maintained and enlarged the lads of his Father *Charlemaigne*, which he had wonne in Spain. So that by his Vertues, wise carriage and deportment, hee gaue a wonderfull contentment to his Father. Hee succeeded him in the kingdome of *Frâce*, and in the Empire of the East. He continued warre against the Sarrazins in Spain, & weakned them in such sort, that he gaue good means to the Spanish christians, to defend themselues against them and to extend their territories farther off. *Marineus Siculus*, who wrote the historie of Spain, declareth the expeditions of this French Emperour, reporting moreover, that he imposed a tribute on the people, which were conquered and subiected by him in Spain: where he was cald in the dayes of this Author *Romanus*.

Hee conserued in greatnes the Empire of

The death of Charlemaign

Charles the Debonnaire succeeded his Father Charlemaigne.

Charles was also a worthie Warriour, conquering the Sarrazins in Spain.

*Marineus Siculus, in lib. 9.*

*Romanus.*

Hee caused five Councells to be called & helde, for the good of the Church.

Charlemaign could neuer be tempted by a thought of Ambition.

Eginhard in *Antiq.* 5. 10.

of the West towards Germany, and valiantly imbarred the courses of the Northernly people, from their manifold inuasions. And neuer could any defect or vice be noted in him: but that he was too good, too humane and debonnaire. His piety, zeale, and deuotion towards God and his Church was such, as neuer in any man was obserued greater. Forty dayes before his decease, hee tooke no other foode, but the blessed Communion onely, which he receiued with wonderful humility, and extraordinary contrition: continuing alwayes in prayer, or causing to be sung in his presence and hearing the Ecclesiasticall offices.

Come we now to the third race, the cheefe whereof was *Hugh Capet*, yssued from the house of *Saxony*; who happily reigned, and wisely gouerned his Kingdome, with much piety and iustice. His Sonne *Robert*, with like piety and integrity of life, loued Learning, and was so earnestly addicted thereto, that hee himselfe composed sundry Books: and among the rest, he wrote many goodly & pious Hymns, which were receiued, and are yet (at this present) sung in the Church. Of him it is thus credibly reported, y being (at a certain time) mockt by an ignorant Duke, because hee sung in the Church among Ecclesiasticall persons, hee made him this answer: *That he better affected to see a King learned, then an Assse Crowned*, making his allusion vnto the Duke, who ware his Dukall Crowne on that solemn day.

Hee was very pittifull, and a great Almoner on the poores behalfe; so that when hee tooke his owne repast, great troopes of poore people were admitted to be about him, whom hee would suffer freely to come neere him, and gaue vnto them that foode which was set there before him, & many other things that they stood in neede of. Nor was hee a iotte lesse liberall to Churches, in causing many to be builded, founded, and endowing them bountifully, as also re-establishing and enriching others. There was no want in him likewise of all other royall vertues, maintaining and conseruing his estate very wel, and making the people happy, that were vnder his obedience.

I am feigne to passe ouer others, to come to King *Lewes the sixt*, surnamed *Le*

*Gros*, a true imitator of his Auncestours vertues. He employed all his life time, to containe his people in peace and quietnesse, and (according to the dutie of a good King) to shield them from oppression of the greatest & most potent Earles and Barons of France, who stood then vpon very peremptory tearmes. Which made him to attempt diuers wars agaynst them vpon that occasion, and oftentimes expose his life to dangers, preferring the well-fare of his people, before all other considerations whatsoever, and so he wel witnessed from time to time.

After he had chastised and raunged all such as had reuolted, flying from him vpon the like occasions, and was become feared, respected, and obeyed of all the Rebels, as also beloued of all his subiects, the Emperor *Henry the fift*, being departed from *Germany* with a mighty & dreadfull Army, to ouer-run him and his country, he went to meet him nere to *Rhemes*, hauing but a handfull of men with him. But he so affrighted the Emperor *Henrie*, and all the potent Army with him, that fearing the valour and inuincible arme of the French, whose courage will giue way to nothing whatsoever: he thought it farre better for him to quit the place, & get him gone, then to hazard his estate agaynst so valiant a King, though hee vvas attended but with so small a troope. And so this Emperor made his retreat, at the very noyse of the Kings comming, whose name (indeed) was very dreadfull.

This Prince also excelled in Piety and Religion, vertues proper to the Kinges of France: being the true props, supports, and Bulwarkes to the Church. For we reade, that in his time, Pope *Paschall* the second came into France for refuge, and to consult with the *Gallicane* church, concerning those differences which he hadde with the Emperor. And afterwardes, the Popes *Calixtus* the second, *Honorius* the second, and *Innocentius* the second, being tormented and expelled by the Emperors of Germany, and brought to great misery, yet succoured in that kingdome, their ordinary retreat and refuge. Hee entertained them honourably, assisting them with riches, respecting them worthily & royally. In the end, hauing succoured them to his vtmost power, he tooke pains to pacify those discords and contentions.

Some-

K. Lewes the sixt, surnamed the Grosse of big.

The Emperor Henry the fift goeth with a great army agaynst Lewes Le Grosse, & retired thence without striking a blow.

Vertues proper to the Kinges of France.

*Suggerus in vis Ludou. Grossi.*

His zeale and deuotion to God and his Church.

The 3. race of Kings in France the first being Hugh Capet, of Saxony.

A worthy answer of a iudicious King.

His loue and charity to the poore, and education of Churches.

*Sugger, Abbat.  
S. Dionis, in  
Mort. Ludoni  
Grosi.*

Something more I may adde concerning his death, as it is let downe by *Suggerus*, Abbot of *Saint Denis*, his principall friend, and an eye-witnesse thereof. Feeling the end of his life approching, & the holy Eucharist being brought to him, he arose out of his bed to meete it, falling downe on his knees, and receiuing it with great deuotion. Hauing before taken order for al his affaires, and made both profession of his faith, and confession of his finnes, in the hearing of all there present. Afterward, being taken foorth of his bed again, & laid vpon athes dispersed abroad he gaue vp the ghost.

*Lewes the 7.  
succeedeth  
his Father  
Lewes le gro*

His Sonne *Lewes* the seuenth, called, *The Youthfull*, was a true ressembler of his Father, hauing ioyned piety and valiancy together. By the counsell of *S. Bernard*, he made a voyage into *Palestine* to helpe it with a puissant Army, against the inuasion of the Turkes. And hauing obtained many great victories against the enemies of the Christian Faith, he returned home to his Kingdome, pressed by the discommodities of Famine, where-with his Armie was very sore afflicted, thorough the disloyalty of the Emperor of *Constantinople*.

*Philip Augustus, sur-named  
the Conqueror, came to  
the Crown at  
14. yeares of  
age.*

Who can sufficiently admire the valor and good guidance of *Phillip Augustus*, who (by good right) also carried the surname of *Conqueror*? At the age of foure-teene yeares, he tooke into his hand the reines of the State, and in that tender age performed all exploits and actions, not onely of valiancy, but also of a great and perfect Captaine; watching & spending whole nights, to execute and accomplish his enterprizes. By which meanes, hee out-stept his enemies, tooke Towns and strong places, where himselfe would be seene in person at the scalado, yea, and at the assault at the breake of day, instead of addicting himselfe to pleasures, whereto his youth might rather haue induced him. He so vanquished his enemies, and chastised rebels in so tender yeares, as if hee had bin another *Alexander*.

*The English  
incited to  
armes, against  
Philip Augustus.*

Afterwards, the English being prouoked against him, gaue the better and more worthy subiect to his victories: for he conquered and tooke from them all that they held in France, weakning them in diuers battailes, and famous encounters. Also this Conqueror, incited by the same pie-

ty of his Ancestors, made a voyage to the Holy Land; where he fought diuers times against the Turkes and Sarazins, and carryed many triumphes from them. Being returned home to France, he wonne that great day of *Bouines*, neere vnto *Tournay*, which I will touch a little more largely in this place, it being scarcely known, though (indeed) it was most signale and famous. For this king fought in that battel, against the forces of the Emperour *Otho* the fift, the King of *England*, the Earles of *Flanders*, *Henault*, and *Bologne*, all coniuered against his estate.

Those Earles being reuolted and leagued with the King of *England*, had likewise caused the emperor *Otho* the fift, to come into Fraunce, with a very great and puissant army of Germanes and Saxons. VVith them were ioyned the Forces of *Flanders*, *Henault*, and other French subjects and vassals, associated with the Earl of *Bologne*. The King went on before with his Army, and met the enemy somewhat neere to *Tournay*, where he had Lodged him aloft in a place for his best aduantage: which the King hauing well perceiued, & that he was frustrate of all meanes for coming at them on that side, resolved to fetch a further course about, and to assaile them on the other side.

Being withdrawne to effect this intent, the Emperor *Otho* taking it for a flight, did cause his army to march on with speed to ouertake the King, who was encamped in a village called *Bouines*. There he had intelligence how the enemy was come very neere; and the noyse of theyr armes gaue apparance, that they would fall in hande presently with them, and charge the rere-guard: all which notwithstanding, before hee would doe anything else, hee entred first into a Church, and there sayde his Prayers.

Afterward, being armed, hee mounted on horse-backe, giuing order for the Armies readinesse, riding thorough the ranks, for the better disposition of his people; yet nothing at all was done that day. On the morrow morning, hauing againe ranged his Army in battaile array, hee gaue his people a Kingly encouragement, by breesely acquainting them with these circumstances: That they were to fight with one, who was an enemy vnto God and Men, come to lend a strong hand

*The great  
day of Bouines  
neere to  
Tournay.*

*The maner of  
the businesse  
proceeding  
betweene the  
Emperor and  
confederates,  
against the K.  
of France.*

*The K. rideth  
about to haue  
his armie in  
readines.*

hand to Rebels, leading an army that had no other wages then sacriledges, spoiles of the Churches goods, and the blood & teares of the poore. Therefore they were to consider, that God had brought them thither, to punish their iust deseruings, & had chosen the French for the instrument of his iustice. Hee further aduised his soldiers, that they should not labor to buckler the bodies one of another: but euerie man to do for himselfe the best he could, without any eye or respect to his friend and companion.

Having animated them with such or the like speeches, he caused his Army first to march on, assaying and sharply setting on that of the enemy. The French Cheualiers, after they had broken their Lances, came to handy blowes, fighting with all the heate and valour could be deuised: throwing themselues into the middest of the maine battell, piercing and passing through the thickest battalions, hewing in peeces, and ouerthrowing all that durst meete them. Great was the resistance, & wonderfull deeds of Armes perfourmed on either side. The King was alwaies the most forward man, rushing into the greatest throngs; and where the fight was fiercest, to succour his people. Hee found himselfe enuironed with a huge battalion of enemies, where hee sharply layed about him on all sides, and cleared his passage still as he rode on. But in the end, his horse being slaine between his legges fell downe vppon him; yet he was quickly remounted againe by a French knight, called Sir Peter de Tristan, who gaue him his owne horse.

Now charged hee the enemy more fiercely then before, his strength & courage being redoubled at the indignation of his fall, nor ceased he with his French Lords, who neerely followed him, vntill he came to the very midst, where the Emperor Otho was, he being then very liuely assayled.

Heere did he meet with many French Knights, who being on foot, some tooke hold on his bridle, others hung about the neck and maine of his horse to stay him, which compelled him to turne his backe. But the Count Reignald de Bologne, hee would not budge a foote from the field of battell, but continued there & his followers valiantly fighting, euen to all ex-

tremities, willing (by no means) to yeeld himselfe, till in the end, his horse being slaine vnder him, and hee sore wounded, his throate threatned to bee cut by a Villaine, he yeelded himselfe to Lorde Guarin, a Knight of Saint Johns of Ierusalem, and elected byshop of Senlis, one of the principall Captains for the King, saying, *I had rather yeeld my selfe, and be iudged by the King and his Peeres, then to dye unworthily by the hand of a slaue.*

So the field of battaile remained vnto the King, as also the victorie full & wholly, all the enemies being broken and scattered; a great part of them slaine, and very many taken prisoners, euen of the chiefest men. The King would permit none to pursue the Emperor, who fledde with the Count of Brabant, and many Germans further off then two or three Leagues. Among the prisoners, was Ferrand Earle of Henaulte, Nephew to the Queen, Countesse of Flanders, and Daughter vnto the King of Portugall. Shee being a medier with Magicall Sciences, would needes consult with her Diuiners, concerning the successe of this Battaile, and it vvas tolde her, *That the King should be layde on the ground, without any Sepulcher: And that Ferrand Earle of Henaulte, her Cosine, should enter Paris in Triumph.* All vvhich was true, but farre off from her interpretation.

It is also faithfully reported, that the King before the fight, in presence of all his Earles, Barons, and Lords (knowing full well that some were tottering and vncertaine, as being not thorowly affected to him) tooke the Crowne from off his head, and set it vppon an Altar, standing by him, saying in this manner. *If there bee any man heere amongst yee, that thinkes more capeably and worthily of himselfe, then this day to fight for libertie, being in such danger, both to the Honour and Renowne of France: let him willingly leaue and forsake this Crowne, and that man (whatsoener hee bee) let him boldly put this Crowne vpon his head.* Vv hereat all of them standing amazed, and being mooued with admiration and enflamed affections, threw themselues before his seete, saying; That they were all his humble seruants, and that they would euerie one of them dye with him that day, rather then be commanded by any other.

The noble wordes of Count Reignald of Bologne.

The Countesse of Flanders decried by her Wizards.

Most honorable wordes of the King, before hee went to the fight.

The King of France first marcheth his armie against the enemy.

The Kinges horse slaine vnder him, & he remounted by Sir Peter de Tristan.

The Emperor enforced to turne his back.

Another victory won the same day against the English.

The selfe-same day of this great victory, *Monsieur Lewes de France*, eldest Son to the King; wonne another against the English, in the Country of *Aniou*, at *La Roche du Mayne*, against the King, called *John without Land*. For this double victory, obtayned both in one day, the King rendred thanks to God: and desiring that some marke might remayn for a Trophee thereof to all posterity, hee caused an Abbey to be builded neere to *Senlis*, which (in that respect) he named, *The Abbey of Victory*, and endowed it with great reuenues.

Lewes the 8. Sonne & Successor to Philip Augustus.

I can hardly stay at *Lewes* the eight, Son to this King, and Successor in his vertues, wherein he seconded him liuing, and partaked in many of his expeditions and enterprizes. But reigning so short a time after his Father; I must come to the King, called *S. Lewes*, whose piety, religion, and sanctity of life, hath sufficiently commended him to all men, & acknowledged him by quality, worthy the name of Saint. But that which is to be reckoned as a matter most rare, is, that he excelled no lesse in all other vertues, both Military & Politique. He brought about many warrs, wherein still he had a finger, and performed worthy exploits of Armes: beeing most valiant of his person, & a very wise Captaine.

Lewes the 9. surnamed S. Lewes, a religious king & a worthy Soldier.

Hee toyled and droue in disorder a great Army, wherein was the King of England, and the Counts *de la Marche*, and *de Lusignan*, at *Taillebourg*, on the *Riuer Charante* in *Poitou*. Where hauing gotten before, with very fewe people, to winne a Bridge, long time he endured all the stratagemes of the enemies Army, which was in number a hundred to one: yet hee performed so much by his valiancy, that his Army had leysure for their passage, whereby the enemies were defeated, a great number slaine, many taken prisoners, some say foure thousand, and the rest were disperfed and driuen to flight.

The victory at Taillebourg on the Riuer Charante in Poitou.

His famous expedition against the Turkes and Sarrazines.

No where can be found more famous deeds of Armes, or any actions more generous, then his kingly expeditions against the Turkes and Sarrazines, where hee wonne the best in many foughten battailes, hazarding his owne person, and exposing himselfe to all dangers, euen in the cheefest heate of fight, running where he saw the enemy strongest, and his owne

followers in any distresse. So that where-soeuer he went, hee made all to giue him way, none beeing able to withstand him; but gaue place to the greatnesse of his courage, and strength of his powerfull arme. The Lord of *Joinuille*, an eye-witnesse thereof, speaking of one day among others, vsed these very words.

*And bee you very certaine, that that day the King perfourmed most high deedes of Armes, more then euer I saw in all the Battailles wherent I haue beene present. And one saide after the Battaile, that if it had not bene for his person, wee had all beene utterly lost and slaine that day: And surely, I can no otherwise imagine, but at the very instant, his vertue and strength was doubled on him by the grace of God. For hee feared not a rote to thrust himselfe into the dangers and perils of the battaile: and where he saw his people in any distresse, there he laide most about him to helpe them, deliuering so many blowes with his Sword and Battle-Axe, as none of the Turkes durst come neere him. The Lord of Courtney, and Messire John de Salony reported to me, that they saw sixe Turkes (the same day) preparing towards the King, and hadde forcibly laide hold on the bridle of his Horse, intending to leade him away. But the vertuous Prince, seeing the danger wherein hee was, stroue with all his might, and (in meere height of courage) laide such loading strokes vpon the Turkes which leade him, so that hee alone freed himselfe from them.*

Le Sieur de Joinuille in the 29. Chapter of his Booke.

Sixe Turkes seized on the Kings Horse, and yet he freed himselfe from them all.

In another place the same Lord relateth, that the king vnderstanding how the Earle of *Aniou* his Brother was engirt & hemd in with enemies, yea, and in such extremity, as hee had no meanes to get out from them; hee gallowed immediately to rescue him. *And (saith he) without carrying for any man, gaue the Spurs to his horse, his Sword in his hand, & rushed mainly into the battaile; charging the Turkes and Sarrazines heauily, vntill he came to the place where his Brother was. But at his arriuall, God knowes what paines he tooke, and how many worthy deedes of Armes hee did: for it is most certaine, that where hee saw the greatest danger and prease, there hee bestowed himselfe without any feare. So that by his admirable prowesse, he brought his Brother out of danger, and droue the Sarrazines to flight, chasing them quite out of their owne Hoast or Army.*

In the 31. Chapter of his Booke. How the king rescued his Brother the Earle of Aniou.

Another

Another day, speaking how the King was ready to assaile the enemy, & exhorted his followers to all forwardnesse; His *Helmet* (sayth he) *was richly gilded, and in his hand he held a sword of Germanie, readily drawne. But let me tell yee, that I neuer saw a more goodly man then he was, for hee appeared about all the rest, by the height of his head and shoulder: and it is a thing hardly to be credited, how chearefully all the Souldiours were encouraged to the battaile, when they but looked on the King in that manner. So that many Knights, without attending for the King, mingled themselues amongst the Turkes, and there assayed them courageously. The King would alwayes be the foremost, and when he came neere to the Turkes, the battaile beganne so fiercely, as it was a matter marvellous to behold. And that verie day, there were far more woorthy actions of Armes performed, as well on the one side, as the other, as neuer had beene obserued in all the voyages beyond the Seas. For no man drew a Dart, an Arrow, nor other Artillery: but all of them fought manfully, hand to hand, all pel-mell, one with another, onely by stroakes of Swords and Battle Axes. Further hee addeth; That the King did more then meruayles in fighting, and would alwayes bee in the verie strongest of the Battaille.*

After the rout and flight of the Turks, at his descent and taking of *Damietta*, and after the three great battailes in Egypt, betweene the Channels of *Nilus*, where he obtained full victory; if famine, and a certaine strange disease (extraordinarily contagious) had not falne amongst his people: it had bene Doomesday vnto the Turkes and Sarrazins, and doubtles, they had bene quite exterminated, both out of Egypt, and the Holy Land. The Infidels so admired the vertue of this Prince, that although he was contrary to them in Religion, and their very seuerer persecutor, yet after the death of their Soldan, it was offered to him, and they would haue elected him to be their Lord. And they had done it, as beeing a matter already resolved on among them: but that some labored to alter this deliberation, by alledging him to be the firmest, fiercest, and most determinate Christian that euer they did know. And they said among themselues; *Tha if their Mahomet had suffered them to feele so many mischiefes as his God hadde let*

*him (being a King) to taste: they would neuer more haue adored or beleueed in him. And yet (neuerthelesse) some amongst them, onely by the example, and good Life of this holie King, receiued the Christian Faith.*

Moreouer, he ordained so well for the state and policy of his Kingdome: that his subiects (beeing before mightily oppressed) liued in perfect peace and quietnes. He vsed great wisdome, and prouidence in all his affayres, hauing thereby quenched and qualified many troubles and commotions in his kingdome: and by taking away the causes thereof, constrained the Duke of *Bretaigne* to acknowledge him, and render such satisfaction as himselfe desired. With very much iudgement also he pacified the differences with the English, and induced the king of England to such friendlinesse, as he became his Liegeman by faith, and one of the Barons of France: so that hee left not any war to his successors, which caused them to enioy so long a peace.

About all other things, he loued Iustice especially, and was verie carefull thereof in himselfe; correcting (by his owne example, and holie Ordinances) such Vices and Abuses as reigned among his Subiects. Hee was such a Louer of truth, that (as the Lord of *Ionuille* saith) *He was neuer knowne to falsify his Word.* For, it was reported vnto him, That the *Sarrazines*, in receyuing his Ransome, were discontented with tenne thousand pounds, he caused more to be giuen to them.

Neuer could any feare or misfortune disfurnish him of reason; but euer more he was thankfull to God in all his aduersities. When he saw his army in danger, by no meanes in the world, or for safetie of his owne person, would hee part from it; but would alwayes abide by his people, and endure (with them) the latest hazards and euents of fortune. Neuer should hee make an end, y would recount the deeds (well deseruing immortality) of this good King. It shall suffice then to say, as the same Lord of *Ionuille* reports of his time. *The common people called him true Father; the Nobility, iust Prince, and preseruer of the Lawes; France, her King of Truth; and the Church, her Tutor and defender from oppression.*

A King carefull for his kingdome, as well in his absence, as presence.

No meane commendations in so great a person, whose life was a precious example to all his people.

In chapter 19 of his Booke.

In chapter 16 of his Booke.

In the 29. chapter of his Booke.

A very manly resolution in fight.

Damietta won from the Infidels, and three great battailes fought in Egypt.

The King of France elected to be Soldan of Egypt.

In chap 33. of his Booke.

Philip the 3. succeeded his father S. Lewis, who deceased in Africa at the city of Thunis.

In the same Schoole was bred and nourished *Philip* the third, to whom the goodly examples, and profitable instructions of this good King his Father, serued as an absolute pattern and excellent institution, which he vnderstoode so well, and made profit of in such sort, as, although he got not so great a name, yet notwithstanding, he was the most worthy heyre of his Fathers vertues. And albeit *S. Lewis* dyed at the sledge of *Thunis* in *Affrica*, making warre the second time against the Infidels; yet this young Prince gaue so good assurance to the Armie, much danted by the death of the King; that hee bare away many famous victories from his enemies, although they exceeded his strength in huge multitudes. In the end, he constrained the king of *Thunis*, to come humbly, and entreate for peace: rendering himselfe, and his Vnckle *Charles* king of *Sicily* tributaries to him.

Afterwards, returning home towards France, he passed thorow *Italy*, where he was entertained with such fauour and applauses by all the inhabitants, as the most part came and entreated him, that hee would take the command ouer them, desiring (aboue all things else) to be gouerned by so good a King, so louing and respectiue of his people. Beeing returned into his owne kingdome, he maintayned it in peace a long time; vntill being molested by the King of *Arragon*, and the Count *de Foix*, hee vndertooke Armes. Heereupon he entred into Spaine, where hauing made war very happily, by assault he tooke many places reputed impregnable, conquered a great part of the kingdome of *Arragon*, ouerthrew the *Arragonians* in diuers encounters, and slew their King, so returning home-ward with Triumphall victory, he died at *Parpignan*.

But one thing may not bee omitted, that this king most oftentimes did weare sackcloath, and a shirt of haire, liuing so holily, and vsing such abstinence, that the Authors of those times were enforced to confesse, that he rather resembled a good Religious man, then a King. Yet was hee a great Prince, & knew well enough how to gouerne his kingdome.

*Charles* the fift, deserueth also to be set in this ranke of choyse men, being surnamed of his time, *the Wise*. Onely by his counsell and good aduice, without stir-

ring from his Chamber, he reconquered whatsoeuer his Predecessors had lost, by the Armies of the English. His prouident and well tempered wisdom, did diuers times rebate the keene edged sword of valiant *Edward* the Prince of Wales, and disappointed many of his forward purposes; so that, notwithstanding his high spirit, and well ordered Armies, he gained very little from him, nor yet the King of England his Father, but what they wonne one day, they lost againe in another.

Heere also I cannot omit *Charles* the seuenth, who comming to the Crowne, his kingdome (for the most part) was in the power of the English: but yet recouered it myraculously, as not onely hee regained what he had lost, but also (as some say) all that the Englishmen did hold in France, wishing them to rest contented with their owne Island. And heere methinks it is very strange, what all Historians haue reported of those times, that this king, being toyled & wearied by the long warres of the English, to him much vnprofitable, and lesse pleasing: should yet be excited by a poore Maide, dwelling in a village of *Lorraine*, named *Ioane d' Arc*. For she being brought before him, & being of great resolution, made him manie faire remonstrances, whereby to entice and kindle his courage, for the recouerie of his kingdome, and expulsion of his enemies, which surely could not bee but by miracle. And it cannot be denied but that there was a Genius in this Maide, far surpassing the natural and ordinary condition of her sexe. And so much the more strange, because she serued as a Captaine, conducted the Armies, and fought verie valiantly, when as occasion serued.

*Non hæc sine numine diuum eueniunt.*

Consider we also *Charles* the eight, his yongest son, who hauing past into *Italy*, to reconquer that which the *Arragonians* vsurped from his predecessours, filled all the Citties and Townes of *Italy* (at his arriual, with no meane terror of his armes, none being found that durst make heade against him. Euery City submitted to him, and set open their gates, in meer affection and respect, both to the vertue of the French, and dread of their name; Others

*Guliel. d' Nangis, in Philippo tertio.*

K. Philip entered Spaine, with an army, and killed the K. of Arragon

Charles the 5 surnamed the Wise.

Charles the 7 much molested by the armies of the English.

Otherwise called Ioane the Pucelle of France.

Charles the 8 son & successor to Charles the 7.

The country Croatia, be-  
weene Istria,  
and Dalmatia

thers for feare, not being able to contest with them. So that in lesse then five moneths, he made himselfe Master of all *Italy, Geneway, Florence, Pisa, Sienna* and \* *Liburma* being all in his power. He reconquered the whole kingdom of *Naples*, and expelled them of *Arragon*, who had vniustly vsurped there.

His intended  
ioiage against  
Baiazeth the  
second.

The Great Turke *Baiazeth* the second, feared nothing more then to meddle with him, & questionles, he would haue gon to assault him in *Constantinople*, wherein hee had shut vp himselfe in meere feare, if vrgent occasions had not called him backe to France, making full account to returne thither againe afterward, to attempt that great and honourable expedition against the Turkes, whereunto hee was induced and called on all sides, & for diuers good considerations. At his coming back for France, two maine impediments presented themselves to him, as well in regarde of difficult waies and mountaines, where (of necessity) hee was to passe his Artillery: as for daunger of enemies in such places, where they might worke vpon aduantage many wayes; his army being also much afflicted with famine.

The Venetians,  
the Duke  
of Millaine, &  
other Princes  
eagued a-  
gainst King  
Charles, and  
yet were foy-  
led.

Beside all this, a league was made against him, by the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Millaine*, and other Potentates, who had leui- ed an army of 40000. men, to cut him off quite: but yet hee surmounted all these difficulties, and passed through the daungers without any losse. The Armie of 40000. men was encamped on the Plaine of *Fornoue*, where it was most requisit for the King to passe, they purposing to lock him vppe in this passage, to the end, that they might consume his army, with Famine, necessity, and miserie, amongst the Mountaines where he was. The king with 7000 able fighting men onely, affronted this great army, gaue them battell, passed ouer the bellies of all them that hindered his way; and there was slaine about foure thousand of them, the rest being driuen to rout, or seized with feare, he sustaining but very little losse, about thirtie French slaine, and some threescore Varlets. So not onely he rescued his army, which hee led in safety with all his traine, baggage, Artillery, and carriages; but also fought successfullly, and hadde the victory ouer his enemies, which was a much more honourable Retreat, then that of tenne

A very small  
losse on the  
Kings side a-  
gainst so great  
an Army.

thousand, so highly renowned by the Greekes.

An example of rare vertue is recorded of him. At the surprizall of a certaine place in *Italy*, a young Maid (of most exquisite beauty) flying from his Soldiours, who would haue violated her honour: came and threw her selfe at his feete, desiring him earnestly, to defend her from the force and outrage of his souldiers. As indeed he did; but yet himselfe fel into an amorous affection toward her, & hauing her priuate in his Chamber, with full intent to accomplish his pleasure, the Maid all drowned in tears, humbly desired him on our knees, supplicating and adiuring him in the name of the blessed Virgin, the vntoucht mother of the worlds Sauour, whose picture she saw hanging by his bed that hee would take pittie on her, and not compell her to that, for safety wherof she had escaped from his rauishing Soldiers, and put her selfe wholly into his handes. The King became moued in such sort, that being transported with loue and passion, and in the braue gallantry of his youth, he made a Kingly conquest of him selfe, and bedewing his cheeks with tears, as being much ashamed at his immodest offer, he would not touch her in any vnciuill or vnchaste fashion, but gaue her most honourable freedome, with a verie liberall Dowrie to her marriage, setting also at liberty both her Parents and Kindred, that were then (at that instant) his prisoners.

A briefe hi-  
story, declar-  
ing admir-  
able vertue in  
this King.

Where vertue  
and honor is  
truly innated,  
lust hath the  
lesse power to  
preuaile.

Surely, this was an acte verie strange and almost myraculous, if wee consider him to bee a King, in the very vigour & flower of his youth, victorious: yet neerely touched with the loue of a Maiden, excelling, and no way inferiour vnto any in Beautie, and hauing her wholly in his priuate power. His great wisdom, singular iudgement, and infinite goodnesse heerein appeared; and being a familiar Prince, hee would oftentimes say to his Fauourites; *That hee had made choyse of them, and loued them more then any other, because he was perswaded of their honestie, and might safely trust them. Onely, he still feared one fault in them, that they would suffer him to bee taxed with Auarice, in being easily sollicitated and tempted for accessse: in regard of the credite they hadde with him; and his owne facility, in granting*

King Charles  
his speeches  
to his fauorites

what they asked. But if afterwards, any such matter came to his knowledge, they vtterly lost his fauour for euer: for he often entreated them, to continue in the true profession of honour, the onely meanes to keep and preferue his good opinion of them.

The same King also vsed to say, *I could wish, that my Court were a Mirror for all my other Subiectes, to maintaine and continue them in doing well.* The sweete smelling fauour of this renown, attracted the souls of strangers vnto his loue and liking. So that by very iust reason, the sur-name might bee accommodated to this good Prince, of *The louer and delight of Men*: as it was attributed vnto the Emperor *Titus*.

His successor *Lewes* the twelfth, made himselfe likewise as famous, by his Conquests of Italy. In the beginning of his reigne, he attempted warre against *Lodouico Sforza*, who vsurped the Dukedome of *Millaine*, which belonged to him. In lesse space then a Moneth, he conquered all *Lombardie*, and expelled *Sforza*, who making a re-entry afterward, and causing the people to reuolt: the King went thither in person; where, after hee had vanquished *Sforza* (whom hee sent prisoner into France) he reconquered *Millain*, and receyued the most part of the Potentates Citties, and Common-weales of Italy, which ran (on heapes) to yeelde their obeysance to him.

From thence he sent an Armie to the kingdom of *Naples*, which had reuolted after the departure of King *Charles* the 8. Then *Fredericke*, King of *Arragon*, seeing he could not resist him, and being offended at the perfidie of the Spaniards, who he had called to his ayde, and who (neuerthelessse) would possesse themselves of all: he submitted himselfe into the handes of the King, who vsed him royally, and gratified him with the Dukedome of *Aniou*, beside thirty thousand Crownes of rent. Heere (me thinks) I should not endure the malignity of *Paulus Iouius*, who hath set downe, that the King gaue nothing to *Fredericke*, and that he dyed miserably in France. Afterward, war was alwaies continued at *Naples* against the Spaniards, where were performed many goodly exploits, famous combates of enemy to enemy, charges, skirmishes, encounters, af-

faults, and sallies: and where the French had many victories, & the issue of all had succeeded happily, if the enemy had not diuers times abused the King, vnder colour of treaties of peace, appointments, and arrests. He beleeuing their plighted faith and slender assurances, was somtime the more slacke in succouring his people: so that their perfidious dealing, raysed a Million of enemies, leagued and coniuered against this King, who found himselfe assayled on all sides. And yet notwithstanding, he went away with honour, hauing astonished and filled with terror, all them that were thus bandyed against him.

He made war vpon the Venetians, in regard of that which they had detained & vsurped, during those wars. He entred into their countries, and with a small troop, & in a place of no aduantage, in the *Guiradada* neere to *Agnadell*, he gaue battel to *Bartholmew d'Aluiana*, Generall for the Venetians, and wonne the victory: there being slaine aboue eight thousand of the enemy, many taken prisoners, & the very cheefest Commander himselfe.

Concerning that dayes seruice, two memorable sayings of his are recorded. The one was at his arriual there, when it had bin told him, that the enemy had taken vp *Agnadell*, and he came too late to haue any lodging there, hee returned this reply, *I will lodge vpon their belly, or they shall lodge on mine.* The other, was at his being so neere the enemies Artillery, as it might very easily play vpon the place; he was aduised to walke wanderingly, for feare he should thereby be offended, hee made answer; *Neuer was King of France smitten by a Cannons bullet: And he that is afraid (quoth hee) let him come and stand behinde me.*

Vpon the successe of this victory, those places in *Lombardie*, which appertained to the Venetians, were seized and made vse of by this King: but afterwardes, they were manfully recouered by the Confederates, with whom *Ferdinand*, King of *Castile*, was a partaker, quite contrary to the contractes (not long before) passed by him vnto the French King. But the Lordes of *Trimouille*, of *Chaumont*, *Trivulce*, and other woorthy French Captaines, rescued them backe againe so powerfully, that they continued alwaies Warriors. In the end, was giuen the bat-

War continued against the Spaniards at Naples.

The warre he made against the Venetians

Two memorable sayings of the King on the day of battell.

Places in Lombardie, belonging to the Venetians seized by the King.

A worthy and Royall minde in a King.

Lewes the 12 succeeded Charls in the kin g d o m e of France.

The successe of his war in Italy, and the kin g d o m e of Naples.

Paulus Iouius taxed with vntruth.

The great battaile at Rauenna, wherof we shall haue occasion to speake more heereafter.

Frances the first, successor to Lewes the twelfth.

Of this battell also we will speake heereafter.

He contended with the Emperour Charles the 5.

An admirable disposition in a king.

taile of *Rauenna*, where the French vanquished a puissant Army of *Italians* and *Spaniards* ioyned together. And an entire victory had ensued on the taking of *Rauenna*; but that they lost their cheefe Captaine *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, & Nephew to the king, who was slaine by pursuing (ouer-earnestly) the enemies, broken and flying in confusion.

The excellency of this good king, consisted not onely in greatnesse of courage and valiancy; but likewise in all other vertues. About all, he was most highly commendable, for loue to his people, to whō (notwithstanding all his other serious affaires) he was a Royall ease and comfort: so that this famous name was desertfully giuen him: *Father of his people, and a good King.*

He had as his Successor, Great *Frances* the first, a Prince as valiant as euer the other had bin, and who in his very youth, and at the beginning of his raigne: ouercame the vnconquerable Nation of the *Switzers*, on the hot and dreadfull day at *Mariignano*, an enterprize, which had neuer before, or at any time since, succeeded to any other King. A most remarkable thing in this battaile, was, that so young a Prince continued seuen & twenty houres in Armes, without receiuing any sustenance, and spent one whole night in the fielde of battaile, without lying downe or a nod of sleepe.

This was the man that made head against the great Emperour *Charles* the 5. who neuer met with a keener enemy, nor that more disappointed his designs, or euey way more hindred him. And yet notwithstanding, it is hardly to be credited, with what honor, magnificence publicly, and courtesie in particular, hee entertained in his kingdome this Emperour, his principall aduersary. And although he withheld some of his estate vniustly, yet would he not demaund any reason for it, when he might well haue done it, hauing him in his owne power: but kept inuiolably the faith he had giuen him; and moreouer, gaue him all the contentment he could desire.

To speake no more then truth, hee was naturally generous & Royall, which evidently declared, that hee had no other ambition; then to excell all other men in vertue and well doing. He shall (for e-

uer) liue commended to posterity, for the loue which he bare to Learning, and to learned men: whom hee sought for euey where, entertained, honoured, and gratified in all kinde. By which means, he filled France with learning and erudition in all Sciences: but especially the Vniuersity of *Paris*, which neuer was so flourishing, as in his reigne. So that (by good right) he was sir-named, *The Father of Learning.*

Wee may confesse as much of his Sonne *Henry* the second, a Prince truly generous and valiant: who continued warre against the Emperour *Charles* the 5. hauing sustained all his efforts, and stood continually opposite to his greatest enterprizes. But not long after, *Charles* the first withdrew himselfe into a Monastery, fearing (as some supposed) the vertue and fortune of this young Prince, leauing the reignes of his Germane Empire, to *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, being his brother, and the kingdome of *Spaine* to *Philip* the second: who soone after made warre vpon the Pope, *Paule* the fourth, and then this King sent succour to his Holinesse, defended him, & reconquered the places which the King of *Spaine* had taken from him. And in the end, by his entremise, the Pope and the King of *Spaine* were accorded & reconciled.

Occasion now carrieth me, to speake of Great *Henry* the fourth, miracle of the world: who gaue place (in nothing) to the vertue of his Predecessours, nor to the glory of all the greatest Princes and Monarches that euer were, if he did not surpass them. But my Pen is too feeble, to take so high a flight, it is a subiect over-worthy, which ought to bee reserued for the choysed spirits of this age, or of posterity, if any man conceiue themselues capable to vndertake it. For there hath bin some, the very best and skilfullest writers, who being thereto zealously affected, began to attempt the labour: but were constrained to giue ouer and leaue it, being overcome with the immense greatnesse of so many high and admirable actions, acknowledging and confessing, that they could not set downe any thing, to equall or come neere so famous merit.

What hand can worthily describe so many wonne battailes, so many Citties and Townes taken (without losing any one)

King Frances an entire louer of learning.

Henry the second, Sonne & Successor to King Frances.

Charles 5. emperour entred into a Monastery.

King Henry the fourth, Father to the king now reigning.

He was reputed to be one of the worthiest Soldiers in all the world.

He saved France from an expected and hoped for ruine.

Two ancient worthy sayings.

Plato in lib. 2. De Legib.

No cruelty obserued in him towards his greatest enemies.

one) so many fights and diuersity of encounters? Who can figure him, shining in his glittering Armes, in the fiercest and hottest brunts of so many sharpe onsets, combates, ranged batailes, assaults, sieges, and surprizals, making himselfe way wheresoever he went? A true Commander and Captaine, for councill and conduct; a most valiant Souldiour, to giue example for effect and execution. Finding all France troubled, the people moued and diuided in parts, by the deuices and factions of strangers, all *Europe* (to speake truly) bandied & coniuered against him, in very deplorable affayres; he yet gotte the vpper hand of all, dissipated all storms and tempests, saved and preserved France from that ruine, which euery one supposed certaine. All the enterprizes of his enemies, serued but as matter for his Trophies. Looke how many enemies, see so many Triumphs, and as many Laurels in his Helmet, to make his vertue the more illustrious, and fill the soules of his owne people and strangers, with terror, amazement, and admiration, such as cannot bee sufficiently spoken off.

He guided all his intentions with such wisdom, and executed them with so high a courage, that they could haue no other yssue but happinesse: and it plainly appeared, that his vertue led Fortune by the hand: making truly knowne the ancient saying; *That the wise man disposeth of Fortune, and on the contrary; It is to slender purpose, to impute that to accident, which prooues to be a mans owne error.* Neuer did any Prince finde an estate so confused and hurried; and neuer could any reduce it to more peaceable calmnes, than he did meere by his vertue, he not only danted his enemies, but (of enemies) they became his principall friends: *A soueraign degree, & the sole perfection of a great Statesman, according to Plato.* His valiancy, height of courage, and addresse to actions of Armes were such, as admitted no comparison therewith: matchlesse clemency euen towards such as were his most determinate enemies. No acte of cruelty, neither of reuenge, in the very fiercest fury of warre: neuer was his sword scene vnsheathed, but in the hot extremity of fights. His singular prudence, appeared not onely in the managing of war, and when hee was therein very seriously employed; but

also in affayres of peace, when he gaue himselfe wholly for the good and quiet of his people, shewing at all times, and in all places, that he was an admirable, good and wise king, exquisitely enabled with all perfections. Qualities in such sort incompatible by nature, as since the beginning of the world, they could hardly meet in any one man: in regard whereof, it hath bene sometime said & desired, that two should be taken to make one of.

In breesfe, all things were so great and gracefull in him, as scarcely could any one spirit comprehend them: so that (to speak truly) the best that men could do, was to sit downe, and admire them with silence. This was the man, whom not only France acknowledged, & adored as her Conseruator: but likewise on whom the whole world cast an eye, as the true Arbitrator, Author, and Moderator of her quietnes. His right to the crown yeelded him to be the cheefest king: but his owne vertues made him confessed, to be the most worthy among all other Princes.

In that then which is said to be the dignity of the French kings, for their rare vertues and great merits; no other people are thought to equall or come neere them. There are certaine vertues, which are termed heroycall or diuine, because they surpass that which is common in men, or of humane vnderstanding, euen as an excessse and hyperbole of vertue. So in *Homer*, *Priamus* being desirous to commend the vertue of his Son *Hector*, said; *He seemed to be issued not of a mortall man, but rather of some God.* In like manner the *Lacedemonians*, when they admired any rare or excellent vertue in any one, they would say, *That he was a diuine man.* Such great personages haue bene noted among our Ancients, whose vertues were so extraordinary: that their extraction was attributed to the Gods, as *Alexander* the great, and *Scipio Africanus*: and the very same heroycall vertues haue bene carried in the soules of French Kings, euen as being proper and particular to them.

It is a matter as common, as naturall, for a man to take Armes in his owne defence, or for his owne priuate profite, and to reuenge his vniust wrongs and iniuries. But a man to arme himselfe for another that is offended, to reuenge his cause in zeale of Iustice, without any

Henry the fourth accounted to be the man of men.

Concerning vertues diuine and heroycall.

Homer in *Iliad*. Lib. 5.

That which Nature alloweth, hardly admitteth any other exception.

any other hope, and to re-establish him where he had bin formerly expelled; questionlesse is a character of vertue truly heroicall, and sweetly favouring of the divinity; which evermore hath bene naturall to the French. *Strabo* saith; *That they would willingly grow into choller, and undertake Armes; for such as they saw to be unjustly wronged, and manifest shames done unto them.*

The Kings of France have bene accounted admirable for Iustice, and by an extraordinary affection in them thereto: they have taken care and paines, to exercise and render it in their owne persons, declaring themselues alwayes equitable Iudges, not onely betweene particulars, but also in theyr owne proper causes, whē in a doubtfull case, they have layde the iudgement on themselues, rather then to iniury any other. The Kings of France ever did so, as well when they rendred Iustice in theyr owne person, as by theyr Soueraigne Courts, and commendation of very ancient Iustice.

This report and praise of their Iustice is very ancient, for *Agathias* the Greeke Historian admireth them herein, and seemed to say with great iudgment, or rather by a Prophetical spirit: *That living so, & carrying themselves in the like behaviour to their actions; hee was not able to coniecture otherwise, but that their Estate would be alwayes stable, invincible, & impregnable from enemies; being sustained with so sound bases and foundations, as Iustice and the desire of Honour are.* Among them most recent, *Baldus*, a famous Italian Doctor, about the yeare M<sup>CC</sup>CL. maketh especial reckoning. of the Kings of France: which (for most certaine) long time they deliuered in theyr owne person.

But the multitude of affayres encreasing, and they vnable to bee absent, from rendring Iustice to particular persons, except the State should receiue some endamagement, distraites, either by the war, or other important charges of the kingdome; they were feigne to establish Parliaments to that effect, and therefore appointed ordinary and sedentary Officers. Before that time, the Estates made theyr meeting but foure times euery yeare, termed in the ancient *Annalists* *Conuentus Generales*: wherein assisted the principall Lords of France, and Officers of the

Crowne, as well to discerne and aduise, in what was to be done for the generall Estate, as to decide the greatest and most notable differences, happening betweene particulars.

Hauing then decreed and resolved on theyr ordinary Parliament at *Paris*, there was the appointed place for rendring soueraigne Iustice: so that the arrests and iudgements there concluded, were as if they had bene pronounced by the Kings owne mouth, and there upon inscribed & entitled in his Name: They were likewise verified and published, as also Registered by Letters of especiall prouision, in the Offices and Dignities of the Crown, with solempne & publike reception of the greater part.

It is also auouched, (that oftentimes) Lords and Princes, being strangers, submitted theyr differences to the iudgment of that Court, in regard of the great opinion they held of their Iustice. The Emperor *Frederick* the second, referred himselfe vnto the Parliament of the King of France; in the debate and contention betweene him, & Pope *Innocent* the fourth, concerning the kingdome of *Naples*, in the yeare M<sup>CC</sup>XLIII. The Earles of *Nemures*, in the yeare M<sup>CCC</sup>XII. disputed there the cause of his Earldome, against *Charles de Valois*, Brother to *Philip le Bel*, & won the day. Likewise the Prince of *Tarente*, in the yeare M<sup>CCC</sup>XX. gained there a suite against the Duke of *Bourgongne*, concerning the charges & expences layde out, for the conquest and recouery of *Constantinople*.

In the yeare M<sup>CCC</sup>XLII. the Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Guy de Chastillon* debated there their partages. In like manner the *Daulphine*, and the Count of *Sauoye*, hauing processe together, entreted for their Iudges the Court of Parliament, in the yeare M<sup>CCC</sup>XC. The kings of Spaine made such account of Iustice in the kings of France, and integrity of theyr Parliament, that they sent their suites to be considered there. The kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*, hauing made peace together in the yeare M<sup>CCC</sup>CIII. sent theyr difference to the Parliament, to be there verified, for the more solid and sound assurance: and there it was fully confirmed at their request, and published at the open doores.

The place for Parliaments appointed at Paris.

Differences of Princes being strangers, decided by the Parliament of Paris, and worthily ended to their contentments.

The Kings of Spaine esteemed the Iustice of the Kings & Parliament of France.

*Strabo in lib. 4.*

The Iustice of the kings of France.

*Agathias Grec. in lib. 1.*

Iustice & Honour are two good Pillars or a man to build on.

*In L. Magis pu. to 55. in priuis. versu. item que sinops D. De reb. eor. qui sub tutela vel cur. sunt.*

The first beginning of Parliaments in France.

The familiarity and mansuetude of the Kings of France, in talking with their subiects plaine and openly.

We may also account among the fauours and prerogatiues of the Kings of France, as an especiall marke of their greatnesse and Maiefty: one thing which is found in few of the Kings & Monarchs of other Nations. Which is, that they themselues doe ordinarily conferre with their subiects, suffering themselues to bee seene daily, not onely in publike, but also in particular, vsing priuacy, granting easie accessse to any one: and yet notwithstanding, they are not a iote the lesse reuerenced, obeyed, honoured, and respected, nay, rather much more then some other kings, who by artificiall trickes and mysteries, seeke to haue themselues honoured of their people. Neyther doth this facility in communication, and friendly familiarity, beget any contempt towards them, or diminish the least part of theyr Maiefty: but rather maketh an addition thereto, causing them to bee the more esteemed, in venerable and most happy manner.

The subiect-like affection of the French to their kings and Princes.

This is that which attracteth, & (most of all) winneth the hearts of the French, rendring themselues wholly affectionate, yea, vowed and deuote to theyr Prince; whom they loue, feare, and honour altogether, euen with an entire and cordiall affection, and not by any force or constraint. A matter truely as admirable, as rare, and which the Lord *Suriano* an honourable *Venetian*, and other strangers hauing well obserued, stand not a little amazed thereat, it appearing (naturally) almost impossible & incompatible. Vherin it is no easie matter to say, which is the greatest honour and aduantage, eyther to such kings, or to theyr subiects: but bee it howfoeuer, it is a great happinesse both to the one and other.

In lib. 1. Delle cause delle grandezze della Città.

Most part of the kings in this world, at all times haue sought many exterior means, by different habites, extraordinary fashions, crafts, secrets, and diuersity of inuentions, to maintaine their Maiefty, to make themselues feared and respected by theyr subiects, and yet notwithstanding, could not compasse it. The ancient *Deioces*, being elected king by the *Medes*, frō a particular man as hee was before, changed into all manner of behauiour. Hee would build a great magnificent Castle, enuironed with many walles, the very sight wherof procured amazement. There

Of the Deio-ces elected Kings of the Medes.

would he shut vppe himselfe, cloathed in garments of no vsuall wearing, neuer shewing himselfe to the people, but very sildome and rarely: deliuering Iustice by written papers, & by interposed persons, and likewise all his answers, expeditions, and affayres, euen as if they came from an Oracle.

The kings of the Persians did vsually weare a *Tiaras* on theyr heads, a Diadem or royall Head-band, all glistering with Pearles and precious stones, causing theselues to bee adored by such as shall see them. And now adayes, most part of the Kings and Lords in diuers countryes, obserue the very same order. The great Duke of *Moscovia* will netter be seene, but cloathed with a rich Sacerdotall habite, vnder a precious Pauillian, accompanied with a small choyse number of his Domestiques, so sumptuously apparelled, as one would say, they were an assembly of Gods. The great king of the *Abyssines*, or *Ethiopians*, is neuer seene at all, he speaketh to Ambassadors, with a Curtaine drawne betweene them, no other sight haue they of him. But when he pleaseth to shew himselfe, hee weares a Crowne richly fashioned, exalted or raysted very curiously, a garment all of beaten gold, thickly beautified with precious stones; hauing his face couered with a veyle of Taffata, for feare lest any should see his face. It is also a rare, and no accustomed fauour, when he lifts the Taffata neuer so little, that any part of his visage may be seene.

The king of *China* neuer commeth abroad, but keeps himselfe continually enclosed in a Pallace, round engirt with very strong fortifications, and causeth his very Pictures to be adored. The great Seigneur of the *Turkes*, is neuer seene, but in a habite wholly different from any other, both for the fashion, as also the vnspeakable riches on him: he dazeleth the eyes of all such as looke on him, in regard of the glorious stones shining on his head, and causeth himselfe to bee serued with such Maiefty, respect, & ceremonies, as is most wonderfull. The king of *Monomatapa*, is not serued but by men on their knees. There are other, who cause themselues to be serued with strange fashions, and very seruile submissions: shewing themselues sildome or neuer, and speake not a word,

but

The Kings among the Persians.

The great Duke of Moscouia.

The king of the Abyssines and Ethiopians.

The king of China.

The great Seigneur of the Turkes.

The King of Monomatapa.

The kings of France tuteale to their subiects.

but it is accounted as an especial fauour. But the Kings of France haue no meddling with these apparences, and exquisite cunning, whereby to support theyr greatnesse, authority, and Royall dignity: because they differ in nothing (for the most part) neyther in habites, food and fashions, from their subiects, maintaining themselves without any subtilty. And the more they are seene, the more are they honoured, and not only honoured, but also loued of the French: as being borne to reigne, carrying Maiesty in theyr Fronts naturally, which maketh them venerable, rauisheth the people with obedience to them, and crowneth them with continuall respect. And although it is no matter rare or difficult for the French, to see their King, because it is so ordinary and common to them: yet as learned *Budeus* hath discreetly obserued, the people runne on heapes, when they heare that the King passeth to any place, reputing it as a happinesse, to haue so fauourable a sight of him.

*Budeus in lib 1. p. 7.*

To this great and immense loue of the French towards theyr naturall Prince, may well be attributed the long continuance of that Monarchy; one of her other excellences, that hath subsisted twelue hundred yeares, which few kingdomes else can say beside. And that which is most admirable of all, is, that the kings haue bin of the same race and extraction, without any change but twice, & yet in changing, still it came to proximity and kindred, as we haue already declared. One thing also maketh it commendable, that it neuer bare command of a strange Prince, nor so much as desired it: but alwayes hath bin gouerned by her naturall Princes, originaries, and of the most noble blood, not onely in Europe, but in all the rest of the world.

The kingdom of France hath continued 200. yeares.

Natural born Princes, originaries and incessiue.

Learned *Onuphrius*, a famous Italian, obserued it as a matter worth maruaile, saying, that in no other Estate, can be obserued the like felicity. I will set downe his owne words. *Mirum illud obseruandum est, quod cum nulla gens unquam fuit, quæ aut externos Principes non admiserit, aut assumptos interdum non expulerit, saepe etiam per summum scelus non occiderit, solis Francis peculiare hoc est ac proprium, nullos unquam externos Reges pati, suos autem usque adeo amare & colere, ut pro eorum dig-*

*Onuphrius Ital. in lib. 4. Imp. 1.*

*nitæ & Maiestate tuenda non opes tantum sed vitam profundere soleant. Hinc enimesse credendum est, ut per mille & ducentorum fere annorum interuallum non nisi ex tribus familijs Reges orti sint. Wee must account (saith he) that this is meruailous, albeit there hardly hath bin any other Nation, but hath receiued strange Kings, and after receipte of them, hath expelled them againe, yea, many times massacred them, through some extreme mischiefe. Yet notwithstanding, it is proper and particular to the French, to haue endured no Kings strangers, and therefore haue so loued and reuerenced their Princes, that they not onely employed all their goods and meanes, but likewise laide downe their liues, for the defence of their Dignity and Maiesty. And this may be thought to be the cause, that for the space of about twelue hundred yeares, there hath bene but three families, from whence haue proceeded all their Kings.*

CHAP. III.

A Funerall Oration, written upon the most unnaturall and untimely death of Great Henry the fourth, Father to the King now reigning.

**T**HE *Egyptians*, hauing sufficiently tasted the fauours of *Harpocrates* theyr God; did consecrate the Peach-Tree vnto him, in thankfull retribution of his infinite benefits: The leaues of this Tree are shaped like to tongues, and the fruite doth carry a resemblance of

\* The God of Silence. *Plin. in l. 9. c. 7.*



hearts:

The greatest  
losse that euer  
France sustai-  
ned.

The strange  
escape of Te-  
lemachus, pre-  
serued from  
drowning by  
a Dolphin.

A familiar  
allusion to the  
vertues of  
Royal Henry.

Herodotus in  
1. 2. p. 103.

hearts: whereby they would seeme to say, that their hearts should thence-forward serue that *Harpocrates*, and their tongues be continually busied in celebrating his prayes. O France! wilt thou bee lesse thankfull then those people? So many choise benefits receiued from the cheefest of thy Monarchs, can they well escape thy memory, or glide into the depth of bottomlesse obliuion? No, no, wee will not onely consecrate the Peach-tree vnto him, but our hearts and tongues ioyntly together, because this is the best offering, remaining in our power to giue him.

*Telemachus*, the youngest Son of *Vlysses*, sporting himselfe (on a day) childe-like vpon the Sea-shore, by accident fell into the water: but a Dolphin happily came, who receiuing him vpon his backe, did set him safe and dry vpon the land againe. The Father, not knowing how to expresse his gratitude to the Fish, that quickly was carried farre off from him by the nimble waues; to auoyd the foule blemish of vnthankfulnesse, caused all his Gates to be painted with Dolphins, engraued them vpon his Sword, yea, hee honoured his Seale with a Dolphins Image.

*Henry*, great *Henry*, a most Christian, Potent, and Royall King, succourd France in a Sea of seditions & dreadfull tumults, and like a gracious Dolphin, receiued her on his shoulders, and set her vp in safety, euen on the shore of a most happy peace, whereof as yet shee enioyeth the benefit. His name shall not onely bee written on our Gates and Walles, but his greatnes, his victories, his mildnesse and paternall bounties, shall bee engrauen on an euer-during Piramede of thankfull acknowledgement, neuer to depart out of our memories. Our eyes, hitherto busied in teares, granting no liberty to our sighing hearts, to let our mouthes memorize his Trophees, and tell the world his countles Triumphs; we do now begin to open the, and now wee would breake the doores of some sad Funerall discourse, in remembrance of his great Maiesty, and excellling vertues.

If *Calisthenes* durst make refusall to *Alexander*, who commanded him to commend the *Macedonians*, alledging for his excuse, that their vertues were so well knowne, and their merits so great, as hee should not gaine the least honour or re-

putation (whatsoeuer) thereby. How dare I then appeare in publike, and in this common habite of mourning, to commend the eldest Sonne of the Church, the Father and Patrone of Soldiours; especially in these dull times, when that diuine fire of Eloquence, sometime stolne from the Gods by \* *Tantalus*, seemes to haue taken her returne to heauen, from whence she came at the first.

There are now no *Ciceroes*, not a *Demosthenes* to be found, no, nor an *Hortensius*. And albeit they were all aliue againe, to ioyne their best abilities together in well speaking; yet could they not speake in such sort of that famous Prince, but their elegancy would fall farre short, and infinite goodly things would nere come neere them, which are no more then due to his happy memory. If then I speake, it is but by appointment, and as feeling a certaine combate within me, between bashfulnesse and nature. Bashfulnesse taxing me with shame, to be silent when the whol world cries and complaines; ashamed also, that I cannot ioyne my sighes & teares to yours. Nature likewise tels me, that by an indissoluable obligation, I ought to render this duty and seruice, to the eternall memory of my King, my Lord & my Prince. This then may serue for my discharge. The \* *Epizephyrian Locrenses*, in former times, not hauing the commodity to performe any solemne sacrifice to *Hercules*, according to their vow (because there were not any Oxen, Sheepe, or other Beasts for oblation left in their City, through the length of a greuous pestilence, which had consumed them all) when their Elders aduised them to take Cowcubers, Mellons, and some other kindes of fruites, fitting them with short stickes in forme of feete, and then calling them Oxen, Sheepe, and such like Beasts, they threw them into the fire, & so made their sacrifices. Among their neighbours, there was not any but commended their inuention, and gaue cheerefull applause vnto this acte of theirs.

If I haue not wherewith (worthily) to answer the admirable vertues of that Monarch; let me accuse my necessity, and giue you what I can, which (I hope) will be acceptable to you. Or else (if you better affect it) I will imitate those Sauages of *Florida*, who reputed the Sunne to be their

\* Sonne to  
Iupiter and  
Plota.

No eloquence  
sufficient to  
expresse his  
high deservings.

\* People of  
great Greece,  
so called of  
the Promon-  
tory Zephyri-  
um about  
which they  
dwelt.

An obseruati-  
on vsed a-  
mong the Sa-  
uage people  
of Florida.

their God, and seeing him so highly exalted ouer their heads, as it is impossible for them to come neere him: in looking on him, they hold vp their hāds at him, which bringing backe to their mouthes, they kis, deliuering testimony (by this meanes) of the reuerence, honour, and respect they beare vnto him. If I cannot touch (dazled with his beams) the Sun of so bright a Maiesty, or my tongue shal this day seeme dumbe, in the infinity of his glory: I will yet essay by signes, and shew some-what that way, when other helps fayle me.

Concerning the rest, my aime hath no other end, then that of *Cæsar*, in the Funerall Oration he made for his Daughter *Iulia*: *Vt adstantes admonerentur quanta iactura ex illa morte facta esset: That the bystanders might bee admonished, how great a losse ensued by her death.* For what losse can be greater thē ours? A losse which neuer had his like, a losse springing out of our iniquities, which made vs altogether vnworthy to enioy so great, so happy and so dreaded a Prince.

*O desiderabilis terra Isarel! in excelsis tuis vulneratus est. Quomodo ceciderunt potētes? Quomodo abiectus est Clypeus fortium?* Thus did *David* bemoane the death of *Saul*, King of Israel. Thus was a King extolled by a King, being filled with the spirit of Prophecie. Thus did the annointed of God streame forth his teares, in A Funerall Oration for A Prince, slaine vpon the mountaines of *Gilboa*, which he wished might (for euer) continue barren like Rocks, listen the effect of his diuine maledictions. *Nec ros, nec pluuia descendat super vos, quia proiectus est Clypeus fortium.* Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee; because there the shield of the mighty is cast downe. Behold, how he would haue some sad and lamentable monument to remain there, answerable to an acte so sad & dismall. Monuments ought to agree in resemblance with the things which they signify. What thing could be more horrible then the murder of an Israelite Prince? The Monument then ought to bee euery way as yrkesome and horrible.

In Funerall pompes, we vse to goe in blacke garments. Dewes doe make the Mountaines verdant, and raine drunk vp by the Vallies, enammels thē with a thousand flowers, and giues them such a garment of Greene, as is both faire to see, and

maruailous pleasing. Therefore *David* would haue nothing to grow vpon *Gilboa*, but thornes and brambles, that so (among rude Rockes) nothing might appeare but rough thorny passages: to the ende, that such places might bee condemned, as of deeds of horror and darknesse; so likewise to sterility, and wofull perpetuall deuastation. But are not dewes the gift of God? Doth not raine come from the hand of him that is almighty? Thē, not to receiue these, is a dreadfull malediction. It should seeme then, that *David* inuoked the wrath of heauen vpon that *Gilboa*, the land being subiect to many curses; for the sinnes that were there committed. *Let neyther dew nor raine descend vpon yee, because the shield of the mighty is there cast downe.*

Alasse, what greater Shield of strength, more generous and mighty, then Great *Henry* the fourth? *Henry*, the Rampier of his people, the Shield of his Souldiers, & the Buckler that defended the heads and hearts of his Princes? He covered them against all their enemies attempts and encounters. Hee serued as an Armour of prooffe to the French Monarchy, vnder which defence they continually raunged themselues, yea, the Seigneurs and Principalities of many strangers, sheltred thēselues vnder that Sunny Banck. Therefore of him may now be said, as somtimes was of *David*: *The Lord sought him a man after his owne heart, and commanded him to bee a Governour ouer his people.* For if *David* declared himselfe couragious, in the greatest heate of Alarmes and fights; *Henry*, great *Henry*, hath not hee beene (euery where) a true *Mars*, and a true thunderbolt of warre? If *David* were still crowned with victory, because his clemency was acceptable to the God of Armies, & therefore elected him among thousands, to bee the Ruler of his people: then may we say, that (after his fights) neuer was found a kinder Prince then great *Henry* the fourth, to whom this Elogium rightly appertained. *Qui in aciete conspexit superatus est, qui in pace nihil timuit: Euermore a Conquerour, both in warre and peace, deriuing his victories no lesse from loue, then from power, Vnder which (as *Ennodius* spake in the Panegyrique of *Thierry*, King of the Gothes) *Vidimus euentus optimos de aduersitate generari*, so may wee say; *That out of greatest extremities,**

Dewes and raines are the ble sings of Heau n.

No better Shield of defence to any kingdome, then a truly generous King.

Reg. 13, 14.

King David crowned with many glorious victories.

Ennod. in Paneg. Thier. Reg. Got.

Cæsar's fune-  
all Oration  
or his daugh-  
er Iulia.

Reg. 1. 19. 21

Reg. 1. 21.

What ought  
the nature of  
Monuments  
to be.

Blacke, best  
befitteth Fu-  
nerall pompe

we haue beheld the birth of highest and fairest fortunes.

For in conquering the Rampiers of our Cities, at the very same time he won our hearts also, and (by a soueraigne amplitude of kindnesse) sweetly insinuated himselfe into all our soules, that beheld him so brightly shining in Armes. So that saying was verified in him, which *Agapetus* spake to the Emperour *Iustinian*. *Imperium exornauit superiores Imperatores, tu uero praestantissime illud illustre reddidisti: That which Empires (in former times) gaue to their Emperours; thou thyselfe (O great Prince) hast giuen to thine, to wit, luster and splendour.* Thou didst finde it full of quarrels, seditions, and tumults; thy vnciuill subiects made mad (by what new *Circes* I know not) becam enemies to thy crown. But by the right hand of God, & strength of thy martiall arme, thou didst dispiant their Fortresses, peopled with Spaniards, expelling both the one and other; and from the limits of thy French Empire, thou didst exterminate that proud *Beltona*, that (without all pittie) did cruelly labour to teare her in peeces, and quite deuoure her.

Oh what a goodly day was that, when we beheld bright victory to descend vpon his head, euen glorious and celestially victory, holding in her hand a thousand Laurels, dispersing them in the fields of so many faire Prouinces? Victory was figured by the Romans, with a gracious countenance, and two great wings displayed on her shoulders. The Athenians made a mockery thereat, and portraied their victory quite contrary, without wings or any feathers, to the ende, she should neuer flye from them, but alwayes keepe within the girdle of their City walles. *Victory* (Companion to the merits of this great Prince) was of the *Athenian* nature. In former times she had bene full of inconsistency, first on one side, then on another, neuer long continuing in any one Prouince. But at length, she seated herselfe on the *Louure* of this onely *Mars*, where (first of all) she threw off her wings, neuer to start thence all the time of his Reigne. This was she, that not only made him beloued of his owne people: but so feared & reuerenced of strangers beside, that they had and held him alwaies in admiration.

*Pliny* tels vs, that there is found in *Af-*

*frica* a certaine precious stone, called *Liparis*, which hath so faire a looke, that all eyes are at a stand to gaze vpon it. Hunters ther haue no need of sculking hounds for their game, or any Arrowes to kill it; because this stone, laide open in the midst of any field, all wilde beasts (getting but a glimpse thereof) gather together about it; and as amorous of the stones beauty, doe nothing else but looke vpon it. Our Monarch, our great Monarch, was as a *Liparis* in the midst of his French world, the *Germane*, *Italian*, *Spaniard*, *English*, *Swethen*, yea, the very *Turkes*, were all drawne hither by the fame of his vertues, & renown of his Armes, euery one stood at gaze to behold him, not any one but wished his presence, each one loued & admired him, as a new miracle, or prodigy of valour and greatnesse in the world. In so much, that his presence serued not onely as an ornament to this State: but it was also here as an horne of abundance, out of which, all kindes of goodnesse that could flow from a sacred peace, were in a most plentiful affluence deriued from him. The poysons of diffentions could heere no more produce their *Gangrenats*; the high vnderstanding of the King was too present an Antidote. And as the dried body of a *Bafiliske*, hung with a golden thred in the midst of *Apollos* Temple (saith *Gesner*) kept it alwayes cleane, restraining (by an hidden vertue) Spiders from working cobwebs along the pillars and walles: Euen so great *Henry*, liuing in our France, kept it cleane from all the insolences of enemies, and suffered no strange Spiders to come weaue their webs of discord within his Prouinces. So auailable to this Monarchy was his long experience & promptitude, that he held the affaires (in eyther condition) both of church and commonwealth, in an vpright sway of pollicy, were it in peace or warre. And so profitable did this people finde their subiection & obedience to him, that in all & quite through the body of France, they reuerenced him as their Lord, their Pastor, and Father.

Doc you not know the great vnity which Nature hath planted betweene the *Pinnothere* and the *Pinna*? Haue yee not read of the benefit ensuing to them both, by their mutuall concord & intelligence? France hath bene as the *Pinna*, and the King her *Pinnothere*. The *Pinna* is that great

The rare vertue of the Stone *Liparis*

All eyes and hearts drawne with admiration at the presence of Great *Henry*.

*Gesnerus in lib. Animal. cap. 9.*

His care of the Church and Common wealth.

*Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.*

*Agapetus in Articulo de re-cto administrando Imperio.*

The hand of heauen euer supporteth the right of true kings.

The successful issue of his long troublesome wars.

Victory that accompanied Great *Henry*.

*Plin. in lib. 12. cap. 7.*

A strange conformity between the Naker or Scallop, and the Creuise or Crab.

great kinde of Cockle; which we vse to call a Naker or Scallop. The *Pinnothera* is a little creature, in the kinde of a Crabbe or Creuise, that continually stands as a Porter, awayting the opening of the Cockle; which he keeps still wide gaping, vntill such time as he perceiueth some prey to enter, which may be beneficall to them both. For then hee prickes or bytes the Cockle, and shee shutting her shell, they then feede both friendly together. And neuer (without this admonition) doth the Naker shut her shell, nor euer (without the liking of this her Gouvernor) will shee admit any strange creature to come neere her.

The comparison alluded to the Realm of France.

Euen so France, referring herselfe to the managing of the King her *Pinnothera*, and neuer receiuing any impression but his; she liued with that foode which was apt and naturall for her, and by this reason, she neuer felt in any of her parts and members, those intemperate vile diseases, that heeretofore bred her so many warres and troubles. A great misfortune is it the, when such a precious Jewell is taken from foorth the midst of our Temple, whē such a Master and Gouvernour is carried away from his people. *O decus Israelis in excelsis tuis vulneratus est.* O France, the honor of Israel, glory of the Militant church! O *Paris*, the very fairest among the *Gauls*, or in the world, Metropolitanē of the goodliest state in Christendome: thou hast seene him wounded in thy streetes, slaine in thy bosome, and parricided inhumanely in *excelsis tuis*, in thy places most frequented. O vnspcakable mishap! *Quomodo proiectus est Clypeus fortium? How is the shield of the mighty cast downe?*

A most excellent Painter, living in the time of Parthasius of Ephesus.

\* *Timantes*, a most famous Painter among the Grecians, being desirous to portraitt a Soldior full of courage, sprightly in valour, and as fiery as *Mars*: gaue him all the grace that Arte could deuise vpon his cloth. But afterward, setting it before his doore to bee seene, hee caused foure Trumpets to sound before the Picture, that the person might appeare the more furious and dreadfull. O deare people, if I could worthily, and (according to true life) represent before your eyes, the prouidence, wisdom, and happines of-councell, that remained in this Prince; I should then set before ye (one after another) euen all the great and serious assem-

blies, of the cheefest Heads and Captains of war, and of all other states wherein hee presided: Then should you see him not like a silly *Nestor* by *Agamemnon*, but *Agamemnon* himselfe, and (in him) a million of *Nestors*. If you would see his vigilancy, & the care he had of his State affairs; I should then set before yee (in grosse) the Ambassadors of the greatest Princes; the Courtiers and Possillions flying from all parts, their packets open, their Secretaries standing by, & that magnificent King in the midst, spending many nights together, for the conseruation of them, that soundly slept in their beds at ease. If you would haue a picture from mee, of his mildenesse & clemency; then must I paint a thousand potent enemies, not humbled at his presence, or crouding to his feete, but seated in safety by him, at one and the same Table, in one and the same Caroch; yea, in one and the same bed.

In brecfe, if it were in me to shew you his valour & *Non-pareill* courage; I should the here instantly set before ye so ranged battailes, with their Squadrons of armed horse, and Regiments of foote, their Pikes aptly plated, the flame and smoak smouldring from Canons, the noyse of Drums, the sound of Trumpets, and at the maine of euery battailion, this king encouraging his followers to the fight; and then himselfe to giue the onser, & (like a true *Mars*) beating downe his enemies about him. Then would you say, that you saw a God armed, the terror of the world, the honour of valiancy, euen where *Casars* and *Alexanders* might well crowd in, here to learn warlike lessons of him. But oh insignall disaster! he being dead: *Quomodo ceciderunt potentes? Proiectus est Clypeus fortium? How are the mighty ouerthrowne? And the shield of the roery strongest cast downe?*

*Filia Israelis super Saulem flete, quia vestiebat vos cocino in delicijs.* Daughters of Israel, weepe for Saul, which cloathed you in skarlet with pleasures. Ladies, Daughters, and Wiues of *Paris*, weepe for your king, he that cloathed you in Scarlet with pleasures, that gaue you these Imbroderings, Laces, and Bracelets of Gold. Indeed Ladyes, peace purchased by the prowesse & sweat of this great king, gaue you all these things in great abundance, filled your houses with the beauties of the

2 Sonne to Neleus and Chloris, and being well neere 300 yeares olde, went with the Greekes to Troy.

King Henry the 4. might well be a mirror to all the warriors in the world.

2 Reg. 1. 34.

Peace is the nursing mother of plenty & abundance.

East, and precious rarities brought from the eyther of the Poles. Rich and poore might eate their bread (fearelesse) with their families, might console themselves with God, and offer the sacrifice of their hearts (at ease) in his Church. Weepe then, weepe then rich and poore, great & small, the inhumane death of this common Father, vnder whom you receyued such infinity of pleasures.

2 Reg. 1. 23.

Arist. in Politic.  
lib. 4. cap. 9.

The notable  
diligence and  
swiftnesse of  
the King, and  
in a very short  
time.

King Henry a  
second Hercules.

1 Reg. 12. 3.

King Henry  
descended fro  
the holy S.  
Lewes.

*Saul & Ionathas amabiles; Aquilis leui-ores fuerunt Leonibus fortiores. Saul and Ionathan were louely; they were swifter then Eagles, and stronger then Lyons.* Swiftnesse onely in any one subiect is vnprofitable, and strength without swiftnesse is as great a maim, as lazinesse or neglect. Both these were ioyned together in our Prince. What legerity was that, when in lesse then two Moneths, like to a flash of lightning, hee made himselfe seene through the Prouinces of *Picardy, Normandy, Champaine, le Perche, Aniou, and Maine?* Trayling after him a weighty Army, great store of weapons, Canons, Chariots, and great aboundance of other Artillery. O good God! in how short a time did hee winne more thē 160. Leagues of ground, and subiected vnto him (euen in passing along) fiftene or sixtene strong Towns. In diuers other places, what power and magnanimity did appeare in him, euen in his very greatest difficulties, withdrawing the lighted fires from all the parts of his kingdome. There did he shew himselfe like to another *Hercules*, being foulded in the skin of his constancy and high valour, his most tedious trauailes (which seemed to him but as *Dwarffes* and *Pigmeis*) hee strangled and crusht them all, euen as if they had beene so many *Mice* or *Mushrumes*, that haue no vertue or resistance whatsoeuer. Wherefore O France, we may well say of thee, as it was sometime spoken of the people of Israel. *Nunc Rex graditur ante vos, & pugnabit bella vestra. Thou hast now a King that walketh before thee.* He spared not himselfe in marching before thee, and this was the man, ordained to terminate the fights and battailes.

Oh, how many meruailes do I behold, meeting in him all together. Let vs take him in his originall. Albeit he descended fro the loynes of the most happy *S. Lewes*, by a long extended Genealogy, wherein there is not any but Kings: yet had he no-

thing (in his kinde) more abiect and contemptible, then to be shut vp in the Pyrenean Dens or Grottes, badly followed by his owne, threatned and pursued by externe accidents, throwne out of his Cradle, and the armes of his Nurse, into the Forge of *Mars*; wrapt vp in partiality of opinions, which held a high sayle in his time, and yet doth the like in many places of this Realme. They that fed his hopes, to preuaile thereby, deceiued him: others that thought (by such instruments) to ouerthrow him, did the higher exalt him. And perforce must I (in this case) without looking on the pointes of his conscience, commend his morall vertues.

*Achilles*, the sonne of *Aeacus*, who was to conclude the *Troyans* greatnesse, & to ouerthrow their \* *Ilium* from the top to the bottome, was long time hid vnder the garment of a woman, among the daughters of *Lycomedes*. And our great *Henry* (who was to be a terror to *Spain*) the prop and support of our French Commonweale, was (in his yonger yeares) euen as hidden vnder the habite of a poore & disinherited Prince, in the solitude of the *Bearnish Lands* and *Mountaines*. But yet notwithstanding, God had (euen then) destined him to be a subiect of his wonders, yea, to the cheefest dignities, & very great powers of this Land. God I say, the great God of hosts, *Per quē Reges regnant*, & hath his hands ful of crowns, & bestoweth them where himselfe best pleaseth.

Reade what *Iob* speaks of the *Ostrich*, & there shall you see this Prince naturally, euen according as description is ther made of her. That Bird (being depriued of wisdom & loue) without couering her eggs, leaues them in the dust, and so loseth all remembrance of them. The world would be quite bereft of *Ostriches*, if God did not play the part of a mother, and by the beames of his bright shining Sun, make the dust warme about the egges, and so cause the yong to be hatched, to maruailous fayre and goodly forme. In like manner, our great *Henry*, was not he forsaken? Left in the dust of disfaour, and neglected all the time of his childhood? God had a care of him, notwithstanding, as purposing to make him an *Atlas*, for the support of his Church, and defence of this State. So that by beholding him so much abased in his beginning, and afterward so highly

Some troubles attending the course of his lite.

\* Troy was called Ilium of Ilius, who enlarged it greatly.

Iob 39, 16, 17, 18, 19.

Plin. in l. 13. c. 7.

What God will haue to be preserved, in despite of all extremities, shall not perishe.

highly exalted : we haue great reason to say with the same *Iob*, *Lampas contempta ad tempus statutum*. A Lambe, whereof no account at all was made; yet ordained for honour, and to be honoured at the time appointed. God would bring him by the paths of aduersity, to the highest place of prosperi- ty, and made his trauailes seeme as Mal- lets, to harden him for such paynes as hee was to endure, for the re-establishment of peace and vnity, in all the diuided Pro- uinces of France.

In euery estate, afflictions do make the greatest persons, where contrariwise, in the midst of highest prosperities (as stand- ing vpon an ouer-slippery place) often- times they soonest lose themselues. We may deduct an example heereof, from a Glasse, vpon whose Christall, Flies can get no footing (saith *Plutarch*) & yet stand firmly on the borderings about it, be- cause they are more rough and apprehen- siue.

*Labuntur nitidis, scabrisque tenactus hærent.*  
Smooth the paths are slippery, rougher wayes haue hold.

And from the same ground, it seemeth that *Homer* fetcht his *Moly*, the rootes whereof were blacke, but it bare fruite of most fine gold. So the life of this French *Atlas*, did shew it selfe (euery where) to be very blacke in the bud, and wholly obscur- ed with aduersity: but the rest thereof (e- uen to his vntimely ending) carryed three Flourets of true gold, in an Azure field of heavenly beauty. Afflictions in him, ser- ued as an apt subiect to \* *Polyctetus* and *Miron*, whereby to mould, carue & forme the true shape of Vertue; which was the very sayrest and most goodly Statue, that euer could (by Arte) be imagined.

Let vs instantly conceite that happy houre, when wee beheld heauens prou- idence to call him from *Bearne*, and the Ba- nicks of \* *Garona*, and (with goodly En- signes) to shew him the *Loire*. He being (not long before) sharply pursued, was then sought for in the *Grottes*, many roy- all Armies (euen then) trusting to his arme: but sent for (soone after) by the K. his brother, *Henry* the third, whom hee would not forsake at a time of need. Then was it, when France couered ouer with rebellions and Armies against her selfe, was constrained (more then euer before)

to approue the spirit, wisdom, and hand of him, who quickly became her *Halcyon*, to appease and calme those furious tem- pests.

The blowes began at *Tours* and at *Blois*, but within few daies, the fiery furie of those Souldiers proceeded through *Beauisse*, euen to the engirting of *Paris*: where the execrable and bloody parricide committed on the person of the king, o- pened him the doore to the whole State. The Princes and French Nobility, both proclaimed and acknowledged him to be their king. Meane while, the troubles en- creasing, and the Armies rent (as it were) in many peeces, beheld him (neere hand) as soone shut vp in *Dieppe*. But like the Steele that strikes on the Flint, to extort thence the liuely sparkes of fire: euen so, the neerer a Warriour is pursued, the more splendour is added to his glory.

There liueth a certaine monster in the Sea, vulgarly called the *Scia* or *Sawe* of the Sea, in regard of a horne he hath, ser- uing him in stead of a snoute, carrying no meane resemblance with a *Sawe*. This creature, meeting with a Ship vnder full sayle, by diuers times of attempting, doth grow angry thereat, and seemeth to make open warre against it. He passeth and re- passeth many times vnderneath it, im- ploying his horne (with his vttermost strength) to sawe, as he thinks, and cut in twaine the keele of the Ship. But in vaine doth he torment himselfe, for so long hee vseth the teeth or razors of his snout, till beating himselfe out of breath in the con- flict: at length hee floates on the water with his belly vpward, remaining at the mercy and laughter of the Pilote.

And what great act (I pray ye) did so many Armies, as quite couered the plaines of *France*? They imployed all their endeuour and weapons in vaine, ho- ping to sawe in sunder and diuide this State. After all their malicious wraffling with this Soueraigne holy Ship, did they not become ennerued and broken in pic- ces, by the power of this great King her Pilote? Wherefore wee may well say, as *Velleius Paterculus* said of *Cato*. *Virtuti quam simillimus, & per omnia ingenio Dijs quam hominibus propior; qui non recte fecit ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat.*

*It is not for any ambition, or desire of glory that*

Troubles be- fore the death of King Henry the third, who was murdered by a Iacobine Fryer.

*Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 17.*

A very singu- lar compari- son, with as apt an allusi- on.

Malice hath no greater e- nemy to con- tend against then it selfe.

*Plin. in vit. M. Cato.*

*Iob 12 5. Tribulatio dat intellectum.*

*Plutar. in Mo- ral.*

*Lucan.*

*Homer in Illi- ad. Lib. 7.*

\* Two famous Caruers of Images.

\* A Riuer cal- led in Latine Garumna in France, par- ting Celtica from Aquita- nia.

The honorable words of a Kingly Soldier.

A mighty Giant, the Son to Titan, called of the Gods Briarius

The especial care of a worthy Prince.

\* A people of Scythia about the Lake of Mæotis.

A hard extremity, when people are pitted by their enemy.

that I fight (would he oftentimes say) but to maintayne the liberty of my Subiects, and preserve my Crowne. And euen so did God fauour his designs, and laide at his feete (myraculously) an infinite number of Trophies. Heere Arques made her most signale surrender. There Yurie published his high fortune. *Dijon, Fontaine-Francoise, S. Helena*, and the *Molets* engirt his browes with a thousand Laurels. And for the higher pitch of his honours, the vanquished themselves did (euen then) reioyce at his prosperity and victories. He fought not in one place only at a time but like to a second \* *Briarius*, with an hundred hands, and by his Lieutenants, hee smote as many places together. So that posterity reading his heroycall actions, not onely will make doubt to beleue the all, but rather grossely receiue, or repute them for fables.

I will leaue them to our Histories, & to tell ye, that his clemency appearing aboue his other vertues, did make him vniuersally both beloued and admired. O good God! how ready was he alwayes in helpe and subuention to the oppressed? How diligent, in finding out for our diseases, both soueraigne, peculiar, & conuenable remedies? When I cast mine eyes on the gasty Theater of our France, me-thinks I doe there behold that terrible fight betweene *Brutus* and the \* *Xanthians*, the very cheefest Inhabitants of *Lycia*, when they (being besiedged, the fire getting mischeeuously into the crannies of their walles, threatening their neighbors houses, and the whole City together with a generall deuastation) in a desperate rage and fury, threw on fresh Faggots, made of dryed Reedes, the more to nourish and augment the flame, whereas *Brutus* (being their enemy) employed the vttermost endeuour, both of himselfe & all his Soldiors, to slake and quench it. He sate on horse-backe, full of compassion, essaying by all possible meanes, to take some good order; and turning him round about, hee held out his hands to the vnhappy Inhabitants, desiring them to spare their owne City, and to saue themselves.

How many of our blinded French (desperately madd in our last wars) did the very like? What intended those Armes, and hostile preparations in the greater number, but onely the ruine of

themselves, and the whole State together? And what was laboured (on the contrary part) by this great King our *Brutus*? Nothing else, but to preserve his people, and stifle the fires, furiously flaming in the foure corners of his kingdom; yea, to keepe his people from destroying themselves. This was euer (doubtlesse) the full butt and aime of all his warres, during which time, and euen in the very fiercest broyles, hee was heard to cry aloud in the thickest throngs: *O Frenchmen, Frenchmen, saue your selues*. And the blood of them, although they were in Armes against him, hee did value at a dearer rate then his owne. An acte truly generous, and which (afterwards) made him so much admired, that they who refused to accept him as their Lord; threw themselves at his feete, and (in endeared loue) called him their gracious Tutor and Father.

Let *Paris* (onely) stand as a witness of my words, which was seene (almost) without Subburbs, without Pallace, without Vniuersity, or any other Ornament whatsoeuer. The Field of the slothfull man, and the Vineyard of the mis-vnderstanding foole, described by *Salomon* in his Prouerbs; *Which were all ouergrown with Thornes and Nettles, and their Hedges broken downe*, might be compared with it. Our buildings beautified with Porphiry and Marble; his Royall goodly places; his *Louures*; his *Tuilleries*; his new Bridges; his *Arsenall*; the streetes newly re-edified, and adorned with so many new deuices of Silke and Tapistry; the new foundations of publike Readings: these are as so many Trumpets, to publish the loue and vigilancy of this King. Very true is it then, that his life, so obscured and trauesed in the beginning, did well resemble a fire, which in the making, and before it attaineth to any light, doth cast forth very grosse and thicke smokes: but being fully kindled, it yeeldeth a bright flame, & giueth no meane delight to the beholder. We haue seene his originall to be dimly obscured and darkened with the clouds of enuy. Afterward wee beheld him, not like *Iobes* despised Lampe, but shining as the Sunne in brightest splendour.

An industrious and skilfull Architeck, labouring his minde with the designe of an intended stately building, walking among

A great honour in a king to preserve his people from spoiling themselves.

The wofull condition of Paris, during the warres.

Prouer. 24. 29. 30.

Vertue long obscured at length delucreth the brighter splendour.

among the stones in a Quarry, if hee perceiue any one to be of grosse Marble, half earthy, mishapen, and that hath not (as yet) felt the Hammer and Chizell, he doeth appoint that stone to some important place in his edifice. Euen so God, proiecting (long time) the building of his Church, did not forget this Prince: but at the time appointed by his eternall prescience, he tooke him out of the Quarrie of darknesse, to make him shine as bright day, and serue as the Master-pillar to the whole frame. Behold him then (O myracle) in midst of so many victories and fauours from heauen, prostrated at the feete of the Church, and no other cryes were among the people, but *God saue the King.*

Deare people, from the beginning of my Oration, I haue feared to fall short, & my feare is very iust, handling so highe a subiect, and so full of meruailes. Yet notwithstanding, that great goodnes of his furnished me with courage, and hath hitherto vpheld me, in the plentifull field of his flowing vertues. Wherein I felte so great a consolation, and such a boundles liberty of spirit, that my tongue (without impeachment) hath (in some weake manner) expressed those things which I conceyued of his praises. But now I feele my senses arrested by an accident, alas, as nouell, as it strange and lamentable.

The Poets make mention of certayne trees, that sometime did grow about the Tombe of *Protesilaus*, and they hauing attained to such hight, that (with their tops) they could couer the ruine of olde *Troy*; withered in an instant, and lost all theyr leaues. Euen so my discourse could entertaine it selfe vnto this point; but when I see this great Prince (alas) setting from his *Louure* in his Caroch, a smal traine, indeed, without traine; my whole heart is frozen, my discourse withereth, and there remaineth no verdure in my words. A mischeeuous assassinate, let loose from *Acheron*, created of the filthy driuell falling from the foule chappes of *Cerberus*, (to bury our whole France) follows hastily after him. I see the Caroch stayed; O *Paris!* haplesse City of *Paris!* in *excelsis tuis*, in one of thy cheefest foure cornered streets, I see the murtherer likewise stay there with it.

• O God! what issue depends vpon his

boldnesse? Gracious Heauen, thou didst preferue this great King (before) so many times; as against *Barriere* at *Melune*, against *Chastel* in his *Louure*, and agaynst an infinite number more of most pernicious coniurations. Thy goodnesse (O Lord) shall it sleepe at this blow? Behold (deare people) it was our sins that weighed downe the ballance of eternall Iustice, for one chastisement. *Auferetur ab impijs lux sua, & brachium excelsum confrigetur.* The light that shined vpon those Nations, rebellious against my Edicts, shall be take from them, and the strong Arme that defended them, shall be broken. Yea, and so farre it proceedeth, that our great God seemeth weary of further aduancing the Name of the glorious French.

O Fury! O barbarous wretch! instructed in the schoole of Sathan, and enchanted with a diuellish Doctrine, that (vnder the subborned name of a tyrant) woulde approoue and maintaine the Massacre of Kings. O Deuill, and no man, thy parricide hand is not hindered, but dares boldly imploy the vse of that hellish liberty, in a most detestable sacriledge, against God, against his Anointed, and against thy naturall Prince. O Sunne, thou bright day-bringer, that heeretofore veiled thy golden Tresses, and didst withhold thy heauenly looks, from the infamous house of the *Pelopides*, and the enraged abiding of *Buphales* that vnworthy Romane Citizen, because thou wouldst behold no Butcheries and massacres: how couldest thou keep thy Chariot in his ordinary way, but with one touch of thy hand turned it some way else, that this day might haue bin couered with darknesse?

Among insect or iniuried Creatures, Bees (sayth *Pliny*) do so much honor their head and King, as they will not liue after the losse of him. And among other Animals, haue wee not (almost) an infinite number, that haue consecrated their liues for the defence of their Masters? *Quintus Curtius*, as one of the fairest ornaments of his History, brings in the Elephant of *K. Porus*, which Elephant seeing his Master on the ground, in the bloody battel giuen him by *Alexander*: with his trunk drew him softly out of the crowde (as fearing to hurte him) notwithstanding all the points and staues of Lances, being thrust into his brest and sides.

Great Henric escaped diuers great dangers before.

Jeremy 19, 7.

The doctrine of Marianus the Iesuite, instructing to kill Kings, by his authoritie and warrant.

*Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.*

*Quint. Curtius, in lib. 4. cap. 9.*

The

The Stone neglected and refused by the uilders, became the head-corner stone.

Thracian captain, sent to phidias, who first of all the Greekes went on Land at Troy, albeit he had heard that he should surely die that lid so. He was laine by Hector.

The *Scythians* also do eternize the memory of a Horse, who seeing his Master slaine, became the reuenger of his murder, neuer ceassing, till (with his heeles) he had instantly beaten out the braines of the murderer. The Dog of *Hesiodus* is also remembred, because he attainted the children of *Ganistus*, for the murder committed on the person of his Master.

*Hesiod. in lib. 2. cap. 7.*

But that which our owne Fathers haue seene, is much more memorable, of a worthy Dog, belonging to a Groome of the Chamber, attending on King *Frances* the first. Which Dog, not satisfied with the apprehension of him that had slaine his Master, in the Forrest of *Fontaine-belleau*; but being present (by command of the Prince) he rent him in peeces, before the face of the whole Court, that then were gathered together, to behold this spectacle. O most strange case, that brute beasts shall loue, respect, and reuerence their Kings and Masters, and creatures reasonable (yet without all reason) contrary to Nature, or any instinct of her, shall foyle their fellonious hands, in the sacred & venerable blood of their Prince.

*Phil. Comm. in lib. 3 cap. 8.*

Some men are more humane then brutish creatures.

*Tertul. in Dial. Ad Reg.*

*Tertullian*, speaking of Kings; *Secundi sunt post Deum* (saith he) *inter quos & Deum optimum maximum nullum est medium. They are next after God, betweene whom and the greatest God, there is no meane.* *Homer*, by a name more proper, doth call them, *The children of the great God*; as they that do very neere participate in the beames of his diuinity. The Greekes were wont to call them, *Bazilees* of *Bazis*, which signifieth a Foundation. As in the holy Scripture, one of them is called *Femur*, the *Thigh*, he being as the Thigh, base and foundation, whereupon the repose of the State and people is supported. But to what end are all these Epithites, both sublime and diuine, in comparison of *The most Christian King*, the eldest Sonne of the Church, which Titles our kings attained vnto by infinite merits, euen from the Cradle of Christian Religion.

*Homer. in Illiad. lib. 4.*

Attributes and titles giuen to king.

If Emperours haue done any good to the Apostolicall See, what denotion can compare with that of our Kings? *Clovis*, the first Crown-bearer among so many kings, offered a Diadem of inestimable value, called *Regnam*, vpon the Altar of *S. Peter*: the which Diadem, according as some of our Historians haue written, ser-

The offering of king Clovis on the Altar of S. Peter

ued for the *Tiaras* to the holy Fathers presiding in the Church. What shall I say of *Charles Martell*, who receiued from *Gregory* the third, the keyes of the Sepulcher, and the Chaines wherewith *S. Peter* was bound? was not this done, as acknowledging him the Churches Protector, and yeelding him an honourable summation, for defending that holy Toombe, and excellent prerogatiues therto belonging, against the fury and inuasions of the *Lombardes*? Against whom, this Prince began to arme himselfe, when at the very first report of his preparation, the *Lombard* yeelded, and submitted himselfe to the holy Sec.

Charles Martell the Churches Protector.

I cannot let sleepe in silence, the piety of king *Pepin*, who went twice over the *Alpes*, to check the insolences of the said *Lombardes*, against *Stephen*, then sitting in the sacred seate. There remaineth (yet to this day) an ancient inscription, engrauen vpon one of the Towers of *Raenna*; *Pipinus plus primus amplificanda Ecclesie viam aperuit, &c.* Deliuering testimony to all Christendome, of that Princes gift and liberality to the Church. *Charlemaigne*, *Philip Augustus*, *S. Lewes*, many Kings among them, & many others since then, euen vnto our time, haue no way degenerated from this affection, in piety & succour answerable to the former Kings, and their enterprizes were most commendable & perillous, to maintaine the truth, and to confound the *Sarrazins*, *Mahumatis*, and other sects of Infidels. VWhereof matter sufficient is giuen to our Historians, to make their volumes the more compleate, and to *Innocentius* the third, a worthy subiect of writing, in an Epistle which he directed *Archiepiscis & Episcopis per Galliam constitutis*, *Exaltatio regni Francorum est sedis Apostolicæ sublimatio.* And if that execrable and diuellish murderer, had not impeached the course of the great designs, and holy intentions of this King (O France, for whom thou now so iustly lamentest) he had shaken the Scepter of the Turke, and we might well haue hoped, to haue seene our faire Lillies glister in the Church of the Easterne Empire, & once more to haue made the true God worshipped in *Palestine*.

The ancient inscription at Raenna.

The famous enterprizes of many French kings in defence of the truth.

Then, O vnhappy Realme of France, redouble thy sorrowes, and reuiue the source of thy teares, as often as thou shalt remem-

remem-

remember the death of this Prince. A Prince? yea, thy Shield, and the Shield of the mighty, proditoriously ouerthrowne in the Capitall of his Prouinces. Oh that I could (in this case) according to the manner of a Pegasus, strike with one foote into a fountaine of eloquence; or that the Muses and the Graces meeting together, would giue new motion, or rather new life to my languishing Oration, that I might reach to the point first proposed to my selfe, which was, either to lay open before you the praises of my King, or to let you see his life and heroycall vertues, and how much we are all interess'd in his losse. These two attempts were very great, and if I feele my selfe to shrink vnder the weight of the first, I must needs fall flat thē with the charge of the second. *Because the wretchednesse of a priuation can neuer be really vnderstood, but by knowing the excellency of the thing whereof we are depriv'd; so said (long agoe) a learned Philosopher.*

For as a Player of Comedies, may easily bring forth vpon his Stage, a man of goodly shew, in shape of *Hercules*, couered with a Lyons skinne, and bearing a long great Club on his shoulder, but yet made light and hollow within, and al this dreadfull appearance, comes nothing neere the vertues and incomparable strength of the true *Alcides*: Euen so an Oratour may easily produce some grosse description of great *Henry*; that most inuincible Prince, giuing him golden Armour, mounted on a gallant Courser, attended with Drums and Trumpets, in midst of a confusion of armed men, a thorny wood of Pikes and Lances about him, and as the last ornament of renown, writing with an Eagles quill (yet lagging weary with circcling the world) to make knowne to the two Poles, the admirable battailes wonne by this Monarch, and all this nothing indeed to great *Henry* the 4. This were no other then a meere phantasma, because his inwarde man, with his principall vertues, remained still hidden the viuacities of his spirit, the heates of his generous courage, and that true countenance of Maiesty, which carried on his brow the loue of his subiects, and terrour of his enemies: these are things that strike dumbe all tongues, and are not any way to be declared. The interest and the damage then, which the whole world endu-

reth by his death, can neuer be sufficiently declared. Euery man by himselfe (from the least to the greatest) may frame out his owne discourse, and finde himselfe immeasurably offended; yet all this is nothing else, but as if each man should point with his finger at his owne heart, and no iudgment to be made, whose paine is the most greuous?

*Synganbis*, the Mother of *Darius*, her Nieces and other Persian Ladies wept more extremely for the death of *Alexander* (saith the History) then did the *Greeks* and other *Macedonians*. For he was the common bond of peace, and hee being broken, they found themselves (among all them which he had left) the very weakest, furthest off from succour, and most subiect to the iniuries of warre. Without all question, our sorrow hath bin common through the whole State, for this vnhappy accident, false vpon the common and publike head. Our Princes pierced through with greefe, haue (to the whole world) sufficiently witnessed their affections. But great men stand safest on the boord, the lesser serue as poore Pawnes, & they haue the greatest cause to complaine. That great chaine or bond of peace, which vnited together so many kindes of spirits, is broken in the midst; yet peace and vnity (God be thanked for it) doth still remaine among vs.

As an Arrow shot from a good strong arme, flyeth farre through the ayre, not in regard of his owne proper or naturall wings, but by the Archers vertue who (in the loose) gaue it the vigor of aduantage; euen so our peace as yet continueth by that strength and vertue, which the high vnderstanding and credite of our deceased king gaue vnto her. If we war against abuses, if vices may be cut off, and vertues replanted; wherefore should not this strong bond be new knit againe? But if they encrease, as they do, look then (deare people) for your danger to be neere. The mighty can daily maintaine themselves; but the weake and feeble, they altogether vndergoe the worst, especially when disorders continue.

In this case, the body of a Common-wealth, and that of a beast do carry some resemblance. For as the members (which are sound) doe not finde themselves so subiect to rheumes or defluctions, but so

*Plut. Ar. in vit. Alexandr.*

Common afflictions doe not so neerely touch great men, as they do the meener sort.

Comparison of a Common wealth to the body of a Beast.

The worth of a Jewell is neuer truly valued till it is lost.

Resemblances differ from the true substance.

The inward vertues of a man are his true glory.

soone

soone as they present themselves, do send them to the diseased parts: Euen so, in a body politike, those great ouerflowings that engender discords, do not so neerely touch the strongest in the State. Noblemen, as being more robust & powerful, know how to hurle such annoyances behinde them, and then their weight falls vpon the vulgar, who are composed of slenderest resistance. Who seeth not then that the principall interest is ours? It is vpon vs that this blow is false. That fatall knife hath ript open our breasts, and hath sluiced forth our bloode, euen so farre as the very furthest Nations; who wholly affrighted at so damnable an attentate, haue testified, that this disaster was in common to them, communicating likewise in our sighes and teares.

But now wee sacrifice ouer much vnto griefe. O France! thou must giue a breathing time to thy sorrowes; thy great Henry yet liueth, God hath not left him after so many victories; he hath rather snatcht him from beneath the armes of a temporal peace, to lodge him in his euerlasting rest, & made him change the Scutcheon of his Lillies for an eternal Diademe, the floures whereof are without number and value, and the glory void of any date or limitation. This life hath nothing in propriety; what any man holds here, it is but as a deposit or pawne, it is but for a short vsance, and a present of slender continuance. *Spuma gracilis, qua a procella dispergitur*, saith the wise man: *Fumus qui a vento diffusus est*. It is a highway common to kings & subiects alike, to the haughty, and to the humble. *Omne capax mouet urna nomen*. Death (notwithstanding he is familiar to vs) yet in his passage along, if he hit his foot against a shepherds cottage only, or if a poore labouring man meet with his sickle, these are blowes that moue no terror. But contrariwise, when he smites the greatest into the bottom of a tomb, when he shiuers Crownes in peeces, and breaks royal Scepters with a touch of his Biere, this is that which moueth astonishment in men; this is that wherein they see themselves, euen as in the clearest Chry stall, best representing to the life, the defects of their fraile and wretched nature.

They that haue contemned God al their life time, may take example by *Entelidas*, lost in the lone of his owne peculiar ex-

cellencies: who afterward becomming a knight of *Athens*, tooke a Grasshoppet in the fields of *Egrettum*, wherby he learned and came to acknowledgment of his lifes shortnes. Wherupon, he builded a house of piety, in contempt of himselfe; wherein bequeathing all his hopes to God only, hee founded life and saluation for his soule. For, as a goodly Rose in rainy weather (being prickt with a pinne) will send forth a maruellous pleasing fauour: euen so, al the degrees of a great State, beeing prickt in the death of their K. by the intolerable piercing thornes of bemoaning, do then send vp to heauen the most sweete Odors of infinite prayers, whereby they procure Diuine blessinges to descend downe vpon their heads.

This is also the benefite, which (among our teares and laments) we ought to seeke for in our losse, because euen therein God himself hath giuen vs matter, whereby to comfort our selues. Set before your conceits, that great deluge of waters, which (in the time of *Noah*) drowned the whole world. Neuer did heauen before, or since, deliuer so great a sign of anger against the sins of men. And yet notwithstanding, among all the billows and floating of dead bodies aloft on the waters: the height or top of an oliue tree did shew it self, wherof the Doue broght a presentation to the good old man, as a symbol of grace, carrying an assured testimony, that the overflow should soone cease, & the Ark be deliuered from all perils whatsoever.

Euen so, in the frightfull deluge of tears, which appeared to swallow vs al vp in the waues, wee haue a sacred Oliue plant, a branch of that royall tree, euery way answerable to that holy Doue, verily raised to this purpose by the holy ghost, to bring this aged French State a thirteenth *Lewes*, the liuely image of the great *Henry*, so lately taken from vs. *Lewes* I say, the true Oliue braunch sent from heauen, to preface our great mercy; vnder whō we are to expect the increasing of al those choise vertues and felicities that wee felt vnder the flourishing reigne of his Father. In behalfe of whom, I may wel (O France) addresse those speeches to thee, deliuered by the wise K. *Salomon*. *Beata tu terra, cum Rex tuus filius est Nobilium*: Blessed art thou (O Land) when thy King is the sonne of Nobles. Happy art thou O France, for thy King

The murder of a king is no mean motiue of griefe to al neighbouring Nations.

No man in this life hath any certaintie of his abiding

Eccles. 19, 12.

A worthy example for all Atheistes to take warning by.

All degrees in a State are wounded by the death of their King.

In the midst of most violent extremities, God is then readiest with his diuine helpes.

Lewes the 13 son and successor to great king Henry.

Eccles. 10, 17.

King is the son of Nobles. For the Father of thy king, descending from so many kings, was no lesse adorned with Vertues, then Crownes: And his Mother on the other side) being issued from so many great Dukes of *Tuscany*, the very beautifullest seate of all *Italy*, from the illustrious blood of that great *Cosimo de Medicis*, that afforded so many Fathers to the Church, and floures to thy Diademe, witnesseth the hight of thy good fortune, having brought foorth this young, yet great Prince, who truly *Filius est Nobilitium*.

The Isle of *Delphos* was sometime most wretched, and yeelded it self to the greedy appetite of the wasting billowes of the sea; till *Apollo* was borne there, who made it immoueable, and constantly confirmed it against all tempests. O *France!* if heere-tofore thou hast bin beaten with stormes and the rude windes of discord, agitated by the flux and reflux of some unhappie partialities, what needest thou nowe to feare, *Cum Rex tuus filius est Nobilitium?* Thy tottering is already past, and I see thee (for euer) settled in the Bay of a most blessed peace, even in the armes of thy King, so Noble in extraction both by Father and Mother. These are the wishes which we yeelde thee, euen from all Orders and estates, vnited both in hearts and wils, to submit our selues in a perfect obedience: As we also protest, neuer to be ingrateful to the most happy memorie of that Great *Henrie*, from whom so manie blessings hath continually fallen vpon vs.

In elder times, the Graces were figured holding handes together, reaching men thereby, that a benefit receiued with one hand, ought immediately to be requited with the other: But Kings are ouer-great to attend the returne of such benefites, as they poure out vpon their people. And as for vs, wee are not able to acknowledge them, which haue bene receiued from our good Prince; except in seruing him loyally both with hearts and hands, as becommeth most faithfull & obedient subjects. If that the hand (to our great greefe) hence-forward can do nothing, yet let the heart (as being more powerfull) continue that office, in waiting, vntill it shal please the heauenly Maiesty, to make vs blessedly see him againe, in the Celestiall repose of his glory.

CHAP. V.

The Battell of Rauenna:

Which was fought in Italy, in Anno, 1512. betweene *Gaston du Foix*, Duke of *Namures*, Generall for *Lewes the xij. King of Fraunce*, on the one party: and *Raymond de Cardonna*, Viceroy of *Naples*, Generall for the King of *Spaine*, and *Pope Iulio*, on the other.

**T**HE Generall of the French Army in *Italy*, being named *Gaston du Foix*, for *Lewes K. of France*, against the Pope and King of *Spaine*, being giuen to vnderstand that the opposit powers for the Pope and Spaniard were marching onward (according to a former passed promise) for giuing assistance vnto *Marco Antonio* of *Cardonna*, who was besieged by him in the Cittie of *Rauenna*; misdoubring some sodaine irruption in his politike enemy, brake vp the siedge, making a retreat for the space of some three miles from *Rauenna*, as it were to meete with the leagued army. That night they made a bridge ouer the riuer of *Rouco*, and leuelled the highest banks equall with the Riuer, for the easier passage of the Souldiers in all places. Afterward the 11. day of *Aprill*, being then *Easter day*, the Germane foote souldiers made their passage ouer this made Bridge of the Riuer: but the souldiers appointed for the vaw-ward and middle battell, they went thorow the Foord. As for the rere-ward, being led by *Don Iuo de Alegres*, and consisting of foure hundred bolde resolued men, they remained still on the riuer bank towards *Rauenna*, for better assisting the maine army when neede required, and curbing the Garrison of *Rauenna*, if they should presume to sally foorth. But for keeping a Bridge (formerly made vpon *Montano*) hee left a valiant Gentleman, named *Paris Scot*, with a thousand foote vnder his charge.

All things being ordered in this maner, his battailes were raunged in this order. The vant-gard, that had the great Artillery before them, consisting of 700. horse, beside

The Authour doth not set down the reason that vng'd this battaile.

The passage of his people ouer the riuer

In what maner he ordred and ranged his seuerall battailes, in expectation of the eremie

Cosimo de Medicis the Great Duke of Florence.

Vertue and Nobilitie are the best pillars to support a kingdome.

Seneca in Lib. Ben. cap 17.

beside Germane foote, led by the Duke of Ferrara, and the Seneschall of Normandy; this power was placed on the bank of the riuier, becing then on the right hand, whereby the foot troopes flanked the left wing of the horse. Somewhat nere to the vanguard, the foot appointed for the mid battalion, being partly *Gascoignes*, and the rest of other Prouinces in France, took their charge, and *Don Iuo de Alegres* was their Commander. Further remote from the Riuer banke, the reregarde had their place, being in number fiue thousand foot and all Italians, vnder the conduct of *Frederico de Bozzolo*: and this battel was flanked by all the Archers mounted on horsebacke, and other light horsemen, amounting to three thousand.

These battailes were not ordered to rest one another, but in the shape of a Cressant or halfe Moon, and directly behinde them were marshalled six hundred well appointed horse, conducted by *Seigneur de la Palice*, and the Cardinall *Sansuerino*, Legate for the Councell of Pisa, who bent their intentions against the Pope. He was a man of no meane constitution, full of heate and courage, armed *Cap a pie* in faire bright glittering Armor, and meeter (in deede) for the office of a Commander in field, then to supply the place of a Cardinall. As for *Gaston du Foix*, ayiming onely at honour and victory, he would not betake himselfe to anie particular charge in the Campe; but selecting som thirty choise Gentlemen, such as he thought fit to share with him in his best fortune of the day; wandered at liberty, as to bee prouident in all places, and for the readier helpe, where neede should require.

He was the man of best marke amongst them all, not onely in regard of his splendant Armes, but likewise for his sprightly countenance, dreadfull carriage, & resolution no way to be daunted. Hauing ranged his battalions into such due form, as nothing wanted but the signal for fight aduancing himselfe on the bay of the Riuer, where best he might haue attention, and animate his army with boldest spirit, more eloquently then Souldier-like (as some suppose, thus he spake,

### The Oration of Gaston du Foix, before the sight, to his whole Armie.



**M**r Fellow-Souldiers, the thing which you haue so long coueted & desired, to wit, to encounter the enemy in an open champaign ground: behold how Fortune hath this day blest yee withall, as not forgetting her former Motherly care of ye, in many a famous and well-won victory. See what a gracious opportunity is heere presented to ye, such as precedent times, nor memory of man hath euer acknowledged, victory houering ouer your heades, embracing ye within the very winges of her bounty, not onely for *Rauenna* it self, fully and meerely prostrated to your power: but likewise all the Townes and Citties of *Romania*, though but slender attributes of recompence to your high deserts, yet as an earnest of her further intended fauour vnto ye. For, finding Italy naked and emptie, not a man left to stand or encounter with ye: what shall hinder your marching on to Rome it selfe? Seeme as if (euen now) you saw your entrance into it; and consider withall, the boundlesse wealth of that gripple and greedie Court (for many ages together) haled & violently torne, euen out of the bowelles of poore abused people, and iustly ordained now to be at your mercie as pillage and spoile. Proud Ornaments, Siluer, Gold, precious Stones, all in heapes, and numberlesse summes, beside most rich and sumptuous prisoners, you may already plead full possession of, the wide world standing amazed at your fortunes. And Rome thus being yours, Naples lies fairely before ye, inuiting ye to com thether with the same successe, and there to reuenge your manifold iniuries.

When I consider your valour, fortune, & famous victories, woon within the compasse of so few dayes; when your manly lookes, and more then manly actions, do quicken my memory, that there is hardly one among yee, but hath made good prooffe of his courage, by apparant and pregnant testimony of his great spirit: there is not any obiection whatsoever, to forestall the assured felicitie of victorie. What are our enemies, but the verie same Spaniards, that (meerely vpon our coming)

\*An ancient City by the Adriatick sea  
\*A very spacious & fruitful country.

The Councell of Pisa leuyed forces against the Pope.

Gaston du Foix, a man of especiall note from all the rest.

A Towne of Campania in Italy.

A City in Italy called some time Forum anelli.

sted by night out of <sup>\*</sup>Bologna? Nay more, they are the same white-liuer'd men, that (not many daies since) escaped our swordes by base running away, sculking within the wals of <sup>\*</sup>Imola and Fauentza, or the neighbouring mountains. They are a nation that neuer durst fight with our armies in the Neapolitan kingdom in any place of indifferencie or easie access, but euer more upon aduantage, beeing supplied with munitions, riuers, and ditches, as relying more on close hid ambushes & treacheries, then on any iot of manhood or valor.

And yet let mee further tell ye concerning these Spaniards, that they are not those tried and ancient well-skild seruitors in the Neapolitane wars, but meere fresh-water souldiers, vtterly without skill or experience, neuer fighting against other weapons of resistance, but Bowes, Arrowes, & the blunted Launces of the Moores. And yet notwithstanding, by that timorous people, weake in body, worse in spirit, wanting knowledge in armes and military actions, they were (with great shame) ouerthrowne the last year, in the Isle of Gerba. And there this very man, Don Pedro de Nauarro, one of so great note & name among them, that by taking himselfe to his heeles, hee deliuered a notorious testimony of the difference betwene the beating downe wals with shot and powder, & fighting with true fortitude & hardiment: See how they are shut vp within a ditch, made this last night, euen in meere trembling feare, & how their foot are covered with a rampier, consisting of Carriages & hooked waggons, as meaning to try the battel with those childish instruments, & not with the Marrow, Muscles, and Arteries of men, or with the chearfull viuacity of spirit. Make no doubt (deare hearts) but our great Ordenance shal drine them out of their holes, and beate them to the open field: where they shall plainly perceiue, that the power of the French, the courage of the Germanes, and unconquerable resolution of the Italians, doth go far beyond the cunning subtilties of the Spaniards. The greatest obscuring of our glory, is that we ouermatch them in number, being (very neere) twice as many as they. Neuertheles, seeing fortune hath bin so bountifull to vs, it were indiscretion not to make use of so happy a benefit, which will rather be imputed to temerity and improvidence in them, then to any cowardly aduantage in vs. Nor doth courage or valour incite them on, but the authority of Fabritio de Colonna, in his rash promise made to Marco Antonio; or rather the in-

stice of heauen hath thus prouoked them, to the end, that the pride and unspeakable heynous actions of Iulio, that false and counterfeit Pope, as also the deceitfull treacheries of the King of Arragon, may haue condigne and worthy punishment.

But why wast I time in so many words? Or why should this victory be so long kept from ye, by circumstantial speeches in a skilless Oration, vtterly needlesse for souldiers of vndanted spirit? March on then, my valiant fellowes in armes, with full assurance, that this day I shal giue the whol Empire of Italy to my King, & the wealth by spoyle among you all. I, your Captaine and Commander, will bee present with you in euery place; and, as I euer haue done, so this day more especially wil I oppose my life vnto al perils, rather then a man of ye shall miscarry. Nay, I shall repute my self for the most fortunate Captain that euer was seeing that by this dayes victory, I shall not onely make my soldiers most glorious, but the richest of all other Armies, within the compassse of three hundred yeares.

This Oration ended, and the aire ecchoing the noise of Drums & Trumpeets, the Spaniards espying the French past the riuier, in this maner they ranged their battailes. The vantgard, consisting of 800. horse, and conducted by Don Fabritio de Colonna, stood placed along the banke of the riuier, wherto was added 600. foot on the right hand. Likewise along the Riuier, stood the middle battel of 600. horse, being flanked with 4000. foot, the Viceroy being the Leader therof, & with him the Marquesse of Paluda, as also John de Medici, legat to the Pope. Moreover, along the same riuier bank stood the reeward, conducted by Carnaial a Spaniard; & in that battell were 4000. horse, and 4000. foot. Al the light horsmen (whose General was Daualos, Marques of Pescara, a very yong Gentleman, but of exceeding great hope guarded the right side of the foot behind, for succoring any part that fainted. The great Ordenance was placed in the front of the horse, & Don Pedro de Mauarro General of the Spanish foote, accompanied with 500. horse, had not any place of certainty, but had planted at the ditch in the front of the foot, 30. waggons, like to the crooked Chariots vsed in ancient time. Whereon he had placed field pieces, and very long Boares speares, for easier sustaining the furious feaze and charge of the French.

How the battalions of the Spaniards were ranged in the field.

Nauarro was General of the Spanish footmen, a man of great skill in vnderstanding.

Both sides  
stand in ex-  
pectation of  
battell.

In this order they expected the assault & charge of their enemies strong army, with in the munitiō of the ditch, but this coun- cel, as it profited nothing in the end; so in the very beginning it appeared to be per- nitious. For it was the mind of *Fabritio de Colonna*, to inuade the enemies, so soon as they began to come ouer the Riuer; as thinking it more commedious to incoun- ter with one only part of the enemies, thē to abide in the camp, defenced but with a single ditch. But when *Don Pedro de Nauarro* (whose councel the Viceroy follow- ed as Oracles) repugned this aduice: it was decreed (though nothing prouidently) that they should be suffered to passe o- uer the riuer. The French being com with- in 200. paces of the ditch, stayed; percey- uing that their enemies, kept themselues within their camp, not stirring any further least they should giue their enemies such aduantage, as themselues desired to haue.

For more then two houres, both the ar- mies were thus at a stand, but no meane store of shot came from the great Orde- nance all that while on either side, where- by the French foote endured great detri- ment. For *Nauarro* had planted his artille- ry in such a place, as he might at his plea- sure hurt them; but the Duke of *Ferrara* made great halt, & brought his Artillery in the rere of the army, to another wing of the French, where the archers on hors- back were planted, which wing, in regard that the army stood in the form of a cres- sent, was (welneere) on the rere of the ene- mies, from whence he beganne cruelly to flank their sides, especialy of the horse, for the *Spanisb* foot being brought by *Nauar- ro*, into a low place along the rampier of the riuer, & (by his command) laid flat on the ground, could no way be iniuried by the shot. *Fabritio* called out aloud, and vr- ged the Viceroy by messengers often sent to begin the battel, before they were torn in pieces by the great Ordnance. But *Na- uarro* being guided by peruerse ambition would not agree thereto. For, in regard he had promised himselfe victory, only tho- row the valor of the Spanish foot, yea, & although al the rest of the army wer slain, yet he imagined, that his glory would bee the more augmented, the more y harmes were heaped on the rest of the army.

By this time, the men of armes and light horse, had endured so great a slaughter, as

it could be no longer borne: and as a most miserable & dreadful spectacle, here hor- ses, there men from off those horses, fell down dead, and heads & arms being torn from the rest of the body, were seen flying aloft in the aire, whereat *Fabritio* beganne thus to exclaime. *And must we all* (quoth he) *dy here shamefully, by the wilful peruer- nes of one\* Marano? Must this army be utter- ly lost, and not one enemy slaine by vs? Where are our so many Trophees ouer the French? Must the honor of Spaine and Italy perish, for one only Nauarro? No sooner had he spo- ken these words, but without staying for the signal, or any command frō the Vice- roy, he droue his horsemen ouer the ditch whom the rest of the horse following, Nauarro was forced presently to giue the signal to his Regiment, & they rising with violent fury, encountred the Germanes, who were by this time come verie neere them. So the battels being met pelmel on all sides together, it was wonderful to be- hold; & surely this battel was the greatest that euer *Italy* had seene in many yeares: because that at *Tarro* washardly any thing else, but a strong encounter of horse. And the battels in the kingdom of *Naples* were rather disorderings of array, or rash at- tempts, thē deseruedly to be termed bat- tels. And at *Giaradaedda*, the smallest part of the *Venicians* power had fought: but heere two potent armies fought with harts firmly combined, either to vanquish or dy. Being enflamed, not only by perill, glory, and hope; but also mutuall hatred, which y seuerall nations bare each other. In the encounter of the *German* foot with the *Spaniards* two Colonels of great fame the one named *Iacob Emser*, a German, & *Zamudo* a Spaniard, fought as if it had bin by way of challenge, before the fronts of the battailes: in which fight, the Spani- ard killing his enemy, became the con- queror. The horsemen of the Confe- derates, were not compareable to them of France; beside that day they had bene so endamaged, and meerey torne by the great Ordnance, that they were there- by made farre inferiour. So that, after they had a while sustayned the force of their enemies, rather by stoutnes of sto- macke, then strength of body, and *Alegres* sending for *Palice* with the rere reward, and the thousand foote also left at *Montona*; they were charged on all sides. Beside,*

*Fabritio*

\*A nick-name  
giuen in scorn  
to a Spaniard.

This battel of  
Rauenna was  
termed the  
most terrible  
and dreadfull  
battell.

A valiant  
fight between  
the chief Co-  
lonels on ei-  
ther side, Ia-  
cob Emser, &  
Zamudo.

Much harme  
done by the  
great Orde-  
nance on ey-  
ther side.

The wilfull  
obstracie of  
Don Pedro  
de Nauarro.

*Fabritto de Colonna* fighting very valiantly, had bin taken by the Duke of *Ferraraes* Soldiers. Wherefore, seeing themselves no longer able to hold out against the enemies fury, & instructed also by the example of their Captaines, turned their backs likewise. For the Viceroy and Caruaiall, neuer tarrying the vitermost triall of valour in their Souldiers, fled; leading away with thē the rereward, almost whole and vntoucht. With them also fled *Antonio de Leua*, a man (as then) of mean condition; but afterward being exercised in all degrees of martiall seruices, became a very famous Generall.

Now all the light horsemen were overthrowne, and *Pescara* their Captaine, weltring in blood & wounds, was taken also, and so was the Marquesse of *Paluda*, who brought the second battail into the fight, through a field of ditches, bushes, & bryars, which much disordered the aray. Beside, the field was couered wholly (as it were) with the mangled bodies of men & horses, which proued no small hinderance to them. But yet the Spanish foote being forsaken of the horsemen, fought with incredible fiercenes. And although they had bin somewhat repulsed, at their first encounter with the *Germanes*, by reason of the strong ranks of Pikes: yet after they came within the reach of their Swords, many of the Spaniards (being couered with their Targets) got between the legs of the *Germanes*, wounding them in those disarmed parts with their Daggers, and so committing a very great slaughter among them, at rayned (almost) to the midst of the battaile. Among whom the Gascoigne foot, hauing won the way betweene the Riuer and the Rampier, had sharply charged the Italian foote, who although they had sustained great losse, by the Ordenance playing hotly vpon them, yet they had vtterly expelled them, if *Alegres* had not giuen a fresh and violent charge on them with his horsemen, & with greater force thē good fortune. For when he saw his Son *Viuerroes* slaine in his fight, and almost at the very first encounter, he, vnwilling to suruiue, after a losse so great and greuous; ranne in with his horse, euen among the thickest of his enemies, and fighting like a most valiant Captaine, after hee had slaine many, was slaine himselfe.

The Italian foote, when they could no

longer hold out against so great a multitude, began to shrink: but part of the Spaniards comming to their succor, they kept stil in the battaile, and the German foote, oppressed by the other part of the Spaniards, could scarcely stand vp any longer. But now, all the Spanish troopes of horse being put to flight, *Gaston du Foix*, with a great multitude of his horsemen, set freshly on the Spaniards, and they, retiring rather, then driuen out of the field, marching in good array, and in no part broken, took the way lying betweene the Riuer & the high banck, going in an equall pace, with their Front very thicke of men, and repelling the French with the strength therof, began to retire, and orderly depart out of the field. Which *Nauarro* beholding, was more desirous of death then life: & therefore not departing out of the battaile, was takē prisoner. But high-minded *du Foix*, not brooking to see the Spanish foote march thus away safely, & (Victers-like) with their whole ranks vnbroken, perceiuing also, that the victory was imperfect, vnlesse they were broken as well as the rest; in a vehement fury, he charged on their rere with a troop of horse. But he being immediately enclosed in among them, and throwne off from his horse, or (as others say) oppressed with the flundering of his owne horse, was slaine with a Pike thrust into his side. And doubtlesse, if they ought to wish for death (accordi g as common opinion is) that haue attained to the highest degree of felicity: then assuredly, the death of this noble Gentlemen was most vnfortunate, hauing gotten so glorious & eminent a victory. He dyed a very yong man, hauing now won (among all men) immortal fame, because within the space of 3 Moneths, (being a Generall, almost before he was a Soldier) with incredible celerity & good successe, he had gotten so many glorious victories. The Lord *Lautrech* (his Cousin german) hauing receiued twēty greuous wounds, lay beside him, well neere dead; but being carried to *Ferrara*, was saued, by the diligent care and cure of good Chyrurgions. Thus through the death of noble *Du Foix*, the Spanish foote were suffered to march away without impeachmēt. The rest of the Army was put to flight, all the bag and baggage taken, together with their Ensigns & Ordenance: as also, the

Pedro de Na-  
uarro taken  
prisoner.

The death of  
the Generall,  
*Gaston du*  
*Foix*, & mee-  
ly through his  
own rashnesse

The Lord  
*Lautrech* cou-  
sin-germane  
to *Gaston du*  
*Foix*.

The flight of  
the Viceroy  
and Caruaiall,  
and Antonio  
de Leua.

The Marquess  
of Pescara  
and Paluda  
taken.

The Spaniards  
policy in kil-  
ing many of  
the Germans

The valiant  
death of *Ale-  
gres* and his  
son *Viuerroes*

What prisoners were taken in this battel.

The number of men that were slain on both sides.

\*A Towne of Picenum in Italy, beyonde Appeninus.

The couetous Treasurer of Normandy.

Popes Legate, *John de Medicis*, *Fabricio de Colonna*, *Nauarro*, the Marquesse of *Paluda*, *Bitonto* and *Pescara*, and manie other Princes, the cheefe of the Nobilitie, and men of best name among the Spaniards and *Neapolitans*. The number of them that were slaine in this battell, is altogether vncertaine, yet among the variety of many reports, most do affirme, that (on both sides) there were slaine ten thousand at the least, whereof the third part vvere French, and the rest made vp among their enemies. But without all controuersie, the losse on the victors side was farre the greater, by reason of the death of *Du Foix*, *Alegres*, and many of the French Nobility, as also of *Iacob Emsfer*, and other the valiantest Captaines of the German foot, to whose valour and manhood this victory (bought with such a deere effusion of blood) was chiefly attributed.

Moreouer, many Captains of the *Gascoignes* and *Piccards* (which Nations lost that day all their glory amōg the French) were slaine with *Mounseur Molard*: but the death of *Du Foix* iurpassed all other losses, with whom the courage, strength, life, and fierceness of that army was vtterly extinguished. The greatest part of the vanquished, that escaped from the battel, fled to \**Cesena*, & from thence to further places: neither did the Viceroy stay any where, vntill he came to *Ancona*, whether he brought but very few of his followers. For, the Duke of *Vrbine*, not onely raysed vp the Countymen against them, but also sent souldiers to doe the like in *Pesaro*; onely they escaped safe, that passed thorough the *Florentines* Dominions.

And although after this battell, the victor Army tooke and sacked *Rauenna*, yet within very short time after, when the couetous Treasurer of *Normandie* (to saue charges) had dismissed the *Italian* Soldiers; and part of the men of Armes vvere returned for *France*, and the Emperor had reuoked the *Germanes*: they were (by a new Army of *Switzers* that came in the Popes ayde, and with whom also ioyned the *Venetians*) quite dispossessed of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, and all that euer the French King had beside in *Italy*.

## CHAP. VI.

*What they were whom the world tearmed by the name of the Sibillaes; Of their Prophecies: but more principally of those things which they spake concerning Christian Religion.*

THE History of the *Sibils*, is generally held to be very certaine, because eue-ry one (almost) knoweth, that they foretold and prophesied many things. Neuerthelesse, to know when, whence and what they were, what they did, & at what times they wrote and prophesied, is most familiar to him that hath read ancient and authentickall bookes. It made me therefore the more willing, to make a Collection of their history, and so much the rather, because it is a matter of no meane maruel, to contemplate the gift of Prophecy, which God gaue to those women in diuers manners. But particularly to prophesie of the comming of Christ, of his life, of his passion, and other great mysteries of our holy faith: these we do purpose to speake of briefly, to the end, y the *Ethnicke* Pagan may not any way excuse himself (although he will reade but his owne bookes onely) no more then the Jew in reading his, and will not accept nor beleue our faith. I write this the rather, because (by common consent) those bookes were receyued among all the *Gentiles*, and the *Sibillaes* credited, especially by the *Romanes*, who in all theyr affayres and necessities had stil their recourse to the *Sibilline* bookes, and tooke their best and most serious counsels from them.

All Historians, both *Greeke* & *Latine* haue written of them: our intent then shal best fit it selfe, without selecting so great a number, to make choise of the cheefest, the better to auoide prolixity, & set them down in some orderly maner. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Seruius*, *Martianus Capellus*, *Laetantius Firmianus*, *Elianus*, *Suidas*, *Strabo*, *Marcus Varro*, *Virgil*, with the foundest part of al the Poets. *S. Augustin*, *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and the more part of all our Historians, largely writeth on them.

*Diodorus* saith, that the word *Sibil* or *Sibilla*, implieth so much, as if a man should say, *A woman Prophetesse*, & filled or inspired

The certainty of the Sibilles history.

The diuers gifts of Prophecy bestowed on those women.

The Sibilles bookes receyued among the Gentiles.

Authors that haue written concerning the Sibils.

Interpretation of the word Sibilla.

Dissent about the Sibilles number.

Lact. Firm in Divin. Instit. b. 1.

Sibilla Persica, called also Amberia.

Lact. Firm in Divin. Instit. lib. 4.

The prophesie of Sibilla Persica, concerning christ

red by God. *Servius* on the fourth of the *Aeneides*; and *Lactantius* in his first Booke of *Divine Institutions*, nameth them, *The Councell of God*. *Suidas* termeth it *Propheesse*. These Authors doe not agree how many there were of these women, neither consent at what times; because some determine more, and others lesse. *Martianus Capellus* makes mention but of two, others remember foure, as *Aelianus* doth in his variable histories. *Marcus Varro* recordeth ten, whereof *Lactantius Firmianus* speaketh in his first booke, & him I meane to follow.

The first was of *Persica*, named *Samberita*, of whom *Nicanor* maketh great mention, euen he that wrot the actions of great *Alexander*. Others say, that shee was of *Chaldea*, & others, that she was a Jewesse, borne in a town seated nere to the red sea, called *Noa*. Her father was named *Berosus* and her mother *Erimantha*: she composed 24. bookes in verse, wherein she recounted wonderful things, concerning the coming of *Christ*, his life, and miracles. But yet they were vnder concealement, and deliuered with an artificiall obscuritie, which was not to be vnderstoode of euerie one: whereto al the other *Sibillaes* conformed themselves. So that *Lactantius Firmianus* without particularizing any one of them, describeth their particular Propheesies of *Christ*. *Saint Augustine* maketh a summary of some things, which this woman and the rest said of *Christ*, and (among other) these very wordes.

He shall be taken by the wicked handes of vnbeleeuers, and they shall giue him blows on the face with their sacrilegious hands & spit on him with their foul polluted mouths: And he shall giue them his shoulders, suffering the to be whipped, and he holding his peace, without speaking any word, they shall thereby not know whence his words came. He shall likewise be crowned with thorns, giuing him gall to eat, & vinegar to drink. Behold what feasting they shal make for him: so that thou blind and ignorant people, thou shalt not know thy God, conuersing among men. But shalt crown him with thornes, providing for him vinegar & gall. Again, the veile of the Temple shall be rent, & the plaine bright day at noone, shall be like night, obscured or darkened for the space of three houres. And when he hath bin in hel, he shal returne to life, and rise againe.

These words are so pregnant, that they

are the very proper tearmes of the Euan-gelists writing on *Christ*, and the veric same that the Prophets prophesied, especially *Esay*, whereunto our holy Church giueth absolute beleefe. Beside, these Propheesies of the *Sibillaes*, are deriued fro the writings of *Lactantius*, *S. Augustine*, and *Cicero*, from *Marcus Varro*, & other Authors of the Gentiles, who dyed before the birth of *Christ*, as *Lactantius* approueth. And say moreouer (of the selues) that they said, *That he shall raise the dead; The lame & impotent shall walke and runne soundly; the deafe shall heare; the blind shall see; the dumbe shall speake plainly*. A little farther is added, *With five loaves & two fishes, hee shall feede five thousand men in the wildernesse: and that which remaineth, shal serue for satisfaction to the hope of manie*. Thus farte for the first *Sibilla*.

The second, they say, was a Native of *Libia*, and therefore named *Sibilla Libica*. Of her is large mention by *Euripides* in his Prologue called *Lamia*.

The third named her selfe *Themis*, and was surnamed *Delphica*, in regard that she was borne at *Delphos*. Of her speaketh *Chrysippus*, in his booke of *Diuination*: & this woman (according to *Pliny*) the Romans made a Statue vnto; and shee liued before the destruction of *Troy*: so that *Horner* hath set downe in his workes, manie verses concerning her. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that she was called *Daphne*, and was daughter to *Titesias*, and that the *Argiues* hauing subdued *Thebes*, they sent her to *Delphos*, where afterward shee became a Prophetesse in the oracle of *Apollo*; so that (according to his relation) in that respect she was called *Delphica*.

The fourth was named *Cumaea*, or *Italiana*, & not *Cumana Amalthea*, of whom we shall haue cause to speake anon. She was a native of *Cimeria*, a City of *Campania*, neere to *Cuma*. Her learned and iudicious Propheesies, are written by *Neuysus* in the Punicke Bookes, and by *Pisonius* in his *Annales*, and referred by *Lactantius*, and by *Virgil* in his *Eglogue*, which beginneth *Sicelides musae*, &c.

The fift was that so famously remembred *Sibilla Erythraea*, who so clearly (by Gods assistance) prophesied the greater part of our Religion. V Wherefore as *Lactantius* sayeth; *In times long since, those Gentiles reputed it as folly, & a defect of braine,*

Her words agree with the Prophets and Euan-gelists.

Lact. Firm in Divin. Instit. lib. 4. cap. 15.

2. Sibilla Libica Euripid. in Proo. Lam.

3. Sibilla Delphica, called also Themis. Chrysip. in Lib. diuin. Plin. in l. 7. c. 9.

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 9. cap. 14.

4. Sibilla Cumaea, or Italiana.

Neuysus in Lib. Punic. Pisonius Annales.

5. Sibilla Erythraea.

Lact. Firm. in Divin. Instit. lib. 5.

to talke of the Sibillaes verses : because they vnderstood not how it might bee, that a virgin should haue a childe; and other supernaturall things which they wrote, beeing declared in Bookes of ancient Historians and Poets. *Appollodorus* writeth of this *Sibilla*, that the Greekes going to besiege *Troy*, shee prophesied to them that *Troy* should be destroyed. Wherefore, all those that speake of her, make her more ancient then the destruction of *Troy*: yet *Eusebius* maketh her more nouell, for hee would haue her liue at such time as *Romulus* liued in *Rome*. And *Strabo* saith, that she liued in the time of *Alexander* the Great. The Verses of this *Sibilla Erythraa*, are recited by *Eusebius*; the first words whereof, being traduced into our language, are thus: *Iesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour*: which is a most admirable thing to think on. The consideration of those verses, and their further addition, are set downe by *S. Augustine*, in his 18. Booke of the City of God, deliuering it in these expresse words:

The earth shall sweate, a signe of iudgement; from Heauen shall come a King, who shall be King for ever: and further, known in humane flesh, to the end, that by his presence he shall iudge the world. By which means, the incredulous, as well as the faithfull shall see God with their eyes, exalted among his Saints. And in the end of the world, the souls of men shall appeare in their owne flesh, and hee shall iudge them himselfe, when the rotunditie of the incalted earth, shall be full of clods of dust and grasse. Men shall cast away Idols and Images, and all their Iewels and riches. He shall penetrate the inferiour parts, and breake the gates of the darkeſt hell. Then shall fayre and cleare light be giuen to the Saints, & the flame of eternal fire shall burne the Wicked. All secrets shall be discovered, every man shall be knowne of his companion: and GOD shall discover the Consciences and hearts of all. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, and the Sunne and the Starres shall bee darkened; the heauens shall breake, and the Moone lose her light; the mountains shall be humbled, and the valleyes made equal with the hills. There shall not be any thing in the world that shall be higher or lower one the another: mountaines and valleyes shall be euen and plain, & all things shall finish. The earth shall be dried, and conuerted to dust, Wells, springs, and rivers shall burne, and with the same fire shall

the earth, sea, and ayre, be burned also. Then from heauen shall sound a Trunapet, with a dreadfull and horrible sound, and the earth in opening, shall discover the darkeneſſe and confusion of hell, and the paines & torment's of the miserable damned.

These things, and many more beside, are spoken of this *Sibilla* in those Verses, declaring clearly Christ God incarnate, with the last iudgement, and resurrection of the dead. Now these things, before they came to passe, were no way intelligible; & that was the reason, why the Ethnickes and Gentiles might holde them to be follies and mockeries. In like manner, this *Sibilla Erythraa*, knowing well that which should happen, concerning her owne selfe, spake these words: *They will repute me for a blind & mocking propheteſſe. Neuertheſſe, when those things which I speak shall be accomplished and verified, they will remember me, and no more tearme me a lyar, but a Prophetes of the Great God.*

The Romans had great store of the verses written by this *Sibilla Erythraa*, whereof *Fenestella* speaketh more at large, and saith; *That by a decree of the Senate, they sent Ambassadors vnto her, in regard of her Propheſies: and that they brought backe great store of her verses, which they laid vp in the Capitoll, with them which they had before.* She was borne in *Erythraa* in *Ionias*, a Prouince of the lesser *Asia*, and abutting vpon *Caria*: this I relate the rather, because there are found many other Citties to be of that name; as one in *Lybia*, another in *Baetia*, another in *Locris*, and another in the Isle of *Cyprus*. But that shee was of that *Erythraa* in *Ionias*, *Strabo* is my Author, and saith, *That it hath a Port on the sea, nere to a Mountaine.*

Another *Sibilla*, being the sixte, was borne in a place named *Phiton*, in the Isle of *Samos*, which is in the *Aegaeum* sea, nere to *Thrace*: or else in the other Isle of *Samos* in the same sea, and opposite against *Ephesus*, for which cause, shee was called *Sibilla Samia*, of whom further mention is made by *Eratostenes*.

The seauenth in order, is *Sibilla Cumana*, named *Amalthaea*; others call her *Demophila*; and *Suidas* tearmeth her *Hierophyla*. Shee was called *Cumana*, because shee dwelt and prophesied in the Citie of *Cuma* in *Italy*, a Prouince of *Campania*, nere vnto *Baia*. Of this woman

*Appollod.* in lib. diuinat.

*Euseb.* in Hist. Eccl. lib. 5 cap. 3

*Aug.* in lib. 18. de Ciuitate dei.

The propheſies of *Sibilla Erythraa*.

*Sibil. Erythraa* her propheſie of her selfe.

*Fenestella* in lib. de For.

\* A City in *Asia* nere vnto *Chios*.

*Strabo* in lib.

6. *Sibilla Samia* *Eratostenes*.

7. *Sibilla Cumana*.

\* A pleasant City in *Campania* on the *Scaffa*.

man

man writeth *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, *Solinus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Serutus*. This *Sibilla* brought to sell to *Tarquinius*, the proud King of *Rome*, nine feveral books; neuerthelesse, *Suidas* saith, that it was to *Tarquinius Priscus*. For which Books, she demanded three hundred peeces of gold, monie then of great value: but because the price seemed excessiue to the king, he would not buy them. Whereupon, she burned three of them in his presence, and yet demanded the same summe for the six that remained. Then the King thought her motion to be more impertinent then the former, and seemed to mocke her: whereupon she burned three more of the sixe, and told him, that she had but three left of the nine, and yet he should giue her as much for those three, as if hee had bought them all. The King being amazed at this her confident determination, and conceiuing (by good aduice) that those Bookes must needs containe some extraordinary great mysteries; bought the three at that price, which formerly she demanded for them all, and those Bookes were placed in the Capitoll, where they were held in soueraigne reuerence & veneration.

*Pliny* saith, that she had but 3 Bookes in all, and that she burned two of them, & yet would haue as much for that one, as for all the three. But it sufficeth, that those Bookes were kept in great reputation, with them that the Romanes had of the other *Sibillaes*. For as *Marcus Varro* reporteth from *Lactantius*; the Romanes bestowed great cost and paines, in searching all Cities and Townes of *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Italy*, and brought to *Rome* all the Verses & Prophecies, that could bee recouered of the *Sibillaes*; especially those of *Sibilla Erythraea*; for the care and safe keeping of which Bookes, fiftene men were particularly appointed, and none other but they might touch them. *Fenestella* sayeth, that when the Capitoll was burnt, the Senate sent againe, to entreate *Sibilla Erythraea*, to helpe them in those Bookes. In which respect it is to bee presumed, that they had not at *Rome* the Bookes of *Sibilla Cumana* onely, but likewise al the rest. And that *Sibilla*, whereof *Virgill* maketh mention in the beginning of his 6 Book, who kept herselfe at *Cuma*, where (he sayeth) *Aeneas* tooke shipping; must needs

be the other *Cuma*, whereof we haue already spoken. For it can be no way likely, that *Virgill* should suppose a *Sibilla*, at such time as *Aeneas* entred into *Italy*, nor that she liued till the fift King of *Rome*. Beside, *Seruius* interprets the same passage, saying, *Or else it must needs be, that shee who sold the Bookes, was named Cumana, although it was not her name, and yet notwithstanding, she dyed in that City.*

The eight *Sibilla*, is said to be a natiue in the Territory of *Troy*, in a place named *Marmisa*, and this woman is reputed to be very ancient. For \* *Heraclides Ponticus* saith, that she liued in the time of *Solon* the Philosopher, and of the great King *Cyrus*.

The ninth *Sibilla*, diuers Authors doe report to be of the Country of *Phrygia*, and that shee prophesied in the City of *Ancyra*; of which name were two Cities, one in *Phrygia*, and the other in *Galatia*.

The tenth *Sibilla*, named herselfe *Albunea*, and was borne in the City of \* *Tibur*, which standing sixteene miles distant from *Rome*, shee therefore was tearmed *Sibilla Tiburtina*.

Now, all these *Sibillaes* left many Bookes and Verses, wherein they prophesied of things that were to come, & principally of the fortunes of *Rome*, were they good or bad: so that in all important affaires, the Romanes would diligently search, and turne ouer the leaues of the *Sibilline* Bookes, and order their government wholly by them. And in the same manner, as when wee would haue our speeches credited, we vse to say, this is Gospell: so would they say, these are the words of *Sibilla*; such was their credite & account among them. And for this cause *Iuuenall* said,

*Credite me vobis solum recitare Sibilla.*

Heereupon some said, that the *Sibillaes* gaue their answers, written vpon leaues of Trees, as *Virgill* witnesseth in his sixt Booke. *Cicero* speaketh of those *Sibillaes* with great reuerence, saying: *As wee haue formerly done, euen so from the capitall Letters of their Verses, we may deriue, great, good, and gracious sentences.*

Among many other things, they haue spoken much of Christian Religion; concerning the birth, life, and death of *Iesus Christ*, as we haue already declared. *Sibilla*

Nine Books brought to *Tarquinius Superbus* to be sold, by this *Sibilla Cumana*.

*Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 4.*

*Mar. Varro in lib. 7. cap. 14.*

*Fenestel. in lib. de Forc.*

*Virgil. in Aen. lib. 6.*

*Seruius in l. b. 3 cap. 9.*

8 *Sibilla Hellespontina.*

\* Hee was scholler to *Plato* and *Aristotle.*

9 *Sibilla Phrygia.*

10 *Sibilla Tiburtina.*

2 A City of the Sabines 16 miles from *Rome.*

The Romanes respect of the *Sibilline* Bookes.

*Iuuenall. Virgil. in Aen. lib. 6.*

*Cicero in Diuina lib. 2.*

Diuers Prophecies concerning *Christ*

*Ioseph. in lib. 1. de Antiquit.*

*Sibilla Delphica said, The Prophet shall be borne of a Virgin, without any fleshy copulation. Another said: Hee that is to come, shall come, and shall reigne in pouerty, concealing his Souerainty, and shall come from the wombe of a Virgin. And Iosephus (although he was a Jew by race and profession) speaking of the Tower of Babylon, hath these words. Sibilla well remembred it, when she said thus. At such as men hauing but one Language, some of them shall build a very high Tower, as if thereby they would mount vp to Heauen: God shall (euen then) send great windes to destroy it, and diuers Languages shall happen among the workmen, and therefore is the Tower named Babylon.*

The acknowledgment of the Sibillaes writings.

These things, and others such like, were written by the *Sibillaes*, and acknowledged both by Christians, Jewes, and Gentiles, which the Gentiles (for their finnes) scarcely vnderstood. But it fell out well for christians afterward, into whose hands these Bookes came, as *LaFarsius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Augustine*: the knowledge of which Bookes, or the least part of their Prophecies greatly confirmed the Christian, and quite confounded the Pagane and Gentile. There is report made of some other, who were also named *Sibillaes*, because they were reputed to be Diuineresses and Prophetesses: as *Cassandra*, the daughter of King *Priamus*, and *Campusia Celophania*, the daughter of *Calcas*, and *Manta Thessalonica*, daughter to *Tiresias* the *Thebane*; neuertheless, Historians speake onely but of these ten.

Report of some other Sibillaes.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning the seuen Maruailes and Wonders of the World; what they were; also in what seuerall parts and places of the World, they are remembred to bee by grauest Writers.*

Such as haue read ancient Historians, Orators, and Poets, do finde, that they make mention in many of their Books, of 7 Meruailes or Wonders of the World, and that they were in diuers places. All they that haue written, do consent to six, but concerning the seuenth, there are variable opinions, and likewise a great diffe-

Some difference made about the 7 wonders

rence, in placing one before another. Notwithstanding, I purpose to speake first of the walles of *Babylon*, which are rancked in the number of these Wonders, & vpon good reason, because the greatnesse of the place, as also the scituation thereof, seemeth incredible.

In our former Volume, and in the Chapter of the diuersity of Languages, wee haue sufficiently declared, that they were founded in the same place, whereas *Nimrod* builded the Tower of *Babel*, and whereof the City tooke name. Concerning those walles, according to the fountest opinions, namely *Iustine*, and also as *Trogus Pompeius* saith, they were founded by the famous Queene *Semiramis*, Mother to *Ninus*. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Paulus Orosius* doe maintaine the same, with the greater part of our Gentile Authors. Neuertheless, *S. Augustine*, and *Iosephus* in his *Antiquities* say, that they were builded by *Nimrod*, assisted by the proud Gyants then liuing. But bee it, that the foundation or reparation of them was done by *Semiramis*; it is sufficient, that they were greatly ennobled by her.

The scituation of the City was with a Plaine on the one side, and on the other ran the Riuer of *Euphrates*. The modell & figure of this City, was in a quadrangle, and the walles wonderfully high, as also wrought with maruailous cunning. The matter was of stone, ioyned with Lime & Ciment, growing in the Mines of that Country; but especially in the great Lake of *Iudea*, where sometime stood *Sodome* & *Gomorrha*, named *Asphaltida*, which yeeldeth such a kinde of slime or mud, as bindeth like Pitch or Glue, the very strongest that is to be found. Historians do disagree about the height and largenes of the circuit, which might happen, through the diuersity of the measures they then vsed. *Pliny* saith, that the circuit of those walles was threescore thousand paces, so that one of the squares was fiftene thousand. He also saith, that they were two hundred foote in height, which foote exceeded by three fingers breadth, the measure of the Romane foote: and the thicknesse was fifty foote of the same measure, which was (indeed) a matter very admirable.

*Diodorus Siculus* saith, that the wals contained in all round about 360 Stades, and that

The first wonder of the world.

A reference to the first volume of this worke.

*Iustin. in Hist. abrog. lib. 1. Trog. Pomp. in lib. 3. Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 3. Ammian. Marcell. in lib. 23. Paul. Oros. in lib. 2. S. Aug. in lib. 1. de Ciuit. Dei. Ioseph. in lib. 6. de antiquit.*

The scituation of the City and Walles.

Concerning the circute of the Walles.

*Plin. in lib. 6. c. 26*

The height of them, and the thicknesse.

*Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 3.*

that they were so broad and wide, as sixe Chariots might easily be trained in front together, without offending one another. The Bridges, the Mounts, the Towers, & the Gardens, *Semiramis* caused to be made, which were works of great astonishment. It is credibly set downe in Records, that shee kept daily at this worke, three hundred thousand men, out of all the kingdoms which were subiect to her. *Quintus Curtius* addeth thereto eight Stades more in length, and saith, that they were an hundred cubites high: but *Paulus Orosius* saith, that they were 480 Stades in length, which amount (taking six score & five paces in euery Stade) to threescore thousand paces, as *Pliny* said. *Strabo* saith and affirmeth, that they contained three hundred, eighty five Stades, and also that they were so broad, as the former named Chariots might in that manner goe on them, and yet not hurt or hinder one another, in their passing along together.

Moreouer, Authors doe report maruaylous things, of Gardens made vpon the Arches and Towres, wherein grew Trees of vnmeasurable height. *Iulius Solinus* confirms the same with *Pliny*. Some among the Authors do auouch, that the walles without, were engirt with Ditches full of water, as large and deepe as an indifferent wide Riuer. In this City there were an hundred Gates of mettall, very admirable. And for conclusion, all that is written of the greatnesse and height of the walles, may well be credited, because (in truth) this City was the proudest in the whole world, and long time held the vniuersall Monarchy, which is an especial argument of her greatnesse. And the same is also described by *Aristotle*, when he saith: *That being once taken with enemies, they that dwelt at the one end or side of the City, had no advertisement thereof, till three whole daies space after.*

The second place of the worlds wonders, we giue to the Colossus of the Sun, which was at *Rhodes*. It was a Statue or Figure of a man, offered by the Gentiles, and dedicated to the Sunne, and some say to *Jupiter*. It was made of mettall, of an incredible greatnesse, and in height also like a huge Tower: so that it could hardly be imagined, how it was made and raised in that manner. *Pliny*, who discourseth on all things, saith, that it contained three

score and ten cubites in height, and although at the making of it, there were many good workmen continually labouring; yet were they twelue years before it could be perfected, and it cost three hundred Talents. He that vnderooke the workmanship thereof, was named *Cares*, an Indian by birth, and Scholler to *Lysippus*.

This Statue was so immeasurably great, as it seemed, that the earth could not any longer sustaine it, because according to *Pliny* and *Paulus Orosius*, it stood not aboue sixe and fifty yeares: at the end of which time it fell, by reason of a great quaking and trembling of the earth. After which fall, and namely in the time of *Pliny*, many went to see it as a thing to wonder at. For, saith he, there were few men found, that could embrace the great fingers of this Statue: so that the very least of his fingers, was greater then any other Statues, how great soeuer. And yet he speaketh of an hundred other Colosses of meaner stature, which were also at *Rhodes*. But that is nothing to our purpose, except some one be desirous to say, that in regard of this greet one, and the other lesser, the *Rhodians* thereon were called *Colossenses* or *Colostians*. But that opinion is not approued by *Erasmus*, for he saith; *That those Colostians to whom S. Paul wrote, were people of a City in Phrygia, named Colossa.*

Returning then againe to our wonderfull Colossus, I say that it lay there ruined a very long time, euen till the dayes of Pope *Martin* the first, which was in the yeare sixe hundred, when the Infidels, and the Soldane of Egypt their Captaine, came vpon the *Rhodians*, and according as *Platina* writeth in the life of Pope *Martin*, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in the third part of his Booke: they carried away that which they found of the reliques of this Colossus, and they finde nine hundred Camels to be loden with the mettall. Of other Colosses that were at *Rhodes*, and in other places, nothing so great, we purpose not to speake, because our present aime is at the seuen Wonders of the world onely.

In the third place, wee determine the Piramides of Egypt, and vndoubtedly, if that be true which Historians haue written of them, they are things deseruing admiration.

\* A notable Caruer of Sicyon.

*Paul. Oros. in lib. 2.*

*Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 26.*

A fruitious obiection answered by *Erasmus*.

\* A Towne of Phrygia, not farre from Laodicea.

*Platina in vit. Martini Pap. An. Sabellic. in lib. 3.*

The third wonder of the world.

Stade is re  
ped 200  
paces.

three hundred  
thousand men  
on worke  
daily.

*Paul Oros. in  
lib. 2.*

*Strabo in  
lib. 16.*

*Solin Poly-  
in lib. 3. c. 9.*

an hundred  
Gates of met-  
tall in the  
City.

*ist. in Politic.  
3.*

the second  
order of the  
world.  
The Colossus  
of the Sunne  
at Rhodes.

*Plin. in lib.  
cap. 26.*

The Piramids of Eg: pt.

The Etimologie of the word Piramid.

Plin. in lib. 9. 66. cap. 2. Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 1.

Strabo in lib. 17. Pomponius Mela in lib. 1.

Her. dot. lib. 2. Ammian. Marcell. in lib. 1.

The bredth of euery quate.

Three hundred & threescore thousand men employed dayly, twenty yeares pace.

built

miration. These Piramids were certaine buildings, which began beneath in quadrangle forme, and so rose vp (in a diminishing manner) a huge height, in the shape of a painted Diamond. And yet notwithstanding, they were of such greatnesse and taulnesse, consisting of such and so many stones, as also wrought with such perfection, as it is no easie matter to describe them, neyther to winne credible opinion of them. And yet (me-thinks) things so sufficiently authorized, by Authors both Christians and Gentiles, men well esteemed and approued; their credence is not rashly to be slighted or denied. These Piramids then are as very high towers, finishing in a spire or sharp point, and the etimology of the word commeth of *Pyr* in Greeke, as much to say, as fire, because it seemeth, that the height commeth to lessen and fayle, like as a flame of fire doth.

Among all other Piramids, Historians make particular mention of 3 which were in Egypt, betweene the City of *Memphis*, which is now the *Cayro*, and the Isle that maketh or createth *Nilus*, named *Delta*, one of which is rancked among the seuen wonders. For it is said, that to the making thereof, there were continually employed three hundred and threescore thousand men, and the work lasted twenty whole yeares. Many do affirme it, and particularly *Pliny* in speaking more amply, alledging twelue authors for his warrant, as *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and many more, whereof some say, that the foundation and ground-work of this Piramid, couered and contained eyght dayes iourney of ground: others say seauen, and most agree on sixe, and as many (little more or lesse) in the height. *Pliny* saith, that each quadrangle or square contained 883 foote in bredth. The stones were of Marble, brought out of *Arabia*, and *Pomponius Mela* maintaineth, that the most part of them were thirty foote in largenesse. Whereby may be gathered, that so many thousand men must needs be busied, some in cutting and squaring these stones, others in bringing and carrying them, and other in laying them, beside the mighty multitudes, employed for fetching them so far off, and about other necessary occasions.

Of the other Piramids the like is spoken, at least of the other two fore-named, one whereof was made by the vanity of the Kings of Egypt, who were the very richest in all the world: as well by the fruitfulnessse of the earth, as in regard also, that no man possessed any thing in proper, but onely the King. Beside, after such time as *Ioseph* the Sonne of *Iacob*, aduised *Pharaoh*, to preserue the Corne in seuen yeares abundance, as prouision for the time of famine: during which space, by meanes of that Corne, he had all the Lands of his people. Thus you see how the Kings became rich, and were serued by their subiects, euen as if they had bene their slaues. And Historians doe faithfully report, that the Kings caused those Piramids to bee builded, onely to feed their people that labored about the, and because they should leaue no wealth to their successors. For they affected rather, to dispense in this manner with their people, then that any of their heyres should attaine the meanes to exceed the deceased by their goods and money.

I finde it recorded also, that those Piramids serued for Sepulchers to their Kings. And whosoever doth well consider the multitude of hebrew people that serued in Egypt, and by whom the Kings made their Citties and Fortresses to bee builded, will not be much amazed heereat, in regard that it is very certaine, that sixe hundred thousand men on foote, beside a great multitude of women & small children, departed out of that seruitude, and that all of them were employed, and serued in those wonderfull works: Whereby it is no meruaile at all, that such buildings should be made; for good Authors do auouch, that in Rootes, Garlike, and Onions, to sustaine the multitude of workers, there were dispensed 18 hundred Talents, which at the rate (now adayes vsed) is a million and foure-score thousand Crownes. *Diodorus* saith, that round about it, and a large compasse also somewhat farr off, there was not to bee seene the very smallest stone, neyther apparence that any man had trodden there, nor any signe of a foundation; but onely Sand, as small as the finest Salt. Whereby it seemed, as if that Piramid had bene planted there by Gods owne hand, or to haue growne so naturally; and the top appeared

The Kings of Egypt the richest of the world.

The reason building the Piramids.

Those Piramids were Sepulchers for their Kings.

In what manner the workers were fed.

Diodor Sicul. in lib. 1. cap. 1.

red to touch heauen.

If we set aside those ancient Bookes, we shal yet finde testimonies of our owne times. *Peter Martyr of Millaine*, a very learned man, who was Ambassadour for the Kings Catholique, *Don Ferdinand*, & *Dame Isabell*, to the Soldane of Egypt, in the yeare 1501. wrote a Booke of what he had seene and done in his Ambassage. There he declareth, (as he did the like by word of mouth) that hee had seene those Piramids, & agreeth with that which those ancient Authours had written of them. Particularly, he speaketh of two seene by him, which were of incredible height, and saith, that he measured the square of one, finding it to be 315. paces; so that it contained about thirteen hundred in circuit, and on each side very huge stones made vp the buildings. Moreover he saith, that certaine men in his company, ascended vp one of them, with very great labour, & long space of time, and they declared to him, that on the toppe of all (as we vse to say) there was one stone wholly of it selfe, so great, as thirty men might easily stand vpon it. And when they were aboue, they said, they seemed as if they had lost their sight, and onely with looking downward, and tooke themselues to bee in a Cloud, such was the extremitie of height, their braines being much troubled, and turned vpside-downe. So that (saith hee) there neede no doubt at all be made, concerning the great number of people employed, and the expences spoken of, in doing those works.

The fourth Meruaile or VVonder, was the *Mausolaa*. *Artemisia* was wife to *Mausolus*, King of *Caria*, a Province in the greater *Asia*. This woman (according to *Aulus Gellius*, and other historians) so dearely affected her husband, as it was generally recorded for a most notable example. Her husband the king dying first, she lamented his death with teares and complaints, more then were of ordinary custome. Needs would she erect a Toombe or Sepulcher for him, answerable to the extraordinary loue shee bare him; and such (indeede) it prooued to be, that it was recorded among the seuen wonders of the world. The stone of the whole constructure, was of a most excellent Marble, consisting of foure hun-

dred and eleuen foote in circuite: about, and fise and twenty cubites in height: it had also about it, fixe and twenty Colombs of admirable stone; and likewise of as famous sculpture.

The building was open on all sides, with Arches of seuentie three foote in wideneffe: and it was framed by the hands of the most exquisite workmen then to be found. The part towards the East, was made & engrauen by *Scopas*; that on the North, by *Briax*; the South side by *Timotheus*, and that on the West, by *Leochares*. The perfection of the work was such, and that on the whole body so sumptuous & beautifull, as partly it was therefore called *Mausolaa*, and in regard also of the king, for whom it was made: so that euen to this verry day, when any Toombes of such superficiall Arte are made, they are called *Mausolas*. Of these things mention is made by *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*: *Strabo* also remembreth them, so doth *Aulus Gellius*, and many other historians. It is found written, that *Artemisia*, after the death of her husband, liued in continuall teares and mourning, and that she dyed before the worke could be fully finished: hauing drunke the bones of her husband, beare into powder, which she burned and buried in her owne body, that it might be the Sepulcher for his.

THE fift Edifice of these VVonders, was the Temple of *Diana*, whom the Gentiles adored as a Goddesse, and it was builded in the City of *Ephesus* in *Asia*, in the Prouince of *Ionia*. Of this Temple, great speech was made throughout the world: so that one named *Democritus*, wrote a particular Booke thereof. *Pliny* writing of this Temple, saith that the *Amazones* caused it to bee builded, and that it contained foure hundred and fise and twenty foote in length, and two hundred and twenty in largeness. The worke was so admirably arteficiall, that it had 220 yeares to the perfecting. It was built in a Lake, to preuent the peril of earthquakes; and it is said withall, that on the foundation was laide great store of coale-dust, & wooll thereupon, the better to make firm and sure the moist and marshy place. It had an hundred and seuen Colombs or Pillars of most excellent Marble, & each of them was made by all the Kings of *Asia*:

What famous workmē made the Toombe, such as the world as then had not their like.

*Plin* in lib. 35. cap. 5.  
*Pomp. Mela* in lib. 1.  
*Herodot.* in l. 1.  
*Strabo* in lib. 7.  
*Aul. Gellius* Noct. Attic.

The fift Wonder of the world. The Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

*Plin.* in lib. 16. cap. 34.

The foundation of the Temple.

he testimonie of learned Peter Martyr of Millaine, concerning his owne sight of those Piramids.

great large stone on the top of the Pyramid.

the fourth wonder of the world. Mausolus tomb. Aulus Gellius Noct. Attic.

*sia*: thirty seuen of them were of most curious cunning and sculpture, and all the other of the choyest Marble.

The principall Masters of this worke, according to *Pliny*, was *Dresiphon*: but beleeuing *Strabo*, it was *Archiphron*. Notwithstanding, this diuersity of opinion is sufferable, considering, what length of time the businesse lasted: and therefore there must needs be more then one Master, especially for so many performances & varieties, in the diuersity of such times and intelligence. *Solinus* and *Pomponius Mela* say, that the *Amazones* builded & dedicated this Temple: and yet *Solinus* affirmeth, that when the mighty King *Xerxes* went to the conquest of Greece, & that he burned all the Temples; yet hee reserued this onely still standing. All Historians do consent with one accord, that the Pillars of this Temple supported the planked seeling of wood, the most excellently wrought that could be deuised, and that this whole couering was of Cedar, and all the doores and wainscotted works were of Cipres.

Yet aftereward, a villaine seeing this solemne and soueraigne building, conceiued a lewd desire to burne it, as (indeed) he did. And being taken for the fact, confessed, that he did it to no other ende, but to leaue a famous renoune of his deed to the world. Wherefore *Valerius Maximus*, in his titles of desire of renoune, and *Aulus Gellius* affirmeth also, that it was prohibited (vnder grieuous penalty) that any man should doe so much as write his name, because he should vtterly lose the fame and renoune, which he so earnestly affected. Yet all this serued to slender purpose, for *Solinus* and *Strabo* both say, that he was named *Herostratus*, and that of him came vp the vsuall Prouerbe, that when any man would striue to be famous for some vicious deed; people would commonly say; *This is the renoune of Herostratus*.

To speake yet of some other memorable matters to this purpose, it deserueth some respect to remember, that the very same day as the Temple was burning, *Alexander* the Great, was borne, the Conquerour of all *Asia*; heereof are Authors, *Plutarch* in the life of *Alexander*, and *Cicero*, in his second booke of the Gods nature, where he speaketh it in two places,

and likewise in his booke of diuination. Further he saith, that while the Temple burned, the Sages prognosticated the destruction of all *Asia*; euen as afterward it was ouercome by *Alexander*. Some do write, that this Temple was built againe afterward, in much more great and excellent manner then before, and that the Master of the worke was named *Democrates*.

**T**HE sixt Wonder, was the Idoll or Image of *Iupiter Olympus*, which was in his Temple in *Achaia*, betweene the Cities of *Elis* and *Pisa*: and the place was named *Olympus*, as also the Temple, in regard of *Iupiter Olympus*, of whom write both *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela*. They maintaine, that this Statue or Image, which stood in the Temple, was much renowned, as well for artificiaall perfection and admirable workmanship, as also for the greatnesse thereof. It was made of *Porphiry*, some say of *Iuory*, and by the hand of *Phidias*, the most excellent Caruer and Engrauer for Imagery (in *Gold* or *Iuory*) that euer was; albeit *Pliny* nameth diuers other. *Strabo* saith, that the excellency thereof consisted in the greatnes, and yet the matter which made it more admirable, was in being wrought of *Porphiry*, knit and vnited together of infinite small peeces.

Some say, that *Phidias* was taxed with one onely imperfection, to wit, that hee had not proportioned the Image to the capacity of the Temple, because hee had made it sitting, and so great, as when due consideration was made, what the height thereof would haue bene, if he had made him standing vpright on his feet, the temple had no way bene able to haue contained him.

Neuerthelesse, the renoune of this Image did most highly illustrate the place, and made the Temple more knowne, then otherwise it would haue bene, although it was formerly held in great esteeme, by reason that in the very same place, were kept the sports and wrastlings called *Olympian*. And thence it came, that the yeares were counted by *Olympiades*, which they made from five yeares to five yeares: which pastimes were first instituted by *Hercules*, and afterward being left off, they were againe re-established by *Aemanius*, but (ac-

*Strabo in li. 14*

*Solin. in cap. 14*  
*Pomponius Mela in li. 1.*

*Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 49.*

*Valer. Max. in lib. 4.*  
*Aul. Gel. in li. 2.*

*Solin. in lib. 3. cap. 14.*  
*Strabo in li. 14.*

The fame of *Herostratus*.

*Plin. in vit. A. lex.*  
*Cicero in Nat. Deor. lib. 2. et in lib. de Diuinitat.*

The 6<sup>th</sup> Wonder of the world. The Image of *Iupiter Olympus*.

*Strabo in lib. Pomponius Mela in lib. 2.*

*Plin. lib. 35. et 36.*

The place where the *Olympian* games were kept, being five in number, viz. *Carus*, *Cursus*, *Saltus*, *Dicent*, *Palæstra*.

according to some Authours) by *Sphiron*, foure or five yeares after the destruction of *Troy*, especially according to *Eusebius*, and then began the yeare of the first *Olympiade*.

Now concerning the seventh Wonder, some say, that it was a Tower which stood in the Isle of *Pharos*, neere to the City of *Alexandria* in Egypt. *Pharos* was a small Island, long and narrow, seated on the coast of Egypt, ouer against the mouth of *Nilus*, which in former time (according to *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*) was wholly (as it were) engirt with firme Land, and afterward in the times of these Authours, the Sea embraced this firme land, excepting onely a Bridge, whereby men went from the one place to the other. In the firme land is the great City of *Alexandria*, builded by *Alexander* the Great; which City was afterward a Colony of *Iulius Caesar*. In this Isle (named *Pharos*, after the name of a great Pilot, which belonged to *Menelaus*, and was there buried) the Kings of Egypt erected a Tower of Marble, maruailous in height and cunning workmanship, vpon a Mountain enuironed with water: the artificall performance of which Tower was such, that it cost 800. Talents, which value foure hundred and fourescore thousand Crownes, after the computation of *Budaus*. And it was built for no other purpose, but to set vp (in the night time) a lighted fire thereon, Beacon-wise, to guide and direct such Ships as came to take landing there: and this Tower, according to the greatest opinions, was erected by King \* *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, and the Master Architect that made it, was named *Sistratus*, which is confirmed to vs by *Pliny*.

*Cæsar* in his Commentaries, highly praiseth the height and workmanship of this Tower; and saith, that it was also called *Pharos*, as taking name of the Island. As much saith *Ananias Marcellinus*, declaring the history of this Tower. Also *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, in the ende of his 34. Chapter saith, that all the Towers which were afterward made, and for the like occasion, each of them was named *Pharos*, after the name of this, as was the *Pharos* of *Messina*, and in other places. And I am of the minde, that the kindled fires or lights, which are ordinarily carried in Ships, as guides to other in the night, vpon

this occasion are called *Pharos*.

Thus this Tower is the last of the wonders, although (by diuers) it is not named in their number, but in stead thereof, the hanging gardens of *Babylon* are reckoned, wherof we haue already spoken. *Last Antiquus Firmianus* confirmeth it, and saith, that these gardens were vpon Arches & Towers, yet sheluing downward, admirable for great Trees in no meane abundance, and great store of Fountains: the forme of this building is amply described by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Cælius Rhodiginus*, discoursing on the seven Wonders of the world, doth not insert this Tower of *Pharos*; but the Obelisque of *Semiramis*, which was made after the same structure and forme of a Pyramid, for it began so in a quadrangle, and finished vpward in a point, and there was no difference betweene an Obelisque and a Pyramid; but that the Obelisque was all of one entire peece, and therefore of no such height as the Pyramids. I finde it written, that some of them haue bin great, like Towers, and of a very goodly stone. There is one now at Rome, nam'd a Needle, which was brought out of Egypt; and it is admirable, to see the greatnes therof, as also to iudge how it was brought thither. Concerning the Obelisque of *Semiramis*, wherof *Cælius* reporteth, and nameth it in the number of the 7 Wonders: he findeth it credibly auouched, that it was an 130. foot in height, and 24 foote square in a quadrangle, so that the whole circuite was 90 foote, and this Stone was so taken whole, out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, & by the command of *Semiramis*, brought into *Chaldean Babylon*. But in truth, when due consideration is made, how it should be taken out of the Quarry, brought thence, and erected vp on end: it might appeare a matter incredible, if Antiquity had not yeilded things as strange, and certified to vs by Authours, well deseruing beleefe, yea, and of other great Obelisks, made by the kings of Egypt. *Pliny* describeth how they are fetcht soorth of their Quarries. Of the Pyramids, Obelisks, Statues, & Colosses, mention is made by *Polyphius*, in y beginning of his Booke, cald *Hypnerotomachia*. Therefore I need not to make any further relation of them, fearing I haue offended already, by presuming ouer-farre vpon your patience, in what hath bin said, concerning these 7 Wonders of the world.

the seventh Wonder of the World. the Tower of Pharos.

in lib. 2. in lib. 5. p. 7.

ow the Isle me to be lled Pharos

He also made a good Library, which contained 50000. vobes. in lib. 35. p. 10. l. Cæf. in comment. lib. 4.

in lib. 1. in cap. 34

The hanging Gardens of Babylon. Last Antiquus Firmianus Diu. lib. 4.

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 1. Cæl Rhod. in l. 3

The Obelisque of Semiramis.

Cæsar's Needle at Rome, a true Obelisque.

The height of Semiramis Obelisque, and the squarenes

Plin. lib. 6. cap. 8. & 9.

Polyph. in lib. Hypnerotomachia.

CHAP. VIII. The Oration of *Antipater*, the Father to *Herod*, which he made before *Cæsar*, standing accused, for following *Pompey's* part.

THE ARGUMENT.

After that *Pompey* had bin vanquished by *Cæsar*, he was massacred in *Egypt*, by them whose liues he had sometime saued. *Antigonus* the *Iew*, aspiring to the Royalty, accused (before *Cæsar*) *Antipater* the *Idumæan*, to haue serued and fauoured *Pompey* in his enterprizes. And that he had done no matter of seruice in *Egypt*, which could bee interpreted for *Cæsar*; but rather for the succour of *Mithridates*, and to couer his fault committed in following *Pompey*. But *Antipater*, for the better apparance of his good seruices, renting off his garments, shewed what wounds he had receiued in the seruice of *Cæsar*, and suddenly accompanied this scarry testimony, with these words ensuing.

The effect of the accusation objected by *Antigonus* against *Antipater*.

Wounds are a Soldiours speaking witness, when himselfe is silent.



Behold heere assured and certaine witnesses, of my hatred against *Cæsar*, these wounds so apparant, and which are shining markes of my soules conceptions, to speak & defend the poore accused criminall. I offer to thee (*Lord Cæsar*) these wounds, as pledges of that affection which lies hidden in my heart, and wherof I make you a liberall present. These are the gages of my faith, and this is an obligation written in my heart, and which wil remaine engrauen heere all my life time. If you will not please to credite my fellowes in Armes, nor to listen to the of my Nation; let it be demanded of mine enemies, and know from them, for whose sake I haue receiued all these wounds. And what is the reason that I am thus pursued? but because I haue bin noted loyally affected, in offering you my faithfull seruice.

I vnderstand and perceiue, that mine enemy reprocheth me with friendship to *Pompey*, and fixeth before his owne eyes, that I haue fauoured his cause. I confesse (*Lord Cæsar*) I confesse, that I haue bin a friend, not to men, but to the *Romane* name: and that neuer my desires were elsewhere addicted, nor my duty & diligence any way applyed, but onely in doing my most humble seruice to the Senate and people of *Rome*. I haue then born Arms, not for a *Romane*, neither for his particular profite, but for the seruice of all. And let the case be admitted, that *Pompey* was acceptable to me, that I carried his cause, and maintained his quarrell; wherein am I therefore to be blamed? Hee was long time (before) my friend, that hee had war with you, or any discord grew betweene him and *Cæsar*. Moreouer (my Lord) he was your Kinsman, and you were his Father in law. He being in *Iudea*, there was

A free and most honorable confession.

not any particular affection (whatsoeuer) that made me follow him: for I assisted him, as being Generall of the *Roman* Army. And yet notwithstanding, I neuer hazarded my selfe so far for him, neither did he euer finde such kinde knowledge of affection in me; as (for his sake) to take so many wounds, as I haue receiued in seruing you. It is for you that I gaue the pledges of death, and for whom I became an enemy to mine owne body, exposing it to the Darts, Arrowes, and Weapons of your enemies.

But is it any matter of amazement, if a slave, nursed vp in seruitude, do not know what wounds are, nor the hazards happening in warre? Or should it offend any man, if a disloyall fugitiue should be ignorant what the worth of faith is, and what honesty remains among good minded men? Who can reprove me, but this my perpetuall enemy and yours, for sayling in loue and affection to the people of *Rome*? I am astonished, how *Antigonus* should be so hardy, as daring to blame or accuse any man before the *Romans*, against who it is his custome to make war; and that he should be so impudent, to make complaint before them, as if his Realme were snatcht or rauisht from him. If it were so, yet his power should not bee exercised for his greatnesse or aduancement: but onely to seize on you, to assaile the *Romane* Legions, & to practise vengeance against you for his father and brother. It much amazeth me, that such a wretch, & so vnthankfull as he is, feareth not the throne of the *Romane* Emperour, but dare (euen there) oppose and pursue innocents: without remembering, that a Kinsman of his, and a companion in the crime, hath there beene punished for felony, treason, and reuolt.

A Soldiour stands obliged to follow his Generall.

The Coward cannot iudge of blowes, nor the disto all, of faithfulness.

THE EFFECT.

Reason appearing (in Cæsars iudgment) to be vpon Antipaters side, he iudged also for him, and gaue him the gouernment of Iudea. By this meanes hee opened him the way, to giue the Iewish kingdome to the children of the said Antipater, and disseized them that were of the blood Royall, and of the true seed of Dauid.

CHAP. IX. The Oration of Herod to his Martiall troopes, being vpon the point of fighting with the Arabes.

THE ARGUMENT.

Herod seeing that his Army stood like men amazed, as fearing a disadvantageable successe of the warre, through (I know not what) superstitious conceite, grounded vpon prodigies, and tremblings of the earth, which at that time had happened, and in regard whereof, his Souldiers shewed themselues very unwilling to fight against the Arabes: Hee laboured by this Oration to perswade them, that all such things are naturall, exhorting them, not to leaue the victory to their enemies, for any distrust in them; and these were his words.



THE forces of the enemy hauing bin enfeebled and abated by many of our aduantageable encounters, full of fortune to vs, and transporting them with furious despaire, yea, making them to massacre our Legates and Ambassadors: I cannot chuse but meruaile, how you should be thus affrighted without any occasion. At leastwise, it were reasonable and dreadlesse, without some good foundation, to preferre accidentall occasions to any euident successe, when men are assured of their owne vertue and forwardnesse. We haue had some encountering with the enemy, where the Arabes did not turne their backs vpon vs, & yet dealt but fraudulently (as they can well do) not to vanquish, but to delay vs from the victory: which matters, as they ought to encourage ye to the fight, so you should withall consider, that as you haue felt (I know not what) weakning of hart, by some earthquakes hapning, they should be no terrors at all to vs, no more then to thē, who stand with vs to endure this war.

And if we would but respect, on whom the damage of this persecution is false, you should perceiue, that it is vpon the Arabes, constraining them to keepe themselves in the field, because they should be still before them, that far go beyond them in courage and valiancy. For I see, that they distrust their owne strength & manhood, and yet taking heart, on the hopeful ruine of our troopes, they will needs aduenture to endure the war. But alas, that is a feeble hope, which proceedeth

not from his owne proper vertue and valour, but rather dependeth vpon others misery: insomuch, as there is nothing more fraile nor mutable, then are felicities and aduersities hapning to men. For the estate & condition of humane occasions, whatsoeuer ouerthrowes they chāce to feelee, relieth vpon a very little time, & as felicity is neuer durable; euen so aduersity can neuer bee perpetuall, and a man continueth no longer miserable, then hee had a precedent time to bee fortunate. And of all these I can giue you a goodly and most manifest example.

In the first fights, wee had the victory ouer the Arabes, but war taking his course and altering the lot and fortune thereof; we were vanquished by them whom (not long before) wee surmounted and ouerthrew. Which therefore yeeldeth reason to beleuee, that we shall againe conquer them which vanquished vs: considering, that presumption is alwayes guided by indiscretion and want of fore-sight, whereas aduised feare armeth men with prouidence, to fit themselves for following successes, and thereby to learne duty and diligence. It neuer is otherwise in the state of felicity, but that boldnesse and temerity are equall companions, and want of discretion in Souldiers, neuer carries for the wise aduice & counsell of their Captaines; in brieft, they rush into the warre, without their leaue or commission. But I see that you are iudiciously fearefull, which makes mee to hold the victory so much the more assured. Courage then (deare friends and companions) take hart and hardiment, by aduancing the glorious and ancient magnanimity of the Iewes your Predecessours.

The vncertainty of mens felicities and aduersities.

Presumption maketh a man improvident, but discrete feare maketh him wise.

and prodigious and superstitious opinions continued in mens braines, make them forwards to arlike attempts.

An Army vnder the shadow of fraud and deceit, seekes for meanes of conquering, rather to delay the victory from his enemies.

Ordinary and naturall occasions should neuer breed dismay in Soldiours.

And let not the mouings of insensible things, breed any terrour in you, neither carry any conceite, that earthquakes can be any argument or presage, of any other disauster or mishap, then what hath already happened. For the Elements haue their defects as well as we, and no other harme or danger is to be doubted, then what ensueth to themselues: considering, that neither tremblings of the earth, nor mortality of creatures are but their owne injuries, and signifie no other perill or prejudice at all.

And yet we should not feare to suffer matter of greefe, in regard that (already) we haue endured most afflicting and insupportable greuances: he that hath punished vs, will bee appeased, and become againe as milde vnto vs, as if hee had not chastised vs. For what can we expect from him, after this irksome pestilence, but only his holy fauour and mercy, seeing for two offences, he hath bin pleased to afflict and punish vs? For the rest, as concerning that which belongeth to this war, all is in his entire condition; because the plague hath ended them that were not in the Campe, and our victory hath taken them from the enemy, euē those men that were the cheefest for his battailes. If our Flocks or Heards of Cattell are dead, the enemy hath had a losse of much better things, being bereft both of wit and sence, when (contrary to all right and equity) he slew our Ambassadors. The *Arabes* haue

broken the law common to all Nations: for no people are so cruell and barbarous, but Ambassadors ought to be inuiolably respected of them.

Let them therefore expect from God, a iust vengeance for such crimes, to chastise their euill doing; for the sinnes of our aduersaries are of such importance, as there is not any law, be it humane or diuine, that will leaue them vnpunished. Let vs go forth then, yea, let vs go to fight; not to get their spoiles, or conquer their lands; but for the glory of God, and the defence of his honour. Let not the loue of your wiues and children spur ye on to the war; but only the diuine fauour, which you know to be present with you. So going on this manner to the fight, our desires shall not be thereby effected, but our obedience to God, for doing vengeance on them, whom the Law forbiddeth any man to touch. Beside, Ambassadors are they, who (among the furies of armed enemies) onely mediate peace, & such men are neuer numbered or ranked with aduersaries; because their blood being shedde, cryeth incessantly for iust vengeance in our soules. Haste wee then in going to the fight, in regard that God is hee, which offereth himselfe to reuenge our friends slaine. The very murdred Ambassadors will fight for vs more furiously, and better then our selues: and ringed round with a squadron of Angels, let vs on to the battaile, and vter confusion of our enemies.

Ambassadors ought to be respected of the people, how barbarous so euer.

Ambassadors are neuer counted or ranked among other enemies.

#### THE EFFECT.

By these words of the Generall, the Iewish Soldiours recovered heart, and seeking occasion to affront the enemy, at length assayed them with such fury; as the Arabes were enforced to fight, and had a great losse of men. Beside, such as fled, retired into the Mountaines; except a part of them, which yeelded themselues to the Iewes. The rest, affecting rather to die like honest men, then submit themselues basely; fell to handy blowes againe, where they were slaine and hewd in peeces, yet not without leauing sufficient testimony to the Iewes, of their valor.

CHAP. X. The Oration of *Herod* before *Augustus Caesar*, who had conceiued anger against him, because he had taken part, and followed *Marke Anthony*.

#### THE ARGUMENT.

*Augustus Caesar*, hauing vanquished *Marke Anthony* in *Egypt*, it seemeth he was aduised, that except he chastised *Herod* also, he was not fully possessed of the victory. *Herod* tasting the euill affection of this Prince, went to him to *Rhodes*, where presenting himselfe, and vsing the generosity of an inuincible spirit, he declared to *Augustus*; that if he did not helpe *Anthony*, it was not through want of any good will, but because he had no meanes to do it. Affecting much rather, to confesse that he had beene an enemy to *Cæsar*, then shew himselfe ingratefull to his friend. And although he presented himselfe before him, without a kingly Crowne on his head, and cloathed like a man that had no dignity: yet his words expressed the Maiesty of a great Prince, and these were they.

Diuers hard measures wer offered to *Herod*, which made him rather goe to *Augustus*, then he to send for him.

I Confesse (O mighty Monarch *Augustus*) that I haue beene a loyall companion to *Marke Anthony* in his sayres, as to the man, from whom I receiued the kingdome of *Iudea*. And I will not deny, but that I was very highly beholding to him, as I would more plainely haue expressed by Armes, if the enuy of *Cleopatra* had not giuen mee hinderance, and if the *Arabes* had not broken my designs and enterprizes. For which cause, and constrained by such necessities, I came not against you (in his assistance) with weapons in my hand: because I had no desire at all to forgoe my deare friend, and much lesse was I affraid to enter battaile against you in his behalfe; but onely in this respect, that I was busied in defending mine owne Countries. And albeit that I assisted him not personally in the battaile, yet *Anthony* found mee not vnthankfull to him; for I furnished him with men and victuals, for the succouring and refreshing of his Army, and I am well assured (*Great Augustus*) that you would not haue thought me ingratefull to *Mark Anthony*, if you had beene in the battaile at *Actium*.

You see Sir, that I hide not my selfe, fearing more to be reputed ingratefull on your aduersaries behalfe, then doubting that any one should imagine me your enemy. I make more account of your iudgement, then of all the successe of warre: because before you, the merits of vertue are not in any perill, in regard you know how to purchase honor, and punish iniur-behaviours and vices. Consider (*gentle Prince*) that as I neuer forsooke *Anthony*, so long as Fortune spake fairely to him: euen so, all disasters, and dead as he is, cannot yet make mee to forget and leaue him. You haue vanquished (*O Caesar*) you haue vanquished *Marke Anthony*, by power, and by a great number of your Legions; you haue surmounted him by the wisdome of your Councils: the strength of the Empire hath cast him downe, from which hee was farre gone, and whereof he made not any reckoning;

your vertues haue ouerthrowne him, or rather he hath beene ruined by his owne vices. For an Egyptian woman charmed and enchanted him; the delights of *Egypt* made him too soft and delicate, yea, he was wholly effeminately drowned in the *Alexandrian* luxuries. In brieft, hee hath beene conquered, because he better affected to be cast downe with *Cleopatra*; then to conquer without her: and so to be deiected by a woman, was more grieuous and insupportable to his friends, then euer it could be to his enemies.

I aduised him, to vntwine himselfe from that wretched woman, and to bee the death of a beast so dangerous; I promised him succour in his affaires, and forces to preuaile by in his flight; yea, I offered to beare him company in this warre: But the miserable man, was so doating on the beauties of that woman, and meerey enchanted by *Cleopatra*, as hee is brought to be iust nothing, by reason that he wold not belecue me. I confesse (*Great Caesar*) that I am also conquered with him, but yet my offence is not so great, for although *Cleopatra* quite quailed, and made a dishonourable prey of poore *Anthony*; yet she had not the like power ouer mee: And as hee would not abandon that barbarous wanton woman, euen so could not I forgoe my great friend in his aduersities. It was hee that did sette a Royall Crowne on my head, neuertheless, I would not bee so bold to appeare in your presence, with the ornaments I receiued from so loyall a friend, fearing to offend you by those fauours which he did to me: & yet, although I haue left off my known liueries of dignity, I haue not lost a iote of my greatnesse in courage. You may iudge therefore as it shall seeme best to your selfe; for whatsoeuer sentence you pronounce on me, yet I am sure to carry this reputation with me, and to my no meane contentment; that I was good and perfect in mine affections; that I left not my friend in life nor death, and neyther good or bad fortune had power to ouerthrow me,

Monstrous is the misery, when a man leaues a loyall friend, and leanes to the base allurements of a lasciuious woman.

benefit re- iued, doth oblige a friend, as feare can epe him on confes- git.

There is no- thing compa- rable to the fire aff-ctio- of one ma- another; it is far be- yond the loue of women.

Princes would banish flatterers from about their court, their flattery would be with the more glorious honour.

CHAP. XI. *The magnanimous answer of Augustus to Herod, confirming him in his dignity, whereby is demonstrated, that a Prince ought rather to affect truth spoken by his friend, then feigned flattery, comming from the mouth of a dissembling counterfeite. And therefore Augustus perceiuing how freely Herod had spoken to him, confessing himselfe rather his enemy, then ingratefull towards Mark Anthony, and taking delight in his libertie of speech, as proceeding from a generous and royall heart; returned him this answer following,*



Heauen protect thee *Herod*, and enioy at this instant (better then euer before) the honour of thy Kingdome. For we enuy not thy vertues, neither doth it dispelase vs, that thou shouldst be such a man as thou art: but rather it is to vs most high contentment. And truly, thou art well worthy to rule & command, seeing thou hast so loyally kept thy faith giuen to a man onely, and being part in distresse, and assayled with aduersities; yet thou art not ashamed to confesse thy selfe the friend to *Marke Anthony*, and such as thou wast to him in his prosperity, such diddest thou continue still to him when his fortune fell contrary. Now, albeit I haue conquered *Anthony*, yet I neuer thought to overcome thee: for thy friendship remaining so entire, placeth thee in ranke with them that haue wonne the victory. Which is the reason, that I no lesse wish thee for my friend, then I praise and commend thy stedfast loyalty, because no changes of Fortune, haue power to alter thy minde and desires.

Thou neuer didst abandon *Anthony*, but it was he that estranged himselfe from thee: for he better affected to follow the counsels of *Cleopatra*, then them of so deare and true a friend as *Herod*. The ignorance of *Anthony*, is the reason of my winning thee: for hee made choise of a pernicious and foolish woman, and reiected a most worthy loyall friend. And yet it is no matter of meruaile, that *Anthony* should be vanquished by *Cleopatra*, and keepe himselfe wholly with her: see-

ing that being victorious, yet hee would needs become a voluntary slaue. Could you account it strange, that *Cleopatra* should turne *Anthony* from your counsels, seeing she could separate him from me, and of being my fellow-Companion in the Empire, cause him to become my mortall enemy? Seeing therefore, that with mee you haue lost *Marke Anthony*; with mee I purpose you shall liue and raigne.

And trust me, your commendable and insigne enterprize deserueth great recompence, and is worthy (by vs) to bee highly guerdoned: considering that while wee were busied in the late passed warres, you haue overcome and subiected the *Barbarians*, although they seemed to be vnconquerable. For we reputed them to bee our enemies, and so we do make account of all those that are aduerse to the Iewish Nation, and such as molest them, must know that they make warre with vs. You haue therefore fought for vs, and for vs you haue wonne the victory, in which respect, we permit you to reigne, and grant you the kingdome which you possesse: Commanding, that by our donation it shall be confirmed to you, and established durable, your merite being not little, because you haue made no diminution thereof. Also in further recompence, I will deale in such sort with you, as you shall haue no cause to wish for the presence of *Marke Anthony*: esteeming it altogether vnbecoming vs, if hauing (while hee liued) overcome him in warre, being now dead, we should not go beyond him in acknowledgement and friendship.

#### THE EFFECT.

*Cæsar and Herod hauing thus discoursed together, Augustus, to shew what account he made of this great Warriour Herod: did set a Royall Crowne vpon his head, and confirmed him in his authority, with hope to enlarge the limits of his kingdome. As likewise hee did afterward, hauing obserued, how Herod acknowledged the benefits of his Maiesty, when as he furnished and refreshed him with water and victualles, at such time as a great dearth and scarcety was in the Romane Army. From whence Cæsar being returned, hee gaue Townes and Castles on the Sea to Herod, and accepted him as one of his best friends, which he had in the East.*

CHAP. XII. The Oration of *Herod* to the Iewes, vpon the partage or diuiding of his Seigneuries, to be made to his children.

#### THE ARGUMENT.

Like as *Herod* was happy in his warlike enterprizes, so did bad fortune follow him in the domesticke affaires of his house, for hauing children of diuers beds, the humors also

He is a true friend indeed that continueth alwayes one and the same in all conditions.

When men become effeminately minded, all man's counsell is hateful to them.

A notable signe of a vertuous and vnderstanding Prince.

When Princes encline their cares to flatterers, their Courts shall neuer want quarrels and contentions.

of them being as diuers: caused the Palace Royall to bee dayly filled with quarrels and defiances, according as flatterers were heard, and faouored by Herod. Now, the matters grew so farre, that the King and one of his sonnes, named Antipater (who was his eldest) must go to Rome to declare their grieuances; where Antipater behaued himselfe so well, that he wonne the Emperour, and qualifed the anger of his Father, who receiued him into grace againe. Neuerthelesse, Cæsar ordained, that children should be obedient to their fathers, & that it should be lawfull for Fathers, to declare him for King (after his decease) that stood best in his liking; because Antipater had accused his younger brethren, being issued of blood Royall on all sides, euen as well as he was borne: Herod not being as then in authority, but aspiring to the Crowne. So soone as the king was returned from Rome, he caused an assembly of the people of Ierusalem, to whom he declared what he had done in this voyage, using these very Words.

Contention, quarrell, and disobedience in children, are no meane moriues of grieue to their parents.



**N**O T without great occasion, and that very beneficiall to my selfe (you Hebrew Citizens) did I make my voyage vnto Rome, to the end that Cæsar might iudge, concerning the quarrell betweene me and my children. To him I went, because my selfe knew not how, neither would I take vpon me to censure a cause, wherein I might easily faile, by being transported with choller: & therefore he that gaue me the Kingdome, I thought fittest to ordaine, concerning the succession, and to bestow it on such a one of my sonnes, whom he should conceiue to be the worthiest. Now, among so many benefites as I receiued from him, this he added to them, that in a great difficulty, he did so facilitate the matter, that he gaue me my sonne againe, whom I had well-nere lost, and accorded the brethren together, vpon the difference growing betweene them, touching succession in the kingdome. You see mee then returned, farre richer then before I went; for I haue learned to be a better Father, then formerly I haue beene; and my children also are tutor'd to beare themselves in better manner to me, and all this hath happened through the grace and mildnes of Great Augustus. For, he hath appointed, that the appenage of my sonnes, and their succession in the kingdome, shall depend vpon mine owne will; to the end, that the prerogatiue and aduancement of which of them soeuer it be, shall not breed any pride or presuming in anie one of them. Hee hath permitted me, to choose such a successor as I will haue, to wit, he that shall be the most obedient to me, and giueth the greatest honor to his Father.

Now, concerning my selfe (O you my

louing Citizens of Ierusalem) I wil follow heerein the iudgment of Cæsar, who freeing my younger sonnes from the accusation laide vpon them; hath made them equall to the eldest in hope, that (one day) they may succede after me. In which respect, this very day, I make and declare them Kings all three together, the eldest hauing the priuiledge, in regard of his age, and the other because of their Nobility in blood. I would not haue you moued at the number of Princes, considering that the greatnesse and magnificence of the kingdome, sufficeth to maintaine and furnish effectually a far greater number, although there were no more aduantages. First of all, I make God the Iudge of this my aduice and ordinance; & next, I would haue you to be witnesses and testifiers thereof; to the end, that you may honor them according to right, & equally them that Cæsar hath accorded, and whom my selfe (being their father) do establish and appoint vnto you as Princes. To whom also you may doe such honor, as shall not exceede the bounds of reason in ouer-much esteeming them; and yet in no lesse fashion then belongeth to them. For too much honour puffes vp the heart with presumption, and neglect or contempt causeth rage and choller. Wherefore, I would haue that dutie done vnto them, as appertaineth to the merits deliuered from them: for you cannot giue so much content to him, who is honoured aboue his deserts, as you doe harme to him, to whome dutie is denied vnderstandedly. Oftentimes, it commeth so to passe, that both the one and other are offended, in regard it is meer flattery, which occasioneth the indiscrete sentence of preference.

Beside, let me further say freely to you, that

Too much honouring a man, maketh him insolent, and contempt is the meane to make him mad.

Obedience is an excellent lesson, when it shall teach a man howe to haue a Kingdome.

Honor done  
to children, is  
the greater  
glory to their  
Father.

What Pride  
buildeth, Pre-  
sumption o-  
uer throweth.

A wicked in-  
tention wound-  
eth the heart  
deeply of him  
to whom it is  
reuealed.

that I am the common father to them all three, and you know well enough, that honor done to the Children, redoundeth the more to the Fathers glory. Notwithstanding, if there be any, that shall flatteringly honor my sonnes beyond reason, they make themselues guilty of treason to them: because they shal proue Authours of the reciduation and rebellion, for the which we fell at first into difference. In making too much esteeme of our youth, is to giue it too free a heart and head, and boldnesse in attempting beyond capacity: yet let no man thinke, that I am enuious of the aduancement and glorie of mine owne Children. No, heauen is my witnesse, how I rather wish their power meane and stinted, whereby wee may the better liue in peace; then in growing ouer-great, to swell vp their hearts as high, and thereby spend the rest of our dayes in troubles and seditions. For, that which is established by pride and inuasion, hath but small and slender continuance, and slippeth away sodainly; but that which is possessed with loue and gracious liking, it hath as good and successfull enduring.

I will therefore bee carefull in taking order, that my Kindred and Friends may bee the pledges of peace and concord for euer heereafter, betweene mee and my Sonnes; by whose exhortations and admonitions, they will bee moued to loue and cherish one another. For, as an euill purpose makes a deep wound in the heart of him that heares it tolde him: euen so, much more are they corrupted, who are made drunke by them that daily frequent it, and whose soules are continually infected by so foule a plague; so that the contagion spreades it selfe ouer all them, that then are about, or come into their company.

Although a man be (by nature) very courteous and peaceable; yet, let a Lake or Poole be neuer so calme and stil, when impetuous windes throwe their churlish blastes vpon it, it will swell, and shewe a discontented countenance. In the very same manner, are the mildest Natures of men madded, and quite peruerted by the meanes of lewd and wicked Counsellors. In breese, it is on mee that all my Subjects must fixe their expectation, and there assuredly settle their confidence; for

whatsoeuer aduancement happeneth to my Sonnes; yet so it is, that I will not lose a iote of mine authority and power. And when all is saide, there is not a Captaine or soldier, but w<sup>l</sup> expresse more reuerence to the father of Conductors and Generals, then to them that command ouer the whole Army.

It is my selfe alone, without any other, that will bee the discharge of al, and will onely recompence them, who hauing done their dutie vnto mee, shall acknowledge what seruices they haue done to my Sonnes. If I finde dutie performed without peruerting; no doubt but deserued recompence will follow thereon; but deceite and cogging shall finde such reward, and so surely paide him, that he will vtterly lose all the fruite of his labor, and that which he fawned for by knauish flattery.

Now, as concerning you (my good and deere Sonnes) fasten your first regard vpon the common bond of nature, which vniteth brute beastes together, and causeth their alliance to keepe such a mutuall agreement: as there is not any beast so vtractable, but with the perill of his life, hee will striue and labour to defend his young ones from danger. Carry honour and reuerence to *Cesar*, who hath reconciled you together; and next, haue regard of mee, and of the Honour which is due vnto mee; who had much rather prayee to doe so, then to command it to be done, albeit you know that it still remaineth in my power to Command.

Continue in the bond which you haue knit together; you are brethren, I would not haue you breake that vnion, neyther to be the occasion of disioynting that for which ye were borne. I shall giue you Habites, Attendants, and Royal honors, but much more precions is that whereto I exhort ye, inuiolable amity, beeing vnited together in one and the same will, If you declare such mutual affection, your authoritie will bee the more acceptable vnto mee: but amity fayling, you cart your malice thorow my heart, and thorow the very soule of Kingly Government.

Therefore, vntill I haue made prooffe of this your Vertue, yee shall enioy no Kingdome, but the Royall Title onely: if

Deceite doth  
most common-  
ly deceiue his  
owne master,  
& Flatterers  
are the falsest  
knaues that  
can be.

Authoritie  
without amity  
is vile & hurt-  
full.

if you loue your father, the effect of name will follow, in the meane while, approue among your selues, how and what affection I beare vnto you. You shall enioy al that is goodly and pleasing in the dignitie Royall, as Princes of the blood : but concerning the charges of the Empire, and troublesome burthen of State-affayres,

they shall lye vppon me, though it were better to cumber many, then one onely. By this meanes, it shall bee very profitable for you, to accommodate your selues to that which I haue desired : because I loue the glorie which should still shine in you, and which I truly account to be mine owne.

## THE EFFECT.

*Herod hauing deliuered all these speeches, and greatly comforted his sons, howsoever some reioyced thereat, as not discerning so far off, that which was hidden vnder these words : yet the better sort felt themselves offended. For they perceiued, that this equality serued but for a sparke, to kindle the concealed fire in the breasts of the brethren, who could not indure any aduantages, how little soeuer, especially, hauing all but one and the same prerogative. So that this proved to be the cause of ruine to one another, as also of distrust and extreme cruelty in King Herod.*

## CHAP. XIII.

*The Battaile of Riotta or Nouara, which was fought in the Dukedome of Millaine, betweene Iohn Trivulzi, and the Lord of Trimouille, Generals for Lewes the xij. King of France, on the one side; and Maximillian Sforza, Duke of Millaine, accompanied with the Switzers, on the other, in the yeare 1513.*



**L**ewes King of Fraunce, the twelfth of that name, ill digesting the losse of Millaine, and som other disgraces formerly receiued, made his election of two speciall Captaines, wel experienced in martiall affaires, and also of no meane authority; the Lords *Trivulzi* and *Trimouille*, to passe the Alps, and enter *Italy*. A further choise was likewise made, for the more happy successe in this attempt, of *Robert de la March*, whom hee sent for out of the Countrey of *Luca*, and his blacke Regiment of *Germans*, by some termed *Allemaignes*, as also the Lord *Lewes Beaumont*, who came from the Frontiers of *Nauarre*, and brought with him those feuerall bands of *Gascoignes*, that had before serued *Seigneur de la Palice* at *Panipelona*, when they fought against the Spaniards. Some few Ensignes of foot (but of very choice men) were intermingled with them; for such Gentlemen as serued

not with horse, held it no disgrace, thus to be imployed on foote, and went vnto it with chearefull alacrity. Al which power beeing very aptly appointed, and furnished with great Ordenance vnto theyr owne good liking, they hasted away with speed for *Italy*.

On the contrary side, the Duke of *Millaine*, named *Maximillian Sforza*, vnderstanding this French preparation made for him; he was not negligent in his owne occasions: but mooued the *Switzers* to reuise *Lombardy*, as in some former expeditions they had done, and to Friend him with their manly assistance, in which motion he purchased no deniall. The *Ammans*, or they that beare the Office of *Maiors*, in the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, as lying nereest vnto *Italy*, with their warlike powers, were the first that passed ouer the Alps: beeing seconded or followed by the like bands of *Glaris*, *Zug*, *Lucerna*, *Schaffouse*, *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and these made vp another martiall company. The third and last consort, consisted of five thousand foot, conducted by *Altosaxo*, a most expert and forward captaine. But *Maximillian* became somewhat discouraged, by an vnexpected reuolt of *Sacranora Visconti*, that did keepe a swarme of desperate fellows about him in *Millaine*, all errant vnthriftes, though leaning to Nobility, and others beside; and therefore joyned with the first company of *Switzers*, going to *Nouara*, expecting there (yet free from priuy awaits and

The Switzers are sollicit to succor duke Maximillian Sforza, and come to him with their valiant bands.

The kings former losse of Millaine, was the occasion of this warre.

Of what feuerall bands the French Army consisted.

and treachery) when the rest of the Switzers should come.

Before the Towne of *Nouara*, came the French Forces; yet hearing that the second supply of Switzers were somewhat neere, and that *Altosaxo* was at *Galarita*; they retreated to *Riotta*, which was about some twenty Furlonges from *Nouara*, hard by the Riuer of *Mara*. No sooner were the second Conuoy of Switzers entred the Towne, and had they Mornings refection; but the Captaines called for a consultation, for concluding vpon matters fittest to be done: whereupon, *Caraffe*, *Amman* of *Zurich*, offering the first motion of speech, began in this manner.

### The Oration of Caraffe, *Amman* of *Zurich*.



*Aliant, and inuincible spirited Brethren, let not the attempt which you haue resolutely concluded on, coole through want of courage, or corruptly lose it selfe, in needlesse attending for Altosaxo, & such as come with him. For it hath euer bene knowne, that the surest and happiest way to fortunate success, is to stifle delay with speedy expedition; and so we shall finde it, if wee haue the providence to pursue it: Nor neede we, whose corage and constancy stand equally kissing each other, listen to any other recreant word, but onely braue and speedy expedition: lest the day shining now fairely for vs, cloud it selfe in our lingering, and so we lose our glorious expectation. Occasion is yet offered vs, and we may take hold on his happy fore-locke; for, it is not number, but Noblenesse of minde that giues honor to the actions yssue. A handfull is enow for a heaped multitude, and while hope holds them, that Altosaxo is our Load-starre, and we dare doe nothing till he shine out with vs, they may be deceiued in their idle supposition, & we more then masters of so good advantage. Let therefore their erroneous conceit, lead vs the way to true discipline, for a sodaine and vnexpected onset, strikes terror in an enemies soule, and followes him both with flight and slaughter. Let their ouerweeing pride usher them, and take we hold on this happy and beneficial*

*counsel: which guides ye to vndoubted victory, if with dreadlesse harts you ply & pursue it.*

No sooner had *Caraffe* come vnto his speeches period, but all the Captaines and Ensignes consented to him, and a graue consultation grew immediately, for best proceeding in their purpose. Hereupon, refection and rest was generally commāded; and after the second watch, present repaire vnto their Colours; where before day-dawning they should bee acquainted with other instructions. Imagine heere (as well you may) that euery minde fate musing with serious conceite, what issue the intended fight would sort vnto; & by this time the Sun was set. But now listen to a wonder, and truly no lesse in mine opinion. The Dogges which the French had brought to field with them, quite leauing their Campe, all in a troope together entred *Nouara*, and the Switzers Centinels, with such as walked the round, or kept the *Corps du Guard*; the dogs fawning on the one after another, euen as if they were already become their Masters, or shortly should; laide downe their eares, wagged their tailes in louing manner, and licked their hands.

But the Switzers, not intending to haue their priuate cogitations discovered, cunningly gaue order, that in euerie part of the City, now at one place, then at another, Drums should still be beaten; that if any scouts or spies tooke notice of them, they should the easier bee perswaded of their sodaine comming foorth, as also to continue their enemies in Armour still; they hauing all the day before bin so prepared, and on horseback. Thus they shapred their outward desseignes, while they closer determinations aimed at other ends, as to strengthen their bodies with food & rest, and to win another daies respit more for their better contestation in trial of honor. And let me tell yee, that the Lawes are so strict and seuer among the Switzers, that if any shal dare (in publike view of the Armie) to do any thing cowardly, or with feare, shamefull & vnfitting men of valour; he is immediately slaine by his following fellow, so that the greater feare confounds the lesse, and begets an honorable death, in stead of that which is otherwise attended on with nothing but infamy.

The French Army cometh before Nouara.

This he spake in the hearing of the whole Company.

By frivolous supposition in an enemy, he is soonest taken tardy.

Diligence is the conducter to happy success.

A very strange and admirable accident.

Men can neuer be too cunning for an invading enemy.

The

The Switzers  
were carefull  
or losing the  
est opportu-  
nity.

The Army consisting of about 9000. foote, made choise of a thousand Horffe beside, men of well tryed and vndaunted valour, to take the charge of eight Faulcons, and to keepe with *Maximillian* and his Horffe (which indeede were but few, yet of the cheefe Nobility:) while the rest did throw themselues into two battailes, and silently, without beating any Drum, marched towards the enemy two severall wayes.

Now *Trivulzi*, being reputed for a wise and well experienced Captaine, suspected nothing lesse, then that a fewe tyred foote, and also before *Altofaxo* came; would venture out vpon a stronger power, or hazard any the least fortune of battaile. But vnderstanding that the Enemy was within sight, he cald vppe *Trimouille* and the other Captaines, giuing order for placing the Ordenance, the signals for fight to be giuen, and what hee knew by discipline or experience, to wait vpon the need of danger.

Such was the shortnesse of time, and the courage of the foe so mounted for fight, that the French scarcely had leisure to bridle their horses, & arm their heads: for they had stood most part of the day & night in Armes, expecting stit what shold be commanded, and at last (though very late) newes comming, that all was whist and quiet at *Nouara*, had got into theyr Cabines to rest. But the Light-horffe being sooner ready then they looked for, yssueth forth in time conuenient, making a long Wing to the left handwarde, and met the thousand Switzers as they were marching on. And they, for more safely shunning the great Ordenance, which played vpon them tempestuously, fetcht a small compas about towards the Riuer of *Mora*, with intent to passe a Bridge, & so set on the enemies tents in the rere. So marching in a broad way towards the Riuer, they were hotly rent and torne with the Ordenance, and mightily pressed also with the light horffe.

But then *Mottina*, whose corage could not be quailed, changed his former resolution, and entreated Duke *Maximillian*, (being then in great daunger, by reason that the *Epirotes* insulted round about him) to leaue the fight, and returne to the City instantly, that so the warres mayne head might be kept, which lay open vnto

the tyranny of chances, and there to await the successe of expected victory. *Maximillian* made an honourable refusall; for such was the constancy of his courage, as he would endure all common accidents of Fortune, rather then be blurd with the least disgrace.

Heereupon, two vnder Captains, and two Ancients seized his horse by the bridle, and renting the Crest from off his Helmet, threw an olde cloake about him to hide his Armes, and forcing him (whether he would or no) led him out of the field with a troope of Horffe, and so conducted him to the City, to stand cleare from danger, while they endured the brunt of the day. Afterward *Mottina* rallied his swaying battell, which (by this time) hadde lost three of their Faulcons; then retiring the wounded into the midst of the battell, and beating back the ouerforward *Epirotes*, slew there *Alexio Bosigna*, a noble Grecian Captaine, and so defeated them vitterly.

Then rushing into the enemies camp, where the drudges and stragglers beeing slaine, and the soldiers of that station disordered; the carriage and baggage were surprized. But some little vvhile before *Mottina* had thus preuailed, another company, that rooke a longer iourney through the Corne-feldes, then growne vp, and receyuing little harme by the Ordenance, had made a fresh charge on the Enemies side.

The French forces were ordered into three battallions, *Trimouille* and *De la March* hauing the leading of the winges, and *Trivulzi* the middle Regiment, or maine battaile. As for the Launquenets Battallion, they had got themselues within a ditch, and betweene the battailes of the Horffe, because their Trench, being a new and somewhat admirable kinde of Workmanship, deuised by *Robert de la March*, to hemme them in against the chances of warre: vpon so sodaine a comming of the enemy, could not by any meanes bee set vp and pitcht. The Switzers bringing their Battailles about towards the right hand, and vpon this Squadron of the *Germaines* or *Allemaignes*, very couragiously turned to them; perceyuing that victory vould soone bee wonne, hauing once defeated the cheefest force of the Enemies Armie.

Which

Opportunitie  
taken in war,  
is alwaies at-  
tended with  
fortunate suc-  
esse.

Alexio Bosig-  
na a Grecian  
Captain slain

In what man-  
ner the French  
power were  
ordered for  
the fight.

noble & va-  
nant resoluti-  
on in Duke  
Maximillian.

The Ammans of Zug and Berne slain, & yet the souldiers not a iotte discourag'd.

Which the French Captains beholding, gaue present order to discharge theyr great Ordenance vpon them, breaking through the rankes, with mighty slaughter, the Horffe also comming hotely on them on the left side. The Ammans of *Berne* and *Zug* were slaine in this confuſion, which nothing dismayed their souldiers courage, nor their owne vnauoydable perill, and wofull hauocke of theyr Fellowes about them; but chearfully animating themſelues, and wheeling round into a ring, propelled the Horffe very valiantly, and (as before they had concluded) suddenly getting ouer the ditch, set vpon the *Allemaignes* couragiously. Now began a fierce and bloody fight, no noiſe or words spoken on either ſide; but onely a diſmall clashing of Weapons and armor, and the ſoft ſighes of ſuch as fell downe dead, giuing their lateſt adiew vnto the world.

The *Allemaignes*, that they might reuenge the slaughter of their country-men the yeare before at *Pauiſa*; and now (by new renoune) redeeme their glorie loſt fourteene yeares paſt at *Bruderholtz*, on the confines of *Basile*, fought very fiercely. And the *Switzers* that they might yet (one day) deſtroy their olde and peculiar enemies, fellowes that had runne out of *Germany*, and (in reproach to the Emperour) ſerued the French King; were not a iot behinde them, either in ſtrength, or feruency of courage.

Now, while the *Switzers* and *Allemaignes* fought thus at the puſh of pike, Newes came to *Triuolzi* and *Trimouille*, that the bagge and baggage were taken; thoſe that were appointed for keeping the campe alſo ſlaine, beſide tumult and slaughter in euery place. Which report ſo daunted the French, that a great part of their horſe (euery man being careful for his luggage) ran (without any command) to ouercom it againe.

In another quarter alſo, & at the ſame inſtant almoſt) the third company or battallion of the *Switzers*, ſhewd themſelues at the front of the French, which Battallion (while the French hadde (in vaine) diſcharged their Ordenance into a Wood ſtanding before them, in regard that the *Switzers* (to deceiue the enemy) had politickly left a few of the drudges amongſt the trees, as making a ſhew of ambuſhed

armed men) had cloſely crept along by a ſide way, by little and little ſtoopings downe, and trayling their Pikes vpon the ground after them.

Now, ſo great was their contempt of the bullets flying about them, and the charge ſo dreadfull, that the French and *Nauarrine* foote (their Captaine *Beamont* being ſlaine) two bands alſo of *Genewayes* and *Salucians* defeated, and theyr Ordenance taken, and turned vpon their backs that fled; the *Allemaignes* now beeing almoſt quite deſtroyed, their Tents taken, the enemy ouerthrowing all, and largely Lords of the field; betweene ſhame and feare turned their backs. VVhen all men were thus dismayed, the Captaines yet continued fearleſſe (conſidering the fearfulneſſe of their preſent eſtate) and went ralliering the diſordered rankes, and turning themſelues vnto the cryes of theyr Companions, made them to abide and fight.

The vnder Officers and Ancients, entreated them for to exempt all feare, the Lancequenets bare the brunt of the battell, and the fight began to be repaired in all places. But the horſemen, nothing moued with their Captaines encouraging words, ſhamefully fled. For the *Switzers* although their Captaine *Mottina* was ſlaine by a piece of Ordenance; yet, hauing gotten the Campe, ſet fiercely and bloodily on the left ſide of the Horſſe, & likewise on the right, and then on theyr backes came a greater power with terrible Pikes, to the no little terror of the diſordered horſe.

In repairing the field, there perriſhed *Montfalcon*, Captaine to the Duke of *Albanies* company of horſe, and *Coriolano Triuolzi*, a young Gentleman of ſingular hope. But, the *Allemaignes* loſing halfe their men, two Enſignes, and their General *Floranges* very grieuouſly hurt, had fought moſt conſtantly a long while together: but perceiuing nowe the Horſſe to forſake them, the foote in euery quarter to bee defeated, and the great Ordenance taken, accounting flight to be very ſhameful, yet void of ſecuritie; ſet the points of their weapons vpright, according to their vſuall manner, and yeilded, ſeeking mercy of the victor enemy. In this tempeſt of affliction and confuſion, *Robert de la Marche*, Lord of *Cadan*, ſhotte through

Where both ſides contend for honour, great muſt the violence of the fight be.

A Stratagem of the *Switzers* to beguile the French.

Lewes Lord Beamont ſlain

Mottina Captaine of the *Switzers* ſlain

Montfalcon and Coriolano and Triuolzi ſlain.

The *Allemaignes* yeilded to the enemies merc

thorough with deadly sorrow, beholding his two sonnes, the Lords *Floranges* and *Gemese*) engirt by the enemy, and meerly in desperate daunger of life: vwith a troope of Horffe, boldly brake into the middest of the enemies battell, and they lying among the mangled bodyes halfe dead, pittifully embrued with their owne blood and woundes, laying them ouerthwart the neckes of two Horffes; to his no little prayse, both for manly pro- wesse and fatherly pittie, woorthily brought them thence, preseruing theyr liues for future renowne, and in a farre more fortunate field.

Thus the Switzers, fighting in three feuerall Squadrons or Companies, with- in the compasse of an houre and a halfe, or thereabout. perfected a most memo- rable famous battayle, and vveightie warre.

And although their enemies lay slaine before theyr faces, stored with goodlie and rich Furniture, which was able to al- lure them: yet would they make no sey- sure on the spoyle, but kept within care of their Countrey Discipline, which per- mits not to take any armed man prisoner in the battaile, neither to follow him that flyeth.

This made them to stand still a great part of the day, as doubting least the French, prouoked eyther by pollicie in their Captaines, or their owne shame, should retreate backe againe, and take them at aduantage in despoyling the dead. But this feare was much more dis- creete then needefull, because the Ene- my kept on still in flight, and *Trivulzi* gallopping too and fro, confounded with extremity of dust and hoarseness in cry- ing to them, was vterly vnable, eyther by foule or faire perswasions, or the commanding Authoritie of a Generall, to stay the Ensignes or the Horffe, that throwing away their Lances, stroue with greatest eagerness, who should bee fore- most.

It is reported, that the whole troops of French Horffe might haue bene vt- terly ouerthrowne and spoyled in theyr flight, if Duke *Maximillian* had made an opposition but with two hundred light Horffe: for there was not a French-man that carried a Lance beyonde *Sesishes*, such was their heate and hast to be gone.

And yet within a short while after, *Sil- uia Sabello*, and *Corradino Cribelly*, with certaine light Horffe, pursued them vnto the Towne of *Trecato*: but the Conra- dines and Pezantes, flocking amaine out of the Fieldes and Hamlets to the spoyle, made a most cruell slaughter where anie bootie was to be had, at hedges, ditches, and all other places, that hindered the ti- red French in their flight.

The same day the Switzers, gathering together the slaine bodyes of their coun- treymen, carryed them on their shoul- ders into the Cittie, to giue them the la- test honour of buriall. Amongst them, were slaine a thousand and three hunde- red, seauen hundred beeing torne vwith the great pieces of Ordenance, and al- most as many were wounded, but of the French were slaine eight thousand of all degrees.

Duke *Maximillian*, not a little ioyfull of such fortunate successe, summoned the Souldiors together, and ioy so confound- ing speech, as he was scarce able to vtter a worde; which appeared by the teares trickling downe his cheekes, gaue them all most hearty thanks; and, as a gift of instant benefite and pleasure, all the Vi- ctualles then taken, beside the Ordenance and generall spoyle, hee frankely bestow- ed vpon them. As for the admirable Trench, wherein consisted such yndoub- ted hope of Victorie, inuented by a war- like witte, brought ouer the Alpes vwith much labour, and great charge: that be- ing taken from the enemy, was set up in a publique place, for a future Monu- ment of that victorie: and this deceyued the *Allemaignes* most, that they holde it vterly needlesse to erect their Trench that day, which lay still in the Waggons, because successe seemed then to frowne on the enemy.

Vppon Conference had afterwarde with *Trimouille* at *Bologna*, concerning all these matters; he did not friuolously im- pute the fault vnto *Trivulzi*, for not en- camping on his owne groundes (as *Tri- mouille* had perswaded him) in regard of spoyling the Grasse, which then at that time was ready to bee mowne. But *Tri- vulzi*, as a man neuer conquered before, yet disputing on feuerall euent hapning in the battaile, threwe the maine errour on aduerse fate, which too much enuyed

The louing care of a Fa- ther to his sonnes.

Discipline ob- serued among the Switzers.

When confu- sion is in an army, perswa- sions prauaile little.

The losse su- stained on both sides.

The gratitude of Duke Ma- ximillian Sforza to- wards his sol- diers.

When a losse is sustained, excuses or complaints are alledged then, to no end.

his worth and renowne. And hee saide very truly, that men, made more then mad, by cowardly and degenerate feare, in the cheefest heate and fury of fight; are no way able to be restrained or ordered, by the best or most skilfull Captaine that euer liued.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Of the force of sudden Chances and unexpected Euent, for the dissipation as well of mans power, as of his pollicy: And of the hazards and doubtfull euent of Battails, and other enterprizes of Warre.*



Although the successe of mens affayrs is most vncertaine, variable, & subiect to infinit chances and hazards; yet in nothing so much as in matters, wherein mans power is most scene, to wit, in matters of warre, whereof the euent are so doubtfull and dangerous, that (as *Iason* saide to *Epimanondas*) *He is not wise that doth not feare them.* And therefore it is reported of *Phocion*, a most excellent Captaine of the *Athenians*, that although hee was chosen five and forty times Generall of their armies; yet hee himselfe did euer perswade the to peace, as fearing the successe of warre. And *Hanniball* hauing bene for 16 yeares victorious in *Italy*, and forced at the length to defend his owne country, which was *Carthage* (where *Scipio* the *Romane* had already ouerthrowne two great armies of the *Carthagenians*, and was ready also to present him battaile) he doubted so much the euent thereof, that crauing conference with *Scipio*, he sought to perswade him to peace, representing vnto him the hazard of warre, and aduising him to consider in the prosperous course of his victories, not onely what had hapned to other men, but also what might ensue to himselfe, & that to make peace was in his own hands, but if he came once to the battaile, the victory should bee in the hands of God. And lastly, that *Nusquam minus quam in bello euentus respondent.* The euent of things

do no where lesse answer the expectation of men, then in warre.

Thus spake *Hanniball*, who may also well serue for an example of his owne admonitions. For though he had bin many yeares together, the scourge of the *Romans*, and the most famous and renowned Captaine then liuing, yea, and was (as it were) growne old with victories in forreigne Countries, euen before the very gates of *Rome*; yet was hee at length vterly ouerthrowne by a *Romane*, a young man, inferiour to him in reputation, experience, and forces, and in that battaile which most imported him, and wherein (by the iudgement of all men) he employed all the endeuour, military arte and skill he had, or which could bee required in a most prudent and valiant Captaine.

This change and decay of fortune in war, may be exemplified in many others, as famous Captaines as euer were; as in the worthy *Indas Machabeus*; *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*; *Pyrrius*, king of *Epyrus*; *Marcellus*; *Pompeius Magnus*; *Marcus Antonius*, Competitor of *Augustus Caesar*; the Emperour *Constantius*; and *Heraclius*; *Belizarius*; *Edward* the third, King of *England*; our famous Countiman, *Iohn Talbot*, the first Earle of *Shrewsbury*, whose name is yet terrible to the *French*; the great Earle of *Warwicke*, in the time of *Edward* the fourth; *Charles*, Duke of *Bourgogne*; *Nicholo Pricimico*; *Lewes* the 12. king of *France*; and now lastly (in our memory) the Emperour *Charles* the fift. All which (with many other whom I omit for breuities sake) hauing by many notable victories got the fame and renowne of most famous Captaines, were eyther at last disgraciously killed, or else receyued some great ouerthrowes, or had (at least) some notorious decay of their former and wonted prosperous successe.

The consideration heereof, had moued diuers most valiant Captaines, to auoide the aduenture of battaile as much as might be, and rather seek to ouercome their enemies by stratagemes, practises, and delays: as *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who (by such meanes) distressed *Hanniball*, much more then others could do by main battailes. And therefore *Ennius* the Poet saide of him; *Cunctando restituit rem*; He repaired the State of the *Romans* by delays. And it is also written of the valiant

The euent of war most doubtfull.

Supplement of *Plutarch* in *Epaminondas*.

*Plutarch* in *Phocion*.

*Hanniball* feared the euent of warre.

*Tit. Livius* in *Dec. 3. lib. 10.*  
Idem.

To make peace is in the hands of man, but victory is in the hands of God. Ibid.

Idem.

The ouerthrow of *Hanniball* by a young *Romane*. Ibid.

The chance decay of fortune in war exemplified in many famous Captaines. *Maccab. 1. c.*  
*Iustin* in *lib. 1.*  
*Plutarch*.  
*Polydor* *Ving.*  
*Phil. Comin.*  
*Guicciardin.*  
*Pedro Mexia.*  
*Surius.*

The doubtful euent of a battaile is greatly to be feared.

*Ennius* apud *Cicer.* *Offic. lib. 1.*

valiant *Franciscus Sforza* Duke of *Milaine*, that he would neuer ioyne battaile with an enemy, but when hee could not otherwise choofe.

And *Lewes* the eleuenth, K. of *France* (who was no lesse valourous in war, then prudent in peace) feared nothing more, as *Phillip de Commynes* testifieth, then the hazard of warre; and especially of a battaile, which by all meanes possible hee sought to auoid. Infomuch, that when any enemy entered *France*; hee procured to make peace or truce with him, whatsoeuer it cost him. As appeared when *Edward* the fourth King of *England* was ther with a strong Armie, to whom he gaue a great summe of ready money, and granted to pay him a tribute of fiftie thousand Crownes a yeare, besides diuers pensions to his Councillors, and other hard conditions; rather then hee would hazard a battell with him, knowing the casualtie thereof, and that as *Commynes* saith, *Vne bataille perdu a mauuaise queüe*; A battaile lost hath an ill taile or consequence. For, it redoubleth the hope and courage of the Victors; it astonisheth and discourageth the vanquished; it shaketh the fidelity of subiects, it ministreth matter and opportunity of conspiracie to malecontents, of reuolt to Townes, and of alienation to confederates, who commonly sway with the good successe. And for this cause, not onely King *Lewes* the eleuenth, but also other wise Princes haue vsed, when an enemy hath bin ready to enter their countries: to dismantle all the Townes in his way that were not tenable, and to fortifie and make strong the rest, retyring thither all the Cattle and prouision of the cuntry, and destroying all the Corne vpon the ground, thereby to consume him with Famine, long siedges, and all kindes of delays whatsoeuer, rather then seek to ouerthrow it by a maine battail. This was very prudently practised by *Frances* the first, King of *France*, at such time as the Emperor *Charles* determined to enter into *Prouence*, with a great and puissant army: infomuch, that when K. *Frances* vnderstoode, that the people of the Countrey resisted the destruction of theyr Corne, and other commodities; he straight way sent his armie to destroy it. Whereby the Emperour finding all Townes fortified, and no prouision a-

broad was left them, were forced (after hee had besiedged *Marseilles* some certaine moneths) to retire himselfe for lack of victuals.

And this I haue thought good to signifie by the way, for that *Phillip de Commynes*, and *Martin du Bellay* (both of them notable Historiographers, and Councillers, the first to *Lewes* 11. and the other to *Frances* the first) do greatly approue this manner of proceeding in these Princes, and propose it for a rule of state to all such Kings & Princes, as, being in possession their Kingdomes and States, are inuaded by Forreiners; though for those that inuade and seeke to conquer, *Phillip de Commynes*, thinketh it meete and conuenient to seeke battaile, to make short worke, by reason of the difficulty to bee succoured, and of the infinite dangers & inconueniences, which happē by delays to an armie of strangers in forraigne countreyes. Besides, hee that inuadeth and seeketh to conquer, commonly aduentureth no more but his present armie, and that in hope to gaine a Crowne; whereas the Prince in possession, aduentureth his whole state against nothing, and a state is lost (many times) with the losse of a battaile at home, if the victory bee well followed.

But nowe let vs returne to speake of sodaine Chances, and to touch some particularities, thereby to shew very manifestly and euidently, the vweakenesse of mans wit and power, and the casualty of warlike attempts.

Let vs first and formost consider, by howe many accidents the mightiest armies are many times quite disperfed and dissipated, and the greatest enterprizes ouerthrowne: as sometimes it falleth out by the death of some one man, sometimes by the dissention of Leaders and Captaines amongst themselues, sometimes by the mutiny of souldiers, sometimes by meanes of a Tempest or vnseasonable weather; sometimes agayne by plagues, or other diseases in the Campe, and sometimes agayne (as *Guicchiardine* noteth in his second Booke) by a commandement eyther not well vnderstood, or ill executed; by a little temeritie or disorder, which may chauce to happen by some vaine worde or speech, euen of the meanest Souldiour. And last of all

*Phillip Commynes* cap. 29  
The inuader ought to seeke battel, & why.

The diuers casualties of warlike attempts.

*Guic. in Lib. 2.*

*Chap. 14. v. 1.*

*Phillip Commynes* p. 17, 26, & 28.

*Phillip Commynes* p. 29, & 64.

battell lost with an ill taile, and why. *Commynes* Idem

*m* Cap. 64. the practise of *Lewes* the King of *France* to ouercome an enemy without battail.

*Martin du Bellay* the preventives which *Lewes* the King of *France* used against the inuasion of *Charles* the Emperour.

(saith hee) by infinite chances which happen at vnawares, vnpossible to bee fore-scene and preuented, by the wit or counsell of any Captaine.

Heere to I also adde out of *Comminatus*, that be the counsell neuer so well taken, and the plot neuer so well layed: yet it is neuer or seldome executed in the field, as it is ordayned in the Chamber. And that sometimes, by the least motions or occasions that may bee, the victorie is wonne or lost: *Which* (saith hee) *is a great Mystery, whereby Kingdomes and States do rise or fall.* And heereuppon, the selfe-same Authour groundeth two Conclusions, no lesse piously then wisely. The one, that no humane wit is able (of it selfe) sufficiently to gouerne an Army of men: and the other, that God reserueth to himselfe the successe of battels and disposeth of his victory at his wil and pleasure.

This will be made cleare by examples; by the which, I will first of all shewe the force of sodaine chances in battaile, and other enterprizes of Warre. And after that all victorie proceedeth from the providence and hand of God, and not from the power and pollicie of mortall man. As concerning the first, we see many and sundry times, that great designements are broken, and potent armies dissolued by accidents, without any force or stroke of the Enemy. When *Lewes* the Emperour (called *Lewes* of *Banaria*) was in *Italy*, with a great and puissant armie, and readie to besiege *Florence*, vpon the confidence he had in the valor and assistance of *Castruccio* of *Pisa*, whom the Florentines feared more then any man liuing; it chanced that the sayde *Castruccio* dyed: whereuppon, the Emperour broke his designement, and returned into *Germanie* with his army.

Also, in the time of the great Schisme which was holden betwixt *Vrbane*, the sixte Pope of that name, and *Clement* the false Pope, who was called *Clement* the seuenth, and liued in *Auignon*; *Lewes* Duke of *Aniou*, Vnckle vnto *Charles* the sixt, King of *France*, went into *Italy* with an huge armie, wherein hee hadde about thirtie thousand Horffe, partly to deliuer *Ioane*, Queene of *Naples*, (who was besieged by *Charles Ourazzo*, Nephew vnto *Lewes* King of *Hungaria*)

and partly to depose Pope *Vrbane*, in fauour of *Clement*. When he had already entered into *Italy*, and began to make warre in the Territorie of *Bologna* (which belonged to the Church) and was likely in al mens opinion (by reason of his great forces) to obtaine his desire in all he pretended; he sodainly fell sicke and dyed; whereuppon, all that mightie and inuincible army, disperfed and dissolued it self; and euery man returned from whence he came.

The like hath chanced diuers times, by some great plague and mortalitie in armes, as in that of the Christians, which beganne in *Thunis* in *Affrica*, vnder the conduct and commaund of *Leues*, the ninth, King of *France*: which armie was so mollested with pestilence, that it vvas forced for to rise from the sledge at such time, euen when the Towne was brought to extremitie, and must needs haue rendered it selfe within few daies.

Furthermore, such is the force of sodaine feares which fall vpon men, sometimes by meere chance, without anie iust cause, that the greatest armies are vtterly ouerthrowne thereby. And no maruel seeing no man is so valiant, but that hee may bee seized and transported with a sodaine feare. And therefore the *Lacedemonians*, before they went forth to fight, were wont to sacrifice to the *Muses*, to obtaine their assistance, against the fierce and furious assaults of sodaine passions. VVhich taking reason many times at vnawares, and (as it were) at an aduantage, doe so oppresse it, that they bereaue a man of all iudgement and discourse for a time, and no passion more then feare. VVhereof I my selfe saw a notable experience, in a most valiant Spanish Captaine in *France*, which happened in the time of a League, who going out of his Garrison, with certaine Troopes vpon an occasion, and meeting with the Enemy by chance, where hee least suspected, tooke such a fright thereat, that he ranne home with might and maine, and tolde vs (for I was ther at the same instat time) that all the Souldiers were cut in peeces, and that hee himselfe escaped very hardly. Neuerthelesse, within fise or sixe houres after, they all returned home safe, and not so much as any one man hurt, though they came scattering one after

*Phil. Com in c. 5*  
Plots are seldome or neuer executed in the field, as they are ordained in the chamber.

Idem Ibid.

*Pedro Mexia,*  
in *Lodouico Bawaro.*

*Paul. Emil. in*  
*Carolo 6.*

*Lewes Duke*  
of *Aniou*,  
death in *Italy*

*Paul. Emil. in*  
*Lodouico nono*

Of the force  
of sodaine chances  
in battaile.

*Plut. in Tr.*  
*de Iwariprimenda.*

No passion  
bereaueth a  
man of his  
senses, more  
then sodaine  
feare.

another, for they all fledde as well as he, and the rather by his example. Which would haue vtterly disgraced him, if in very many occasions (before) hee had not got the reputation of one of the most valiant men of his Nation, in which respect it was rather wondered at in him, then blamed.

But to shewe the like effect of sodaine feare in whole Armies, vpon diuers accidents. When *Arnulphus* the Emperour besiedged *Rome*, it chanced, that a Hare (being started by some of the Camp) ran towards the Citie, and that a great number of the souldiers pursued her with very great rowt and cries, which the Romaines seeing from the Towne, and conceyuing that the enemy meant to giue some furious and violent assault thereto, were surprized with such a feare, that they abandoned the wals and Rampiers, and the enemy espying, and taking the opportunity thereof, scaled the walles, and tooke the Towne.

Also, when *sigismond*, King of *Hungaria*, (who was afterward Emperour) gaue battell to an Army of the Turkes, nere to *Nicopolis*, and was assisted with exceeding great numbers of the French, and of diuers other Nations, the French Horffe being in the vanguard, and seeing themselves (after a while) hardly oppressed, alighted from their Horffes to fight on foote. But their Horffes beeing loose, ranne all backe toward the campe, which the Hungarians and others that were in the rere perceiuing, and imagining that the Horffe-men were slaine; tooke such a fright therewith, that they ranne away, whereby the Turkes got a notable Victorie, with great slaughter of the christians, especially of the French, who wer almost all slaine.

Also at *Ptolomais* in *Aegypt*, which the Christians besieged two yeares together, the Soldane, who came with an armie to succour it, gaue them an ouerthrowe by the like chance; of a Horse, which beeing let loose, ranne backe to the Campe. For whereas diuers souldiers called one vnto another to stay him, many ranne out of their rankes (to take him) with such disorder, that they seemed to those that were behinde, and some-what farre off, to run away; whereuppon, a great part of the Christian Army began to flye. And this

happened at such a time, as the Soldane with his Soldiers (being put to the worse) were running out of the field: who seeing the Christians flye, called backe his men, charged them afresh, and got the Victorie.

*Charles Duke of Bourgogne*, besiedging *Grauson*, & vnderstanding that the Switzers came to succour it, went to meete them, to giue them battaile. The Souldiers of the vanguard, as they wer marching, meaning for to take a better way, retired a little backe. The rereward seeing the same, imagined that they fled, and began themselves to flye, whereupon the rest also did the like; and (in conclusion) the Duke and all ran away, abandoning their artillery and Campe, to the spoile of the Switzers, who were exceedingly enriched thereby, and yet slew only but seuen men, for all the rest saued themselves by flight. Thus much concerning sodaine feares, whereto I will adde a few more examples of other accidents.

*Gildo*, Gouvernor of *Affricke*, vnder the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, rebelled against the Empire, and his own brother *Mascezell* was imployed against him for Generall, who had not (in a certaine occasion) aboute 5000. men to fight with 70000. And the armies being so nere together, that they were ready to Charge one another, *Mascezell* beganne to make motions of peace; & receiuing some hard and crosse language of one that bare an Ensigne, stroke him vpon the same arme that helde it, wherewith the Ensigne fell, and diuers others that followed, seeing it, and conceiuing that he which bare it had yeilded it, went in great hast, and yeilded themselves. Whereuppon, *Gildo* fled away with a great part of the armie, and the rest surrendred themselves to *Mascezell*.

Also in the battell of *Cirignola*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, betwixt the Spaniards and the French, a worde spoken by the Count of *Nemount*, (who vvas then Generall of the French) beeing misconstrued by his Souldiers, was a very great cause of their ouerthrow. For, the battell being already begunne, and the Count finding withall, that he could not passe a certaine Ditch (ouer which he had thought to haue ledde some part of his Armie, to charge the Spaniards on the other side,

R 3 cried

*Philip Commin. cap. 45.*  
Charles Duke of Burgundie ouerthrowne by the Switzers at Grauson.

Examples of Battailles lost by diuers other accidents  
*Oforius. in lib 7 cap. 36.*

*Gildo* Gouvernor of *Affrica* ouerthrowne by a strange accident.

*Guic. in lib. 5.*  
The French ouerthrowne by the Spaniards, through a word mistaken.

Rome surprized by *Arnulphus* the Emperour through a sodaine feare  
*Sigon. de Regno Italico. An. 896*

A battell lost by the Christians to the Turkes onely through a sodaine feare.  
*Naucler. Chron. An. 1396.*

The Christians ouerthrowne by the Soldane through a sodaine feare.  
*Paul. Emil. in Philippo secundo. Nauclyus in non.*

cried vnto the Souldiers that followed him, *Backe, backe*; meaning to lead them another way. But they not knowing the cause, vnderstood that he had them flye, which they all began to doe: and others (seeing the same) followd their example. It chanced also at the same time, that the Count was slaine; whereupon the whole Army of the French ranne away, and lefte the felde and victorie to the Spaniards.

Againe, whosoever hath reade any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience in these our times; cannot be ignorant, what confusion may bee bred in a batraile, by a little disorder growing vpon some sodaine accident; whereby Armies (many times) are causes of their owne ouerthrow. As it chanced to *Hanniball* in his last batraile with *Scipio*, wherein his owne Elephants turning backe vpon his Horffe-men, so brake & disordered them, that the Romans taking aduantage thereof, did easily put them all vnto flight.

The like to this, hath happened sometimes in this our age, and namely, a few yeares past in France, in the yeare of our Lord, 1590. in the batraile of *Yury*, betweene the King of France, *Henrie* the fourth, and the Duke *de Mayne*, then Generall for the League. In which Batraile, the Horffemen of the League, flying backe vpon their owne foote, brake them in such sort, that theyr Enemy entring withall easily defeated them.

Lastly, to shew evidently the force of chance in warre, is there any thing more vncertaine or vnconstant then winde and weather? And yet neuerthelesse, thereupon (many times) dependeth the successe of battailes, and other warlike attempts; especially by sea, where the winde & weather do predominate, and check al the power of men. For, who is ignorant, that be the Nauie neuer so potent, it can neyther goe out of the harbour, nor arriue where it should to encounter the enemy, if winde and weather be not fauourable? Which is also as necessary and importat for obtaining victorie in a conflict by sea, wherein, the first aduantage that an expert Sea-man seeketh to get of his Enemy, is to winne the winde of him: which winde also changing (sometimes) during the Conflict, doth giue both the aduan-

tage and victorie to the enemy. As it fell out in the Battaille of *Lepanto*, which happened betweene the Christians and the Turkes, wherein the Winde beeing first fauourable vnto the Turkes, sodainly changed, and draue all the smoake of the Artillerie and small shot vpon them, whereby they were so blinded, that they were very easily and speedily ouerthrowne.

And thus it chanceth in like manner in battailes vpon Land; and therefore wise Captaines seeke not onely to haue the Sunne, but also the winde on theyr backs: for, it often faileth out, that a storme of Haile or Raine in the face of an enemy, or a violent winde, driuing either the dust, or the smoake of shot and Artillerie vpon it, giueth the victorie to the enemy. As in the famous batraile at *Cannas*, when *Hanniball* ouerthrew the *Romaines*, and slew foure thousand foote, and seuen and twenty hundred horse, and tooke three thousand and three hundred prisoners. He had the winde in his fauor, which being in his backe, and withall so violent, that it draue the dust into the *Romaines* eyes, and did greatly facilitate his victorie.

The like, or rather a farre greater victorie, got *Scipio Asiaticus* against *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, whom hee put vnto flight, and slew fise thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, with the losse only of three hundred forty nine men, by the helpe of a foggy mist, and a showre of raine. For the mist was so thicke, that the huge Army of *Antiochus* could not one part of it see another: whereas it wrought no such effect in the small Army of the *Romaines*. And againe, the raine so weakened the Bowes and Slingses of *Antiochus* his Souldiers, that they serued to little or no purpose: whereas the *Romaines* vsing onely Swordes and Darts, receyued no damage thereby. And to come neerer to our time, wee reade that *Adolphus* the Emperour was slaine, and his vvhole armie cleane ouerthrowne and vanquished by *Albertus*; by reason that the Sun vvas in their faces.

Also, amongst some other causes of the losse of the great Battaille of *Ghivaradadda*, betweene the Venetians, and the French, *Guicchiardine* obserueth, that a certain showre of raine; which fel euen

as

Battell lost by a little disorder.

The battell of Yury in Frãce in Anno 1590

The victorie in batte & dependeth somtime vpon winde & weather as wel by land as sea.

The battell of Lepanto, betweene the Christians & the Turkes. *Sirius in Commentar. 1571*

The great victorie of Hanniball at Cannas. *Tit. Livius in Dec. 3. lib. 2.*

The victorie of Scipio Asiaticus, against Antiochus. *Titus Livius Dec. 4. lib. 7.*

*Pedro Mexia in vit. Imp. Adolpho. Guic. in lib. 8.*

as they were fighting, made the ground so slippery vpon a sudden, that the foote of the *Venetians* could not hold their footing, to defend themselues against the French Horse. By which meanes they were easily broken, and the greater part of them slaine.

Thus then we see, how great a sway chance beareth in battailes and enterprizes of warre, and consequently, how little confidence is to bee reposed in the witte, pollicy, power, and endeouour of men, for the good successe thereof. VVhich dependeth vpon infinit accidents, chancing so diuersly (according to the difference of persons, times, places, and circumstances) that neyther the wisdom of any Generall can foresee them, nor any diligence, dexterity, or industry of Souldiers prevent them, though al should concur in the highest degree. For be the Soldiers neuer so obedient, dexterious, & diligent, and the Captaine neuer so wise and valiant; yet what assurance is there of good successe, when a sudden danger shall so dismay both Captaine and Soldiers, that neyther the one shall know what to command, nor the other how to obey; when an erroneous conceite of some few, or bad example of some one, or a word mistaken, or a blast of winde, or a shewer of raine, and innumerable other accidents, not possible to be fore-seene or remedied, shall giue the victory to the weaker, yea, to those that are (in a manner) vanquished before? Therefore I will thus conclude this Chapter, that the successe of Battailles, and all warlike attempts, dependeth wholly on the will and secret iudgements of God.

CHAP. XV.

*How our Ancients and reuerend Predecessors, punished such in former times, as durst do any dishonour to their Mistresses.*

VVas the more willing to insert this Chapter, to the ende that the youth of our times may know and vnderstand, in what veneration and regard, our Ancients held the honour of Ladyes, Gentle-

women, and Mistresses, and not without very great reason. For it is a notorious treason, & high point of dishonesty, that he who abideth as a seruant in a house, should entermeddle in seeking to purchase the loue of his Mistresse: nay, and that which is worse, to obtaine the cheefest point of al. In the compassing or contriuing whereof, he maketh the husband infamous, doth iniurie to the wife, scandalizeth neighbourhood, and ouerthroweth himselfe.

*Plutarch*, in his Booke of Mariage writeth, that the *Licaonians* had a law, that if any strangers were found to conferre in secret with the Mistresse of their lodging, they had their tongues cut out of their mouthes; and if they presumed any further, then it was the losse of their liues. *Iulius Caesar* caused one of his Captaines to be beheaded, because he had dishonored the Mistresse of the house where hee was lodged: without attending any excuse he could or should make, and without any complaint vrged by the husband.

The Emperour *Aurelius*, standing on a day at his window in his Pallace, & beholding a young man, who drew his Mistresse softly by the sleue of her gowne; had them both brought before him immediately, and although the young man and his Mistresse both deposed, that it was onely done in iest; yet *Aurelius* commanded (neuerthelesse) the same hand to be smitten off.

*Macrobius* writeth in his *Saturnales*, that such persons were reputed infamous among the Romanes, as should giue any commendations of the Mistresse of a Family, eyther in regard of her beauty, modest behaiour, or any other seemely quality. For such praises they reputed, to giue euident notice of more priuate knowledge, and such knowledge vrged speech, and speech being the discloser of the hart, would afterward grow to the shamefull acte. In the like manner *Aulus Gellius* recordeth, that the same punishment was inflicted on him that dishonored his Mistresse, as to him that corrupted a vestall virgin: which penalty was, to haue his body cut in foure parts, or else to bee stoned to death aliue.

CHAP.

ow little confidence is to be had in the pollicy or power of man for the good successe of a battaile.

*Plut. in lib. Mar. cap. 9.*

The severity of Iulius Caesar to a Captaine.

Marcus Aurelius, a iust and severe Emperour.

*Macrobius in Saturn.*

*Aul. Gell. in Noct. Attic.*

The Authors reason for this Chapter were set we.

## CHAP. XVI.

Concerning diuers kindes of Salutation, vſed among our Ancients, when they met together.



HE maner that our Elders obſerued in their Salutations one to another, was very diuers, and each one according to their Countries vſc.

The *Idumæans* at their meetings, vſed to ſpeake theſe words: *The Lord bee with you.*

The true *Hebrues*, ſaluting each other, ſaid; *God ſaue you my Brother.*

The *Philophers* were wont to ſay; *Goe in a good houre.*

The *Thebanes* ſaid; *God giue you health.*

The *Romanes* ſalutations were as if they would ſay; *God ſend or giue you good fortune.*

The *Sicillians* ſaid; *God keepe you.*

The *Carthaginians* did not vſe any ſalutations by ſpeeches at their meetings, but as a ſigne of loue and friendlines, they would kiſſe their right hands each together, and then kiſſe one another.

The *Moores* likewiſe at their meetings, would kiſſe the right ſhoulder of one another: and when they tooke leaue for their departing, then they would kiſſe each others knee.

In *Italy*, they haue three ſeueral kindes of ſalutations for a whole day. In the morning they ſay, *Dio vi dia il buono giorno*; *God giue you a good morrow*: At midnoon, *Dio vi dia ſalute*; *God giue you health*. And at euening they ſay, *Buona ſera*, *Good eueni*. They ſay alſo many times, *Miraccommendo*, *I commend me to yee*. And after two or three houres of night is paſt, then they ſay, *Dio vi dia la buona notte*; *God giue you the goodneſſe of the night*. Sometime alſo they are accuſtomed to ſay, *Iddio vi contenti*, *God content yee*.

In the kingdome of *Valentia* in *Spaine*, when men meeete together, they ſalute each other in this maner; *Gentle Sir, you are well come*. And at the departing, the one ſaith, *God remaine with you*: and the o-

ther replyeth, *Goe in a good houre*.

In *Cathalognia*, ſuch perſons as chance to meeete together, ſalute one another thus; *You are very well arriued heere Sir*.

In *Caſtile* ſome vſe to ſay, *God keepe you*: others, *God be with you*. And when they leaue each other, the one ſaith, *God conduct you*: and the other answereth, *The bleſſed Angels beare you company*. Some alſo vſe to ſay; *With your good grace and fauour*. And others, *Adieu Sir*. In the Court ſome vſe to ſay, *I kiſſe the hands of your mercy*. And ſome other, *I kiſſe the feet of your Honour or Worſhip*. Which Courting ſalutations are altogether vaine, and (for the moſt part) deliuered with feigning and diſſimulation. For many offer to kiſſe the hands and feete of one another, that would much rather cut them off, the any way kiſſe them, deſiring indeed to ſee each others vtter ruine. And certainly (me-thinks) that men of worth, authority, and reſpect, ought not to vſe any ſuch ſalutations; becauſe to kiſſe the feet, hath bin accounted a matter of great dignity, and appertaining to the Pope onely. And to kiſſe the hand, is a gracious fauour afforded by Kings and Princes, to ſuch Subiects as they thinke worthy of ſuch grace.

But without gadding after ſo many kindes of vanities, and diuerſity of idle words, it is a matter meeete and reaſonable, that wee who are Chriſtians, ſhould imitate Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, ſaluting one another, with ſuch words as he ſaluted his Diſciples, ſaying; *Peace be with you*. Our Redeemer enſtricted vs alſo, to ſalute houſes at our entring into them, ſaying; *Peace be in this houſe*.

*Epaminondas* ſaid, that vntill the age of thirty yeares, we ſhould ſalute men thus: *You are very well come hither*, for all this while it appeareth, that they are but come into the world. From thirty vp to fifty, then to ſalute thus; *Well bee yee*; becauſe that then they know what maner of thing the world is. And from fifty deſcending downe againe, to ſay, *Goe in a good and bleſſed houre*. For then it appeareth, that they are beginning to take leaue of the world, and that as they had an entring into it, ſo there muſt needs be a departing from it.

The Cathalognians.

The Caſtilians.

Court Salutations.

The vanity of Court ſalutations.

How Chriſtians ſhould ſalute one another.

An excellent obſeruation of the famous *Epaminondas*.

The Idumæans.

The Hebrues.

The Philophers.

The Thebanes.  
The Romanes.

The Sicillians

The Carthaginians.

The Moores.

The Italians.

The Valentians.

CHAP. XVII.

*What a commendable thing it is to pardon iniuries, especially in Princes and great Lords.*

**I**Thath euermore bene a praise-worthy thing, to pardon iniuries and offences: which Princes and great Lords should neuer be vnmindfull of, but continually to remember the words, which *Iulius Caesar* spake to *Manilius*. Who (on a time) demanding of him, what that was which being performed by him, he therby thought to receiue the greatest glory, and in remembrance whereof hee ought most to reioyce? VVhereto he thus answered. *By the immortal Gods I sweare to thee Manilius, that I neuer thought my selfe to haue merited glory, for any other thing whatsoeuer in this life, nor any other else so much to reioyce me; then in pardoning such as had iniured me, and rewarding them that did me seruice.* VVords vndoubtedly worthy of praise, pleasing to heare, notable to reade, and necessary to be followed. For althogh *Iulius Caesar* beleeued as a Pagane, yet his works sauoured of a good Christian: and we miserable men, beleeuing all as Christians, yet our works come farre short of such beleeve, through the tentations of our corrupt flesh. Because humane wretchednesse is grown to such an encreasing in these cases, that many would pardon the iniuries of their enemies; and yet notwithstanding, dare not do it for feare of men: who vnderstanding, that such a man is willing to forgie his enemy, presently vse to say; that hee rather doth it through weaknesse and cowardise, then in any respect of charity.

CHAP. XVIII.

*From whence (at the first) came the title or name of King, and also of Emperour.*

**O**VR reuerend Fore-fathers, according to the diuersity of Nations, called their Princes by diuers names. The

*Egyptians* called their cheefest Lords and Rulers, *Pharaohs*: The *Bythians*, *Ptolomeis*: The *Parthians*, *Arsacides*: The *Albanes*, *Syluius*: The *Sicillians*, *Tyrants*: And the *Argiues*, *Kings*. Heere we are to vnderstand, that long since in former times, to be a King, was not any dignity, but an office onely: as euen now (among vs) is a Governour of the Common-wealth.

*Plutarch*, in his Bookes of Commonwealth, saith, that at the beginning, all such as governed, were called *Tyrants*: but afterward, all those that governed badly, were tearmed *Tyrants*, and such as ruled well were styled *Kings*, as a different note from them. For as the King maintained common vtility, and preferred the safety of the Commonwealth, before his owne respects and commodities; so the Tyrant referred his dominion to his cupidity and profite, alledging his will onely, as the sole reason of all his vniust commands. The King fed the flock, and the Tyrant deuoured it: the one obeyed lawes, & the other commanded aboue them, and also would breake them when himselfe pleased: this man was equall, the other vniust; the one obtayned the kingdome by vertue, and therein conserued it; the other vsurped it by power, and so by power held it.

From the beginning of the foundation of *Rome*, the Romanes created Kings, to bee governed and defended by them: neuerthelesse, they afterward found such kinde of government to be so bad, as they would endure no more but seuen Kings. And after they had banished perpetually the *Tarquins* for their tyranny, cleansed or purged the Citty, and slaine their offerings: they made a solemne oath, for them, their children, and successors, neuer more to create any Kings, eyther to gouerne *Rome* or them. But forasmuch as the *Romane* Commonwealth, had formerly receiued great benefits by their Kings, as by *Numa Pompilius*, and that their Kings only had the charge of sacred things: they resolved to keepe the name of King perpetually in their Citty, to the end, it should not appeare, that with the expulsion of the Kings, they derogated from diuine Religion and Seruice.

And because the Auguries or Diuiners had saide, that that name was consecrated to the Gods: the Romanes ordayned, that one man among them should be

Diuersity of Nations caused diuersity of titles giue to their Princes.

The difference of the words Tyrant and King, and the seuerall manner of their gouerning in the Commonwealth.

The first creation of Kings in Rome.

*Dionisius Halycar. in Lib. 5.*

An excellent question mooued to Caesar, and by him as worthily answered.

## CHAP. XIX.

The King or  
Master of the  
Sacrifices.

The first  
cheefe Priest  
in Rome.

The originall  
of the name  
of Emperour,  
and whereof  
it was deri-  
ued.

The Romane  
Dictatour.

The name of  
Emperour gi-  
uen to Caesar  
by the people.

The five dig-  
nities of the  
Senate.

Many other  
Offices of  
State among  
the Romane.

be chosen, who (for the times to come) should beare the name of the Sacrificing King, to be cheefe Priest, and Superintendent in hallowed things, and exempted from going to warre. The first man that had this honour in Rome, was *Manius Papirius*, a *Patrician*, a louer of peace & quietnesse: who was high Priest in the Temple of *Iupiter*, and called King.

Now, as concerning the name of Emperour, at the first it was not giuen by the Romanes, to such as held any soueraigne power; but onely to their Captaines and Generals, who had effected some worthy acte or enterprize in warre. And no other man was called Emperour, but onely the Colonell of the army, because hee gaue command there. *Nam Imperator dictus est ab imperando; For Imperator or Emperour is deriued of commanding*: which office was held but for a limited time, and that being past, it was deliuered ouer to another.

But after the battaile of *Pharsalia* in *Thessalie*, wherein *Caesar* vanquished *Pompey*: the entire gouernment of the Roman Common-wealth, being fallen into the hands of the Dictator *Caesar*, he coueting to make the authority and soueraigne power, to be proper and hereditary, wold not take on him the title of King (albeit he was so in effect) because that name was hatefull to the people. And they being desirous to please him, granted that he should be named Emperour, a name acceptable to all) especially to Souldiers, and which was onely but the fift dignity of the Senate. For the first was the Sacrificing Priest, whom they called King: The second, the Dictator: The third, the Consul: The fourth, the Tribune of the people: and the fift, the Emperour.

There was also diuers other degrees of State, as the *Censor*, the *Prator*, the *Proconsull*, the *Questor*, the *Edilis*, and other of order and ranke, whereof shall need no question heere. By this meanes then, *Iulius Caesar* hauing gotten to be perpetual Dictator, all such as succeeded him in the gouernment of the Romanes, were also called by the name of Emperours, and *Caesars* likewise by his sir-name, which was giuen him *Ab Elephantecaso*. As afterwards of *Augustus*, the Emperours which came in succession to him, vsed also to name them-selues euery man *Augustus*.

What was the reason, and upon what occasion, Kings in ancient times were created & established: And of the Dignity Royall.



OR two principall causes, Kings were at first anciently established: One, to the end they should preferue common iustice and equity, by which bond humane society is maintayned, and without which the lesser would be oppressed by the greater, all things being done by power, and no right obserued. The other, because they should defend the goods and safety of their Citizens from enemies. The necessities of life assembled men among themselues, and conioyned them by a naturall society: which hath bene caused by mutuall succours, support, and offices fitting mankinde. The beginning of this society, was reason and speech, whereby wee are differing from all brutish creatures. Reason caused many and infinite artes to be inuented, and speech (which is the interpreter of the spirit) learned, enstructed, & communicated them, not onely by this mutuall coniunction; but also hath stored the life of man with many commodities.

The first and cheefest, was the coniunction and coupling of man with woman, whereof was made one house, wherein all things were to the in common, & thence ensued plurality of houses. For Brothers, Sisters, and Cosins contracting mariage together at the beginning, and could not afterward (by multiplicity of their children) be contained all in one house, they went to dwell in other houses. So of one house at the first, came Borroughs and Villages, euen as Colonies of kindred. Finally, from Borroughs & Villages were deriued Citties, and becomming to be peopled, were enclosed with walles, confirmed with lawes, and enstructed with sciences: for without all these, they could not be preferued from the conspiracies of men, and therefore were to be ruled by some one, and couetousnesse of reigning is so great, that all would command, and none obey, or yeeld reuerence.

VVherefore, like as *Saylers*, when they are surprized with an impetuous tempest, run for refuge to the Patron of the Ship,

Two reasons  
for the esta-  
blishing of  
Kings.

The begining  
of humane  
society.

The first con-  
iunction of  
men and wo-  
man, & what  
ensued thereon

Of one house  
at the first  
followed the  
peopling of  
Townes and  
Villages.

An apt and  
worthy com-  
parison.

yea,

yea, & before they will set forth to Sea, fore-seeing future perils, make their recourse to a good Pilot, in whom they repose their trust and safety: Euen so is requisite is it, to giue the government of a City, to such a one as may well conduct the common-wealth, and render iustice and right to euery man. *For where there is no Governour (saith Ecclesiastes) the people are scattered.* All things which consist on a certaine order, should be referred to one head or cheefe. Which we may obserue in some brutish creatures; as in Bees, who obserue a forme or image of a common-wealth among them. This world it selfe (the parts whereof are conioyned among themselues, by admirable order and arteficial workmanship) would fayle and come to nothing, if it were not governed by the power of God. Therefore such as cannot endure the dominion of many, will submit themselues to the regiment of one; in whom, for opinion of wisdome and goodnesse, they may safely repose their trust. *Not onely then to the Medes (saith Herodotus) but also to all other people, Kings (vertuously enclined) were established for the administration of Iustice.*

In elder times, kingdomes came not to the Sonnes of Kings, but was giuen to such a one, whom they thought would wisely and religiously maintaine the foundation of the Common-wealth, by concord and iustice. In those olde dayes, a King gouerned in euery City, and after other Townes became annexed to the principality and dominion of one: Kings had beginning to gouerne ouer diuers people, and thence ensued, that according to the names of Kings, the Regions were so called, which the Romanes tearmed Prouinces. Moreouer, euery King should excell one another in iustice and power; to the end, that he may the better write his people by equitye, and defend the Common-wealth from enemies. And by good right it may be sayd, that Royall Maiestie ought not only to be decorated with Armes: but ought also to be armed with lawes, that at all times, both of warre and peace, he may both manfully and vprightly gouerne.

Now, speaking of this Royall dignitie, doubtlesse it is so great and holy, that Kings being protectors and defenders of

societies among men, do therein imitate the prouidence of God: the office and action of whom, is to rule and gouerne all things, & therefore by good right, they may be tearmed Vicars and Ministers of the almighty and soueraign Rector of the whole world, and he himselfe hath called them Gods. *Plato* reputed a kindome among mortall men, to be a diuine and soueraigne goodnesse; because it came neere to the diuine nature, and power celestiall. How farre then some do surpasse each other in many things, so a King doth excell al other men in dignity and honor, not humane but diuine.

*Porus*, a King among the Indians, being taken prisoner in battaile, when *Alexander* demanded of him, after what manner he would be vsed; *Like a King*, quoth he. Againe he vrged the same demand; & still he returned the same answer. *For* (quoth hee) *all is comprized vnder the word King.* The name of King was of so great veneration among Nations, that the *Indians* and *Persians* adored their Kings as a diuine image, and helde it for their highest and cheefest happinesse, to haue at any time but a sight of them. Poets renowned *Iupiter* by the name of king, more then any other title. And in ancient times, Kings did not onely gouerne the common-wealth; but also had the charge and super-intendency of Ceremonies & Sacrifices. Kings then are sacred, considering that the *Hebrewes* with one and the same oyle, annointed both their Kings & high Priests.

Let vs see and obserue, how one kinde of reason, and the like of vnderstanding, do gouerne in man like a Queene. Let vs consider the other works of nature, which by a wonderfull kinde of concord, restrained and combined together, depend only vpon one. So that if things which imitate nature, are the most perfect and excellent, then questionlesse, Monarchy is most absolute and entire, farre aboute Aristocratie, Democratie, Oligarchy, or Laocratie, yea, all other kindes of gouernment, where eyther many persons, or few, or the people themselues do rule and command. And like as it is a very hard matter, to finde many men good and honest, rather then one onely: so is it more hard, that the manners of one man should be so soone corrupted, as of many. So that

Kings imitate the prouidence and goodnes of God.

*Plato in lib. 4. de Legib.*

An excellent example of *Porus* King of India,

The charge and office of Kings in ancient times.

Things imitating nature, are the most perfect and excellent.

*eccles. 7. 9.*

the world would perish if the power of God did not gouerne it

*eccl. dot. in l. 4.*

the first beginning of royall and rightly Iurisdiction.

royall Maiestie ought to be armed with good lawes.

The world to  
be governed  
by one man  
onely.

that if the whole world were governed by one man, there would not be so many differences, manners, customes, nor diversities of religion, nor so many warres, offences, and slaughters. But when Cities are vnder the sway and power of many, they are then ouer-toyled with troubles, seditions, and dissentions, by reason of inordinate willes and affections in the greatest: who licence themselues to all euill, beeing partiall and discordant one towards another. Whereof God said by the mouth of his Prophet; *Many Pastours haue ruined my Vine.*

To serue and  
attend vpon  
the command  
of many, is no  
meane slavery

Let me demaund one question, is it not much more seruile and slavish, to attend on the willes of many, then of one onely. Nay, are not the couetous desires of one man sooner to be satisfied, then of many? you cannot chuse but grant it, and I craue no better iudgement. For as it is neyther good nor necessary, that in one house there should be many fathers of the

Family: euen so is it neyther secure nor profitable, that the Common-wealth should be governed by the authority of many. Whereof *Licurgus* gaue good assurance, when some one required, that Democratie should be established in *Sparta*, hee returned this answer; *Begin it then in thine owne house first.*

Yet very true it is, that one man onely, how great or small soeuer in power & prerogatiue, cannot (of himselfe) provide for all occasions, and in all places: but he may by his Lieutenants (as God by the ministry of his Angels) exercise his authority throughout all his Lands vnder his obedience, as hauing the eye of his minde euery where, for contayning his Subiects in quietnesse, and causing iustice to be administred vnto them. I say then, as a conclusion to this Chapter, that wee ought to liue, in and vnder the vnity of these foure things; *Of one God; Of one King; Of one faith; And of one Law.*

The power &  
prerogatiue  
of a King by  
his Lieutenants.

THE

## The End of the Second Booke.





THE THIRD BOOKE.

The Originall of the Switzers, and their  
seuerall CANTONS.

*Containing, the Government of the Countrey; the publike estate of the thirteene Cantons, and of their Confederates, both in generall and particuler: Their Baylywickes, and Iurisdic-tions; The Originall and condition of all their Alliances; Their battels, victories, con-quests, and other memorable actions; from the Emperor Raoul of Habspourg, until the time of Charles the first.*

CHAP. I.



Because amongst those Common-weales of Freedom, governed by a certain number of Lords, many haue held opinion, that (at this present time) the Commonwealth of the Switzers is the cheefest, next vnto that of *Venice*: I haue many times questioned with diuers people, that were no Switzers, how, and after what manner this Commonwealth was first established & governed. For they did highly maruaile, that so many people, hauing but little, should ally and encrease themselues in so short while, euen as enclosed within a defensue wall or circuite, and continue firmly knit together in peace, for such a large and long expence of yeeres.

The Commonwealth of the Athenians, excelling all the rest in Greece, was assembled and selected of many people, and from many places, not only into one countrey, but also within one & the same city. As for the Commonwealth of the Achaians, composed of twelue towns or cities, it did not last long, nor prosper: but after it continued in some dignitie, vnder

*Aratus* and *Philopoemen*, soone afterward it was subdued by the Romaines, because she abused her owne liberty. After the death of *Ioshua*, the Commonwealth of *Israel*, exposed (thorow her owne fault) to pillage and violence of enemies, was many times protected and defended by Iudges and valiant persons, which God had raised vp for that purpose: but at the last, the twelue Tribes, as beeing glutted or surfatted with their own liberty, made choise of a King out of their own motion

In the time of our Ancestors, by the intermeddling and sollicitation of the Emperour *Frederick*, the Townes of \**Suaba* v. nited themselues together, and (by that meanes) were esteemed inuincible: but hauing rashly attempted (and by badde conduct) war against the Switzers, the former confederation lost much of the latter. Which afterward, it seemed she recouered againe, when the confederates expelled the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ruined all the Castles of *Suaba*, detained by diuers theeues and robbers. So that soon after the time of their league was expired they became so strange one to another, that they who before were their friendes and allies, were reputed by them as their greatest enemies, and ioyed themselues with those that had most molested them; by which meanes, in verie few yeeres this league was vtterly lost and vanished.

The common wealth of *Israel*.

\*By some termed *Pomerania*.

The Preface or induction of the Author

The common wealth of the Athenians.

The common wealth of the Achaians.

All Switzer-land is no other but one Commonwealth, & the reason thereof.

Passage by plurality of voyes, bindeth all subjects.

The nation of the Switzer consisteth of estates in common.

How Commonwealths are maintained.

Troubles soon ended, & mutuall loue embraced.

Now albeit there are many people, & a great number of Townes and Cities in *Swetia*; yet is it neuertheless, but euen as one City or Commonwealth. I know that learned men will hardly credite this, because they suppose vs to haue no society, nor any coniunction of government, and so (by consequent) it cannot be said, that *Swetia* can yeild the body of a Commonwealth; considering also, that the Townes are not tyed to the ordinances of other Cities or Townes, except with their owne good will and liking, as in the Conuentions priuate of associates. So it is, that in the same degree of Commonwealth, whatsoever hath passed by plurality of voyes, it bindeth all the Subjects of that Commonwealth. As for my self, I am not willing to contest with the learned: for I freely confesse the truth of their saying; if wee consider matters exactly. But in regard that the whole Nation of the Switzers consisteth of common estates, governing many Prouinces in common, deliberating altogether on the affaires of peace and warre, hauing (almost) a like Lawes and Customs, and are so strictly conioyned by perpetuall Conuentions: admit that this were not one onely Commonwealth, and in such nature as hath bene formerly spoken of; yet notwithstanding, wee that write and speake of these matters some-what more popularly, do imagine, that we shall not much faile, in calling this association and league, the City and Commonwealth of the Switzers.

Thus then this Commonwealth established by perpetuall alliances, hath conserued her liberty for the space of more then two hundred yeares, with great concord, and incredible vnion of hearts of all the Switzers. For albeit that once or twice (according as it hapneth almost ordinarily in all great Commonwealths) they haue bene prouoked and stirred to ciuill warres: yet notwithstanding, those troubles were immediately pacified, and al reuinited together againe in sincere & cordiall affection; embracing the laudable desire of their predecessors, to study still for the freedome of their Countreyes maintenance. Neuertheless, there are some kind of men (enemies to the Switzers) so impudent, as to reproch vs, that in *Heluetia*, euery man is a master or com-

mander, and that our Ancestors, hauing put to death, or troden vnder foote the awe of our Noblemen, by these meanes entred into this liberty, contrary vnto all right and reason. Others do (more truly) confesse, that our Noble-men did offer such outrage to our predecessors, both in words and deeds, that they had iust occasion to vndertake Armes, which all that while they managed very sharply, as it happeneth among people much abused and prouoked. But to satisfie the irresolution of some friends, who vnderstand not the estate of our affaires, and to rembarre the calumnies of the enuious, I thought good to imploy my labour, in describing the forme of the Switzers Commonwealth, by reprobuing all vntruthes to the full, and ascending to the heighth of their originall.

All *Heluetia* or *Switzerland*, is at this day considered in three parts: for first of all, the thirteene Cantons haue alwayes allyed and combined themselues, as into onebody of a City. And these are they, *Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Vri, Suits, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris, Basile, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffouse, and Appenzel*. In the second place are the associates and confederates of the thirteene Cantons, to wit, first of all, the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gal*; next, the confedered *Grisons*, the Byshop of *Sion*, and the whole countries of *Valais, Rotuille, Mulhouse, and Bienne*. Consequently, the territories or Bayliwickes, which are gouerned by the 13. Cantons in common, to witte; *Turgow, Bade, the Rhegusces*, now adayes called *Rhinthal, Sargans*, the free Prouinces, the inhabitants of *Lugano, Locarne, Mendrise, and the Vale Madie*; whereto may well bee ioyned them of *Bellizone*, who are vnder the dominion of the three lesser Cantons. The cities and townes of the Cantons & confederates, are *Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Zug, Basile, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffouse, S. Gal, Coire* of the *Grisons, Syon* in *Valais, Rotuille, Mulhouse, and Bien ne* for all the rest do dwell in villages.

Moreouer, all of them abide not in *Switzerland*, neither within those limites proposed by *Cesar* in his Commentaries: for of the thirteene Cantons, *Basile* is as a quarter apart, which was anciently called the countrie of the *Raurasians*. *Schaffouse* is in *Allemaigne* or *Germany*, on the further side

The reason for the Authors writing of this discourse.

The parts and portions of Heluetia.

The thirteene Cantons.

Associats and Confederates

Iurisdictions or Bayliwickes

Cities and Townes of the Cantons and Confederates

Villages appertaining to him.

Iul. Caf. in comment. Lib. 4.

side of the *Rhine*: and one part of them of *Glaris* and of *Vri*, do touch (as some conceiue) with the *Grisons* and the *Alpes*. As for the associates, except the Abbot and Town of *S. Gal* and *Bienne*: al the rest are out of the limits of the ancient country of *Heluetia*. First we consider, that the *Grisons* retaine still their name and olde country of the *Rhatians*. Next is the *Valaisians*, who in elder times were called *Viberins*, *Sedusians*, and *Veragrians*. *Rotuille* is in *Germany*, and *Mulhouse* towards the *Franche Comté*. Now as concerning the Iurisdiccions or Baylywickes, they of *Rhinthal* and of the *Sargans*, are *Grisons*. But they of *Lugano*, *Locarne*, *Mendrife*, of the *Vale Medie*, and of *Bellizone*, are Italians by originall and Language: the other Iurisdiccions remaine in Switzerland.

And heere you are to vnderstand, that these Cantons doe not hold equal authority ouer the distinct countries; but according as the associations haue beene made in diuersity of times, euen so are the authority of the Cantons diuers. They of *Turgow*, hold as their Lords and heads the seauen most ancient Cantons, namely, *Zurich*, *Lucerne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug* & *Glaris*. *Berne*, *Fribourg*, & *Soleurre*, do vndergoe some right in criminall causes. For the Prouestship or Precedency of the Empire (as they vsed to tearme it) and iudgement of criminall processe, was heeretofore referred to them of *Constance*, as their due: but among other conditions of peace, after the warre of *Suaaba*, this authority was granted vnto the *Switzers*, which appertained equally to the fore-named Cantons, because they all ioyned together in the selfe-same warre. Moreover, those seuen Cantons commanding at *Bada*, did the like to them of *Sargans*, *Rhinthal*, and ouer the Free Provinces also. True it is, that in their gouernment of *Bada*, they associated the men of *Berne* with them; and they of *Appenzel* in the gouernment of *Rhinthal*; and all the Cantons to the foure Baylywickes, which are on the confines of *Italy*. *Bellizone* is subiect to them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*: and such (at this day) is the condition and estate of the *Switzers* Common-wealth. Now, I purpose to shew the times, the cause, and the principall Articles of the *Switzers* league. Also,

what hath beene the estate of each *Canton*, before they became allyed together, and what their dues and rightes haue beene, and are. Lastly, what warres they haue maintained since their League was made.

CHAP. II.

Of the three first Cantons of the Switzers.



IN the year after the natiuity of our Lord Iesus Christ, 1307. they of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, wer the very first that Cantoned themselues. They were tearmed Swaines or Boores of the country, dwelling in vallies, and in their owne Language, stiled, *Die Drey Lander*, also *Die Drey Waldstett*: And, in time, *Lucerne* came into the fourth place. They dwelt in the Valleys of the *Alpes*, betweene the *Grisons* country, the *Vale of Liwiner*, and high *Valais*, and were seated betweene the *Canton* of *Zurich*, and the country of *Ergow*. Some doe affirme, that they of *Suits*, are descended of the *Cimbrians*; they of *Vri*, of the *Taurisci*; & they of *Vnderuald*, of



certaine banished Romanes; and indeed, their magnanimity in war, declares them to be issued of generous Ancestors.

Their Annals do testifie, that the Emperor *Lewis*, sonne to *Charlemaign*, at the request of the Bishop of *Rome*, granted these people liberty, to bee gouerned by Lawes made among themselues, & gaue them many other Priuiledges, for their faithfull seruice in warre against the *Sazars*, in behalfe of the cittie of *Rome*. For the *Sarrazins*, who in those times much troubled *Affrica*, hauing inuaded *Sicilie*, came likewise into *Italy*: where they tooke some places: and afterward marching vnto *Rome*, easily made themselues Masters of the *Vatican*, vvhich

The Abbot & the towne of Saint Gal.

An ancient cople of Germany.

The order of the Baylywickes.

Diuersity of authority in the iurisdiccions of the Cantons.

Authority of nature in criminall occasions.

Associations matter of gouernment and authority

The three first Cantons, and how they Cantoned themselues.

Of whom and whence these people are generally descended.

The Emperors fauour to these people.

then stood voyd of any defence. There they robbed the Temple of Saint *Pecer*, breaking downe the gates thereof, that were of siluer and very great value, and afterward burnt and destroyed it. Having continued there diuers dayes in determi-



nation to surprize the whole Cittie; they heard tydings (as Historians say) that a great band of soldiers, belonging to *Cisalpine Gaule*, came to the succor of Rome, which

made them forthwith recoile, and to wast all the plaine Countrey about Rome. Among other badde seruices, they robbed the Temple of *S. Paul* vpon the way to *Ostia*, and stuffed it with such fires, as the more part thereof was vtterly ruined.

From thence continuing on their course in spoile and rauage, euen so far as mount *Cassinum*, they stole away all the Jewels and Ornaments of the Abbey, and defaced a great part thereof. Thence getting vnto the sea shore, and lading their Shippes with their stolne booties: finding them ready to set faile, they lanced forth into the maine.

Now, the *Annales of Switzerland* or *Heluetia*, do say; that these three first Cantons, and they of the Valley of *Hafell*, were present at this fore-mentioned succour and supply, and passed two seuerall times into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of a certaine Italian *Marquesse*, named *Guy*. They pursued the *Sarazins*, and cut their rere-gard in peeces, bringing back a great spoile from this ouerthrowe of theirs, which they altogether gaue to the Temple of *S. Peter*, euen all that they hadde gotten from the enemy. In regard wherof, the Pope (as a recompence for so great a benefite) obtained (on theyr behalfe) great priuiledges from the King of *France*; and moreouer, presented them with those Ensignes or Standards; which yet, in our daies, they vse to beare in war.

Notwithstanding, the Emperour *Lewes* sonne to *Lewes* the *Debonnaire*, and youn-

gest sonne to *Charlemaigne*, gaue them of *Vri*, to the Abbey which he had builte at *Turegum*, now called *Zurich*, where his daughter *Hildegarde* was Lady Abbesse: and the wordes of the Donation (truely translated out of the Latine Coppie) are these which follow.

*The Donation of the Emperour Lewes to the Abbey of Turegum.*



*E* give to our Abbey, founded at *Turegum*, where *Saint Felix* and *Saint Regula* rest in the Lord with their bodies; our Bourrough or Towne of *Turegum*, situated in the Dutchy of *Suaba*, in the Territory of *Durgan*, with all the apurtenances and dependances in diuers charges: to wit, the village of *Vri*, with the churches, houses, and other buildings aboue named: The slaues, male and female, young and old, lands eareable and desert, Woods, Meddowes, pasture grounds, Fish ponds, Rivers, Ports, Passages, things found and yet to find, with all olde rents and reuennewes. Moreouer, our Forrest named *Albis*, and generally all those things fore-mentioned, that eyther now or heereafter do and may appertaine vnto vs, without reseruing or retaining any thing whatsoeuer.

But it is not to bee thought, that this Donation did wholly abolish the ancient priuiledges and libertie of them of *Vri*: For, if we may credit them, the Emperour gaue not the Seignery of all the country to this recited Abbey, but of one Village or two onely. Moreouer, if it were so that the whole valley of *Vri* had bin vnder subiection to this Abbey; yet notwithstanding, it coule not much preiudice their freedome: because such as were any way subiect to Monasteries or Conuents, were obliged vnder certaine conditions, and enjoyed their liberties in the meane while, onely their seruice to the Church excepted.

Beside, they receiued their Governors or Prouosts of the empire, to take knowledge and censure in causes criminall, without any appeale. They of *Vri* also did formerly do the like; and as concerning other causes, their Iudge, whom they tearme *Anman* (as much to say, as Maior or Bourgomaster) with his Councillors or Assistants, was chosen from among

The lands & ppeople of *Vri* giuen to the Abbey of *Turegum*.

According to the autentice Latine Coppie.

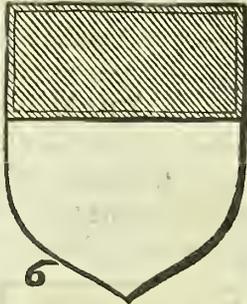
The ancient priuiledges & liberties of *Vri*, not frustrated by this gift.

\* Called also *Gallia Togara*, and *Citerior* or *Gallia*, betweene them and the *Alpes*

\* A city built by *Ancus Martius* in the months of *Tyber*.

Collected out of the *Heluetian Annales*.

A great spoile made of the *Sarazins* by the three first Cantons.



among the people, by good knowledge had of him and them, & they are to provide in common for the affayres of the Commonwealth. They of *Suits* & *Vnderwald* do governe themselves in the same manner: and among them, men belonging to the Church, haue some power and priuiledges. In these seuerall quarters wer good store of Noblemen. As among them of *Vri*, the Barons of *Attinghuse*, *Schwynsberg* and *Vtzinge*: The Lords of *Sillini*, *Winterberg*, *Mose*, *Sedorf*, *Spiring*, *Meier*, of *Bourgs* and of *Oetzfeld*. Among them of *Suits*, the Lords of *Stouffacker*, *Rogkenberg*, *Schuanow*. In the quarters of *Vnderwald*, the Lords of *Wolffenschieff*, *Blumenec*, *Rudentz*, *Altnach*, *Walterberg*, *Lembourg*, *Liebourg*, and *Huneville*. At the beginning, these Gentlemen carryed themselves very kindly with the other Inhabitants, and part of them serued as vassalles to some neighbouring Earles. But when they grew rich thorow succession of times, they began to misprize the people, and to subiect them to theyr vniust commands. The Governours, who ought to conferue the peoples libertie, making semblance of not seeing such harsh behaviours: faoured the Gentlemen, as being next in condition to themselves, and by those meanes both augmented & supported their power.

In those times especially, not onelie the freedome of the Switzers Cantons, but likewise of many Townes in Germany, were in manifest danger. The Emperors were excommunicated, and in open warres assailed by the Popes, so that all Germany was diuided into two factions, one part wherof followed the Popes power, and the other the Emperors. The people of Switzerland, and some few of their Nobility, rooke part with *Frederick*, the lawfull emperor, who (for that cause) renewed and reconfirmed the auncient priuiledges of their liberty. They of *Suits* can yet shew the Letters Patents of *Frederick* the second, written in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1240. wherby he receiued them of *Suites* into the safeguard of the empire, as members thereof; and that they should not be any way aliened or estranged thence, hee confirmed their priuiledges, and called them people of free condition.

On the contrary side, the most part of

the Nobility, especially such as were as vassalls to Conuents and Abbaies, which were then in very great credit, they followed the Popes faction. Hence sprung the hatreds, enmities, and first foundation of ciuill dissentions, all taking a wonderfull increasing in the *Interregnum* of manie yeares, after the death of *Fredericke*. Neuertheless, in those very times, the forenamed people did (euen then) enioy their intire liberty, although many ambusca-does were prepared to depriue them of it: as appeareth sufficiently by a deed patent of confederacie for three yeares, by them of *Vri* and *Suits*, with them of the Towne of *Zurich*, the tenor of which confederacie followeth thus.

*A true Copy of the Patent of Confederacie, betweene Zurich, Vri, and Suits.*

**T**O all them to whome these Letters shall come, to be either seen or heard: We *Arnol Maireur de Sillini*, *Amman*, and the people of *Vri*: and we *Conrad de iberg*, *Amman* and the people of *Suits*, and of the Diocesse of *Constance*. We make it knowne, that we are obliged together by oath, mutually to ayd and counsell each other, from the Feast of the natiuity of *Iesus Christ*, vntill & for the space of three yeares insuing, on these conditions following. Whatsoeuer hath bin done or past before 3 day, doth not any way ty vs together. If a Lord, whatsoeuer he be, haue a seruant or vassall among vs: that vassall or seruāt shall be subiect vnto him, according to the custom which hath heretofore bin vsed in the kings time. But if the Lord shall constraine him beyond that limitation; then will we endeuor to succour the seruant. If any of the Allies or confederates shal possesse himselfe of any Castles or other places, without the counsell and liking of the other Allies, they shal not stand bound to furnish the with the charge of Garrison or munition. If any one haue done endamage-ment by fire or spoile on any place, Wee wil ioyne all our meanes together, to make war on them that shal haue committed such an offence. If any shal attempt to inuade or set vpon the lands of *Vri* and *Suits*: they of *Zurich* shal impeach them to their uttermost power. If they cannot attaine thereunto: they shall then endamage them by burning, sacking, and all other helpes of hostility. If any shall besiege the Towne of *Zurich*, and shall

The vacancie of a Princes rule, make way to manie harmes.

Meanes to resist against tyranny.

Translated truly out of the auncient record.

The couenant of conditions agreed vpon between them

For vassalls and seruants.

For allies and confederates.

Against fire or other spoile.

Against inuasion to be offered on either side.

Lords & Noblemen in these Cantons seuerally distinguished their places.

The fourte originall of confusion in y estate of the Switzers.

Partialities do erre moreouer most dangerous.

Their liberties renewed and confirmed by the Emperors Letters patents.

For the Vines  
and trees a-  
bout Zurich.

Against no-  
uelty in alli-  
ance.

Six men cho-  
sen for Vri &  
Suits out of  
Zurich, and as  
many out of  
Vri and Suits,  
to command  
all the rest.

Prouision for  
death of any  
of the twelue  
in the time of  
contederation

The Switzers  
continually  
iellous of their  
liberty.

The Nobilitie  
insulted too  
much ouer the  
people.

*Spoyle the Vines and trees about it : they of Vri and Suits shall oppose all their forces against them, and shall rob and burne the enemies Country. If any one of these inter-obliged parties, doe make confederation with any other, the other Allies shall not stand bounde thereto.*

*Moreouer, we of Vri and of Suits, haue made choise of sixe persons among the Cittizens of Zurich; namely, Raoul Muller, Roger Mannes, Raoul Beggenh, Knightes, Gaultier de Saint Pierre, Garnier Biberlin, and Conrad Krieg. And We of Zurich haue chosen three among them of Vri; namely, Garnier de Attinghuse, Burckhard, the old Amman, Conrad Maieur of Ortschaft. And as many of Suits, namely; Conrad, Amman of Iberg, Raoul Stuffacher, and Conrad Hun. These twelue men, according to their discretion, shall giue command to all the Allies, for mutuall ayding & succouring one another, both how and when-soeuer neede shall require, in those affayres whereof the conditions haue formerly bin expressed. If any one of these twelue men shall chaunce to die within compasse of the three yeares alliance, the other shall stand bound by Oath, to substitute another in his place, within fourteene dayes after following. And to the end that all before declared, may continue firme for the time prefixed: Wee the Senate and Cittizens of Zurich. and we the people of Vri and Suits, haue put our Seales to three instruments of the same tenure, concerning this our faithfull alliance. Giuen at Zurich the day of Saint Gal, in the year of our Lord God, M. CC. LI.*

These Letters of alliance, made an 100. yeares before that they of Zurich hadde contracted perpetuall alliance with the three first Cantons, do evidently declare how those people were euermore iellous of their liberty, without offering wrong neuerthelesse vnto any person in conseruing it. Now, about ten yeares after this alliance made, the Empire being troubled with factions, in regard it was destitute of an Emperor, and *Heluetia* much molested by the ouermuch license, which the Nobility tooke to themselves day by day: the three Cantons hauing heard *Raoul* of *Habsbourg* (who was afterward Emperor) to be highly commended for many Vertues clearly shining in him, gaue him yearly pledges, and electing him for their head, made alliance with him, that they

liberty might be maintained at the swords point, if neede required. They of *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Strasbourg* did as much at the very same time. The like did manie free Townes of Germany, being called vnto their succour, and gaue mony euery yeare to the neighbouring Princes, to the end, they might be secured by their meanes.

The authority of *Raoul*, beeing busied in other warres about *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Strasbourg*, comming short of abilitie to repress the insolence of the Nobilitie: at length the people (being too much trod downe by great mens outrages) vnder-tooke Armes, and expelled them forth of the Countrey that had raised this disorder. This warre continued twelue yeares, about the yeare of our Lord, 1260. and some few yeares following. And in this warre, all the Cantons beganne to fortify the passages of their Countreies. They of *Suits* builded a Tower at Mount *Sattell*, fortifying and cutting off the great highway. They of *Vnderwald*, did dam vp the Lake with a strong prouision of stakes & shrubs, toward the village of *Stantz*, and fortified the Port, by meanes of a Tower which they builded there. The year 1273. it came to passe, that *Raoul* of *Habsbourg* was elected King of the Romaines. Then the Gentlemen of *Switzerland* went vnto him, and gaue him to vnderstand, that the people had rebelled: on the contrary, the people maintained, how much the Nobility had outraged them. The King hauing heard both parties, and seene the priuiledges of the people, gaue sentence to their benefit, and made peace between them and the Noblemen expelled out of *Heluetia*, whither they returned again for the more part. As for the rest of the country, the king did generally confirme Governours in the name of the Empire, & not of the house of *Austria*: which Governours (from their beginning) did not dwell in towns or villages, but kept themselves in their Castles, whence they came, twice or thrice yearely, to iudge in cases of proceffe, but more especially in criminal causes.

In our dayes, there are Towns in Germanie, that receiued such Governours of the Empire, who managed no other matter, but onely causes criminall, & had no other occasions in Townes to attend vpon, but only the. And so far off was king

*Raoul*

Alliance  
made with the  
Emp. Raoul  
to preferue  
their liberty.

The first war  
of the Nobili-  
ty against the  
Cantons.

Erection of  
Towers and  
Castles of de-  
fence.

The truest re-  
medy to im-  
peach confu-  
sions of estat

Gouernors  
placed in the  
Emperors  
name, & not  
in the house  
of Austria.

ing Raoul a-  
ridged none  
f the Swit-  
ers liberti:s.

*Raoul*, from diminishing the liberties of the *Switzers*: as rather many of the Cantons stood beholding to him, for not only the confirmation, but likewise the amplification of their priuiledges. For, without depending on them of *Zurich*; he confirmed and augmented the priuiledges of the Canton of *Suits*, in the 18. yeare of his Empire, as appeareth by his Letters giuen at *Bada*, in the yeare 1291. where, in expresse termes, they of *Suits* are called people of free condition.

They of Suits  
ere termed  
ree people.

The Switzers  
berties left  
ntirely to the

True it is, that the King himselfe rooke very great paines, to make the house of *Habsbourg* great: but he left to the *Switzers* their liberties entire. Either because he would not be accounted vnthankfull, in ruinating the that had succoured him, and shewne themselues faithfull in his right, before he was Emperour, perswading himselfe also, that his affaires would prosper the better, by hauing the *Switzers* his loyall friends and associates, then to make rebels of subiects, who would carry but bad affection to the oppressors of their liberty: Or else in regard, that hauing (but a very little before) ioyned the Dukedome of *Austria*, as also of *Allemagne* or *Suaba*, to his other possessions, he might thereby imagine, that it would beget him a generall hatred, to fasten on things of such slender consequence, and that all the profite hee could procure, by vsurping ouer the *Switzers*, could not value the ill-will he should gaine thereby.

ustria and  
uaba ioyned  
the Empe-  
ors other  
ghts.

*Adolph de Nassau*, who was successour to *Raoul* in the Empire, confirmed to the *Switzers* their priuiledges. By meanes whereof, the *Switzers* were highly hated of *Albert*, Sonne to *Raoul*, and enemy to *Adolph*. This *Albert* was the very greatest aduersary and persecutor of the liberties of the *Switzers*. Hee had a great number of children, and to aduance and enrich them, hee began to stretch forth his wings so farre as possibly he could, & especially he resolued, to prouide a new kinde of principality in *Switzerland*. Hee being become Emperour, attributed many things to the house of *Austria*, that appertained to the Empire: which made him offensiuie and insupportable to his neighbours, in being shamelesse, to get to himselfe whatsoever he desired, eyther by vniust demands, or else by manifest violence. And because Ecclesiasticall per-

he Emperour  
bert a great  
emy to the  
witzers li-  
erty.

yranny is  
tutelous in  
s proce-  
ngs, to com-  
sse his in-  
ntions.

sons were very powerfull; he practised by all meanes, eyther to make sale to them of their iurisdctions, or else to make them acknowledge him and his childre, as their hereditary and perpetuall Tutors & Protectors, In this manner he dealt with the Colledges and Conuents of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Constance*, *Coire*, *S. Gal*, the *Hermitage*, *S. Blase*, *Disentz*, *Pfauertz*, *Rinow*, *Wettinghen*, *Muren*, *Interlach*, *Trubic*, *Certia*, *Secconn*, *Schennisis*, *Zurich*, and many other places beside. By the selfe-same cunning, he sollicited & oppressed the Earles and Barons of *Switzerland* or *Heluetia*, to put themselues into the safegard, and become vassals to the house of *Austria*. Among others were the Lords of *Vilsow*, *Rotenburg*, *Reynspourg*, *Efschenbach*, *Albourg*, *Wolhuse* and *Grencinge*.

Church priui-  
ldges intul-  
ted vpon by  
the Emperour  
Albert.

Lords made  
vassals to the  
house of Au-  
stria, by the  
Emperours  
cunning.

In former times, the Colledges and Conuents depended vpon the Empire, & Lords & Gentlemen did neuer acknowledge any other Soueraigne vpon earth, but the Emperour onely: but this *Albert* laboured to fasten all to the house of *Austria*. Wee may easily iudge of his violence towards strangers, by his bad carriage to his owne proper Nephew, to whom he would neuer (although hee was very many times thereto required) render the *Hermitage* paternall, which he gouerned in quality of a Tutor. But the Abbot of *Saint Gal*, two Colledges of the Towne of *Zurich*, and the Count of *Hombourg*, could neuer be brought to that point, to acknowledge them of *Austria* for their Protectors, neyther to sell them any portion of their iurisdctions. They continually alledged their ancient priuiledges, and would not permit, that they shoulde be dismembred from the Empire: which much incensed and offended the Emperour, who had practised vpon the rights of many other, especially the Conuents *Secconn*, *Murbach*, the *Hermitage*, *Interlach*, *Disentz*, and *Lucerne*, who had giuen him all that appertained to them, at *Glaris*, *Lucerne*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. Howbeit, they had formerly promised (by verie authentical letters) to the inhabitants of those places, neuer to alienate them to any other. But all this while, *Albert* cunningly wonne the harts of simple people, and by goodly promises, made them to ratifie these alienations.

The Emperours  
cruelty to his  
owne Ne-  
phew.

Tyrants doe  
alwaies meete  
with some  
people that  
will resist a-  
gainst their  
designes.

An euil exam-  
ple is no rule  
of imitation  
in others.

Hauing (by these meanes) gotten footing

The practises of the Emperour Albert, to subiect them of Suits and Vnderwald.

Faire words are of no cost to the enemies of free peoples liberty.

Threatning of a Princes disfauour ominous.

Wisdomes & good counsell is neuer wanting in them that maintain their liberty by lawfull meanes.

ting in the round neighbouring Countries, & bought some Castles of the Conuents, in the Territories of the forenamed Cantons: hee began to looke into some meanes, whereby he might become Master of *Suits* and *Vnderwald*, which being enclosed by the of *Austria* (that domineerd ouer the Hermitage, *Glaris*, *Zug*, *Lucerne*, & other places thereabout) caused many to imagine, that except hee could preuaile against the too, they wold quit their liberty as the other did. Neuertheles, *Albert* being desirous to reach the height of his desire, by such meanes as he had propounded to himselfe: sent in Embassie to them of *Suits* and *Vnderwald*, the Baron of *Liechtenberg*, Gouvernor of *Alsatia*, and the Baron of *Ochsenstein*, two of his intimate Councillers. They addressed themselves first to the of *Suits*, and perswaded them to yeeld themselves into the protection of the house of *Austria*, who were very beningne Princes, & vnder whose dominion they might liue much more peaceably, the formerly they had done vnder the Empire, dismembred and rent in peeces (as it were) while the Princes were in debate about the election of Emperours. They further added that they of *Austria* had the reuenues of many Conuents in those very quarters, and that if they refused; by displeasing *Albert*, they might well conceiue, that their affaires would but badly carry themselves; but in doing the contrary, his highnesse made them promise, of all honest and amiable entertainmēt, that a Prince could afford them.

The men of *Suits*, hauing bene aduertised before, concerning the intention & demaund of *Albert*, by *Garnier*, Count of *Hombourg*, Lord of a neere neighbouring Country, called *La Marche*: a man not well affected by *Albert*, because he had refused to yeeld himselfe vassale to the house of *Austria*: And hauing conferred with them of *Vri* and *Vnderwald*, returned thus their answer to the Ambassadors. That the Kings and Romane Emperours had giuen them faire and ample priuiledges, carrying expresse charge, that they should neuer bee dismembred from the Empire: wherefore they were fully resolved, in imitation of their Ancestours example, to continue firmly ioyned to the Romane Empire. As for the Monasteries

of *Murbach* and *Beron*, whose rights and reuenues (especially about *Suitz*) were then in the hands of the *Austrian* Princes, hauing formerly promised by authentical instruments, neuer to alienate themselves to any other authority whatsoeuer: If they had kept their promise, they would haue done the like in duty to them. But seeing that they had broken their faith; and all former contracts were vnnaturally cancelled: their example was no warrant to them for the like. Moreouer, they would render to *Albert* and his children, Princes of *Austria*, such fidelity and obedience as they ought to do: entreating *Albert*, seeing he was Emperour; that he would not permit them to be diuided from the Empire. Beside, in regard his Predecessours had confirmed their priuiledges to them of *Suits* (which himselfe as yet had not done) they therefore againe did humbly entreate him, that he would vouchsafe to confirm them. They also desired the Ambassadors, to returne this their answer to his Imperiall Maiesty, and to entreate on their behalfe, that he would benignly receiue them.

The Ambassadors hauing this answer, went to deale with them of *Vri* & *Vnderwald*: who (according to that which had bene accorded on among them before) made the selfe-same answer as they of *Suits* had done. In all the forenamed Villages, they did nothing else but shew to the Ambassadors, the Letters Patents and priuiledges, granted them by *Fredericke*, *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, and other Emperours, together with the letters and consents of the Monasteries: all of them making humble entreaty, that they might not be compelled to see al those things frustrated. But the Emperour hauing heard the Ambassadors, was highly offended at the answer, because the *Switzers* not only refused to acknowledge them of *Austria* for their Lords, & would not willingly be separated from the Empires body: but also declared, that they would yeelde to no disiunction from the Monasteries, by which meanes, all the precedent attempts of *Albert*, built vpon great cost and trauaile, were vtterly disappointed.

In some short while after, they of *Suits*, *Vri* and *Vnderwald*, hauing againe sent their Ambassadors vnto the Emperour, to obtaine confirmation of their priui-

Bad precedents do not merit to be followed when their extendure is to generall preiudice.

Vnity is requisite among such people a desire to preserve their liberties.

The Emperour greatly offended that his expectation was disapointed.

priiuiledges: hee answered them in chol-  
ler, that hee would satisfie their requests,  
according as they had done his demands.  
And that hee had deputed certaine Go-  
uernors, which he purposed to send vnto  
them, and by whom they should more  
amply vnderstand his minde.

Following this intention, hee sent as  
Gouernors, the Knight *Grisler*, and *Pere-  
grin Landberg*. *Grisler* was appointed for  
*Suits* and *Vri*, and made his abiding in an  
olde Castell aboute *Suits*, called *Cusnach*,  
and beside, hee builded another Fortresse  
on the Land of *Vri*. *Landberg*, the Gouer-  
nour of *Vnderuald*, had two Castles, to  
wit, *Sarne* aboute the Forrest, and *Rotzberg*  
beneath; which Forrest diuided the coun-  
try of *Vnderuald* iust in the midst. These  
two Castles did formerly belong to the  
Conuent or Colledge of *Lucerne*, & the  
Maiors or Bourgomaisters made their  
dwellings there: but the Emperour *Albert*  
had solde them to the house of *Austria*,  
and there he appointed Garrisons. These  
deportments were something nouell and  
strange to them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnder-  
uald*: for till that time, these three seuerall  
places together had but one Gouernour,  
who (ouer and beside) was many times  
Gouernour of *Zurich* and other Townes.  
Hee remained in his Seigneties out of  
the Cantons, and euery yeare once or  
twice (being called) hee came thither to  
iudge in law-cases. The rest of the time,  
he had a Lieutenant chosen among the  
Country people, that executed his charge  
But now there was appointed two per-  
petuall Gouernors, keeping Garrison in  
the very strongest parts of the Country:  
which the people were constrained to  
endure, onely in feare of the Emperour,  
and in regard beside, that those places  
were in the power of the *Austrian* Prin-  
ces.

At the beginning, these Gouernours  
shewed themselues very courteous and  
affable to all men: labouring by blandish-  
ments and faire lookes, to winne the peo-  
ples harts, & to subiect them to the house  
of *Austria*. But perceiuing that these car-  
riages did little auaille them, they began  
to checke and oppresse the people, by the  
command of *Albert*; who was againe  
greeuouously enraged, by reason of a new  
league or alliance (made for the space of  
ten yeares) betweene them of *Suits*, and

the Count of *Hombourg*. Tyranny thus  
encreasing day by day, Ambassadors (in  
name of the three Villages) were sent to  
the Emperour, who would neyther see  
nor heare them: so that they were con-  
strained to declare their Commission to  
his Councillers. The summe whereof  
was, that being people of the Roman Em-  
pire, they had obtained very ample fran-  
chizes and priiuiledges of the Emperours:  
whereof they were now in danger to bee  
despoiled, and oppressed by an irkesome  
and insupportable tyranny. For the inha-  
bitants of the recited places, were with-  
out cause, or vpon very slender occasion,  
immediately imprisoned, & pressed with  
nouell exactions. Beside all this, euery  
man in particular, was compelled at a cer-  
taine time, especially the first day of the  
year, to bring presents to the Gouernors,  
which neuer had beene put in practise be-  
fore. In which respect, they most humbly  
desired the Councillers, to intercede on  
their behalfe to the Emperour: that such  
charges might bee taken from them, and  
that their auncient priiuiledges might bee  
confirmed and put in full force againe.  
But the Emperours Councillers hauing  
conferred and agreed together, made an-  
swer; that the Villages themselues were  
the cause of this oppression, and that the  
Emperour was thus seuerer to them, be-  
cause they would not follow the example  
of *Luceane*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, in yeelding  
thselues to the house of *Austria*. Which  
doing, and making more account (then  
formerly they had done) of *Albert* and  
his children; they should find him a Prince  
that would vse them very kindly.

The Deputies hauing receined this an-  
swer, returned without doing any thing  
else: in the meane while, the tyranny of  
the Gouernors (being fauoured & wink-  
ed at by the Emperour) grew more and  
more to greater strength. In a certaine  
Valley of *Vnderuald*, called *Melchtall*, ther  
dwelled an aged rich man, iealous of his  
Countries liberty, and one that had bene  
the cheefest in counselling his compatri-  
ots, neuer to subiect themselues vnto the  
house of *Austria*; but carefully to pre-  
serue their ancient liberty, which ma was  
named *Henry* of *Melchtall*. *Landberg* sent  
a Seruant vnto him, with charge to bring  
away with him a couple of Oxen. Where-  
to *Henry* answered, that he knew not him-  
selfe

Ambassadors  
sent to the  
Emperor by  
the Switzers.

Extraordina-  
ry Gouernors  
Castles erec-  
ed, and Gar-  
rison placed  
in the Coun-  
try, are the  
beginning of  
manifest ty-  
ranny.

multitude of  
Gouernors  
are very dan-  
gerous in any  
common-  
wealth.

Gouernors  
are like  
angels, but  
continue and  
be out like  
iuels.

A cunning  
tricke in the  
Emperour,  
whereby to  
frustrate and  
auoid the peo-  
ples com-  
plaints.

New exati-  
ons & gifts to  
the Gouer-  
nors enforced  
on the people

Such as the  
Master is, such  
commonly  
are his Ser-  
uants.

*Landberg* was  
a most tyran-  
nicall Gouer-  
nour.

The extorti-  
ons of *Land-  
berg*, witnes-  
sed in the Hi-  
story of *Hen-  
ry* de *Melch-  
tall*.

selfe to be culpable of any crime, whereby the Governour should exact such an amends of him: and albeit hee had committed some offence, yet hee ought not thus to extend his authority vpon his goods, before he had beene heard & condemned. The seruant being of humour answerable to his Master, arrogantly replied, that instantly he wold driue thence the Oxen: and if he stood in need of them to plough his Land, his Country lubbers should serue to draw in the yoake. Thus speaking, hee tooke the Oxen out of their yoakes, and made himselfe ready to driue them away.

*Arnoul*, a lusty young man, and Son to *Henry*, mooued at this outrage offered to his father; gaue the seruant a sound blow with a cudgell, as hee was driuing on the Oxen, and chanced to breake one of his fingers: but fearing the tyranny of his Master, he got immediately to the top of the Mountaines, and withdrew himselfe among them of *Vri*, where hee kept close with one of his kindred. *Landberg* vnderstanding al that had past, sent out for *Henry Melchtall*, demanding of him what was become of his Son. *Henry* made answer, that he knew not where he was, as indeed hee was meerey ignorant of his flight: whereat the Governour was so furiously enraged, that he caused the old mans eies to be pluckt forth, & drove away his Oxen, & despoyled him beside, of the most part of his goods. This cruelty brought him into the hatred of all the people: but in regard of *Alberts* power and oppreffions, commanding ouer them very steernely, there was no man (as then) that durst stir against him. And because wicked courses grow to a great head, when ouermuch licence is permitted to them: euen so insolent iniquity in the Governours, did driue them out of one mischiefe into another.

Neere to the Abbey of *Engelberg*, and to the Village of *Wolffenschiez*, in a place named *Alzelen*, there dwelt a country mā called *Conrad de Bomgarten*, married to a very faire and beautifull woman. It chanced that a Gentleman, named *Wolffenschiez*, being Lieutenant to the Governour, returning from *Engelberg*, & passing by *Alzelen*, to goe home to his house at *Rotzberg*, found this womā in a meadow, busied about some commendable exer-

cise. He vnderstanding that her husband was absent, commanded the woman to make him ready a Bath, wherein he might wash himselfe, because he was ouer-travelled with heate and labour. The woman not daring to make refusall, did as the tyrant had commanded her. Proceeding on further in his intended villany, he pressed the woman to put off her garments, and come into the Bath to him; wherein shee promised to obey, prouided, that two varlets, which attended on him, might withdraw themselves, as accordingly they presently did vpon their masters command.

The woman vsing some delay, yet feigning preparation of her selfe to come into the Bath; got recovery of a doore behinde in the chamber, and fled away in great feare and anguish. Her husband returning from the Forrest, chanced to meete her, and vnderstanding what had happened; entred his house, and with an Axe or Hatcher, which he then had in his hand, slew the Lieutenant sitting in the Bath, and so he receiued the chastisement due to his wicked attempt, vpon the honour of a vertuous modest woman. The Governour sought all means to reuenge his death: hut he was so hated of all men, as he could not execute any thing. Beside, the villany and indignity of his Lieutenant, with-held him from daring to require any helpe of the Country: in regard also, that he who had done the deed, was fled into the Lands of *Vnderwald*, & kept himselfe hid among them of *Vri*. Some say, and among others, *Eternilerus*, and *Stumpfius* in his Annales of *Heluetia*, that this man was the Governour himselfe; who seeking thus to violence an honest woman, became so slaine. But they of *vnderwald* maintaine, that hee who was kild in the Bath, was called *Wolffenschiez*, a seruant to the house of *Austria*, and dwelling at *Rotzberg*.

While these Tragedies were thus acting at *Vnderwald*, *Grifler*, the Governour of *Vri* and *Suits* also, to keepe the people in the more awe and subiection; began to builde (by command from his Master) a Fort or Cittadell neere to *Altorf*, vpon a small Hill called *Solturne*. This *Grifler* being a verye vaine-glorious man, made vaunt of abasing the people in such sort, that hee would bow & bend them at his

Oppression is an easie matter to procure impatience in a Sonne, seeing his Father iniuried.

Tyranny may iustly be tearmed the Mother of wrong and iniustice.

Tyranny blindfolded by his villanous companion concupiscence, and chastised by the iust iudgement of God.

One lewd intention euen more draweth on another.

Modesty seetheth means to preserve her chaste reputation, and alwaies findeth helpe when she least looketh for it.

Eternilerus & Stumpfius in the Annales of Switzerland.

The tyranny of the Governour Grifler

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his pleasure; wherupon he called his Fort, *A yooke of extreme slavery to the Frians.* He perceiuing, that all men were enraged & badly bent toward him, and doubting, lest some matter might secretly be contriued against him; to compasse discouery thereof, he vnderooke this course ensuing. He caused a Hat or Bonnet to be fixed vpon a long Pole, erected in the market place of *Altorff*, where the greater part of the Country people vsed to meete, and gaue command, that all men (taking off their owne Bonnets) should bow their knees, and yeelde as much honour to that Hat, as they vsed to doe to him the Governour, or when they came into his presence. His purpose and opinion was heereby, that such as were maliciously addicted towards him, would neuer humble themselues, in doing so many reuerences to the Hat, especially if they had any comforts, vpon whose help they made any dependance: and that this occasion would serue him as an honest pretence for their discouery to his spies, and so tortures might be inflicted on them, to gain knowledge of the whole enterprize. In the meane while, he departed thence, to visite the Country of *Suits*, where he was likewise Commander and Governour.

In *Suits* there was a Gentleman of marke, named *Garnier Stouffacher*, whose Father was called *Raoul*, and had bene the first Magistrate of *Suits*, about thirty years before. This *Garnier* had built a house in more ample and magnificent manner, then was the vsual custome of the Country. It fortun'd, that the Governour *Grisler* passed on horsebacke by this house, and demanded to whom it appertained. *Stouffacher* knowing himselfe to bee in the ill opinion of the Governour, because he had alwayes before counselled the people, not to subiect themselues to them of *Austria*: This house (quoth he) is for the King and you, by whose liberality, I am possessour of it. Then the Governour answered; I am Lord of this Country, and henceforward I will not suffer any more, that yee shall sway your selues after your owne appetites, in building houses, as if you were Masters, and that you shall well feele before it be long.

This answer deliuered with outragious menaces, greatly displeas'd *Stouffacher*, who (from that time forward) could

not dissemble his greefe. Which was the cause that his wife, being a wife, modest, and discrete Lady, perceiuing her husband sad and pensue, and vnderstanding the reason thereof: exhorted him to hope well, in regard that God, to whom all violence and tyranny was displeasing, would neuer forsake such as inuoked his help & furtherance. Moreouer, it would well become him to make search after men of courage, such as were oppressed with the same tyranny: to conferre with them, and ioyne their meanes together, to recouer the liberty of their Country; for shee durst assure him, that God would blesse so holy an enterprize. *Stouffacher*, hauing a long time consulted with himselfe, at length went from *Suits*, to *Vri*, where he easily knew and perceiued, that *Grisler* was hated of all men in those quarters, by reason of his insupportable pride, euen as much as he was in *Suits*: especially by the Baron of *Attinghuse*, then cheefest in iustice at *Vri*, & a familiar friend to *Stouffacher*. This Baron first began to complaine, as extremely wearied with the insolencies of *Grisler*, in erecting his Hat, as to ranke it with Princes; protesting openly, that he could not permit his Country, any longer to endure so great a tyranny.

But *Stouffacher* fearing (perhaps) that the Baron vsed this kinde of language, only but to sound him, and (as we vse to say) to vndermine his secrett cogitations: kept his owne intention couert, contenting himselfe, to breake his minde vnto an ancient faithfull friend of his, called *Gautier Furst*, that is to say, the Prince. These two hauing many and sundry times considered on all matters, and taken into their councill (as a third party) *Arnould Melchtall* of *vnderuuld*; bound themselues together by mutuall oath, to ioyne all their meanes, and imploy their paines by a common consent, for the extirpation of tyranny, and reducing their country to her ancient liberty. Moreouer they concluded, that each of them in his owne quarter, should procure so many men as possibly he could, prouided, that they were people of good and discreet carriage: who should all sweare, to imploy both their goods & bodies, and to maintaine one another in his right, for recouery of the Countries former freedome; and that in the meane while, each man should acquit himselfe

Councels of  
small & slender  
appearance, grow  
to great effects:  
especially against  
Tyrants and  
tyranny.

Afflicted  
mindes doe  
comfort one  
another by  
conference.

The three first  
men that wer  
the first founda-  
tion & begin-  
ners of the  
league of  
Switzers, and  
their manner  
of proceeding

of

Promise and place of primacy appointed for meeting, to conferre on these serious affairs.

Stouffacher, Furst, and Melchtall, the three men of the league.

Oppression is a key to open the vnderstanding of most and least.

Advice taken for beginning the businesse publicly.

In serious conferences, each side ought to be iudicially heard.

of his duty towards the Empire, the Monasteries, as also to al Gentlemen & Yeomen. Promising likewise, to keepe this league & combination secret, vntill such time as (by common aduice) all the confederates should bee resolved to publish it. They made choise also of a priuate place, neere to the Lake of *Vri*, called *Grutly*, where these three chiefe heads of the League vsed to meete; accompanied each one with three or foure, to aduise together what was to be done.

Thus you may perceiue, how the ground-worke of the League of *Switzers* was then begunne, by *Stouffacher*, *Furst*, and *Melchtall*: and being so agreed vpon, each man returned by himselfe home, to make coniunction with his companions. Soone after this, not onely the vulgar people, but likewise the most part of the Nobility in the Villages, rancked themselues with the confederates: For the *Gouernours* did molest the Noblemen, no lesse then they did the common sort, not making any difference betweene the one and other, but called the Gentlemen, peazants, and companions of rascality. In like manner, they of *Austria* had appropriated (by little & little) to themselues, the rights belonging to Noblemen: whereat many being offended, had forsaken (as it were) the part of *Austria*, as we haue formerly obserued by the Baron of *Attinghuse*.

The number of the confederates being encreased, it seemed good to many, that it was time to set hand to the worke, namely, to chase thence the *Gouernours*, & replant the ancient liberty of the country: for feare (lesse by ouer-long delay, their enterprize would be discovered (by some meanes) to the *Gouernours*. And therefore, in the yeare 1207. the 17. day of October, twelue of the principall men among all the confederates, assembled themselues at a certaine place appointed. All insisted to lay hand to the businesse so soone as possible might be; against which, they of *Vnderwald* onely opposed themselues: because that the Castles or Fortresses, which the *Gouernour* held in their territory, to wit, *Sarne* and *Rotzberg*, were places well munitied, and almost impregnable, and if sledge should bee planted before them, the King of the *Romaines* would come forthwith, bringing an Ar-

my sufficient to succour them. The other confederates yeilded to this motion, and agreed together, that the first day of Ianuary then next following, through al the Cantons, seizure should be made, on all the strongest Castles belonging vnto the *Gouernour*. To whom notwithstanding, not any outrage should be offered, neyther to any of their family or Garrisons: except only to such as would make head, and withstand them in Armies; but to send the *Gouernours* safely and well away, with their goods. Moreouer, that the Castles and strongest holds or Cittadels, should be rased from the top to the bottome: to declare by manifest effect, that they had not vndertaken Armes for blowes or pillage, but onely to conferue their Countries liberty. This resolution agreed on, each man retired home to his house, awaiting for the day appointed: in the meane space, according to faithfull promise, they kept their determination very secret.

While these affaires were thus in forwarding, there happened a notable accident at *Vri*. One *Guillaume Tell*, a man in the confederacy, diuers times passed by before the Hat exalted on the Pole, as formerly hath bene related, without performing any reuerence thereto. And being therefore accused to the *Gouernour Grissler*: he entreated, that his inciuility might bee excused, because hee reputed such reuerence to bee a matter of no importance. But the *Gouernour*, who held him a man much to be suspected, among *Guillaumes* children, made choise of a young little boy, whom the Father loued very dearly. And hee commanded *Guillaume* (being known an excellent archer) to set his sonne some good distance off, & with an Arrowe, to cleaue an Apple vpon his head, which if he did not, his owne head should be smitten off. *Guillaume Tell* answered, that his commaund was too strange and seuer, and he had rather die, then thorough default of shooting right, to kill his deereft sonne. If thou doest not performe it, saide the *Gouernour*, it shall cost both thy life, and thy sonnes.

Prayers and entreaties not preuailing, *Tell* tooke his Bowe; and, by the prouidence of God (who questionlesse guided and directed the Arrow) cleft the Apple in twaine vpon his sonnes head. Euerie

A resolution to expell the *Gouernours* from the nest of their tyranny.

A notable history of *Guillaume Tell*, a man in the confederacy, much inuicid by the tyrant *Gouernour*.

An hard injunction to Father by the Tyrant, and not easily to be aduentured.

SWITZ.

VNDERVALD.

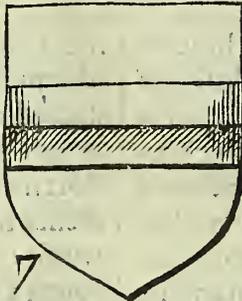
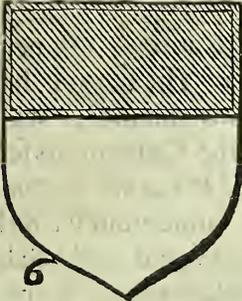
ZVG.

GLARIS.

BASEL.



VRI.



FRIBVRG.



LVCERNE.



BERNE.



ZVRICH.



BBEY OFS GAL.

S. GAL.

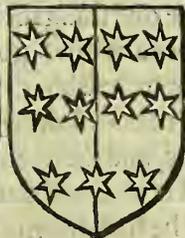
GRISONS.

VALAIS.

ROTVILL.

MVLHOVSE.

BIENNE.



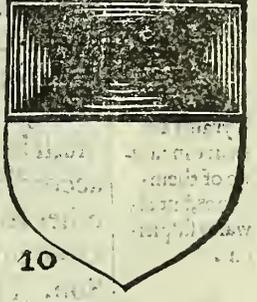
THE FIRST AVCTORS OR FOUNDERS OF THE LIBERTY OF THE SWITZERS.

WILLIAM TELL OF VRI.

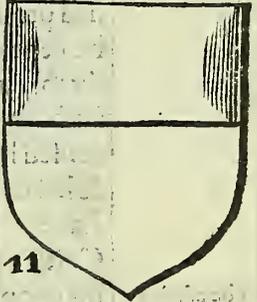
STOVFFACHER OF SWITZ.

ARNVID OF VNDERWALDEN.

ANNO 1296



SOLLEVRE.



SCAFFOVSE.



APPENZELL.



one of the beholders did not a little reioyce, at such a faire and admirable shoot: but the Governour, not contented with so perillous a satisfaction, perceiuing another Arrow remaining vnder *Guillaumes* girdle, demanded of him, what vse hee meant to make of that other Arrow? *Guillaume* replied, that it was a custom among Archers, to draw more arrowes then one out of their Quiuers, for any occasiō that might happen. But the Governour suspecting something else, pressed him more & more, & finally, promised him to saue his life, if he would confesse the truth: which accordingly *Tell* did, and that he had that other Arrow ready, therewith to kill the Governour, if his first shaft had slaine his Son. Then the Governour declared, that he wold not take away his life, because he had promised the contrary: but he should be kept in perpetuall prison, and liue miserably in darknesse, without conuersing with any man liuing. Thus speaking, he caused him to be fast bound with cordes, & led into a Barque, that hauing past the Lake of *Vri*, he might be conuaid to the Castle of *Cusnach*. The Governour, with his people & prisoner, being in the midst of the Lake; a greuous tempest suddenly exalted it selfe, which did put the Barque in euident perill. They perceiuing themselves in extreame danger of their liues: one of *Grislers* seruants said to his master, that there was but one only means whereby to saue them, and that was, to vnbinde *Guillaume Tel*, and refer the Barques conduct to him, because he was a most expert Marriner, strong and able to direct them in such a necessity. So extreme vrgent was the case, that euery man allowed the councill, & vnbound *Tell*; who fastening hold on the Rudder, and guiding it manfully, preserued the Barque among the roughest billowes, turning her prow towards the country of *Suits*.

Hauing attained neere enough vnto the shore, there appeared a mighty stone (like vnto a Rock) about the water, which to this day is called *Telles Stone*. Being hard by it, *Tell* caught hold thereon with his Bow, which lay at his feete in the Poupe, and leaping foorth quickly vpon that stone, he gaue so strong a thrust with his foote against the Barques side, that it returned back among the stearn billowes. This done, he tooke his flight thence, and

hid himselfe among the neighbouring Mountaines. The Barque hauing long floated in this manner, was guided at length by the Governours seruants, to a Port named *Brune des Fontaines*. From thence the Governour set on his way towards *Cusnach*, and must needs passe thorough a hollow craggy straite, where *Tell* (well acquainted with all those parts) by great good hap had ambushed himselfe among thick bushes: there he discharged an Arrow at the Governour, which passed quite through his body, & slew him. Ther remaineth yet (to our time) a Chappell, built on the place where the Governour was slaine: and another vpon the Stone or Rocke, where *Tell* threw himselfe out of the Barque. After this successfull shoote, *Tell* went to *Suits*, where he made all these matters knowne to *Stouffacher*. From thence hee tooke his way ouer the highest Mountains, and turning by *Morsach*, came back to *Vri*, wher hauing found *Gautier Furst*, he acquainted him with all that had hapned. By this time, they had gotten hearts and hands enow, to expell all the Governours family and followers: but hauing respect to them of *Vnderwald*, and remembering their former resolution for the first day of Ianuary following, they kept theselues quiet, & *Tell* (in the meane time) liued closely among his friends.

The first day of Ianuary being come, they of *Vnderwald* made themselves Masters of two Fortresses; according to a compromise passed betweene them. In the Fort of *Rotzberg* there dwelt a chambermaid, who was in loue with a goodly young man of *Vnderwald*, and committed folly with him. An especiall night of meeting being appointed by them both, the young man brought twenty other armed Souldiers with him, and caused them to lye closely hidden neere the Castle. He hauing giuen the signall to his wench, who knew nothing at all of the intended deceit, was mounted vp aloft to her by the helpe of a corde. Hauing staide sometime of dalliance with her, making her to belecue one thing for another; he left the chamber a while, going to the window whereat he had bin drawne vp, & letting downe the cord, drew vp one of his companions, and then returned to his lasse againe. He that had thus gotten vp, neuer left till he had drawne vp all his other fellows,

Tyrants are neuer in safetie of themselves, but alwaies suspicious.

The admirable prouidence of God, to bring such a wicked wretch to his end.

Guillaume Telles Stone or rock, which was (next to God) the means of his deliuerance.

The correspondency of Gods iudgement with the iniquity of the Tyrant.

Two chappell erected in especiall place as liuing memorials of the tyrants ouerthrow, & the good fortune of *Tell*.

The retraite of the tyrant is attempted and wonne by them of *Vnderwald*.

lowes, ( who were vnmarchable for strength and courage) and so got possession of the place: where they kept all the gates strongly defended, and close shut vp, in expectation of good newes from their other consorts, who were to seize the other Fortresse, called *Sarns*.

That other company consisted of fifty valiant men, thirty of them hauing ambushed themselues in a neere neighboring wood: the rest went directly towards the Castle, leaning vpon staues and crouches, and carrying presents to the Gouvernor, (according to custome of the day) as Lambs, Pigs, Calues, Cheeses, and such like things. The Gouvernor was going to church, answerable to his ordinary wont at such a time, and met them on the way, where perceiuing them to haue no other Armes then staues and crouches, which serued (as it seemed) to support their feeble bodies: hee made no doubt of any thing, but passed on, not a little pleased with those presents, and brought him in more liberall and plentifull manner, then they were formerly wont to do. Their staues and crouches were made round, and pierced so hollow within: that they could easily screw in long sharpe pikes of iron, which each of them carried close hid in his bosome. They came to the Castle, where beeing permitted entrance with their New-yeares gifts: they possessed theselues of the Gates, giuing an appointed signall to their fellow-souldiers lying in the wood, who came immediately to succour them, and tooke them all prisoners that were in the Castle. Afterward, hearing that *Rotzberg* was surprized by their other associates, they released all their prisoners, and the Gouvernor also, whom they had laid sure hold on, as hee was about to escape. When the Gouvernor and his followers had solemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to returne againe into those quarters; they gaue the leaue to depart, & sent them by safe conduct out of the Country, and then ruined those two strong Forts or Castles flat to the ground. The very same day also, they of *Vri* demolished the new Cittadell, which *Grissler* had named, *The yoke of the Vrians*, being not as yet fully finished: and in *Suits*, *Stouffacher* (with his followers) won and ruined the Cittadell of *Louerts*, builded nere vnto the Lake. On the mor-

row, the three villages (by their Deputies) made a publike league of amity and alliance, to continue for ten years, vpon the conditions before mentioned, confirming them al by soleme oath. Behold the end of their tyrannicall gouernment, whom *Albert* had established ouer the Cantons

When *Albert* had receiued tydings of this sudden change: he was wonderfully enraged, and resolu'd to make war vpon the cantons, as thinking by strong hand to bring them in subiection. He sent first of all to his subiects of *Zug*, *Lucerne*, & other neighbours of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, to suffer no victuals to be conuayed to them. But in a short while after, he was slaine by his owne Nephew, the Son of his Brother, and by his complices, in passing ouer the Riuer of *Russ*: so that this war by him intended, remained now to be freshly attempted. His sonnes, being sufficiently hindred from reuenging his death, left the *Switzers* in peace: fearing lest they should ioyne with the Gentlemen, who had slaine their Father. About this time, they of *Austria* ruined many strong places in *Heluetia*, as in the Territory of *Zurich*, *Warte*, *Multperg*, *Schnabelberg*, *Maschwande* the Towne and Castle, and *Farwange* in the neighbouring quarter. Some most noble families also were by them subuerted and extermined, to wit, that of *Eschinbach*, *Wartz*, *Palme*, & many other. For at the taking of the Castle of *Forwange*, in one day, 63. Gentlemen, with their seruants, had their heads smitten off: And in other parts of *Switzerland*, they of *Austria* caused to be slaine, or banished out of the country, about a 1000. persons, the most part wherof were Noble. There are some ill-williers, that do falsely accuse the *Switzers*, to haue defolated many places, & expelled many Noble families: when al this while, those horrid actions (for the most part) were committed by them of the house of *Austria*.

*Henry* of *Luzelbourg*, 7. Emperor of that name, succeeded after *Albert*. He confirmed the priuiledges & ancient liberty of the 3. cantons, & established a Prouost or Aduocate of the Empire, to be Iudge in law cases in the Towne of *Zurich*, the round neighbouring places, and in the three Cantons, in name of the Emperor. This Prouost was named *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*. Lord of *Lauffenberg*, Sonne to

The onely means to fortifie themselues against tyranny.

*Albert* a farall enemy to the *Switzers*, slaine by his own nephew.

Spoile and waste made by the *Austrians* in *Switzerland*, on Noble & Gentlemen.

Falsc imputations laic on the *Switzers*.

*Henry* the 7. confirmed the priuiledges of the 3. cantons wherein may be seene the goodnesse of god to shine clearly, by sending milde comfort after so long oppression.

Base and contemptible names, the power of the professors was utterly brought to nothing.

When the judgement of heaven intended to strike, the best wisdom in men could not prevent it.

The same providence alike in both the places by honest endeavour.

The next day of Tyranny was utterly destroyed and ruined.

*Godfrey*, who was Nephew to *Raoul*, vnkle to the Emperor *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*. But the Emperor *Henry* being gon into *Italy*, (in which iourney an hundred Souldiers of *Zurich*, and as many of the other Cantons, were at his pay) the Prouost was falsely accused (as some say) before the Emperor, by the means of Duke *Leopold*, who hated him, and said that he had abused his authority. So that he was deposed, and *Edward de Burgle*, dwelling at *Turge*, substituted in his place. Afterward, *Raoul* being brought to answer his cause at the Court of France, dyed at *Montpellier*. His seruants brought backe his body, and caused it to bee buried in the Abbey of *Wettinghen*.

The Sonnes of *Albert*, hauing slaine all them that were present at the murder of their Father, and expelled all their other complices; became rich and powerfull, for they had seized on the goods of al the that had hand in the death of *Albert*. The three cantons were highly in their malice and disgrace, yet they durst not begin war vpon them, fearing (perhaps) the Emperor, who had taken the *Switzers* into his protection: but neuerthelesse, they molested the Cantons by diuers in-roads, for they could easily offend them of *Vnderwald*, by Boates descending on the lake of *Lucerne*; yet the Cantons kept themselves carefully within compasse of their guards, & mutually assisted one another.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred and ten, a Ship well munited & furnished with men, set foorth from *Lucerne*, to make assault on the of *Vnderwald*, who in the defence of them of *Vri*, that were come (by great chance) with a Shippe of warre to assist them; did both bondge & sinke the Vessell of *Lucerne*, very neere to the Port, killing a great number of the Soldiers, and taking the rest prisoners. This losse thus receiued, they of *Lucerne* (and their neighbours) tooke truce with the Cantons. In the same yeare, they of *Suits*, being desirous to pacifie all matters among them; bought of *Eward*, Count of *Habsbourg*, *Arte* and *Cusnach*, Villages of their Cantons, and subiects to the house of *Habsbourg*, encreasing & enlarging the limitation of their bounds very much that way. But on the other side they had warre against the Monkes of the Hermitage, & for the space of about four

hundred yeares; each being at push of the Pike against the other, and for those reasons which I will breefely relate.

The Emperor *Otho*, surnamed the great, about the yeare 950. hadde established certaine bounds to them of *Suits*, and to the Monkes of the Hermitage. In these limitations, some Mountaines (fertile for pasturage) were left to the Monkes, which till that time had bene possessed by them of *Suits*. It came to passe, that they wold not keepe themselves to the Emperours appointment; but held their ancient limits. The Abbots of the Hermitage, who were not able enough to debout the out of their possession; gaue not ouer to obtaine of the Emperours successors, confirmation of the ordinance set downe by *Otho*. About the yeare one thousand, forty foure, the Abbot *Geron* accused them of *Suits* to *Henry* the third, Emperor. *Raoul* and *Arnoul*, Earles of *Lentzbourg*, & Go-uernors of *Zug*, being ioyned with them of *Suits*, made their complaint likewise, that their limits were much abridged. But the Emperour *Henry* re-confirmed the grant of *Otho*, & condemned the Counts of *Lentzbourg* to a certaine fine of mony; all which notwithstanding, they of *Suits* kept themselves in their ancient possessiō still, in despight of all y the Abbot could do. Once more then, about the yeare of our Lord, 1144. the Abbot *Raoul* accused them before *Conrad* the second, Emperor, who confirmed also the sentence of *Otho*. Neuerthelesse, they of *Suits* maintained themselves (perforce) in possession still, and the Abbot (on the contrary side) defending the limits giuen him by the Emperor, and making vse of them accordingly; raised warre vpon them, inuading continually one another, and taking prisoners on eyther side. These enmities endured a long time, and at last, *Raoul*, Count of *Rasperwill*, brought them to an agreement, in the yeare 1217. This accord was imbraced & kept for about the space of fifty yeares, at the end of which time; there came an Abbot, named *Anselme*, vnder whom nouell differences began: because that both sides expounded the tract of pacification, in a contrary sence and meaning.

The war being againe renewed, continued foure and forty yeares: but soone after, they of *Zurich* laboured to ratifie

The reuenge of the Emperour Alberts Sonnes on the murderers of their Father.

A difference betweene them of *Lucerne* & the men of *Vnderwald*.

*Lucerne* glad to take truce with the Cantons.

War by them of *Suits* against the Monkes of the Hermitage.

The ground and original ot so many yeares warre betweene the men of *Suits* & the Monkes of the Hermitage.

The grant of *Otho* the Great, reconfirmed by the Emperor *Henry*, the third that name.

The Count *Rasperwill* came a good peace-maker betweene long discontented enemies.

a firme peace, in the time of *Henry* the seauenth. While they were treating on this peace, some men of *Suits*, being gon in pilgrimage to this Abbey of the Hermitage: were villianously and publikely outraged by certaine Monks, which wholly brake off the negotiation. Moreouer, the Princes of *Austria*, who had appropriated to themselues the protection of the Abbey: incensed the Abbot and Monks against them of *Suits*, promising them continuall succour. The warre hauing lasted long, wherein they of *Suits* were greatly endamaged: at length, in the yeare 1313. the 23. day of February, they went forth secretly into the fields in the nighttime, & hauing deceiued the guardes; entred by strong hand into the Abbey, taking and leading thence the Monkes that had done the outrage, together with the Curate of the place, named *John*, and the Master of the Schoole, named *Raoul*. There were then Monkes of noble birth in the Abbey, namely, *Raoul*; and *Henry of Wnenberg*, *John Regensperg*, and *Burckhard Fleminger*. This was the cause, that the Counts of *Habsbourg* and of *Tozge*, and the Baron of *Regensperg*, who were their neere allies and kintmen, as also *John* of *Schwanden*, Abbot of the Hermitage, greatly imployed their pains with them of *Suits*, for these Monkes. When the Monkes had sollemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to deal with them of *Suits* in any such enterprize; nor to attempt any matter of reuenge vpon them: they were released, hauing first payed nine hundred pounds *Tournois*. But this enlargement came so farre short of appeasing them: that it wrought a quite contrary effect in them, continually fixing their thraldome before their eyes; so that thence forward, they sought all meanes whereby to iniure them of *Suits*.

Heereupon happened a new occasion of troubles. After the death of the Emperor *Henry*, in the yeare 1340. the States of the Empire beeing assembled to create a new Emperor; the Electors found themselves to be diuided in opinion. Foure of them elected *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, fourth of that name: but the other three gaue their voices to *Frederick* of *Austria*, the Sonne to *Albert*. He to make his part equall in voices to *Lewes* his number, named *Henry*, Duke of *Carinthia*, as King of *Bohemia*,

maintaining that this kingdome belonged to him, by right of the Country, *Frederick* counted this Duke among them that should giue their voyces: albeit that *John*, sonne to *Henry* the 7. was king of *Bohemia*, hauing married the daughter to the late deceated king. This dismembriug of the Empire, caused those greuous troubles in *Germany* and *Heluetia*. The three Cantons, enemies to the house of *Austria*, ioyning themselues with *Lewes* of *Bauaria*: all their neighbors being before in their protection of *Austria*, or else at the time of these elections, approoued that of *Frederick*. Now in regard that the three Cantons onely, made head against *Frederick*; he preuailed so far, that (by his accusation) the Bishoppe of *Constance* excommunicated them, & they wer banished by the Court Imperiall, which was at *Rotuille*. They were charged, that they had violated the abbey of the Hermitage, & (in that tumult) had cast downe and spoiled the holy sacrifice: which they of *Suits* firmly and stoutly denied, promising contrariwise, seuerely to punish the offenders in such a delict, prouided, y they might be discovered to them. And although they could not produce any one; yet notwithstanding, they remained banished & excommunicated. In regard whereof, they humbly entreated the Emperor *Lewes* to vndertake the knowledge of this cause: which he did, and procured afterward, that they were reintegrated into the communion of the Church.

In this time, the Gentlemen that were forth of the lands of the 3. Cantons, with the Gouvernors, solicited *Leopold* of *Austria*, Son to *Albert*, to make war vpon the Cantons. The Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Monfort* rouled on this wheele with their best helpe. The occasion was very honest, as it seemed, to wit; that the Prince purposed to reuenge the outrage done to the Chappell of the *Virgin Mary*. The yong Prince, being young, powerfull, and a true heire to his Fathers hatreds: suffered himself to be thus counselled, and intended prosecution of this war. His forces were about him, by whose meanes he had spoiled the places and castles of his fathers murderers: w Soldiers were people aptly disposed for war, and made rich by the booties they had taken in those castles. Moreouer, he leuied a

T 3 mighty Army,

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The cause of  
the dismall  
troubles in  
Germany and  
Switzerland.

The three  
Cantons ex-  
communicated and banished, b: cause  
they would  
not yeeld the-  
selues to ser-  
uitude.

Warre prepa-  
red by Prince  
Leopold of  
Austria a-  
gainst the 3.  
Cantons, and  
the cause  
thereof.

The division of the Forces belonging to Prince Leopold, and who conducted them.

Army, collected from *Suisse, Suaba,* and *Alsatia*, diuiding all these powers into two parts. One of them, which (as is credibly affirmed) consisted of about twenty thousand men; was conducted by himselfe against them of *Suits*. He gaue the rest to the Count of *Strasberg*, Gouvernor of the vale of *Hafell*, that they might ascend the Mountraine of *Brutig*, and assaile that side belonging to them of *Vnderuald*.

The Cantons hearing newes of this preparation, mustered vp their forces, & because nothing might remaine as forgotten: they sent to craue peace of the Prince, by the Count of *Togge*, promising to accept the Prince as their Iudge, & to make answer in his presence, to the Abbot of the Hermitage, and to the expelled Nobility. But the Prince would allow no audience to the Count, and refused all negotiation of peace. The whole hope and expectation of quietnes being thus cut off; a Fast was published & commanded throughout the Cantons, and prayers deuoutly made to God. All such as could carry Armes, were sent to the Garrisons in all those parts, where any entrance might be made into  $\varnothing$  countries.

But because the Prince was at *Zug*, with the greater part of his power: the allies assembled themselves at *Suits*, which is the very neereit Canton to *Zug*, and there were mustred foure hundred Soldiers of *Vri*, three hundred of *Vnderuald*, and sixe hundred of *Suits*. These made vp 1300. men in all, and thus they resolued to attend the enemy, valiantly exposing their liues, for conseruation of their countries, liberties, wiues, and children: declaring themselves (in this case) no lesse worthy of commendation, then the Lacedemonians, who fighting for the freedome of *Greece*, dyed all with their weapons in their hands, at the passage of the *Thermopylae*. It is said, that the Lord of *Huneberg*, a worthy Gentleman, dwelling in the territory of *Zug*, and being then in the Army of Prince *Leopold*, taking compassion on the death of so many innocents, at whose throtes slycing knives lay ouerready (for it was concluded by the Nobility, to put the three Cantons to fire & sword) did secretly aduertise the confederates, by a Letter which he shot vnto the fastened at an Arrow, that the day of S.

*Omer* (which was the 15. of Nouember) they should be assayed at a place called *Morgarten*, and therefore it stood them on to looke to their businesse. The allies hearing this, fortified strongly that place; appointing men to all the wayes whereby the enemy should passe, and encamped themselves aloft on the Mountaine.

Fifty men had then ranked themselves together, which had bene banished from *Suits*, and they humbly desired, that their banishment might be reuoked, offering to imploy their paines couragiously, for the safety of their Country. But a sad answer was returned them, to wit, that many among them were guilty of very greuous crimes: therefore they would not accept such people for companions, as fearing leite those faulty persons, might be the occasion of harme to the whole Army. These poore banished men (for al this) would not giue ouer their good affection, which they had intirely addicted to their Countries succour: but got possession of a little high Hill on the Frontiers, which hung ouer the way, whereby (of necessity) the enemy must passe.

The sixteenth day of Nouember being come, in the yeare, 1315. *Leopold* caused his troopes to issue foorth of *Zug*, about the breake of day; the infantry marching formost, with all the Nobility and horsemen: for the Gentlemen had resolued to chastise the poore Country people with their owne hands, whom they tearmed the Seditious. As they were entered on the confines of *Suits*, hauing the Lake of *Egeria* on the one side, the high Mountaines on the other, and their Army betweene both. The banished men began to roule downe from the Mountaines top, great huge stones, and mighty Logs of Timber, vpon the Princes Army. Afterward, without the least intermission, hauing laid together great heaps of incredible big sharpe-pointed Flints: then showed them downe (as it were) vpon the horsemen, euen like to a violent tempest of haile.

This accident neuer expected, did put the Army into very great trouble; for men were not able to gouerne their horses, frighted with the continuall falling of sharpe stones from aloft, and very greuous wounds they receiued by the. This being noted by them of *Suits*, who were ranged

The voluntary offer of the Cantons to the Prince, requiring peace and no way desirous of warre.

The assembly of the forces of the three Cantons, and their number.

The great mercy and prouidence of God, preparing safety for oppressed people.

War ought not to bar or abridge iustice, in cases of important necessity.

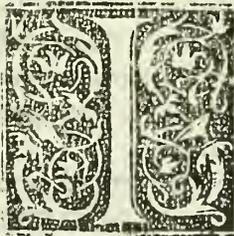
The battell of Morgarten, where a thousand, three hundred and fifty men overthrew twenty thousand.

Despised and refused assistance makes the best way to an honorable successe.



warre with the Monks of the Hermitage, and they were the first (among the three Cantons) assailed by them of *Austria*, and being the most potent of the three, the other Cantons were comprized vnder their name, which (consequently) extendeth it selfe to the other Cantons and confederates. I haue hereto annexed the tenure of the alliance, to the end, that euerie one may see, therein is nothing, either insolent or vniust, as some (to their great shame, haue falsely accused vs.

### The Tenure of League and Alliance, confirmed betweene the three Cantons.



**I**N the Name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as humane sense is infirme and fraile, which is the cause that things intended to be durable and perpetuall (as they ought to be) are too soone and very easily lost or forgotten: It is therefore profitable and necessary, that such things as are established for peace, tranquility, profite, and honour of men, shold be couched and published by writings, and authentickall instruments. So then We of Vri, Suites, & Vnderuald, giue all men to knowe, who shall either see or heare these present Letters, that foreseeing & providing for difficult and queazie times, and for our more commodious enjoying peace and rest, which are the best meanes, whereby to conserue our bodies and goodes: Wee haue promised and sworne each to other, in good Faith, and by Christian Oath, that Wee will mutually consult, counsell, and ayd one another, to warrant our liues, and defend our goods at our owne expences, at all times, against all and euerie one, that would or shall offer outrage either to our bodies or goods, to Vs or Ours, in any manner whatsoever.

Notwithstanding, if wrong be done to any one of vs, either in his body or goodes, We are all bound to succour him to our power: to the end, that (by friendship or iustice) the wrong may be amended or repaired. Moreover, We binde our selues by the same Oath, that none of the three Cantons, shall receyue any man as Lord and Commander, without

the aduice and liking of the other. Each one of vs, as well males as females, shall stand bound to obey their naturall Lords and Masters, and liue vnder their lawfull power, in all seruices iust and legitimate: except the said Lords offer violence (in any manner whatsoever) to any of the Cantons, for vnto such Masters they shall do no seruice, vntill such time as they be concorded with the Cantons. We haue couenanted also, that not any of the Cantons or Confederates, shall minister an Oath, or binde himselfe to any stranger, without the aduice of the other Cantons and Confederates. Not any person of the Confederates, shall communicate with a stranger (without aduice and permission of other Confederates) so long as the Cantons (shalbe without a Lord. And if any one of our Cantons, violate and infringe any thing, or point of that which is contained in these Presents: he shall be esteemed as a disloyall and periured person, and his body and goodes confiscate to the Cantons.

**MOREOVER, WE** haue agreed and condiscended, not to accept or entertaine any Iudge or Magistrate, that shall buy his office with money, or any bribe else, although he be of our owne Country. If difference or warre happen to be moued among the Confederates: then such as are knowne to bee of most honesty and wisdom, shall meet together, to pacifie & confound the war or difference, either by louing composition, or censure of right. If the one side do reiect this proposition, the Confederates shall assist the other side, to the end, that the debate may bee ended, either by amity or iudiciall sentence, and at the charges of them that would not stand to the award.

If any suite or warre shall arise betweene two of the Cantons, and any one of them will not yeeld to a friendly composition, or according to right: the third Canton shall maintaine the cause of that side, that submitted most to reason, and powerfully assist it, either to end the contention by a louing composition or by iudiciall sentence. If any one of the Confederates shall kill one of his owne fellowes, he must dye also: except hee can make it appeare, and the Iudges likewise auouch it by their sentence, that he did it vpon urgent necessity, and in defence of his owne bodie. If he flye for the fact, whosoener of our Countries shall receiue him into his house, there to lodge or maintaine him: he is to be banished perpetually, except by common consent of the Confederates

Concerning an Oath or bond to any stranger, or communication with him.

Taken fourth of the true Original: copy.

A worthy example for all Commonwealths to imitate.

A careful and Christian consideration in any Common wealth.

Of strife betweene two Cantons, what the third is to do to appease the contention: An also if one man kill another.

A louing League, when a particular iniury extendeth it selfe in generall.

federates he can win grace.

If any of the Confederates either priuily, manifestly or impudently, shall fire any house or goods of some other of the Confederates: he shall bee expulsed (for euer) out of our Countries; and whoesoever lodgeth or maintaineth him, shall stand bound to satisfie the others losses. No person shall exact a pawne or gage, except it be of his debter, or one unable to answer him otherwise: and it is not to be done neither, without consent of the Iudge. That euery man shall be obedient vnto his Iudge, and make publike declaration, which Iudge (of our Countries) hee will accept, to vndergoe iudgement before him. Whoesoever refuseth to obey the sentence giuen, shall pay the interests to him of the Confederates, for whose profit & benefit the sentence was deliuered.

And to the end, that these conditions aboue written, may remaine firme, inuiolable and perpetuall: WE subnamed Citizens & Allies of Uri, Suites, and Vnderuald, haue put our Seales to these presents, at Brunen, in the yeare of our Sauour Iesus Christ, 1315. being the morrow after the day of S. Nicholas.

These Cantons hauing, conquered their enemies, and confirmed their Alliance, sent men to the Emperor Lewes, to aduertise him of all. He at the beginning of the yeare, held a day imperiall at Nurenberg, where the Princes of Austria were condemned of high treason, the goods which they had in Suisse, confiscated to the Emperor and Empire, and the liberty of the Cantons fully confirmed. The Letters containing this ordination, were giuen in the campe at Merride, the 23. day of March, in the yeare 1316. & the second yeere of the Emperor Lewes. The same Emperor, about the yeare 1323. established as Gouvernour in these three Cantons, John, Count of Arberg, vnto whom (as Lieutenant of the Emperor Lewes) the Cantons gaue their Oath.

The Gouvernor promised them also by Letters Patents, that hee would not diminish or preiudice (in any maner whatsoever) their liberties and alliances, nor suffer them to be alienated from the Empire, neither to be reduced vnder the power of them of Austria, or of the Noblemen excluded from the Countries of the

Cantons. Beside, that no man amongst them should be drawne in iustice out of these countries, and that their Iudges should not be taken from any place else, but meerly from among themselues. And because the Gouvernours should not infringe the liberties of the Cantons, their power was limited by the Emperor, and prohibited (vnder greuous penalties) from diminishing in any maner whatsoever, the liberties graunted to the Cantons. The Lettets Patents which contained these articles, were giuen at Pavia in the yeare 1329. and on the day of S. Iohn Baptist. The Emperors that succeeded Lewes, confirmed these things, and permitted (moreouer) to the Cantons, to elect Gouvernours (for their countries) among themselues but in the Emperors name, and to haue highest iustice in causes both ciuill and criminall.

They of Austria hauing bin so shrewdly gauld, as hitherto hath beene declared, grew to truce, not because theyr forces were wholly weakned: but in regard that they were impeached in war against the Emperor Lewes, so that they could not deale with so many matters all at a time. In the meane while (neuertheless) some incursions and losses were made in Suisse on either side. It came to passe, that they of Wessen and their neighbours, which liued below the government of Glaris and in diuers kinds molested them of Suites: who came and met them with a main army, and compelled them to craue peace. On the other side, the Abbot of the Hermitage, had caused the three Cantons to be excommunicated, especially them of Suits: first by the byshop of Constance, & afterward by the Pope: Fredericke of Austria, who termed himselfe to bee Emperor, likewise banished them: but the Emperor Lewes tooke away the curse, and by his commandement, Peter, Archbyshop of Mayence, remitted them into the communion of Christians. Also, the Abbot of the Hermitage, wrote to them of Suits that hee had renounced the Popes Bull, and would not suffer it to bee serued against them.

During this time, that the truce continued on either part, they of Austria drew into league with them, Hermin & Ewrad, Counts of Kybourg, and Lordes of Dun: this happened in the yeare, 1317. By the meanes

Gouvernours chosen among themselues.

It is the Nature of tyrants themselves being disquieted, to permit the people not to live in peace.

The Emperor contradicted the curse of the Bishop, & Pope.

or such as shall fire any house or goods in the Cantons.

of such as refuse the sentence giuen by the Iudge.

the liberties and alliances the Switzers, confirmed by the Emperor Lewes.

the power & authority of the Gouvernor limited, at his pleasure in the rule of the Cantons.

The cunning proceeding of them of Austria against the Cantons.

The Emperor excommunicated and deprived by the Pope.

The Cantons joyn with the Cities that held for Lewes the true Emperor.

Lucerna joyned to the 3. Cantons.

meanes of these Earles, they procured such an hindrance, that the men of *Interlach* could send no victuals to *Vnderwald*. In the yeere one thousand three hundred twenty three, they drew to them *John of Habsbourg*, Lord of *Rasperwill*, and heyre to the Count of *Hombourg*. Afterward, they combined themselues with him, against the Cantons, because his Landes neighboured to the *Canton of Suites*, and lay aptly to cut off all releefe, and rayse warre. The yeare following, *Raoul* and *Herman*, Counts of *Werdenberg*, and Lords of *Sargans*, made alliance also with *Leopold of Austria*: but their brother *Henry* tooke part with the Emperour *Lewes*, who (at that time) was excommunicated and deprived of the Empire by the Pope. By these meanes, great diuisions fell in the empire, some depending on the Popes decree; others mocking it, and cleaving to *Lewes*, as their lawfull Emperour.

In these troubles, the Cantons maintained themselues carefully, and in amitie with the partakers of *Lewes*; whereto also, many Townes of *Suisse* conformed themselues. For, although (at the beginning) they of *Zurich*, and some others followed the part of *Frederick of Austria*: yet notwithstanding, he being prisoner, and hauing renounced the empire, albeit his brethren continued warre agaynst *Lewes*, they of *Zurich* ioyned with *Lewes*: as with him that then was their onely true Emperour. In the yeare 1327. the Cantons made alliance with the Imperiall cities and townes, that stood fast for *Lewes*, to wit, *Mayence*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Straßbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg*, *Constance*, *Lindaw* and *Vberlingen*: with this League they of *Zurich* and *Berne* combined themselues. But five hundred yeares after, *Lucerna* made perpetuall alliance with the three Cantons. In few words, I will tell you the occasion, after I haue first declared somewhat, concerning the beginning and estate of the said City, before it became allied with the Cantons.

CHAP. III.

Of the Originall estate of Lucerna, before it leagued it selfe with the Cantons.

The city of *Lucerna* is seated on the riuer *Russe*, which issueth forth of a great Lake, whereby wee may passe to the three Cantons. Also, at the foote of an high Mountaine, commonly called *Pilates Mount*. The scituation is commodious, because this is the way, to trauell by the mountain of *Saint Godard* in *Italy*. From *Fribourg*, the Merchants are transported ouer the Mountaines, and from thence into *Italy*, with beasts of carriage: and (reciprocally) the Merchants of *Italy* descend by the Lake and Riuer of *Russe*, to the *Rhein*, & thence into the Ocean sea.



It is not certainly knowne, neyther at what time, nor by whom the Citie was builded: but one saith well, that on each side of the Riuer there is a castle (which are houses now inhabited

by Citizens) and builded by the *Allemaines* or *Germanes*. Concerning the opinion of *Etterlinus*, who wrote some small history of *Suisse* or *Swetia*, referring these matters to the house of *Austria*, and thinketh that those castles serued as a retreat for robbers and theeues: he abuseth his own iudgement greatly therein. For, in the time of *Raoul of Habsbourg* (and no sooner) they of *Austria* began to commaund in these quarters here, when the Dutchie of *Austria* fell to the house of *Habsbourg*. And it is no way credible, that a Prince would euer endure; that theeues should make vse of a passage so commodious, for traunning from *Suisse* into *Italy*.

It seemeth, that *Lucerna* was so named, in regard of a Lanterne, which duly eue-ry night is there aduanced, and bright lights clearly shining therein, for benefite

A description concerning the situation of the City of Lucerna.

The time when and by whom Lucerna was builded, is vncertaine.

At what time they of Austria began their rule ne the Cantons.

How Lucerna became at first to be so named.

of

of passengers vpon the Lake. And it is very likely, that the high ancient Tower; which (at this day) standeth alofte on the bridge (as in like maner there is another at *Zurich*, called *Wellemburg*) serued for that purpose. Our graue ancients & forefathers, termed euery such kind of Tower *Pharos*. A Charter granted to *Guichard* the Priest, auoucheth; that *Lucerna* deriued her name from Antiquity. For, the *Annales* of *Lucerna* do declare, that the *Lucernians* (hauing serued *Charlemaigne* in a warre against the *Sarazins*) obtained of him diuers priuiledges, and especially, the vse of *Cornets*, wherewith they did both summon the battailes and retreats, euen as they doe nowe at this present time.

Be it howsoeuer, anciently, the *Canons* of the colledge of *Lucerna*, helde great authoritie, as also in many Townes of *Germany*. This colledge was founded by *Guichard* the Priest, brother vnto *Kupert*, Leader of the horsemen to king *Lewes*, who was sonne to King *Theodorick*, who died in the yeare seuen hundreded, & founded also the colledge of *Canons* at *Zurich*. The colledge of *Lucerna* fell to the *Abbot* of *Murbach*, by the donation of King *Pepin*. The same *Abbot* was Lord of *Lucerna*, vntill the time of the *Emperor Albert* of *Austria*: who hauing resolued to establish a new kinde of principality in *Swetia*, as already wee haue told you, bought *Lucern* of the *Abbot* of *Murbach*, by giuing him foure villages in *Alsacia*, and a certaine summe of money, amounting to the valew of two thousand *Markes* of money, as it is affirmed.

This City enioyed (formerly) the enfranchisement of many things, & sundry goodly priuiledges beside; so long as the *Abbots* were Lords thereof; and yet they held no soueraigne iurisdiction: for, the *cittizens* were the greatnes of the city, builded the wals and rampiers, and fortified it (by their owne discretion) in those times. The *Prince* of *Austria* also promised for his part, to conferue their priuiledges inuiolably, and made shew of being a verie gentle Lord, as he was neuer sparing of goodly promises. But soon after, the dominion of the *Austrians* proued to gripe and oppresse the *Lucernians*, who were constrained (to their great

disaduantage) to make warre vpon their neighbours. For they were the first that exposed themselues to make incurfions on the *Cantons*, and maintained a garrison in their citties at their great charge. The Tower of *Sbourg*, which standeth yet to this day cōfirmeth what hath bin said: for there it was, where the *Lucernians* planted a *Corps de guard*, against the incurfions which their enemies made vpon the Lake. When they had no open war, nor any assurance of peace, the *Austrians* did not much care to maintain them. In the meane while, Trafficke ceased, the fields were forraged, and many times the *Lucernians* fell into the hands of their enemies. Moreouer, being gone to warre with them of *Glaris*, vnder the conduct of *Otho*, Captaine of *Colmar*, to encounter with the *Emperor Lewes*, the wages promised them, was made void and frustrate. They themselues had paid many in other warres, and lent good summes of money on scedules, to *Captaines* of the *Austrian* Princes; but now, in place of payment, they were handled in such sort, as they thought both their good seruice and monny vtterly lost.

Being thus tyred and hartied so many seuerall waies, they supplicated and desired (oftentimes) them of *Austria*, to be at peace with the *Cantons*. But perceiuing they trauiled all this while in vaine, themselues (in the end) accorded vwith the *Cantons*, leauing (neuerthelesse) the rights of the house of *Austria* to them intirely. This peace exasperated not onely them of *Austria*, but also many *cittizens*, seruants, and pentioners to *Gentlemen*, by whom they benefited & enriched themselves. Both the one & other feared, that the City would ally it selfe with the three *Cantons*, and that in so doing, they wold estrange themselues from the *Austrians*. And therefore they conspired together, to oppresse them that had counceled the people to make this peace, and that they should exhort them to be allied with som other. For this effect, in secret they contracted a league, the substance whereof was this, That at a certaine houre of the night, they of the city should open the gates, and at the same instant, they of *Austria*, (with so many horsemen well appointed) should make seizure of the *Cittie*. Afterwardes, hauing ioyned their

The Tower of *Sbourg*.

*Otho*, captaine of *Colmar*, leader to the of *Lucerna*.

The men of *Lucerna*, at the refusall of their Lord, made peace with their enemies.

The first coniuration against the me of *Lucerna*.

The Charter of *Guichard* the priest, our of the *Annals* of *Lucerna*.

The colledge of *Lucerna*, founded by *Guichard* the priest, & what donations were thereto annexed.

The priuiledges of *Lucerna* while *Abbots* ruled.

The promise cost nothing to oppressors of the people.

The proiect  
and intention  
of the Con-  
spiracie.

The care and  
prouidence  
of the Citti-  
zens in a time  
of vrgent ne-  
cessity.

The league &  
Alliance  
made be-  
tweene them  
of Lucerna, &  
the 3. Cantons

Extremity vr-  
ged against  
the Lucerni-  
ans by them  
of Austria.

their forces together, and reduced the City into their owne power: they would punish the friends of the Cantons, break the peace, and plant a Garrison in the city, to the end, that afterward no such matter might be againe attempted.

But the Cittizens being aduertised, of the traines and ambushes prepared for them, vpon the appointed night did put themselues into armes, placed good guards at the gates, & prouided so surely for their safety, that such as tooke part with the house of *Austria*, durst not bee seene any way to stirre. Then the Gouvernour of *Rotembourg* (with many Gentlemen) beeing come to the gates, they of the City (to whom he termed himselfe a friend) gaue him entrance, and some small number with him, suffered the rest to stand without. Perceiuing that this cunning tricke tooke no such successe as he expected, and not daring to doe any thing by open force, because he was the weaker; he returned the next morning to *Rotembourg* with his traine, and some Cittizens of *Lucerna*, partakers with the *Austrians*, fearing to be punished by the City, went away with him.

This combination was the cause of hastening the league between the *Lucernians* and the three Cantons; for, perceiuing the iniuries and ambushes of the Nobility, and the dangers where-with they threatned them: they thought it fit not to reiect the succour of their neighbours, which they accepted, as sent from heauen. So they became vnited together, on the Saturday before Saint *Martins* day, in the year one thousand, three hundred, thirty two.

When the *Austrians* had intelligence hereof, they appointed Garrisons in diuers places about *Lucerna*, as namely, at *Sempach*, *Rotembourg*, and *Meyenberg*: by meanes whereof, they did cut off all victuals from the *Lucernians*: and if any aduentured farre from the City, they were either slaine, or taken prisoners, so that they were constrained to goe seeke for food with a maine army. The yeare ensuing, and the seuenteenth day of March, the *Lucernians* going with their troopes towards *Buchnaß* (which is a Castle, now called *Hertenstein*, vpon the Lake of *Zug*) the Lord of *Ramswag*, Gouvernour of *Rotembourg*, for the house of *Austria*; layde

an ambuscado for them on the way, and slew about some fourescore of them. The rest that were scattered in the fieldes, and looking after pillage, assembled themselues together, neere to *Buchnaß*, and charged the enemy so couragiously, that they enforced them to flight, hauing first lost an hundred foote, and eightene horse.

The Gouvernour of *Austria* well perceiuing, that ouuert power stood not for his aduantage, neither did any way benefite him in his businesse: vndertooke the first traine of ambuscadoes, and priuate practises. There were then at *Lucerna*, many persons that had bene pensioners to the house of *Austria*. This war was verie troublesome to them, for they had lost their pensions, and besides, enioyed not the reuennues of their owne inheritances, which (for the most part) lay on the lands of the *Austrians*. The Gouvernour conferred with them, and because they were of the very worthiest houses in the City, and the cheefest of them: he aduised them to perswade the Cittizens to renounce their alliance with the three Cantons, and render themselues again to the house of *Austria*. He shewed them, that they might bee much more endamaged by one Prince, being a potent enemy, & so neere a neighbour, then by the three Cantons, who (in the passed Warres) could doe them little, or no harme at all.

And forasmuch as it had happened at this very time, that the lower Towne, and the fields about it, were greatly iniured by impetuous and extraordinarie raines: the Gouvernour made vse of this accident, to his own aduantage; telling them that God punished them by such a means, because they rebelled against their lawfull Prince. But because these coniurations could not preuaile, nor hee mooued the people with all his goodly perswasions; he would compasse his intention by another stratageme, and complotted with close confederates, to massacre the Authors and conseruators of this Alliance with the Cantons, taking their faith vnder oath, and Letters signed and sealed. And, because they might be known one to another, each of the Conspirators did weare red sleeues, which onely was their noted marke. Whereupon grew the Pro-  
uerb

The battel gi-  
uen at Buch-  
naß, and what  
successe ensu-  
ed thereon.

The second  
coniuration  
against the  
men of Lu-  
cerna.

When the fo-  
is preaching,  
let the Geesi  
beware.

A massacre  
plotted a-  
gainst the Lu-  
cernians.

uerbe (afterward) among them of *Lucerna*; Beware the band of Red sleeues, and it was held for a matter extremely ignominious, to tell any man, that he was one of the red sleeues band.

The number of the conspirators encreased, and then they assigned the day for the massacre, which was the last day of Iune, being the Feast day of *S. Peter & S. Paul*, Apostles. They were to meete vnder the great Arch or Gate, neere to the publike house of the Taylors fraternity: for then the watch for night should cease to walke the round in that quarter: Also, the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, must haue an army ready to bee let into the City by the conspiratours, who (purposely) should open the gates. But God (by his gracious prouidence) discovered these bloody consultations, the very same night as the massacre was to bee executed. For, as the conspirers met in Armes at the piace appointed, a yong man, passing accidentally by, without dreaming or thinking on any such matter, discovered the businesse, and vnderstood their deliberation. The night was very darke, by meanes whereof, he softly slipt away, hying speedily to the butchery or Shambles, where perceiuing by the lighted candles and noife he heard, that diuers were there vp out of bedde, drinking and playing: hee went in amongst them, and tolde them the things hee had heard.

Forthwith they ran to the Gouvernor, and acquainted him with the compact, & the Citizens quickly had warning to arm themselves, and good Guards also sent to the gates: moreouer, they rushed in sodainly vpon the conspirators, and tooke them prisoners, before they could giue entrance to such supply as they expected from without. And to impeach the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, from attempting any thing by manifest force, or violence against the City, it being in this dangerous agitation: the same night they sent (in poste) for succour vnto the three Cantons, who also sent them three hundred men early in the morning. After this happy supply was thus come to the, they consulted then together, concerning punishment to bee inflicted on the conspirators. Their Letters were laid before them, and such other guilty persons, who

had escaped out of the tumult, by fauout of the nights extreame darkenesse, were likewise apprehended and imprisoned, as was most conuenient.

Now, in regard that the number of the conspirators was great; and, many among the of the principall houses, vvhich had store of kindred and friends in the city. At request of the three Cantons, their liues were saued, and they punished by the purse, after they had solemnly sworne neuer to attempt any thing more against the state of the city, nor contrary to their alliance with the three Cantons. Heereupon, they of *Lucerna* made a law, whereby it was prohibited to the Citizens, not to make any assemblies or clandestine meetings in any place, nor to bind themselves one to another by Oath: except vpon any bargain they made for monies, they should leaue twice as much in the hands of the Seigneury.

At this time, they of *Austria* were reconciled to the Emperor *Ieres*, to whom also, a great accusation was made of the three Cantons & the *Lucernians*. Vvho (contrarywise) well excused themselves, and shewed, that they were allied vpon plenty of good reasons, and without doing wrong vnto any man. Whereupon, the Emperour gaue charge to them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, and *Basile*, who were then allied to the house of *Austria*, and friends also to the Cantons (for three yeares before, the men of *Zurich* had assisted them in a Warre against the *Grisons*) to pacifie the difference, and make an agreement of the Cantons with the *Austrians*.

Vvherefore, in the yeare, one thousand three hundred thirty foure, by entermise of their Ambassadors, truce vvas taken for two yeares and an half, on these conditions following. That during this time, they of *Lucerna* should not be constrained to pay the moneyes borrowed of them, nor the wages due to the *Lucernians* by the Captaines. That they might make vse and seruice of the Money of the Dukes of *Zofinge*, forged in their Cittie: rendering obedience and honor done to the Dukes.

The alliance with the three Cantons, to remaine in absolute integrity. and the Cantons not to hinder the D. of *Austria* from inioying the goods and reuenues which they helde in the countries of the

Grace and fauour done vnderstandedly to the offenders

A law against conuenticles and close meetings.

Complaint made to the Emp. against the three Cantons and *Lucernians*.

Conditions of truce betweene the *Austrians* and the Cantons agreed vpon.

The feast day of *S. Peter & S. Paule*, appointed to be the massacre day, and in what manner it was to bee done.

The bloodie contention haply discovered, euen when was to bee reformed.

The conspirators taken and imprisoned sodainly.

Punishment to be inflicted on the offenders.

Cantons. The Emperour was to depu-  
te the Commissaries, for hearing the  
differences of the Dukes with the Can-  
tons, at any time whatsoever.

Afterward, the truce was further pro-  
longed, and although the peace was  
scarcely well assured, but was sometimes  
broken: yet they of *Austria* made no  
more open warre vpon the confederates.  
Vntill after such time as they of Zurich  
wrung themselues into the alliance, in the  
yeare, 1311. Then *Glaris* and *Zug* came in  
the yeare following, and *Berne* the yeare  
after that: Concerning the estate and al-  
liance of these Cantons, we come to dis-  
course more at large.

### CHAP. III.

*Of the Originall, condition, and estate of Zu-  
rich, before it leagued in with the amity of  
the Cantons.*



It is not to be doubted,  
but that Zurich is one of  
the most ancient Citties  
of *Swetia*. The Annals of  
the country doe declare,  
that it was builded sixe-  
teene yeares after the cittie of *Treues* or  
*Treuwis*. *Marianus Scotus* saith in his  
Chronicles, that *Trebetus*, son to *Ninus*,  
builded the city of *Treues*, in the time of  
the Patriarch *Abraham*. The Romane hi-  
stories make honourable mention of the



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*Tigurines*, who are they of Zurich, be-  
cause they were present in the war of the  
*Cimbrians* against the Romans, and ouer-  
threw the Consull *Cassius*. Afterwards,  
when *Iulius Caesar* came to the conquest  
of the Gaules, they were vanquished and  
ruined by him. After that time, to the in-  
uasion which the *Allemaines* or *Germaines*

made: *Zurich* was subiect to the Romane  
Empire, then fell into the handes of the  
Kings of *France*; and lastly, came to the  
Germane Empire, which beareth the name  
and shadow of the Romane empire.

There are in Zurich two Colledgiall  
churches; one of men, the other of Wo-  
men founded by the Kings of *France*. In  
ancient times, these colledges were (well-  
neere) Lords & commanders of the citie.  
There was also (heretofore) a castle, buil-  
ded vpon a little hill, nere to the Riuer of  
*Limagus*, where the Gouvernours (establi-  
shed by the Kings of *France*) kepte their  
abiding, who were Prouosts of the city, &  
of those colledges. Afterward, vnder the  
Germane Emperors, those Prouostes still  
continued, but they dwelt not in the cas-  
tle: because the government was wili-  
ngly giuen to the Princes. Neuertheles,  
since those times, there grew in the city a  
councell of sixe and thirty men, twelue  
whereof governed for the space of foure  
moneths. The commonwealth was so or-  
dered in the yeare, 1100. and continued  
in that estate till the yeare, 1336. and then  
it fell to changing, in manner as heereaf-  
ter we shall declare.

From such time as the city beganne to  
throwe off the yoake of the Colledgiall  
churches, it began also to consider on hir  
owne freedome, and how it might best  
receiue increasing. For, amongst the dif-  
fentions of the Emperors and Popes, the  
men of Zurich adhered to the Emperors,  
and followed *Fredericke Barbarossa*, *Fre-  
dericke* the second, and *Lewes* of *Bawaria*,  
who augmented their liberties and fran-  
chises, especially *Fredericke* the second.  
For, after the death of *Berthoull*, the last  
Duke of *Zerungen*, Prouost of the Col-  
ledges, and also of the Citie of Zurich:  
he receiued the citizens into protection  
of the Empire, about the yeare, 1218.  
Then afterward, he tooke many priuiled-  
ges from the Colledgiall churches. A-  
mongst other, the right of electing the  
councell, and graunted it to the citizens,  
ordaining, that it should neuer bee law-  
full to alienate *Zurich* from the Empryre.  
Also, in the time of *Fredericke*, the Citti-  
zens made the ditches and walles about  
the City.

It came to passe, that they requested  
the Priests & were citizens of the Cittie,  
to furnish their part of charge towards  
these

The truce fur-  
ther prolong-  
ed betweene  
them.

Concerning  
the antiquitie  
of Zurich, and  
when it was  
builded.

The *Tigurins*  
are the people  
of Zurich, and  
were conqu-  
ered by *Iulius*  
*Cæsar*.

Two Colleg  
all Churches  
in Zurich, an  
a castle on th  
riuer of *Lim  
agus*.

A Councel  
36. men, to  
gouern by s  
uerall turne

The begin-  
ning of the  
ty of Zurich  
and in what  
manner it p  
ceeded.

Zurich neu  
to be aliens  
ted from th  
Empire.

these fortifications, and commended them moreouer, to rid their houses of some women ill reported of: which offended them in such sort, as they withdrew themselves from the Citizens. But this difference was appeased by the byshop of *Constance*. Some few yeares after, the Pope excommunicated them of Zurich, because they tooke part with the Emperor *Frederick*. At the same time, they ruined (by permission of the Emperor) the old Castle, fearing least some (enemies to their liberties) should get possession thereof. At this day it is a very pleasant place, beautified with Linden and other fayre trees planted there. And because the City stood excommunicated, and (by consequence) exposed to the violence of any man: many Gentlemen round about, much mollested the Citizens, so that the trafficke of silkes, being very great before in that place, was from thence transported to *Come*.

In the yeare, 1351. they of Zurich did take their first alliance with the Cantons of *Vri* and *Suits*, the tenour whereof you haue already seene. Some few yeares after the death of *Frederick*, his Nephew *Conradine* laboured to subiect them of Zurich, to the Dukes of *Suaba*: vnder the pretence and colour, that they had long time bin *Proouostes* and *Gouernors* thereof. The Cittizens maintained theyr liberty very firme and strongly, which caused *Conradine* to worke so with the Emperor *Conrad*, that Zurich stood proscribed from the Empire. But *Richard* of England, king of the Romanes, tooke away the proscription, and by Imperiall Letters, confirmed the priuiledges of the Cittizens. In those Letters, amongst other matters, these words following are contained.

A true Coppy of the fauor done by Richard of England, K. of the Romanes, to them of Zurich.

**B**y faithfull report, which is come to our serenity, we haue vnderstood, that *Conradine*, Sonne to the late King *Conrad*, who named himselfe *D.* of *Suaba*; not contented with this fault, in

vainely vsurping the honor appertaining to another, without hauing any right or power so to do: hath published a sentence of banishment, against our Citizens of Zurich (as if they were subiects to that Dutchy) planted in the especiall bosome of Vs and our Empire, & not appertaining any way to that Dutchy, but immediately to the Empire, according as fro antiquitie hath bene established, and is now approved in our time, &c. Given at *Hagenaw*, the xx. day of *November*, in the yeare one thousand two hundred sixty two. And of our reigne the sixt.

These Letters do render an ample testimony, of the liberty belonging vnto them of Zurich: notwithstanding, they tooke no great effect then, because such as succeeded in the Empire after *Fredericke* the second, to *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, held no great credit, so that (by manie) they are not numbred among the Emperors, but all this interuall or respite of time, is referred vnto an *Inter-regnum*, wherein the most part of all the variances were decided by the sword, rather then by iustice and law, and the stronger trampled the weaker vnder their feet: Above all, the Gentlemen that had anie means, did nothing else but machinate against the liberties of those Citties, that were their neighbors. All the wayes were couered with theeues, & (in brieft) this License wrought a meere confusion among the most wicked and desperate, mouing them to attempt and execute euen what-fouer themselves pleased.

Heereuppon, they of Zurich, desiring to conserue their liberty, and maintain themselves in peace: sent an honorable Ambassage to the Lord of *Regensbourg*, entreating him to be their *Gouernour* and *Captaine*, vntill the election of a newe Emperor, and (for that effect) offered him honest and sufficient gages: The Gentleman was a neighbour to Zurich, a rich and powerfull Lorde in those times. Hee proudly reiected the honour which the men of Zurich did him, and made them answere in this manner. If the Cittizens would obey al his commandements, and subiect the Cittie to him: hee was readie to take them into his protection, and would be their benign Lord. But if they refused his offer, they should

How and at what time the people of Zurich lost their liberty.

...

The Pope excommunicated them of Zurich.

The first alliance of Zurich with the Cantons of Vri and Suits.

shortly bee compelled to accept it, euen in meere despight of them: because their Citty was ingirt and inueloped with his castles, as Fish within a Weele, or water Leape.

This vauntery of the Lord of *Regenspourg* was not wholly vain, for he had many strong places neere vnto the cittie: as *Wrtzia* on the Lake of *Zurich*, a mile and a halfe from the cittie; *Glanzembourg*, a Towne and castle of like distance, and on the riuier of *Limagus*. He had (moreouer) much neerer to the cittie, vpon a high Mountaine towards the Sunne-setting, two castles, to wit, *Vltiberg* and *Balderie*, impregnable (as was imagined) by reason of their scituation. Beside, the Towne and castle of *Regenspourg*, not a boue fivie miles at the most from *Zurich*. And, beyond all these, manie Countes or Earles were Leagued vwith him; among other, the Count of *Kybourg*, dwelling at *Burgdorff*, the Count of *Rasperwill*, of *Togge*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, and the Barons of *Eschenbach*, of *Riggenberg*, of *Kilchberg*, of *Balme*, of *Hombourg*, of *Warts*, and many other. They of *Zurich*, hauing beene so ignominiously refused: addressed themselues to *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, mortall enemy to this *Regenspourg*; made alliance with him, & within two yeares following, tooke the castles of *Vitznaberg*, *Wrtzia*, *Vltiberg*, *Balderie*, and the Towne of *Glanzembourg*; mollesting *Regenspourg* in such sort, as at length hee desired peace, and came to make his abiding at *Zurich*. These things hapned in the yeare, one thousand, two hundred; sixtie sixe, and the yeares following.

In the yeare one thousand, two hundred, seuentie three, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, was created king of the Romans, by common consent of the seauen Electours of the Empire. Afterward, being chosen Emperour, the Cittizens of *Zurich*, serued him in many Warres, hee finding them still faithfull, and valiant souldiers. In the warre of *Bohemia*, he had two hundred, which he placed betweene the Ensignes in the first ranke: exhorting the others souldiours to imitate the magnanimity of them of *Zurich*, whom (he said) he had well knowne and made prooffe of before. Also, the most part of them dyed in the field, of battaile then giuen, and

the Ensignes of the other were borne (for their honour) into the Temple of the Cordeliers or gray Friars. *Raoul* hauing receyued so many seruices by the men of *Zurich*, gaue them diuers priuiledges: and to honour them the more, beautified their Ensignes of Armes, with a Diadem and Bend of Purple.

Many haue imagined among the vulgar sort, because in the battaile at *Winterberg*, that the Bend was afterward annexed therto, as a note or mark of their ignominy. But there are many thinges yeelding contrary reasons to this opinion. For, in the first place, the notes of ignominy are not red, but meerly black. And afterward, when *Renè*, Duke of *Lorraine*, tooke away all the marks of the ensignes belonging to the Switzers, in the warre against the Duke of *Bourgongne*; they of *Zurich* would neuer permit, that the Bend should bee taken out of theyr Standard. And in the yeare, one thousand, fivie hundred and twelue, when Pope *Iulius* gaue new Standards vnto the Switzers, the Councell of *Zurich* would not alter any thing whatsoeuer in theyr Ensigne, no, not so much as the bend or Diadem, which they neuer would haue done, if they had beene any notes of infamy.

Moreouer, *John* of *Winterduer*, who liued at that time when they of *Zurich* wer conquered by ambuscadoes at *Winterduer*, spake to King *Raoul* these Words: He crowned the Standard of *Zurich* with great action of graces. The same Authour also declareth, that in the warre at *Regenspourg*, *Iaques Mulner*, a cittizen of *Zurich*, couered (with his owne body) *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, who was cast from his horse: and hauing remounted him vpon his own, brought him forth of the preafe safe and sound. For which great fauour, *Raoul* did much honour to the man, and loued him singularly; yea, hee was also a deare friend to them of *Zurich*. This they auouch, because *Carion*, and such as were of his minde, did highly wrong the cittie of *Zurich*, accusing it of sedition & rebellion against King *Raoul*, who therefore foiled them, and brought them vnder his obedience by armes.

After the death of *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, they of *Zurich* maintayned the part of *Adolph*, and so did the Abbot of *S. Gall*, and

The strong places of the Lord of *Regenspourg*, neere to *Zurich*, and his potent Conferences.

Pride & scorn full contempt very iustly scourged and rewarded.

*Raoul* of *Habspourg* King of the Romans, and a friend to them of *Zurich*.

The standard of *Zurich* carried away by the enemy, the battaile *Winterberg*

The constancy of the Switzers, for their ensigne of Armes.

*Iaques Mulner*, a worthy Cittizen of *Zurich*, and his honorable acte.

the estate of Zurich, after the death of Raoul of Habsbourg.

the Lorde of Werdenberg, a cunning stratagem, against them of Zurich.

politike stratagem performed by them Zurich, against Albert of Austria.

peace concluded betweene Albert, & the men of Zurich.

and the byshop of *Constance*. Now to the end that they of Zurich might ioyn themselves with the other : they assayed the Towne of *Winterduer*, and tooke it in the assault, vnder conduct of the Count of *Togge*, and there (in Garrison) was the Lord of *Werdenberg*, with great troopes, in name of *Albert of Austria*. The first day they were Victors, but on the morrow, by treachery in the Lorde of *Werdenberg*, who caused the Ensigne belonging to the Byshop of *Constance*, to be carried before him : by this cunning stratagem, the men of Zurich were overthrowne and cut in peeces. They attempted againe another warre in the name of *Adolph*, against them of *Groningen*, the which is in the territory of Zurich. But *Albert Duke of Austria*, sonne to *Raoul*, was offended at their enterprize, being informed by his people, that the greater part of them of Zurich, were slaine at *Winterduer*; which caused him to come and besiedge Zurich, which hee imagined to bee quite emptie of any defensue men.

The Citizens made a muster of theyr men (apt for armes) in the City, and on a place very high, where sometimes the Castle stood; and that the Duke of *Austriaes* Army might easily discerne them. And, because their number might appeare to bee much more greater then it was, they caused all their strongest and stoutest women to be armed, and theyr children of biggest stature : which made the enemy to imagine, that there vvere great store of warlike people within the City. Afterward, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Albert*, to remember him, that his Father alwayes loued and maintained that citty; that the citzizens had serued him in all his warres, and wherein they (euermore) carried themselves faithfully and valiantly. Wherefore, they intreated him to follow his Fathers steps, and to accept them of *Zurich* rather as loyall and seruiceable friendes, then to beleue false rumors spred abroad by their ill-willers, considering withall, that they vvere ready to giue him satisfaction.

*Albert* answered the Ambassadors very kindly, & willed them to come to him at *Winterduer*; where the peace was confirmed betweene him and them of Zurich : vpon condition, that they should

acknowledge and honour *Albert* as lawfull Emperor. This peace was continued after the death of *Albert*; and in the warre which his sons made against them that had slaine him : the citzizens of Zurich kept themselves stil faithfully on the behalfe of *Austria*, and fought for them against the three Cantons. After that, in the battell of *Morgarten*, fiftie men of Zurich were slaine in the field, as hath alreadye bene declared. Moreouer, when the Emperour was in some troubles, because some had elected *Lewes*, Prince of *Bauaria*; and others *Fredericke*, the Sonne to *Albert*, the men of Zurich helde a long time for the part of *Fredericke*.

In the yeare, 1330. peace was made betweene *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, whereat, *Fredericke* renounced his Imperiall Election, and *Lewes* (to recompence him) promised to pay him a great summe of money. And because hee could not presently furnish him therewith, in regard of the Warres hee lately had, to his mightie expences; gaue vnto him foure Townes as a pawn, and security of payment; Namely, *Zurich*, *Schaffouse*, *Rhinfeld*, and *Neubourg* on the *Rheine*. But they of Zurich, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Emperour, to shew him, that they vvere so incorporated with the Empire, as they could (by no meanes) be separated from it. Their Letters were shewn to the same effect, read and perused by the Emperour; and then, although he loued them but a little, because they had taken part with *Fredericke*: yet notwithstanding hee lefte them to their owne libertie, and insted of *Zurich*, *Brissacke* was giuen in gage to them of *Austria*.

The Ambassadors had also brought with them, the Deputies of the three Cantons, whom *Lewes* greatly affected, because they had alwayes bene faithfull vnto him. These Deputies declared, that the City of Zurich was a louing & friendly neighbor to the Cantons, & had highly serued them many times. Beside, they of Zurich promised, that (hereafter) they would be no lesse faithfull & obedient to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, who was then their only lawfull Emperour, then they had formerly bene to *Fredericke* of *Austria*. This did much offend the *Austrians*; for,

Worthy seruices done by the of Zurich.

The men of Zurich would not be separated from the Empire, making it known by their Ambassadors.

Zurich, a louing friend & neighbour to the Cantons.

The Citie of Zurich excommunicated by the Pope, for the space of 18.yeares.

A Castle taken and spoiled on the Rheine, by them of Zurich, &c.

The Government of the Common-wealth of Zurich altered, procuring much trouble and molestation.

Accusations against the second order of 12.men.

albeit *Fredericke* had renounced the empire: yet notwithstanding, *Leopold*, *Albert*, and *Otho* his brethren, would not ratifie the agreement, but continued warre against *Lewes* of *Bawaria*. By which means *Zurich* fell off againe from friendship with them of *Austria*, and was excommunicated by the Pope, in such manner, as for the space of eighteene years, there was no exercise of ceremonies (according to the Romane Church) used in *Zurich*. The Priests departed from the citizens, some by their owne meere motion; others were expelled by the Bourgeses, because they refused to administer the Sacraments. There were none but the Cordeliers or gray Friars, who went forth at one gate, and entered immediately at another.

The Citie standing thus excommunicated, and hated by the house of *Austria*: many Gentlemen, seruants vnto that house, much mollested the Citizens. Wherefore, in the yeare 1333. they of *Zurich*, with the men of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, and *Berne*, besiedged and took a castle on the *Rheine*, named *Schunaw*, belonging to the Lords of *Geroltzegg*, and ruinated it, because it was one of the retreats for theeuers. The yeare following, the men of *Zurich* ruinated many castles, to wit, *Fryenstein*, on the riuer of *Tose*, and another nere vnto it, called *Touff the high*. Also *Schenenwert*, on the *Limagus*, about three miles from *Zurich* and *Schlatte*, neere to *Esgow*, because the Gentlemen to whom these castles appertained, did greatly trouble the city of *Zurich*.

The next yeare insuing, the Gouvernement of the Common-wealth of *Zurich* was changed; which prooued to be the cause of great garboiles, and the principall occasion, of allying the citizens with the Cantons of *Swetia*. We haue already told you, that the commonwealth was gouerned by 36.men, and in such sort, as twelue commaunded during the space of foure months. Some difference hapned between them and the people, in regard whereof, the people began to demaund an account of their administration, especially, of the twelue that were in the second order. Some were accused among them, of robbing and dissipating (in a small time) the publike treasure, and besides, that they had bound the Cittie in

in no meane store of great debtes. Eight of those men, finding themselues to bee hardly clear in this case, retired from the city: the other foure, voluntarily resigned vp their charge. Thus the authoritie of twelue ceasing, they grew to a forme of electing Magistrates, being chosen out of euery band of the tradesmen, and by feuerall nomination.

The Emperour *Lewes* confirmed this kinde of Commonwealth by his Letters Patents, and the succeeding Emperours also approoued the same. They that had withdrawne themselues from the Citie, yeelding after to the peoples iudgement, were condemned in feuerall fines: and they that sped the best were banished for three yeares, hauing first faithfully promised neuer to make any conspiracie against the citizens. Heere to also was annexed a note of infamy, to wit, that neyther they, nor any of their children, should euer be admitted into Councill. The ancient men and councillors, being affraide of a iudgement so seuer, beganne to distrust their owne causes; so that nine among them forsooke the Cittie. This departure of theirs was conuerted vnto banishment, and their goodes confiscated. As for the rest, nine of them vvere condemned in great fines, and then banished for two yeares: with this brand also set vpon them, that they nor their children should euer be admitted vnto councell. Others, that stood to their tryall, iustified themselues before the people, and were elected to be of the new councell.

The banished men made their retreat to a Towne, scituated on the Lake, two miles (or thereabout) from *Zurich*, named *Kasperwill*, which at that time belonged to Count *Iohn*, of the House of *Habsbourg*. Three years before, he had made request to them of *Zurich*, to accept him as a Citizen: willingly they would, and did (at last) receiue him, although he was Leagued with them of *Austria*, and diuers of them also were of his parentage. Heereupon, hee listened the sooner vnto the banished men, and made a confederacie with them; vnder certaine conditions; for securitie vwhereof, hee gaue them the Castle of the Towne in keeping. These banished men being thus commodiously lodged & fortified, began to

Election of Magistrates among the people confirmed by the Emperour Lewes, &c.

Old Councillors doubting of their own honesties.

How, and in what place the banished men bestow ed themselves.

accuse them of *Zurich*, pretending to haue suffered great outrages by them; they defamed the Consull and new counsell, and to make attempts against the Citie, vsing (to this effect) the helpe of some of their friends, that remained still in *Zurich*. Some of them being discouered by the counsell, were punished: others fled away secretly, and ioyned with the banished men. And because these banished men had falsified their solemne promises: they were banished perpetually by the Senate, especially they that stood relegated but for a certaine time enioyned them.

Now, because the citizens of *Zurich* stood in slender security, either for themselves or their goods, since those banished men were excluded the city: diuers times they admonished the Count of his duty, that he being a Bourges, ought not to continue his fauour to the banished men, but rather to withdraw al helpe and comfort from them. Perceiuing the Count made no reckning of their complaints, they leuied another Army, and went and besiedged *Rasperwill*, the retire and refuge of the banished men. In vaine was this attempt of theirs, because the banished men had great plenty of victuals, and defended themselves vaiantly, which made the other to raise their siedg. Gladly therefore they quitted the place, & so much the rather, because the Count of *Habsbourg*, protector of the banished, and whom most especially they sought for; was not at *Rasperwill*, but in a Castle called *Grinow*, which is at the head of *Zurich* Lake. They discamped thence, & marched with their Army vnto that very place, being conducted by *Diethelme*, Count of *Togge*, who was at controuersie with the other, concerning the castle of *Grinow*.

The Count of *Habsbourg* (with his Army well appointed) was encamped at *Bachberg*, whence he came mainly running vpon them of *Zurich*, who landed suddenly from their Boates; and they granting them no leysure to bee raunged in order of battaile, put all in rout and disorder that were on Land, compelling them to enter their Boates againe, in which confusion they lost not many me, except the Count of *Togge*, who was taken prisoner. But after that al their troops

were ioyned together againe in the middle of the Lake, being moued with anger, and desirous to wipe off the shame formerly receiued: by aduice of their Leaders, they went on shore againe, brauely bidding them the battaile, which they wonne. And such was their successe, that the Count of *Habsbourg*, and many Gentlemen with him, were slaine in the field: moreouer, they carried away in their Boates a mighty booty, & fixe Ensignes of the enemies. The citizens of *Rasperwill*, hearing of this ouerthrow, to reuenge the death of their Lord, they cut in peeces the Count of *Togge*, who was conuaid on Land, so soone as he had bene taken prisoner in the first encounter.

This things hapned in the yeare 1337. And the same yeare, the Emperor *Lewes*, and *Albert* of *Austria*, second of that name, surnamed the Cripple, made peace betweene *John* of *Habsbourg*, Sonne to the deceased Count; the banished men of *Zurich*, and the Consull and Citizens of the City, vpon these conditions following. That the banished men should pay to the citizens (as a fine or amercement) the summe of sixe hundred markes of money: remaining still out of *Zurich* five years, during which time, they should not come neare the city, by the space of two miles; which beeing expired, they should againe be receiued, & their goods remaine entirely to them. The Emperor conceiued, that this new gouernment in the state, would highly strengthen it in these five years: for there was appearance of great danger; that if the ancient Councillors were re-established; alterations would ensue in many matters, & nothing else please them, but the old form of rule, as many of their friends and partakers earnestly desired.

This peace lasted not long, for the banished men (fauoured by a great number of the Nobility) made no regard at all of their promises: but molested the citizens, and conspired daily something or other against the city. In regard whereof, by permission of the Emperour, the houses, and al the goods which the banished had in the city, were confiscated. Notwithstanding, the yeare following, by the intermise of *Agnes* Queene of *Hungary*, (who was daughter to *Albert*, first of that name, and after the death of her Father,

The banished men conspire against them of Zurich, & rebanished or euer.

Warre raised by them of Zurich against the banished men.

The banished men were too long for the Count of Zurich, in warre raised against them.

The successe of the men of Zurich, against the Count of Habsbourg at Bachberg.

The Count of Togge hewed in peeces.

Peace newly confirmed betweene the men of Zurich, & them that were banished, vpon diuers conditions.

The peace broken againe betweene the banished men and they of Zurich, yet afterward renewed.

remain-

Peace once more renew- ed, & broken againe the second time.

Means deny- ed and vn- dertaken, to resist enemies and maintain their liberties.

Schaffouze, Constance, & S. Gall allied with Zurich.

A new coni- ration of the banished men against them of Zurich & the City.

remained in *Swetia* the most part of her time) of *Fredericke of Austria*, and some other of the Cities: peace was renewed betweene the banished, and the citizens of *Zurich*: yet this was no firmer, or dured any longer then the former. For although the banished promised faithfully, that they would stand to the councell of *Zurichs* sentence, and pay the fines wherein they were condemned; yet would they not make any satisfaction at all.

Many of the house of *Habsbourg*, (among others, the Sonne and kindred to Count *John*, whom they of *Zurich* slew in the battaile at *Grinow*) assembled a great number of Gentlemen, offended with the liberty of *Zurich*, hating that Democritall government, as being too popular in their opinion: fauoured the banished, and prouoked them still on against them of *Zurich*. And they on the other side, for their better maintenance, first of all burned two Castles: one neere to the *Tose*, appertaining to the Lords of *Landberg*, Gentlemen of marke: and the other to the Lords of *Schowenberg*, on an high hill about *Elgow*, because these places did much iniure them. And to fortifie themselves yet stronger, they combined amity with the cities of *Constance* and *S. Gall*. Also, because some differences remained to be appeased with them of *Schaffouze*, and war might be moued from thē: they yeilded willingly (by intermission of Ambassadors to some other cities) & in short time after, comprehended them of *Schaffouze* in alliance with the cities of *Constance* and *S. Gall*. At the same time, they allied themselves also with the Bishop and city of *Basile*. Afterward they receiued into the number of their Bourgeses, many houses of the Rhodes, or of *S. John* of Ierusalem: to be supplied and maintained with Gentlemen, and men of warre, as continually (and from time to time) were in that worthy Order of Knights of *S. John*.

These puissant cities and people round about, being leagued with them of *Zurich* by new alliances, or reconfirmation of their ancient amity: the estate of the city remained more peaceable, and it seemed, that the banished had lost all hope of euer enjoying the city by power. But in this sleeping time, they conspired very secretly, to make themselves Masters

thereof by treason. Count *John* of *Habsbourg*, Son to him that was slaine on the day at *Grinow*, as already we haue shewn, was ioyned with them; vpon condition, that he should re-establish the banished men, in possession of their goods in the country, and that they should disingage the lands of the Count, morgaged for debts to his creditors. With them ioyned the Count of *Toggenbourg*, *Peregrin Landberg* (who some yeares before, had bene at great debate with them of *Zurich*, though all seemed to be laide asleepe by an agreement made betweene them) the Baron of *Marzing*, and many Gentlemen, partly pensioners and vassails to the Count of *Habsbourg*, whō they gladly endeouored to gratifie, & partly as friends to the banished, who had many ancient friends and partakers in the city, some wherof were well acquainted with al the conspiracy, and others also that would ioyne with them, if the first attempt succeeded well. A further hope also was conceiued, that no meane number more would come to their part, if they did but see the ancient councellors, namely, such as were greatly indebted, and could subsist by no other meanes. Such likewise, as in this alteration of the state, wer not honoured nor recompenced according to their expectation, and who were vnworthy to be scene of others, aduanced and preferred before them. Then again, some others, who were weary of the estate in her present condition, desiring nothing more then nouelty: as in all commonwealths are daily to be found, too many such kinde of people. The resolution of the conspirators was, to make vse of the night time, and to plant armed men in all the stretes of *Zurich*, and to force the houses of *Raouille Brun*, Confull also of all the new Councellors, and the rest of their enemies, to massacre them, seize the city, make themselves Lords thereof, and take away the liberties of the cittizens.

In this manner, the 24. of February, in the year 1350. *Peregrin Landberg*, Count of *Habsbourg*, many Gentlemē, and some of the banished with them, came vnto *Zurich*. The same ranne through the City, that they came to present a request to the Councell, in behalfe of the banished. At the same time, diuers armed

Loue of good and greedy desire of reuenge, are the onely Councellers of this conspiracy.

Other reasons inducin hope of mor partakers in the treason.

Preparation to execute & performe the coniuration by cunning pretences.

armed men had secretly slipt into the city, and hid themselves in the houses of their complices. The Counts and Gentlemen had a very great troope of armed Groomes and Pages waiting on them, ready to execute whatsoever their Masters should command them. Moreouer, there wer sundry companies readily prepared (both of horse and foote) who in the night should come neere the city, and there to be suddenly let in, after the watch-word was giuen. Others should come by Boates, and on that side where the Lake makes a separation of the city: to rush on by impetuous troopes, & hinder the country-men round about (who were very honest and faithfull to the city) that they should not come that way to helpe or relecue it.

All things being thus ordered and appointed, vpon the very same night determined for the massacre, the conspiracy was discovered: more by the prouidence of God, then any counsell or industry of men. For God (vndoubtedly) preserued this city, to be (very soone after) the first, for conseruing the *Switzer's* liberties, as also, for the retreat of his church.

The chiefe men of this coniuuration, were in the house of a citizen, where they conferred on their affaires, and closely expected the houre of night, when the watch-word was to be giuen abroad. A seruant of the house, who neuer had knowledge of this enterprize, being layd vpon a Bench to sleepe, happened to wake by their close whispering, and lending some attention to their talke, obserued their words very carefully, yet snored as if hee had bene in a found sleepe. So soone as he could conueniently do it, softly he got away, and went directly to the lodging of *Raoule Brun*, who was Consull then, reuealing to him at full, what danger hung ouer the head of him, the whole council; and all the honest minded people of the city. He also acquainted him with the watch-word, whereby the enemies shold be knowne one to another, in the darke obscurity of the night.

The Consull hauing heard the seruants words, armed himselfe immediately, and went towards the Towne-house: the enemies were going and comming already through the streetes, yet he escaped well among them, because hee deliuered the

watch-word readily to them, and so got on to the Towne-house. A seruant of his, attired in the garments of his Master, hauing not vnderstood the watch-word, by reason of the great feare and haste the Consull made, was slaine by the enemies before the Towne-house: not so much because he could not giue the word, as for that they tooke him to bee the Consull.

In the meane while, the Consull commanded one of the Officers of the Seignury, to run to the church, and to ring out the watch-bell, after the wonted manner, to signifie the comming of enemies. The Officer seeing the gate before the clock-houise to be round engirt with enemies: by a secret doore belonging to the church, got into the clock-houise, & rung out the terror to all the city. On the other side, the Consull (himsel) cryed out aloud on the top of the Town-house, *Arme, Arme, the City is full of enemies.* Now the Riuer named *Limagus*, or *Limmatus*, diuided the city in twaine, & those two parts met and ioyned together, by the means of two Bridges made of wood. Immediately, euery one ran to these bridges: but because the planks and boords of the one were not made fast nor nailed, they threw them all downe into the water. By this meanes, all the fury and tempest of trouble, kindled it selfe at the other Bridge, which ioyned neere to the Towne-house.

There is a place of indifferent greatnesse, at the entrance to the said Bridge and house: the enemies got possession of that place, and of another neighboring to it. Heere the conflict grew very sharp, for, from forth the highest roomes of the houses, they of the city hurled downe Tyles and great Stones vpon their enemies, who were also to fight with other citizens, gotten together in great number, and came to ioyne with their best helpe. The Butchers were the formost men in the fight, for they were then vp in the Butchery (it being builded neere to the Riuer) killing Oxen and other cattell. Hauing heard the noise and out-cries of the Consull, they ran out vpon the enemies, with their Axes in their hands. In memory whereof, and as a testimony of their hardinesse; the common-wealth gaue them a Lyon of Copper or Brasse, which

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watch-bell  
reports the  
enemies  
being in the  
City, & sum-  
moneth the  
Citizens to-  
gether.

The watch-  
bell reports  
the enemies  
being in the  
City, & sum-  
moneth the  
Citizens to-  
gether.

Honest care  
makes vse of  
any the least  
meanes of  
helpe.

Citizens fight  
for liberty a-  
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which (as yet) they beare yeerely in pomp and triumph through all the city. They were moued to vnder take Arms, by these meanes following.

The Count of *Toggenbourg*; beeing with-drawne into a house of one of the conspirators, and perceiuing the danger, fearing also his owne skin-coate; after he had a while consulted with his Host: determined to free himselfe from blowes, resolving thus; that if matters fell out wel for his companions, he could easily come in againe among the troopes, and speake to them, as if he had bin alwayes in the crowd. But if it happened otherwise, he wold be sure to saue himselfe, & learne to meddle with better businesse. According to this conclusion, himselfe, his Host, and his seruant, well laden with money, got into a small Boate, belonging to a fisherman, named *Bax*; who should conduct them along the Riuer out of the city. But fearing lest this *Bax* should discouer their flight, the Count commanded his seruant, that so soone as they were out of the city, he should presently kill the fisherman. He being neerer to them then they imagined (by reason of the nights darknesse) vnderstood their purpose and resolution concerning himselfe: wherein he wisely preuented them, by suffering the boat to tilt suddenly on the one side, and so they all three together fell into the Riuer.

Making haste afterward home to his owne house, and waking all the neighbours dwelling about him; hee desired them to take Armes secretly, because the city was in eminent perill, and enemies were hidden in many parts thereof, but he knew neyther how, nor what was their intent. Heereupon, they armed themselves presently, and hearing the Consull still crying, Arme, Arme: waked other friends and neighbours, by whose helpe they got the Bridge, and there raunged themselves orderly in fight against the enemy. It is further said, that the Priests of the great church, being then singing Matins, and hearing this tumult in the night: armed themselves from the houses round about, - and entred in among the thickest throngs, fighting valiantly for the freedom & safety of their country. It might so come to passe, that this year the Popes excommunication was first raised, and

that after eightene yeares were expired, the Priests entred into the city againe.

Thus the citizens (by little and little) gathered their strength together, for from euery part they came in full troopes, and declaring their valour in so great a need, the enemies that were in the city (constrainedly) gaue way. Fifteene among them were slaine, and more then thirty seuen taken prisoners, among whom was the Count of *Habsbourg*; others saued themselves by fauour of the night. The Baron of *Matzinge*, and *Peregrin Landberg* were among the dead. The Count that fell into the water, was there drowned. The bodies of the slaine lay three whole daies on the pauement, exposed to the mockery of all men, and to be trampled on with the feete of euery passenger.

On the morrow, seucteene, the principall men in the coniuration, were broken, and their bodies laide on wheelles: eightene were beheaded. The Count of *Habsbourg*; *Huldrich*, Baron of *Bonstert*; and some other, remained prisoners. The Army of the Count of *Habsbourg*, as well that which came on the lake, as the other by land, hearing this tumult in the city, and seeing no man came that should open the gates to them: retired backe in great feare, so that in the morning, the people gathered vp their armes and weapons for warre, which the run-awaies had gladly left behinde them, for their easier escaping.

Matters being thus appeased at *Zurich*, to preuent any more new troubles in the city: the Consull brought an Army into the field, on the second day of March, & being seconded with supplies sent them by the men of *Schaffouze*; they went and besiedged *Rasperwill*, the Fortresse & retreat of the conspirators. The inhabitants of the Towne knowing that their Count was taken, the banished mangled in peeces, or made fugitiues and vagabonds, and hauing no likelihood at all of succour: on the third day of the siedge yeelded, and bound themselves sollemnly to the common-wealth of *Zurich*, promising (for euer after) to acknowledge them as their chiefe, and render them all such duty, as formerly they had done to their Count. The Towne taken, they of *Zurich* thought they had gotten two aduan-

Traitors doe commonly proue voluntarie and forward cowards

Mischieuous and wicked counsell, returns many times to the ruine of the author & deuiser.

The safety & liberty of our Country, ought to be deare & precious to euery man.

Diuers of the conspirators overcome and slaine.

An ignominious, yet deterued handling of such enemies.

A shamefull kinde of death inflicted on some of them.

The Counts arms glad to run away.

He that thinketh to depriue a man of his liberty many times (in the aneepi) loseth his ow

Two aduan-  
ges for the  
of Zurich in  
their owne  
on for  
their best  
benefit.

uantages. One was, that from thence for-  
ward, no pilling or rauage was more to be  
made of their country, as oftentimes be-  
fore had bene, and that the city wold now  
safely be preferued from ambushes and  
treasons. The other, that the kindred and  
friends to the imprisoned Count, began  
to treate on peace: fearing to lose all the  
country about *Rasperwill*, becaute the  
Towne and the Count were taken.

Heereupon, the Queene of *Hungary*  
procured, that truce should be accorded  
for certaine moneths: but *Raoul & God-  
frey of Habsbourg*, being summoned by  
them of *Zurich* to make peace, declared  
no affection thereto. Considering with-  
all, that diuers Gentlemen, neighbours,  
but enemies to the men of *Zurich*, incited  
them rather to make warre. So all hope of  
peace being quite cut off, the first day of  
September (the same yeare) they of *Zu-  
rich* conducted their Army towards the  
country of the *Marche*, situated at the be-  
ginning of the Lake of *Zurich*, towards  
the Sun-setting, then being in obedience  
to the Count of *Habsbourg*. The cities of  
*Constance* and *Saint Gall*, sent succour to  
the men of *Zurich*, and hauing spoylede &  
burnt all the country, they besiedged a  
Castle, called *Rasperwill* the olde, and fol-  
lowed it so closely, that the besiedged, ha-  
uing no more meanes of resistance, yeel-  
ded, & went away with their liues sau-  
ed. The Castle was ruined downe to the  
ground, and they of the *March* promised  
fidelity and subiection to the common-  
wealth of *zurich*. This done, the Army  
went to a Towne, called *Rasperwill* the  
new. They brake downe the Bridge that  
ioyned to the Lake, beate downe the Ca-  
stle, and most part of the walles of the  
Towne, and hauing heard (for certaine)  
that *Albert of Austria* meant to come aid  
them of *Habsbourg* with great forces: they  
set the Towne on fire, and burnt it wholly,  
not leauing any iote thereof remaining.

At the same time, certaine Gentlemen,  
named the *Wadners* of *Sultz*, dwelling in  
*Alsatia*, declared warre against them of  
*zurich*, taking their Merchants, pilling &  
outraging them by all manner of wayes.  
They of *Basile* and *Strasbourg* withdrew,  
& gaue supportance to these wars there.  
Vpon these indignities, they of *zurich*  
wer moued, to seize on about eight score  
and ten persons of *Basile* and *Strasbourg*,

that were come on pilgrimage to the  
Chappeil of the Hermitage. As essaying  
by this meanes, whether they of *Stras-  
bourg* and *Basile*, compassionating the im-  
prisonment of their citizens: would exp-  
pell from their countries those Gentle-  
men that were the cause of this distur-  
bance. This fell out to proue but a very  
vaine hope, for these cities and their Bi-  
shops, offended with this vniust detenti-  
on of their pilgrims; ioyned themselues  
with *Fredericke of Austria*, *Fribourg* in  
*Brisgow*, *Selestad*, *Brissac* and *Colmar*. Ha-  
uing vnited their forces together, they re-  
solved to make warre on *zurich*, and re-  
demand their prisoners by Armes. The  
men of *zurich*, finding themselues not  
strong enough, in regard of their prece-  
dent warres, seditions and losse of men,  
which had greatly impaired them in po-  
wer: deliuered backe the prisoners, and  
so turned aside this dangerous tempest.

Now because they had suffered great  
outrages, and saw no likelihood of any  
better successe to ensue: they sent Amba-  
sadors to *Charles IV.* to whom they made  
their businesse knowne. They told him,  
that hauing taken (in a iust warre, & with-  
in their citty) the Count of *Habsbourg*  
their enemy, for maintaining their cause  
against him, they were molested and af-  
saulted by Gentlemen neighbours. But  
that which most of all greued them, was,  
to see those Gentlemen assisted by *Frede-  
ricke of Austria*, and other potent citties  
of the Empire. And because *zurich* was  
an Imperiall City also; they made their  
recourse to him, as being the sole head of  
the Empire. They humbly desired him, to  
lend them both aide and counsell, and to  
take order by his power and authority,  
that (in succeeding times) the Princes of  
*Austria*, the cities and Towns of the Em-  
pire, nor any other Gentlemen might  
make warre against them, contrary to all  
right and reason. But rather to permit,  
that their citty might enioy her wonted  
liberty, in peace and quietnesse: conside-  
ring, that they were ready (as they ought  
to be) to answer before the Emperor, to  
all whatsoeuer any man could obiect a-  
gainst them.

The Emperor hauing heard the com-  
plaint of them of *zurich*, answered the  
Ambassadors most humanely: that hee  
coueted nothing more, then to haue their  
liber-

To auoid and  
put by a great  
danger, it is  
good to passe  
one of lesse  
power.

The men of  
*Zurich* de-  
mand succour  
of the Empe-  
ror, by sen-  
ding their  
Ambassadors  
to him.

The milde &  
honourable  
answer of the  
Emperor to  
the Ambassa-  
dours.

enemies to  
the liberty of  
the people,  
hine nothing  
the refusal  
peace.

other Ar-  
made out  
them of  
*Zurich*, vpon  
aying the  
ce offered  
inst the  
*Rasper-  
will*.

other war  
against the  
of *Zurich*,  
the *Wad-  
ners* of *Sultz*,

liberty continue in full perfection, and would do his endeavor, to accord them with *Fredericke of Austria*, and his associates. But he could give them no succor, nor attempt any thing by force, against the house of *Austria*, the Nobility of *Germany*, or the Cities of the Empire: because (at that instant time) they were far stronger then he. Wherefore, they of *Zurich* should devise to pacifie their differences with such enemies: by some reasonable agreement, wherein he would assist them to his power.

The Ambassadors departed away very sadly with this answer, and came home againe to *Zurich*. And because (at that time) *Albert of Austria*, Sonne to *Albert*, was in *Swetia*: they of *Zurich* sent presents to him by Ambassadors, to whom he gave kinde entertainment, and tolde them, that he would come meete them with an ample power, for he desired to be a friend to them of *Zurich*, and had some matters to acquaint them withall. Afterward, when the Ambassadors came vnto him againe at *Bruges* in *Swetia*, he was become an enemy to *Zurich*, by accusations and reports of the Noblemen, and spake sharply to the Ambassadors, saying: That they of *Zurich* had done him great wrong in ruinating both the old and new *Rasperwills*, and spoiling the *Marche* likewise, because they were in his Seignury. He therefore demanded, that they should restore what they held from him, rebuilde those places which they had ruined, and repay their pillages with ready money, & in so doing, hee would pardon them all those wrongs.

As concerning his maintaining the lands of *Iohn of Habsbourg*; they belonged to him, in manner following. *Garnier* Count of *Hombourg*, Lord of *Rasperwill* the elder, and of three castles, seated vpon one Mountaine, named *Wartenberg*, nere to *Basile*, dying without children; the succession fell vnto that *Iohn of Habsbourg*, who was slaine at *Grinow*. But *Otho* and *Albert*, Princes of *Austria*, laid claime to them, being the stronger (I know not whether they had any other title) and all the other goods of *Garnier*, including both *Rasperwill* the elder, & all the *March*. Neuerthelesse, they rendred all vnto *Iohn of Habsbourg*, and he to hold it of them as in Knights fee, and so became their vas-

saile and pentioner. Thus you see, why *Albert of Austria* said, they had done him wrong, and wherefore he demanded satisfaction.

The Ambassadors of *Zurich* made answer, that (from those places) ambuscadoes had beene made against their city, their cittizens spoiled and slaine, and in those castles their banished men were harboured. Therefore, seeing they had ruined *Rasperwill*, which no longer was an abiding for Noblemen, but a retreat for theeves & banished men: they thought it no way meete, that any should be compelled to builde it againe, or in the selfesame place. They entreated the Prince to consider seriously on euery thing: they being alwaies ready, to debate their cause before the Princes and citties of the Empire, and in any such place as hee would appoint. The Prince answered them in choller, that this was not a difference which stood in need of any Iudges, to beate downe his castles, and waste the places of his Seignury. But if all were not reduced againe to the first condition, and full satisfaction made: he would imploy all his forces, and constraine them of *Zurich* to do it. In briefe, he would haue no other debating of this cause, but by the point of the Sword.

The Ambassadors hauing made their answer to the councill of *Zurich*, & they perceiuing also evidently, that the cittie would very shortly be besieged, because all the Noblemen were already in armes: the men of *Zurich* well knowing, that in expecting aide from the Emperor or the Empire, was meerly to abuse themselues; resolved to combine alliance with the Cantons, for the better preservation of their common liberties. Till then, they maintained themselues in amity one with another, and although in the day at *Morgarten*, they of *Zurich* gave succour to the Duke of *Austria*; yet notwithstanding, the Cantons were not offended therewith, but rather tooke pleasure, to approoue the hardinesse and valour of the men of *Zurich* in fight.

Hauing then so maine an enemy (in common) against them all, to wit, the Duke of *Austria*; both the one and the other then might easily iudge, that their forces beeing thus combined together, they had thereby the better meanes for

Innocence  
harb euer-  
more an ar-  
mor of proo-  
wherewith  
defend it fel

The allian-  
of Zurich  
with the Ca-  
ntons, to ma-  
taine all the  
liberties to-  
gether.

Vnity of the  
and hands,  
maketh any  
people to-  
come inui-  
ble.

The negoti-  
ation of the  
men of Zu-  
rich, with Al-  
bert of Au-  
stria.

How the lands  
of Iohn of  
Habsbourg  
belonged to  
Albert of  
Austria, in  
manner of a  
right by title.

resistance. Moreouer, the Cantons were not ignorant, that this their alliance with them of *zurich*, did highly accommodate them for prouision of victuals; because there was a very excellent market at *zurich*, and the Lake was apt to transport both food and Merchandizes. Wherefore, after that the men of *zurich* had sent their Ambassadors to the Cantons, to require their alliance in loue, and freely had acquainted them with their present dangers: the Cantons imbraced their motion very thankfully, and (soone after) sent their Ambassadors to *zurich*, with plaine power to confirme this alliance, which was fully resolved on in the Moneth of Aprill, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fifty one, and engrossed in writing at the beginning of May following. Now albeit *zurich* is the first, coming thus into alliance with the *Switzers*; yet notwithstanding, because it is a citty much renowned and mighty; the first place was giuen to it, and *zurich* named to be the first Canton. The men of *zurich* (yet to this day) do hold that name and ranke, among all the thirteene Cantons, as well in dayes occasions of the *Switzers* accounts, as in all Ambassages, and other publike actions whatsoever.

This vnyty of them of *zurich*, caused warre (so much the sooner) to come vpon them: for the Prince of *Austria* was already very angry with them of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, which first of all were leagued together: neuerthelesse, hee assured himselfe (one day) to bring them vnder his yoake. For, because the country was barren, and not conueniently grounded for warre; there grew some apparance, that (at length) it might bee subdued, albeit they were good Souldiers, and well resolved for fight. But when *Lucerna*, which was vnder the dominion of *Austria*, ioyned with them, and then (soone after) *zurich*, a free citty, and cheefest of all other in the country: the Prince became much more moued and troubled: for he was not ignorant, how greatly this alliance had strengthened and authorized them of *zurich*. And therefore he concluded, to lay hold on this occasion, to make warre on the men of *zurich*, and besiege their citty; to essay if thereby he could vnknit this knot of combination, before any other (following example of

the former) should make any more new leagues. See heere the true cause of the warre, and I dare maintaine, that no cause (concerning the ruine of *Rasperwill*) incited it; because (at all times) when peace was treated on after the warre began: they of *Austria* neuer vrged that article, concerning the building againe of *Rasperwill*; but rather that they of *zurich*, should renounce their alliance with the cantons.

Thus then, in the Moneth of September, the yeare 1351. *Albert* of *Austria* besieged *zurich*. He had encamped with him, *Lewes*, Count of *Brandenberg*, *Fredericke*, Duke of *Teck*, the Duke of *Vrslingen*, and the Burggraue of *Nuremberg*. The Bishops of *Wircebourg*, *Bamberg*, *Erfingen*, *Coire*, and *Basile* sent him succour. He had fise and twenty Counts or Earles in his Army, namely; *Ewrad*, Count of *Wirtemberg*, conductor of the Army: *Lewes*, count of *Ottigen*: *Frederick*, count of *Ortemberg*: the two counts of *Schmanalech*: the two counts of *Tetnanges*: the two counts of *Furstemberg*: the three of *Tierstein*: they of *Habspourg* and *Kybourg*; *Raoul* and *Herman* of *Werdemberg*; *Albert* and *Henry* of *Nellembourg*; *Guillaume* of *Kilchberg*; *Immer* of *Strasberg*, of *New-chastle*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, of *Fribourg*, of *Zolerin*, and of *Metbourg*: Likewise the citties of *Strafbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg* in *Brisgoye*, *Soleurre*, and some others sent aide to the Duke. It is said, that he had in his Army two thousand horse, and fise thousand foote. On the other side, the foure Cantons sent a good Garrison to them of *zurich*. The Souldiers and the cittizens fortified the citty, and made diligent prouision of all things requisite to withstand the siedge, and to defend it: so that (on both sides) there were some sallies and skirmishes.

But few daies after the siedge, peace was made, by the intermise of *Frederick*, count of *Togge*, and of *Hertbez Ketchberg*, commander of *Rhodes*, abiding at *Vateuil*, with them of *Basile* and of *Berne* on condition; that the *Switzers* should refer themselves vnto the definitiue iudgement of *Agnes*, Queene of *Hungary*, to whom, eyther side should send their Assessours, and that which was concluded by them, with plurality of voyces, eyther party should ratifie. For this effect, they of *zurich* were to giue in 16: Hostages, of the cheefest

The principall intention of the Duke of Austria.

The first besieging of the Citty of Zurich.

There neuer wants store of helpe to be found, when any people are to be oppressed.

Peace made, and on what condition.

*zurich* had the honour granted it, to name the first Canton.

The alliance and vnyon of people, is as a borne in the hearts of all, which as would presse them

A traine is made, to entrap them by a sheete of paper, that could not be ouercome by force.

A sentence no lesse pernicious then the warre.

Religion and protestation of willingnes to peace, in the mouth of a woman, exalted to authority, are aptest instruments (among all other) whereby to deceiue and abuse the people.

of the Citty, and *Albert* promised by his Letters, that no wrong should be done vnto them. The foure Cantons would not accept of this peace, alledging, that no trust ought to be giuen to the Queen of *Hungary*, who would not faile to giue sentence in fauour of *Albert*, he being her brother. Neuerthelesse, the men of *Zurich*, who had a good opinion of the woman, did so presse the other Cantons, that they subscribed together the conditions: adding this exception (in common) that their alliance should continue in full force.

The Duke of *Austria* chose for Iudges, *Immer*, Count of *Strasberg*, and *Peter* of *Stoëffelen*, commander of *Tannensfels*. They gaue sentence in behalfe of their Master, whereby it was appointed, that they of *Zurich* were bound, to renew (according to their former condiron) the olde and new *Rasperwilles*, and giue satisfaction to *Albert*: rendring backe *Lucerna* vnder his gouernment, and surrender also great store of possessions and rights, in the territory of *Vnderwald*. They tooke away likewise from them of *Suits*, their right of fishing in the Lake, and their ancient possession and vse of many Forrefts. Finally, they condemned all the five Cantons, in great fines of money: neuer hauing any regard, what wrongs the city of *Zurich* had endured, by them of *Rasperwill*, nor other reasons and defences proposed by the Cantons, and by *Philip Kyen*, Knight, and *Peter de la Baume*, Consull of *Berne*, their Iudges deleagued.

Queene *Agnes* approued the sentence of *Alberts* Iudges. She was a witty woman, that had an outward appearance of great sanctity, as we vse to say, from the teeth forward. At all times when she saw her brethren forward to make warre, but greatly vnfurnished; then would she be sure to procure truce or peace betweene the *Switzers* and them. Onely to this end, that they might assemble their troopes together in the meane time, and bee the better provided for a sudden assailing the at vnawares. Yet all that while, she would still protest, that she did all this for the enioying of peace, and in meere compassion which she had of the *Switzers*.

Now albeit this sentence was most vniust; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* promised to ratifie it. But the Duke being

not contented with all this, commanded them of *Zurich*, to set at liberty (without eyther fine or ransome) Count *John* of *Habsbourg*, their prisoner taken in faire warre, and of whom the Iudges made not any mention. Heereupon, they of *Zurich* would not yeeld to any thing, by which occasion, the Duke imprisoned their hostages, contrary to his faithfull promise, planted a Garrison on the Frontiers, and prepared himselfe for a new warre.

## CHAP. V.

How *Glaris*, being conquered by the Cantons, came afterward to be accepted into their louing alliance.



HE *Switzers* seeing that all hope of peace was viterly frustrated, & that they must needs re-enter into war: determined among theselues, to inuade the country of *Glaris*, for feare lest (in that quarter) the enemy would make courses on the lands of the confederates, and especially on them of *Suits*. Wherefore, the very same yeare, and in the Moneth of Nouember, the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, ioyned together, and led their troopes towards *Glaris*. Without any blow smitten, they made themselues Masters of the whole country, taking oath of them of *Glaris*; and in regard of their faithfulnessse, as also their approued valour in war, which they had well tried oftentimes before; they receiued them into their alliance.



*Glaris* is a strait Valley and long, cõtaining a league and an halfe of the Germane measure, neere to the Riuer of *Limagus* or *Limmatius*. It tookname from the principall

Towne of all the Country, being engirt on three sides with very high Alpes: hauing the *Grisons* on the South side, & towards the East, *Vri*, & *Suits* to the West, and on the North, the field called the *Grisons*

More insultation of the Duke of Austria.

The determination of the *Switzers*, wh peace was made void, and war must needs be vndertaken.

A breefe description of *Glaris*.

sons country, by which, the Riuer of *Limagus* runneth along the Valley, and enters into the Lake of *zurich*. *Glaris* had bin subiect a long time, and for the space of many yeares, to the Abbey of *Secon*, & was giuen to *S. Fridolin*, by two brothers, named *Ours*, and *Landolphe*. They of *Glaris* paid tythes to this Abbey, and certaine constituted rents, beside taxations of some inheritances. They were not charged with any imposts, or subsidies whatsoeuer: they held their owne lawes; & a councell among their citizens. True it is, that the election belonged vnto the Abbesse; but the Prouostship or government (both of the Abbey and country) was the Emperors onely, & in his power.

Afterward, *Frederick Barbarossa* gaue it to *Otho*, Palatine of *Bourgogne*, from whose successors, it came to them of the house of *Habsbourg*. Vnder pretence of this authority, *Albert of Austria*, Sonne to the Emperour *Raoul*, made himselfe Lord of *Glaris*, in despite of the whole country: who had promised to the fore-named Abbey, neuer to be separated or alienated from it. This vsurpation was the cause, that many Noble families forsooke the country, and withdrew themselues thence, some to *Vri*, and others to *zurich*. They of *Austria* being well fortified, expelled out of his house the Baron of *Suanda*, a rich Gentleman, and well beloued in those parts, appropriating all his goods to themselues. They vsurped also the rights of the Maiordome of *Glaris*, & brought in a nouelty neuer before practised: sending Gouvernors into that country, to haue a seuer eye ouer the people, and to iudge them by processe in law.

Those Gouvernors were very rude and insolent, so that the people (in despite of the *Austrians*) yeelded themselues voluntarily to the *Switzers*, when they came to warre vpon them, and made perpetuall alliance with them. *Gautier de Stad*, Gouvernour for them of *Austria*, departed from *Glaris*, after the inhabitants had sworn fidelity to the *Switzers*, withdrawing himselfe not far off, namely to *Wesen*. But they of *Glaris* chose among theselues (according to their ancient custome) a Maior or *Amman*, and their vsuall number of councellers. And because they expected nothing more, but that the *Austrians* would soone come againe to molest

them: they strengthened their walles, and trenched their Valley, neere to a Village named *Naifell*, where was the easiest entrance into the country; that needed no fortification, but only there, al the rest being engirt with Mountaines round about.

During these alterations at *Glaris*, in the Moneth of December, they of *zurich* marched with their Army towards *Bada*, where was a great Garrison of the *Austrians*, that by their often out-roads made much waste on the Lands of *zurich*. To requite them with money of the same stamp, they of *zurich* forradged the country about *Bada*, and burnt the Subburbs of the Towne, getting vp on the Mountaine, to come neerer to them. But towards *Tetiulle*, on the Mountaine, a Capitaine of the *Austrian* horsemen, named *Ellerbach*, made firme the passage with foure thousand men. They of *zurich* were no more then 1300. (some say they were much lesse) notwithstanding, they set vpon the enemy, and wonne a very remarkable victory, leauing there 700. enemies slaine, among whom (as is credibly auouched) there were 65. Gentlemen.

The yeare following, *Gautier de Stad*, not long before Gouvernour of *Glaris*, hauing leuied an Army, prepared himselfe, to subiect the country again to the house of *Austria*. Hee tooke occasion to do this, because he had receiued intelligence that two hundred men of *Glaris* were in Garrison at *zurich*. But the other inhabitants ouercame him in a ranged battel, where he was slaine, and a great number of the Nobility, the 2. day of February.

The selfe same day, the *Austrians* that were at *Zug*, being gone by Boates to *Arte*; did set vpon the lands of *Suits*, but met with the like welcome as *Stad* had at *Glaris*. In like manner, al the confederates sent an Army to forradge *Berone*, and other neighbouring places, from whence the *Austrians* issued forth oftentimes, to set vpon the *Lucernians*: As (on the other side) the *Austrians* put to fire and blood *Cusnach*, and some other places, yet not without their owne great losse. About the holidayes of *Pentecoste*, the *Lucernians*, assisted by the three Cantons, tooke (by assault) a Castle, called *Habsbourg*, seated on the Lake of *Lucerna*; cut in peeces all them that were there in Garrison, & ruinated it quite frō the top to the bottom.

Of the day at Tetiuille, where the men of Zurich had a worthy victory against their enemies the Austrians

The overthrow of Gautier de Stad, late Gouvernour of Glaris.

Another overthrow happening the same day.

Courses and out-roads made onely for spoyle.

the Abbey of Secon giuen to S. Fridolin, by two brothers.

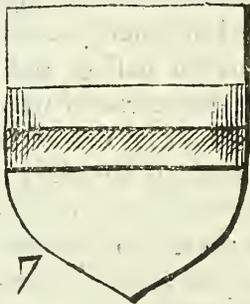
that means the oppression of any people do vse, bereauing their liberty, at length dispose all their owne estate.

the Switzers yeelded willingly to the Switzers.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of Zug, and at what time it came to be comprehended, in league and confederacy with the other Cantons of the Switzers.*

**I**N those times, Zug hapned to be thus comprized in alliance with the *Switzers*. It is a Towne betweene *Zurich* and *Suits*, seated at the foote of a Mountain, rich in pasturages, and vines planted on the sides ioyning to the Lake, which aboundeth with plenty of Fish, common to them both of *Zug* and *Suits*. It is reputed to be the capital Towne of certaine people, which accompaied the



of *Zurich*, in the warre of the *Cimbrians* against the *Romanes*. Sometimes shee acknowledged diuers Gētlemen as her Lords: but afterward, fell into the hands of them of *Austria*, who, during the warre against the *Switzers*, maintained there an ordinary Garrison, which did many harmes to them of *Suits* and *Zurich*. And this was the cause, that in the yeare 1352. and the Moneth of Iune, the men of *Zurich*, with the foure other Cantons, prepared an Army to go against *Zug*. The Soldiers finding their strength far too weake, would not attend the *Switzers* comming: but withdrew to *Bremgarten*, and other places thereabout.

But the Townesmen, who would be faithfull to the Duke of *Austria*, maintained the siedege for fifteene daies space: neuerthelesse, hauing receiued a very violent assault: they yeelded themselues, & tooke an oath to the *Switzers*, on this condition. That if within a certaine time appointed, the Duke of *Austria* brought an Army, to cause the siedege to bee removed: they would returne againe vnder his obedience, and stand acquitted of their oath given to the *Switzers*. To effect this businesse, they sent their Ambassadors, to require succour from the Duke of *Austria*: he being then in the Abbey of *Champ Royall*, about fifteene leagues from *Zug*,

& there the Ambassadors let him vnderstand their charge and message.

It chanced at that instant time, that the Duke was walking in a Gallery, demanding of his Faulconer, whether hee had (that day) sed his Hawkes or no? The cheefest of the Ambassadors, named *Herzman*, taking him at that word, said. Alasse my Lord, haue you not more care of your Subiects, the of Hawkes? Especially now, when the enemy hath so strictly engirt vs, as if you send not present supply, constrainedly we must surrender our selues? The Prince returned this answer. It is well, yeeld your selues; before it be long time, we will recouer againe whatsoeuer wee haue lost. And because they of *Zug* well saw, that it was in vaine to looke for any comfort thence: they ioyned themselues in vnity and alliance with the *Switzers*.

Hardly were the Letters of this alliance written, for combining thus the Cantons by oath: but *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, now the second time besiedged the city of *Zurich*, about the midst of Iune. But at the end of the Moneth, by intermise of the Marquesse of *Brandebourg*, peace was made, on these conditions following. They of *zurich* should set at liberty *John* of *Habsbourg*, their three yeares prisoner, without eyther fine or ransome. Also, that the Duke of *Austria* should acquit (frank and freely) the hostages of *zurich*, whom he had likewise imprisoned. They of *Zug* and *Glaris*, absolved of their oath taken to the *Switzers*, should (as before) yeeld obedience to the house of *Austria*. In the meane while, nothing should hinder, but that the alliance of the *Switzers* must stand firme.

In the time of this treaty, *John* of *Habsbourg* came forth of prison, without paying any ransome; but the Hostages of *zurich* wer not released, according to sworn promise: for before they could get forth, they were compelled to pay sixteen hundred crownes for a ransome, & yet could not enioy eyther peace or safery. For so soone as the Count of *Habsbourg* was released, hee gaue *Rasperwill*, and the places neighbouring about it, to *Albert* of *Austria*; who immediately fortified *Rasperwill*, and planted a Garrison there, whereby a new warre was engendered. For the Soldiers of that Garrison ranne in on the Lands of *zurich*, and slew fifty men at

*Meile*,

Concerning the situation & first estate of Zug.

The Cantons made an Army forth against Zug.

Zug being assaulted by the Cantons, yeelds it selfe vpon condition.

By tyrants & oppressors, people are (oftentimes) lesse valued and esteemed then Hawks and Hounds.

A second besiedging the City of Zurich.

Conditions the peace concluded on.

The crafty sleights of such men, as hold neither piety nor honour in due respect and estimation.

*Meile*, which was a Village belonging to one of the Chanons of *zurich*.

Heereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Duke of *Austria* did but seeke occasion, whereby to begin the warre againe. The yeare following, as the Ambassadors of *Suits* were gone (in name of the five Cantons) to require of them of *zug*, the obligatory oath of their alliance, according to the Articles of pacification: they of *Austria* expelled them away with outrages. In regard whereof, they mustred their forces together againe, and made themselves Masters of *zug* the second time, and then commanded the citzizens, to giue their oath to the *Switzers*. In the same yeare, 1352. the sixteenth day of March, *Berne* ioynd it selfe in alliance with the *Switzers*. But we are to speake somewhat in this place, concerning this citty; which is the most powerfull among all them in *Swetia*.

CHAP. VII.

*Of the building of Berne, the scituation and condition thereof, and how it was yielded to the Empire.*

**B**erthoul, fift of that name, & the last Duke of *zeringen*, built the citty of *Berne*, and being offended with the noblemen, who had caused his male children to bee poysoned in their youth: he submitted it to the Empire, & affranchised it. The Emperor *Fredericke* the eleuenth, ratified the Dukes will, and after the death of him, in the yeare, 1218. a Gouvernor was sent to *Berne*, named *Otho* of *Rauenspourg*, in name of the Empire. But some yeares after, for good seruices done by them of *Berne* to the Emperor: hee gaue them much greater priuiledges and franchises, exempting them also from hauing any more Gouvernor.

In the troubles and confusions which happened in the Empire, the Count of *Kybourg*, Lord of *Burgdorff*, stroue to abolish the citties liberty, leaguimg himselfe (for that purpose) with Gentlemen his neighbours; and the Towne of *Fri-*

*bourg*, which *Berthoul* the fourth had built: And his Son had giuen in charge to both these Townes, to continue friends for euer. As concerning the occasion of this war, it grew thus. The men of *Berne* had bought certaine Lands beyond the Riuer of *Ar*, & began to prepare a bridge, which the Count would not suffer, he being Lord beyond the Riuer. Whereupon



they of *Berne*, (desirous to make themselves as strong as their enemies) did put themselves into the protection of the Count of *Sauoye*, who reprefsed the attempts of the Count of *Kybourg*, and hauing obtained peace, enlarged the compasse and roundure of the citty. Then after warre was moued, betweene the Count of *Sauoye*, and the Duke of *Bourgongne*, the Count promised the men of *Berne*, that if they carried themselves valiantly, and he prospered in his attempt; he would grant them whatsoever they would demand of him. They performed their duty so well, that the enemy was discomfited: and then (as in recompence) they desired nothing else of the Count of *Sauoye*, but their ancient liberty, and he granted their request, and kept his promise most faithfully with them. After that time, they of *Berne* were alwayes friends, and allied to the house of *Sauoye*.

The Citty being reintegrated into her wonted liberty, before they entred into league with the *Switzers*, had many and very difficult warres, as well for conseruation of their liberty, as enlarging their limits. They gaue a battaile to *Godfrey* of *Habspourg*, in the yeare, 1241. but that was to their owne disaduantage, because the enemy was far greater in number. Moreouer, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, accompanied with them of *la Tour* and *de Gruyere*, besieged (two feuerall times) the Citty of *Berne*; vnder colour of accusing them of *Berne*, that they had violated the publicke faith of the Empire, in taking prisoners, and euill entreating certaine Iewes. *Albert* of *Austria*, sonne to the Emperor *Raoul*, did twice bid them battaile before the citty, and many citzizens were there

The men of *Berne* had diuers wars before they came to be in number of the Cantons.

at what time  
erne allied  
selfe with  
the Switzers.

whom  
erne was  
alied.

the made  
imperiall  
ty.

is assay-  
by the e-  
mies to her  
erty.

A great league and combination made against the City of Berne.

slaine. In the yeare 1291. the Counts of *Sauoye*, *Neuberg*, and *Gruyere*, the Bishop of *Lausanna*, the Lord of *Tour*, beside some Townes and Gentlemen, made a league against *Berne*: but by the aide of the Counts of *Kybourg* and *Arberg*, as also the city of *Solleurre*, the men of *Berne* wonne a mighty battaile, at a place called, *The hill of Thunder*. *Auldrich Erlach* was cheefe of the *Bernish* Army in that warre. During the yeares following, many of the Castles, neighbouring to the city, were taken in war, and demolished by them of *Berne*. They also had victories in the warres moued in the vale of *Simmia*, and in many other places, against the Noblemen that much molested them, whereby they greatly enlarged their limits. Also the inhabitants of the vale of *Hafell*, who were at free liberty, ioyned with them of *Berne*. This happinesse of theirs, so enflamed the malice and enuy of the Noblemen against *Berne*, as thereon ensued the memorable battaile giuen at *Loupen*.

The famous and memorable battaile giuen by Counts and Gentlemen, against the men of Berne at Loupen.

Many Counts and Gentlemen, hauing leuied a well prepared Army, of sixteene thousand foote, and three thousand, five hundred horse, at the least, went and besieged *Loupen*, which is a small Towne appertaining to them of *Berne*, who were about five thousand, assisted with three hundred men of *Vri*, as many of *Suits*, as many of *Vnderwald*, and as many of the Vale of *Hafell*, *Raoul Erlach* being chiefe of these troopes. This small number ouercame the enemy in a ranged battaile, nere to *Loupen*, where dyed in the field, the Count of *Sauoye*, who was sent to the Campe by his Father, onely to treat on peace: but the other constrained him to make one in the battaile. There were slaine also, the Counts of *Nidow*, of *Arberg* and *Valendis*, fiftene hundred horsemen, among whom were fourescore Gentlemen, of marke, and aboue three thousand foote. This battaile was fought the 21. day of Iune, in the yeare 1339.

A fortunate and successfull pursuite of victory, against them of Fribourg and many townes more.

After this successfull day, they of *Berne* made warre (to their aduantage) against them of *Fribourg*, who were vassails to the house of *Austria*, and also to the Gentlemen about *Fribourg*. For at *Schonnenberg*, they of *Fribourg* were ouerthrowne, and lost many of their men, their country forraged, and the Subburbs of their

Towne burnt. *Signow*, *Langnow*, *Burgdorff*, *Longuenall*, *Pyrnestic*, *Arberg*, *Erlach*, *Nidow*, *Thun*, and other Townes and great Villages, were eyther spoyled, or taken by them of *Berne*. Finally, *Agnes* Queene of Hungary, made an end of this warre, by meanes of a peace which shee compounded. In all these warres, they of *Berne* euer felt, that Gentlemen, no better then vassails to the house of *Austria*, most laboured to oppresse them: whereas (contrariwise) the amity of the *Switzers* did highly aduantage them. But in the meane while, and contrary to their hope and expectation, they were drawne into a new warre; wherein they of *Vnderwald* ioyned themselues with their enemies. The Lord of *Ringenberg*, and the Prouost of the Abbey scituated betweene the two Mountaines, were Bourgeses of *Bern*. They were Gouvernors or Bayliffs also of that country, which lies neere to the Mountaine of *Bronic*, and the Lake of *Brientz*.

An vexpected warre of the of Berne against the men of Vnderwald.

It came to passe, that they of the country, accounting the gouernment of these two Lords to be rude and harsh: began to mutiny against them, and after they had called to their aide the men of *Vnderwald*, who were neere neighbors; they tooke the Castle of *Ringenberg*, in absence of the Lord, set it on fire, and denied the Prouost such duties and tythes, as they were accustomed to pay. They of *Berne* sent Ambassadors, to exhort them of *Vnderwald*, not to succour such seditious persons against all right and reason. But they of *Vnderwald* made no reckoning of this aduertisement, but went and encamped with the seditious at *Brientz*. On the other side, the men of *Berne*, hauing required their allies of *Solleurre*, *Thun*, *Bienne*, and *Morat* to send them succour, and it being sent them; marched with all their troopes to *Brientz*, gaue battaile to the seditious and them of *Vnderwald*, compelling them to flight, and retire into the neighbouring Mountaines. They of *Vnderwald* (storming at this disgrace) called their confederates of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* to helpe them: but they of *Berne* sent their Ambassadors to those Cantons, offering the iustice & equity of their cause, and to haue it tried before them.

The reason of the warre beginning and proceeding.

Amity or alliance being vniust, is the ruine and ouerthrow of their confederates.

Heereupon, a day was held at *Lucerna*, where

Alliance and league perpetuall made by them of Bern with the Cantons.

where the Deputies of the Switzers, ha-  
 uing heard the reasons alledged on either  
 side, commanded them of *Vnderwald*, to  
 renounce their alliance with them of  
*Brientz*. On the same day, the men of  
 Berne made a perpetual alliance with the  
 three Cantons, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*.  
 Now, although this alliance is made but  
 with three, yet Zurich and Lucerna are  
 comprized therein. For the three first  
 Cantons bound themselues to succour  
 them of Zurich & Lucerna whensoever  
 they called them, and to bring with them  
 the men of Berne, who by the same alli-  
 ance are tyed thereto, if Zurich and Lu-  
 cerna do desire it. In reciprocall manner  
 they of Zurich and Lucerna, promised so-  
 lemnly, to go assift (with all their power)  
 the men of Bern, if the three Cantons cal  
 them thereto.

Immediately after this alliance made,  
 the city of Zurich was besiedged agayne  
 the third time. For, *Albert of Austria*, ac-  
 cused the Cantons before the Emperour  
*Charles* the fourth; who hauing heard the  
 answer of the *Cantons*, made a truce, vn-  
 till his returne from a voyage, which hee  
 was constrained to vndertake, about som  
 affayres of the Empire. Beeing returned,  
 he came to Zurich, where he heard either  
 parties, and directing himselfe vnto the  
 Switzers, especially to them of Zurich, he  
 aduised them to renounce this alliance:  
 adding withall, that the city was Imperi-  
 all, and could make no alliance without  
 consent of the Emperour. But the confe-  
 derates rendred a sufficient reason for  
 what they had done, exhibiting their pri-  
 uiledges, and making it manifest, that the  
 alliance contracted between them, could  
 not any way preiudice the rightes of the  
 Empire. Seeing he could not driue the  
 Switzers out of this league, then he made  
 his re-course to *Albert*, desiring him to  
 sell *Lucerna*, *Glaris*, and *Zug* vnto the Em-  
 pire: because the difference did concerne  
 those three places especially. But *Albert*  
 audaciously answered him; *That he would  
 rather buy some Townes, if the Emperour  
 would sell him any, then let him haue any of  
 his for money.*

Once againe the Emperour pressed the  
 Switzers, to suffer him to end the differ-  
 ence, and promise to tye themselues to  
 such orders as he should set downe, affu-  
 ring them that *Albert* would do the like.

The third time of sledge laide to the City of Zurich.

A proud answer of *Albert* of *Austria* to the Emperour.

But the Switzers would not consent ther-  
 to, without plaine exception of their pri-  
 uiledges; and the Emperour vrged his au-  
 thority, without any reseruatiō: by the  
 which meanes, all this long imparlance  
 serued to no purpose, but only that a truce  
 was taken for some time. Which beeing  
 expired, the Emperour being incessantly  
 importuned, ioyned with *Albert* of *Au-*  
*Austria*, and besiedged Zurich. The besied-  
 (by diuers ambassages) intreated the Em-  
 perour, not to presse thus into the house of  
*Austriaes* fauour) their city, which was  
 Imperiall: for they desired nothing but  
 conseruation of their priuiledges, and  
 would not reiect any composition what-  
 soeuer, if it were reasonable.

Then the Emperour began to summon  
*Albert* to listen to a pacification; which  
 hee would not doe: in which respect, the  
 Emperour raised the sledge, and returned  
 home. That which also moued him here-  
 to, was, because his Camp stood compo-  
 sed of soldiers, who were (almost al) prest  
 forth of Imperiall Townes and Citties; &  
 (in his opinion) bare more affection to  
 the Switzers, then to the house of *Au-*  
*Austria*, albeit those souldiers during the  
 sledge) would obey none other then the  
 Emperour. After the Emperours departure  
 the duke of *Austria* also speedily got him  
 gon: hauing heard, that the other Can-  
 tons had sent forth supply vnto them of  
 Zurich. Neuertheless, hee lodged his  
 troopes in Townes, Villages, and Castles  
 round about, enioyning them, not to suf-  
 fer the Cantones to haue any rest, but  
 continually to make incursions on theyr  
 Lands.

At length, in the fift year of this war,  
 by authority and intermise of the empe-  
 rour *Charles* the fourth, peace was conclu-  
 ded betweene the Prince of *Austria*, and  
 them of Zurich. Now because it would  
 seeme a troublesome matter, to insert  
 heere the whole Tenure at large; we will  
 be satisfied with a breefe Summary of the  
 Articles, which are these following.

Articles of Peace concluded on, betweene the  
 Duke of *Austria* and Zurich.

1. **W**hatsoever hath bene taken  
 on either side in this Warre  
 shall be restored againe.
- 2 They of Zurich shall not receiue into  
 the

The Emperour ioyned with *Albert* of *Austria*.

The siege raised from Zurich by Gods most singular providence.

Peace made between them of Zurich, and the Duke of *Austria*.

the number of their Bourgeses such as remaine under the domination of the Duke of Austria: but if any will retire themselves to Zurich, they may be receyued. Provided, that they bee of the number of them, which the Cittie might receiue, before this peace was made.

3 Such as hold any other way then in fesse-service, shall be under the iustice of the lords of those Fees. And they which make use of another mans possessions, shall surrender them, or shal stand bound to answer the same in Law: except it be for the goods of the banished.

4 From hence forward, they of Zurich shall not ally themselves with the seruantes of the Duke of Austria: or contrariwise, they shall helpe to recover his rights.

5 If any difference happen to bee mooued, betweene the Duke and the Cantons: It is ordained before hand, that some Iudges shall consider on the cause.

6 Those alliances which the Switzers haue made together, shall remaine in their full power and integrity.

There are diuers other Articles in this pacification: but I am onely contented with these, as beeing the principall and cheefest.

It fell out, that diuers interpretations were made vpon this agreement, which likewise begat new contentions: yet they were still qualified, before they came to hand-blowes, for either sides purse being emptied of money, and their forces fayling, made them vnwilling to heare of any more warre. *Albert Bucheimer*, Lieutenant to the duke of Austria, pressed them of Zug, to giue their oath of fidelity vnto his Prince, which they would not do, but with exception of their alliance made with the Cantons, or else to stand acquitted by the sayde Cantons, to whom they had giuen their faith. This difference was referred to the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, who finally gaue iudgement, that they of Zug should stand exempted from alliance with the Cantons: because (quoth he) the Articles of pacification doe declare, that the Switzers shall not possesse any of the Dukes Towns, neyther hinder any way his gouernment in them.

Now, although this sentence was greatly greuous to the Switzers, considering, that in one of the Articles, the

alliances made, were (by name) excepted, and onely ordained, that no new Alliances should be made with the vassails to the house of Austria: yet notwithstanding, they were so ouer glutted with war, as they wer vpon the point to leaue Zug to the Duke of Austria; if they of *Suites* (who had not (as yet) signed the peace) had not opposed themselves against it. They then sodainly gathered their troops together, and went to Zug, demanding againe the faith of the Citizens, who (for their part) had sent their Deputy to *Suits* to require confirmation of the faith first giuen. This done, after some long debating and consulting, it was at length concluded; by meanes of the Lorde of *Torberg*, that truce should be confirmed for the space of eleuen yeares, which was till after the decease of *Albert*. During this truce, they of Zug and *Glaris* continued allyed with the Switzers, and al that while were thereunto subiect, acquitting themselves of all duties due to the house of Austria. The Duke receiued from *Suits* a man, from foure yeares to foure yeares, whom hee confirmed *Amman* or Maior at Zug: And he gaue as Governour vnto them of *Glaris*, *Godfrey Mulner* of Zurich. Afterward, the truce being expired, it was againe confirmed for a longer time.

The sonne of *Albert*, named *Leopolde*, greatly hated the Switzers; but he durst not meddle with them; least hee should gaine as litile thereby, as his Father had done. And therefore he would worke his will by others, setting the Switzers at variance with the Englishmen, who hauing spoiled the country about the *Rheine*, entered into *Swetia*, where they did as much harme to the Austrians, as to the Cantons. But hauing bin beaten in some encounters, after they had forraged in *Swetia*, and all the countrey about *Montbeliard*, *Basile*, *Strasbourg*, and run into diuers other places, they retired home to their own houses, & hapned Anno 1376.

Six yeares after, war was moued against the Count of *Kybourg*. Hee was enforced to take (by treason) the Towne of *Soluerre*, allyed with the men of Berne, and at the very same time, they of Austria would haue surprized *Dun* and *Arberg*, Townes appertaining to the Canton of Bern. Consequently the Count of *Kybourg* made

The Switzers being wearie of war, would yeeld to their owne iniurie, rather then to heare of any more trouble.

A truce concluded on for 11. yeares, lasting till after the death of *Albert*.

A new variance concerning the Canton of Zug, & referred to the opinion of the Emperour.

War made by the Englishmen against the Switzers.

War made against the Count of *Kybourg*.

made open war vpon them of *Solleurre*, to whome they of *Berne*; and the other Cantons sent supply. The Duke of *Austria*, who (so lately before) had made alliance with the Switzers, fortified (vnder hand) the Count of *Kybourg*, and (contrary to his faith) furnished him with victuals, and other necessaries for warre. Neuerthelesse, the Count was not able to endure the burthen of amity agreed on betweene them of *Solleurre* and *Berne*, but sold them *Burgdorff*, for the summe of forty thousand Crownes.

The Duke of *Austria* had a difference, in what manner I know not, with the Imperiall Cities and Townes. They made a league, wherein *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Solleurre*, and *Zug* were comprehended: but the Duke brake all in sunder by his cunning deuices, pacifying himselfe amiably with the Townes of *Suaba* and *Franconia*. And as for the Townes on this side the *Rheine* in *Halsatia*, hee conquered them in one battell. This victory did so aduance his hopes, as he began to consult with himselfe, how to bring the Townes of *Swetia* vnder his obedience, and the occasion of the warre grew thus. *Peter* of *Torberg*, Governour of *Wolhouse*, and in the Vale of *Entlibuch*; and *Herman Grunenberg*, gouernour of *Rottenbourg* for the Duke of *Austria*, who had engaged these places vnto them, tyranized on the people, and did many outrages to the neighbours of the Lucernians. The people being tyrannically dealt withall, sent men to Lucerna, to desire acceptation into their Bourguership. But the two Governours hauing discovered it, caused the Deputies to be hanged, and all them that had anie hand in the matter, recompencing them with death, that had faithfully imployed their paines, to giue life againe to theyr languishing countrey. Moreouer, they imposed new passage Tolles at *Rottenbourg* on the Switzers, or else they might haue no passage there.

The Lucernians, too much prouoked by so many iniuries, being ayded by the men of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*: made themselues masters of *Rottenbourg*, the 29 day of December, in the yeare, 1386: spoyling the Castle, which *Grunenberg* had forsaken. They did likewise beate downe the walles of the Towne, and filled vpp the Ditches: for feare least the

Austrians should lodge any Garrison there, wherewith to molest the Lucernians againe. Some short while after, they of *Sempach* were receiued into Fellowship with the Lucernians, & two hundred men were put in garrison by the Lucernians, into the Town of *Richensee*: but the Lieutenants to the Duke of *Austria*, hauing sodainely leuied an Armie, tooke the Towne by assault, cut the throats of the whole Garrison, put most part of the inhabitants to the sword, burned all the rest aliue, in the same fire wherewith the Towne was embraced, shewing no pittie to aged, sicke women, or children. On the other side, al the Cantons, except *Berne*, took a place in those parts, named *Meyenberg*, & there planted a garison but the Austrians (faigning a flight) drew the Switzers soldiers forth into the open field, where they slewe fourescore and one of them, and compelled the rest to retyre speedily into the Towne. The Cantons aduertised heereof, called their people together, set fire on the Towne and Castle, leauing not a iote of them vnruiued.

These beginnings and entrances into warre, seemed to threaten the Switzers with a farre greater confusion: & therefore, they of *Austria* made their preparations carefully, yet with great pomp, and euery day (by Letters and Heralds) denounced warre against the Switzers, at the beginning of the ensuing yeare. The Switzers considered likewise on their owne affaires, and prouided to set vpon all those enemies, which had enclosed the round about. The men of *Berne*, who had not boudge as yet, beeing sollicitated by many messages from their confederates: ruined two Castles, to wit, *Torberg*, and *Kopping*, belonging to *Peter* of *Torberg*. They of *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, spoyled the Castle and Towne of *Woolhouse*; as also *Liele*, *Rinach* and *Baldeg*. The men of *Zurich* ioyned their forces with the Cantons, and after they had made some courses & waste in the countries neere to their limits: in retiring backe, they tooke (by assault) the Castle of *Rumelange*, and set it on fire. And because the Duke of *Austria* made the mustering of his people, especially at *Brug* & *Bada*, neere to *Zurich*: it was imagined, that he would go and besiedge that Citie also. And this was the reason, why the foure

Richensee taken by assault burnt, and all in it slaine or burned, by them of Austria.

The Confederates ioyned their powers together.

to ruinate the people they must be aided.

warre begun Leopold of Austria, against the Switzers.

the Switzers wanted execution and monstrous actions.

the Lucernians manhood Rottenbourg.

four Cantons sent sixteen hundred men to succour them of Zurich.

Duke *Leopold* vnderstanding that such a Garrison was at Zurich, marched sodaynly with his army towards the Cantons, which seemed then naked of the most part of their troopes. But this enterprize was discovered by their spies, & therefore left the city of Zurich, in the cittizens guard, and returned back those fixteene hundred men which marched vnder their Ensignes day and night; and so diligently, that they arriued at *Sempache*, euen at the same instant as the duke came to lodge his troops there. That day was the ninth of Iuly, and battell was giuen the very same day, wherein *Leopold* sonne to *Albert* the wife, and Nephew or youngest childe to the Emperor *Albert*, was slaine in open field, with six hundred seuentie six Gentlemen, whereof there were three hundred and fifty more remarkable then the rest by reason of theyr Helmes and Burganets, beautified with Coronets and goodly plumes. After so faire a victory, the Cantons began to extend their strength thoroughout all *Swetia*, and chastised such as hadde foraged their country, pilld the Cittizens, & moued Warre vpon no occasion: many castles were ruinated, and many Towns taken.

In the year, one thousand, three hundred, fourescore, and seauen, the second day of the moneth of February, truce was agreed on for a yeare, by the entermise of some Townes. The times of truce being expired, the citizens of *Wesen*, on the Lake *de Rine*, deliuered vp their Cittie to them of *Austria*, who slew the Switzers that were there in Garrison. Afterward, the enemy (with great forces) to the number of eight thousand at the least, set vpon the Landes of *Glaris* the ninth day of Aprill. Some say, that they were aboue fixteene thousand men, conducted by *Donatus* Count of *Togge*, *Peter* of *Torberg*, *Iohn* of *Klingenberg*, *Iohn* Counte of *Werdenberg*, Lord of *Sargans*. This last man made choyse of two thousand men, which he brought by *Beglinge*, to enclose the Switzers, and make them turne theyr backs with shame.

The other marched boldly on towards the *Wualles*, which they of *Glaris* had fortified and made strong their coun-

tries entrance the yeare before, gayning thereby such assurance of the wall, as the victory was almost intirely in their hand; yet they beganne to pillage, and burne all that was about them. Meane while they of *Glaris* met together in a neere neighbouring Mountaine, to the number of three hundred and fifty, and thirty beside, which they of *Suits* had sent from the neerest valley. This ouer-little Troope, by greatnesse of corage and resolution, met with the enemy in a verie narrow passage; where they saluted them with such impetuous stormes of great stones, & whereof the place afforded no scarcity: as, drawing them into a place more open, they pressed and pursued on them vvith such extreame boldnesse; that the great armie was forced to flight, after they had renewed the charge eleauen seuerall times, as the *Annals* of *Glaris* do testify, for, so often did the enemy labour still to set vpon them.

The Count of *Werdenberg*, looking from the height of a Mountaine (which hee had betaken himselfe vnto) and perceyving the ouerthrow of his associates, saued his owne stake, as swiftly as he possibly could. There were two thousand enemies slaine in this battaile, and about five hundred were drowned in the Lake: because the multitude of Runne-awayes, brake downe the Bridge in theyr halte, vvhereby they should passe from *Glaris* to *Wesen*.

After this battell, the Cantons shewed themselues still in many other skirmishes against the Austrians, taking towns and Castles, either by force or composition: but they fought no more battels. For by entremise of the Citties of *Constance*, *Vberlingen*, *Rauenspourg*, & *Rotuille*, truce was taken for seauen yeares: and afterwards it was prolonged, euen so farre as for the space of twentie yeares; and finally, peace was made for the terme of fiftie yeares.

Peace being established for such length of time, brought some more ease & quietnesse to the Cantons. But in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred and one, the war of *Appenzel* began, & continued seuen whole yeares. *Appenzel* is a Region of *Swetia*, seated neere vnto the Alpes, tovvardes the East, and on the Head of the Lake of *Constance*. At this day, it is

The battell at *Sempach*, in the which, the D. of *Austria*, and 676. gentlemen were slaine in the plaine field.

Truce fully agreed vpon for the space of a year, but being expired new quarrels arose againe.

A bargaine made, but without any certainty.

A notable story obtained by 380. Switzers, against 2000. enemies to their liberty.

Towns and Castles taken by skirmishes, but no more battels given or fought.

The beginning of the warre of *Appenzel* and how long it continued.

is one of the thirteene Cantons ; but as then it was no way allyed with the Switzers : it onely acknowledged (as a Lord) the Abbot of *S. Gall*, who was then called, *Cuno de Stouffen*. Some difference happened between the Abbot and them of *Appenzell*, and after it had long time bene debated in Lawe before Iudges ; they fell at length to pleade theyr cause at the sword's point . The Townes neerest to the Lake of *Constance*, did take part with the Abbot, who had sundered them from the men of *Appenzel*, with whom they were allyed and combined . The Abbot hauing leuied an army of the inhabitants of those townes, gaue battell to the men of *Appenzel*, who ouer-came them, droue them in disorder, with great losse of their men .

After this foile, they of *S. Gal*, of *Appenzel*, and of *Suits*, associated theselues together . The Duke of *Austria* ioynd with the Abbot ; but they of *Appenzel* prooued still victorious in all other encounters . And after they had conquered a great part of the country about them , ruined many Castles, and taken diuers Townes: at length they compeld the Abbot to craue peace, & leaue them in their wonted liberty .

Seuen yeares after these troubles were ended, a new warre kindled it selfe, betweene *Frederick of Austria* and the Cantons . The occasion was, because *Fredericke* had carried away (from foorth the Council of *Constance*) *Pope John* the 22. He was put to banishment from the Empire, and excommunicated by the councell. By this decree of the Emperour, and of the Councell, the peace for 50. yeares was broken, the Cantons absoued of their Oath, and commandement giuen them to take armes against the Emperour: which they did, and tooke in that warre *Biberstein*, *Bada*, and other places belonging to them of *Austria* .

In the yeare, 1422. the Switzers ledde their army by the Alpes, and by the *Grisons*, to besiege *Bellizona*; it beeing a Towne which the Count of *Monsax* had sold to them of *Suites*, *Vri*, & *Vnderwald*. The Duke of *Millaine* seemed to say, that this place appertained to him; and thereupon tooke it by intelligence . To recouer it againe, the Switzers conducted their army thither this yeare, then in *An-*

*no* 1425. and the year following also. But they could not take the Towne notwithstanding, they made hauocke, and forraged the Valleys round about neighbouring, and belonging vnto the Duke of *Millaine* .

But in the yeare, 1436. they of *Austria*, by cunning trickes and subtile deuices raised a great ciuill warre among the Switzers. First, betweene the Canton of *Zurich* and the men of *Suits*, to whom (soon after) the other confederats ioynd them selues. The Duke of *Austria* (first of all) ranked himselfe with them of *Suits*: and then (soone after) made alliance with the men of *Zurich*, and gaue them assistance There were some encounters, and the Switzers besieged *Zurich*: but ther was no battaile more memorable, then that which (not long after) was giuen at *Basile*, the yeare, 1444. and the 26. day of *August* .

The *Dolphine* of France, vwho was afterward King, named *Lewes* the 11. had brought a puissant army betweene *Montbeliard* and *Basile*; provided partly by the practises of *Pope Eugenius*, to breake the Councell of *Basile*; and partly by the emperor *Frederick*, as wishing well vnto the Switzers: Sixteene hundred Switzers entered into battell against that great armie, and made a terrible slaughter of them . True it is, that all the sixteene hundered men were slaine likewise, as beeing overborne with the meere multitude of their enemies: but they brake the whole armie in such sort, as they forfooke all *Germanie* immediately, to get themselues into France againe . This memorable day, might well be compared with the battell of the *Lacedemonians*, at their passage of the *Thermopyla*, considering the magnanimity of so small a number: who, for the safety of their country (euen all *Germany*) opposed themselues valiantly, against an infinitie of enemies. In these ciuill Warres were made many Truces, which was the cause, why such as haue written thereof, do not agree together in the computation of the yeares. The common opinion is, that this war lasted seuen yeares: but it began in the yeare, 1436. & firme peace was made and ratified in *Anno*, 1450 .

A yeare after this peace, the Abbot of *S. Gall* made alliance with foure Cantons

Cunning deuices prepared onely to ouerthrow the peop'e.

The battell of the Switzers against the *Armignacs* before *Basile*.

\*A verie long mountaine, which passeth from *Leucadia*, thorough the middle of *Greece*, to the *Egean sea*.

Diuers alliances of the Switzers with their friends & confederats

ownes diuided from *Appenzel* to take part with the abbot, yet foide in fight.

A new warre kindred betweene the Cantons, and *Fredericke of Austria*.

A war of the Switzers, for recouerie of *Bellizona*, from the duke of *Millaine*.

of

of the Switzers . And the yeare following, they of *Appenzel* allyed themselues with seauen Cantons. And again, a yeare after, the City of *Saint Gall*, with sixe Cantons. Consequently, and in the year one thousand, foure hundred, fifty foure, the men of *Schaffouze* allyed themselues with the sixe Cantons. But I shall make better mention of these alliances heereafter, and in apter manner.

These alliances were no sooner made but a new warre beganne to shew it selfe, against *Sigismond* Duke of *Austria*. Pope *Pius* had excommunicated him, I know not vpon what occasion, and so incited the Switzers to warre. On the other side, the Lords of *Grandler*, brethren of *Gratz*, a Towne in *Styria*, hauing bene dispoiled of their goods by *Sigismond*, desired ayde of them of *Zurich*, who had receyued them into the number of their Burgeses. Then the Switzers went and assaulted *Winterduer*, tooke *Rasperwill*, *Dieffenow*, *Frawenfeld*, and *Turgaw*. In the end, peace was made, Anno 1460. by the meanes of *Lewes* Duke of *Bauaria*. Afterward, in the yeare, 1466. certaine Articles of peace & mutuall amity, were set downe in Writing. Two yeares after, war was renewed against the Duke of *Austria*, so that the Switzers led their troopes towardes the Towne of *Mulhouse*, on the Frontiers of *La Franche Comté*. This Town had made alliance with the Cantons some moneths before: and in the same yeare, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, neere to *Basile*, named *Waltzbut*, was besiedged by the Switzers.

In the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie foure, began the *Switzers* warre against *Charles* Duke of *Burgongne*. It grew hot, and wonderfull sharp, in the yeare seuentie sixe, for two battailes were fought, in both which the duke was vanquished; but it tooke ending at the beginning of seuentie seauen, by reason of the Dukes death, who was slaine in *Lorraine*. The Princes of *Austria* were the sparkes to kindle this war. For *Sigismond* Duke of *Austria*, hauing ill performed his businesse in warre, which he maintained so long a time against the *Switzers*, was constrained to agree with them, although much against his minde. In the meane while, to torment them by some other meanes, he engaged those Landes

which hee helde in *La Franche Comte* (as *Montbeliard* and *Basile*, neighbors to the Switzers) to *Charles* Duke of *Burgongne*, the most potent Prince of his time, aduenturous, and of an high hand. *Sigismond* perswaded himselfe, that (as manie times it fals out among neighbours) some difference would shortly grow betweene Duke *Charles* and the Switzers: for they had sent Ambassadours to the Duke, to pray him renew the ancient amity of the house of *Burgongne* with the Switzers, and confirme the Articles of peace, not long before concluded with *Sigismond*, in so much as concerned the engaged countries. But the ambassadors could neuer gaine accessse to the Prince, in regard of their hinderance by *Hagenbach*, chiefe Minion to the Duke of *Burgongne*, and established Governour by him ouer those countries. This *Hagenbach* was the principall fire-brand wherby to kindle this war; for he gaue many outragious words vnto the Switzers, & daily kept company with theyr enemies, as *Heudorff*, *Eptinger*, and some other Gentlemen, who had threatened the Switzers with war.

Hee tyranized also cruelly in those pained countries, so that the poore subiects who vvere able to performe no more, intreated most earnestly Duke *Sigismond*, their ancient Lord, to disingage them, & receiue them againe vnder his gouernement. This request vvas quickly granted them by *Sigismond*, a Prince verie benigne, and (for his facility) sir-named the Simple.

But the Duke of *Burgongne* desired not to pursse the money againe. And on the other side, the tyranny of *Hagenbach* still increased, so that hee grev in supporable to the people, & neighboring lords. There vvere some other thornes between the Switzers and the D. of *Burgongne*: because *Count Ramont* being seruant vnto him, had sent away diuers chariots from them, laden vvith Hides. In the mean vvhile, King *Lewes* the eleuenth, vvho desired not greatly the Dukes life, and had prooued (neere to *Basile*) the valour of the Switzers horsemen, made alliance vvith them. And although himself vvould not meddle vvith the varre, yet he could vvhet on the Switzers, and (by vaderhand trickes) furnish them vvith money, to the end that necessity should not inforce any pacifi-

Warre by the Switzers, against *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria*.

Articles of peace set downe in writing, yet war ensued thereon againe.

Warre of the Switzers against the D. of *Burgundie*.

*Sigismond* engaged *Montbeliard* & *Basile* to the D. of *Burgundie*.

Minions attending on Princes, are oftentimes fire-brandes to kindle warre.

D. *Sigismond* sir-named the Simple.

The Switzers were not voy of oppression.

pacification. He accorded *Sigismund* likewise with the Switzers, and made an Alliance betweene them. Soone after, *René* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Strasbourg*, and *Basile*, with theyr Byshoppes; *Colmar*, *Selestad*, *Montbeliard*, and some other cities, ioyned themselues likewise into this confederacy.

During this time, *Hagenbach* was taken in a place, named *Brissac*, and the D. of *Austria* having consigned the money at *Basile*, for which hee had engaged his countries, re-entred vpon possession of them; and (by sentence) caused *Hagenbach* to be condemnd, and his head publicly smitten off. Contrarywise, Duke *Charles* made warre vpon the byshop of *Cologne*, pretending, that the Prouostes Office, or protection of the Byshopprick appertained to him, and therefore planted his sledge before *Nuß*, aboue *Cologne*. The Emperor *Fredericke*, accompanied with the Empires forces, encamped nere vnto him, to fight with him. And, according to right and maiesty of the Empire, sent vnto the Switzers and their confederates, to assault (on their side) the Duke of *Bourgongne*, that his forces might be broken and scattered. But immediately after, hee shewed himselfe to bee of the house of *Austria*, and (consequently) an enemy to the Cantons. For so soone as the Switzers were entered into *Bourgongne*, and had won a battel, and taken some Townes, hee made peace vwith the Duke of *Bourgongne*, wherein the Princes of the Empire were comprized, and the Townes which had succored the Emperour in this warre. But the confederats were excluded, to wit, Duke *Sigismund*, Duke *René*, the Cantons, and the forenamed Townes.

Duke *Charles*, beeing deliuered from the warre which he had against the Emperour and the Germaines: turned all his forces vpon the Switzers, and theyr Allies. There were some encounters on either side: but the very greatestt effortes and valour, shewed themselues in three battailes, wher at the Duke himself was present in person. The first was fought at *Granfon*, neere to the Lake of *Yuerdun*: which (at this day) is called the Lake of *Newcastle*. This Towne had bene taken by the Switzers, and re-taken againe by them vpon composition: neuerthelesse,

the Duke of *Bourgongne* (contrarie to his promise) hanged and drowned the Souldiers of his Garrison; but (soone after) hee receiued wages answerable vnto his owne perfidie and cruelty, the Switzers ouercomming him in a fielde of battaile. True it is, that then he lost not many of his men, for the *Caualerie* sustayned, and meerely couered the *Infanterie* beeing broken and disordered, and the Switzers had not their *Horsemen* there, because they came not at a conuenient time: yet notwithstanding, the Duke of *Bourgongne* lost his baggage, wherein hee had great store of *Riches* and *Treasure*.

Then afterwarde, there was another battaile fought at *Morat*, neere to *Berne*: the Switzers (after a great ouerthrow of their enemies) wonne the day, and it is sayde, that eightene thousand *Bourguignons* lay slaine in the fielde; and to this day, there is still to be seene huge heapes of dead mens bones, as a credible Testimony of that victory.

The third battaile, was fought before *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, besieged by the duke of *Bourgongne*: but the Switzers sent in succour vnto the Duke *René* of *Lorraine*, (who had sixe hundered men at *Armes*, well neere all Frenchmen well provided) eight thousand foot; and the other confederates three thousande more. With all these forces Duke *René* gaue battell to *Charles*, who had many more to attend him: neuerthelesse, he was overcome, & (in flight) slaine by the Switzers, and so (with him) dyed all this warre. A yeare after, the Switzers passed the \* *Leopontine* Alps, which mountaine is now called *S. Godard*, & went to giue battell to the D. of *Millain*, in a place named *Iornico*. The occasion of the war, was, because the inhabitants of the valley towardes *Iornico*, subiects to the Canton of *Vri*, complained of diuers outrages doone them by their neighbours, who mollested and troubled them in the vse and possession of certaine Forrests. The Switzers Ambassadors, being vnable to reconcile this difference, the men of *Vri*, craued succour of theyr confederates, and ledde their Armie to *Bellizona*. But because they could not besiedge it in regard of the winter: they lefte sixe hundered men in Garrison at *Iornico*, which is not farre from thence.

The battell that was fought at Granfon.

The battell fought at Morat.

The battell fought at Nancy, wher duke Charles of Burgundie was slaine.

\*Lepontii, people of the Alpes, next to the Salassi.

War vnder taken by the Switzers, against the D. of Millaine.

Hagenbach had the wages due vnto his ally and oppression: & so pay all other debts, that arise their finances.

ured & entry of great persons, do last long time.

at Duke first med the terrible, felt length the death of this atence; name & deduction doe vaies follow er pride, use at the cles.

These two places are vpon the *Tefinus*, a Riuer passing thwart the Lake *Maïor*, and so goes to *Pauiæ*.

The *Millainefes* came in great troops, to set vpon the Garrison of the *Switzers*, which being shut vp in the straites of the Mountaines; the more speedily and easily slew fourteene hundred of them, and chased the rest quite out of the Valley. This battaile was fought about the third day of Nouember, 1478. And in the Moneth of December following, by the intermise of the King of *France*, peace was made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, & the *Switzers*. In the same yeare, Pope *Sixtus* made alliance with the *Switzers*, and beside other priuiledges, he gaue the also strong pardons. Two yeares after, the *Switzers* sent seuen thousand men, to aide King *Lewes* the eleuenth, according to the tenour of the alliance before contracted. But they hauing passed so farre as *Chaalous*, the King (who had obtained the height of his enterprife) hauing then no occasion elsewhere to imploy them; sent them backe againe with very good recompences: where-with many of them were so earnestly allured, that they stroue among themselues, who should first take pensions or wages of the French.

The yeare after, they of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, made a particular alliance, because they conceiued, that their associates had carried the-selues inhumanely on their behalfe, in the war against the Duke of *Bourgongne*. For the forenamed citties and townes had bin at great charges, as well for conduct of their victuals, as also the carriage of the Artillery: moreouer, they furnished more people, then the other cantons did. Neuerthelesse, when they shold diuide the spoile and booty, which was very great and rich; the cantons that had defraied nothing, neither brought any such number of men, tooke their part of the booty by equall portion. In regard of which iniury (as they pretended it) and some other light offences; these citties and townes, desiring to provide particularly for their owne affaires; allied themselues onely together. But the other cantons were heereat greatly offended, especially, they of *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*: maintaining, that it was not law-

full for the *Lucernians*, to make any new alliance without their knowledge and consent.

This matter was debated diuers daies together, in a Councell holden at *Stantz* in *Vnderwald*; and finally by the meanes of an Hermit, named *Nicholas* of *Vnderwald* (who was then in verie great authority among the *Switzers*, by theyr resolu-ed opinion of him, that hee was a holie man) the parties were accorded to conditions, to witte; That the fore-named Townes should depart from that nouell alliance, and altogether (by a common consent) should agree on causes then debated; as that *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*, should bee receiued into the number of the Cantones of *Swetia*, so that there should be tenne Cantons: And because the former eight (which were and are called the olde Cantons, because they allyed themselues together before the other) had made a bodie of a Commonwealth together of the *Switzers*, for the space of fixe score and siue yeares, or thereabout; I will heere set downe a Summarie of the articles of the alliances which those olde Cantons made, and of that which was subscribed vnto at *Stantz* by a common consent among the Cantons.

*A brieve Summary, of the Alliances and Confederations, made betweene the 8. ancient Cantons of Swetia.*



He principall & first Chapter or Article of the leagues and alliances, doth concern the aide and succour which one ought to giue another, against such as wrongfully shall assaile them: wherein all thinges are verie well ordered, gouerned by equity, and according to reason. For, to the end that no warre may be lightly mooued, and vpon small or slender occasions; It is first of all ordained, that the Cantons which are offended, shall make knowne the merite of the cause to the Councell in generall for that Canton established. And then, if it do appeare, that offence and out-rage is done, it may demanda succour and assistance.

They of Millaine goe against the Switzers, and a battaile is fought.

Pope Sixtus allyeth with the Switzers, & giues them large pardons

The feedes of waire among the Switzers, quite smothered by means of a Hermit.

A particular combination of some Cantons by themselues from the rest.

Conditions concluded on by the Hermit and Cantons, for a general contentment.

The first Article of the leagues, concerneth mutuall succours, and publike affairs.

istance.

In some other alliances, namely, that of *Glaris*, this knowledge is deferred to other allyed Cantons. After that the equity of the cause hath appeared, & the outrage receiued: the Canton interresed, may require the Confederates to come and helpe it. In the interim, the Canton may not make recourse to whom it liketh best; but onely to that vvhich is allyed to it in some speciall manner. For (as I haue hitherto shewne) euery one of the Cantons is not allyed with all the other. In the first place, concerning them of Zurich, allyed by antiquity with six of the cheefest Cantons; they may demand ayde of all those sixe. Since then, they made alliance with them of Berne: and so (by consequent) they are bound likewise to giue them assistance, being therto required. The Bernishmen may call vnto their assistance, them of Vri, Suites, and Vnderuald, by reason of ancient alliance: and they (reciprocally) may call to their ayde, and for their other confederats the Canton of Berne. But by reason of the new league, they of Zurich and Berne, must require ayde one of another. The Lucernians (in times of necessitie) may haue recourse to the men of Zurich, Vri, Suites, Vnderuald, and Zug. They of Vri, Suites, and Vnderuald, may call all the other Cantons. And they of Zug haue the same right as the Lucernians, that is, to require aide from the Cantones of Zurich, Vri, Suites, Vnderuald, and Lucerna. They of Glaris, haue recourse vnto the Cantons of Zurich, Vri, Suites, & Vnderuald.

Now, although that all haue not their rights alike heerein; yet notwithstanding if one *Canton* require one or two of his allies to come and succour him: all the *Cantons* must assemble together, because they which are first called, shall giue aduertisement to the other. But, aboue all things, they shal send their Ambassadors to the Chappell of the Hermitage, or to a place named *Kienholtz*, and if question bee made of an acte, which concerneth the men of Berne: they must aduise altogether (by all meanes) to appease the difference in friendly manner, or according vnto right, or (if it may not so bee done) how they may assuredly giue suc-

cour. Their alliance speaketh expressly, that such as are called vnto assistance, shall not vse any fraude or deceit, neither any frivolous or vaine excuse, but to assist with all their power.

And because it may so happen, that a Canton shall bee so sodainly assailed at vnawares, as the enemy may stoppe all the passages, and so (by consequent) the *Canton* can compassse no meanes of crauing succour, neyther by Letters or Ambassages. For this it is provided and expressly ordained, that in such a case, and when most neede is of speedyest helpe: all the confederate *Cantons*, shall assist with all their forces, euen as if they had bene (by name) called thereto. In the alliance with them of Berne, it is ordained; That if the enemy assault the higher countrie, the confederates shall make spoile on the other, vpon the Landes of the enemy: thereby to scatter his forces. And the same to bee done in the higher countreys, if the enemy intrude vpon the lower. They that are called to succour, shall come at their owae expences, and without any wages. Onely in the alliance of Berne, with Vri, Suites, and Vnderuald, mention is made of Wages, Namely, of a *Sol Tournois* (each day) for euerie man on foote. Neuerthelesse, if the Warre be in the countrey of *Ergow*, then they of Berne shall pay nothing. But there is a Village or Hamlet, neere vnto the first Lake of the Riuer *Ar*, which is called *Vndersee*: beyonde which, such foote Souldiours as come to assist the one or other partie, shall receiue that aforesaid Wages.

If the warre last of any continuance, and that they must besiege and batter some Towne, Village, or Castle, and the same is fully concluded and agreed vpon, by common consent and aduice of the Cantones: then that *Canton*, in whose fauour, and on whose limites, the Towne or Castle of the Enemy is besieged, shall pay onely the charge and expences, as well for munition, powder, conuoy of Artillerie, Pionners, as all other things necessaric and requisite in a batterie. Neuerthelesse, if the Warre bee vnderaken, not onelie in the name of one cāton, but ynder name of the Switzers whole Commonwealth:

No fraud or excuse to be used in giuing succour.

When any Canton shall be sodainly or vnawares assaulted by the enemy, and when no help can be required.

Aide on their own expence, and without wages, or else what wages is to be receiued

For a warre of long lasting, and besieging or battering Townes, or Castles,

concerning the alliance of Glaris.

every Canton is not allyed with all the rest.

Vri, Suites, and Vnderuald.

the Lucernians in their necessity.

the Cantons haue not their rights alike.

then they shal euey one pay their shares alike.

Likewise it comes to passe many times, that some such as dwel far off from *Swetia*, doth offer wrong to the whole Nation, or to one part in particular; in the meane time, no knowledge is had how to pursue this warre, eyther because the enemy is too farre distant, or keepeth no certaine abiding, where he may bee dealt withall. For such, it is ordained, that if (by any occasion) they, their goods, or any of their complices can bee apprehended on the lands of one of the Cantons: hand shall be laid on them, & they constrained to satisfie them whom they haue offended. Finally, to preuent & hinder, that none shall abuse, or be abused by the *Switzers* Soldiers, leading them whether they list: in many alliances, the limits wherein some stand bound to succour other, are prescribed and determined. The limits are partly to the Cantons confines, according to their extendure fourth, or a little more further out: but they may not passe the ancient bounds of *Swetia*.

The second Chapter or Article, is touching publike differences or controuersies, between two Cantons or more. Forasmuch as it cannot be otherwise, but the very best friends and confederates, may sometimes haue cause to disioyne & sunder: our predecessors did denise, to stay the consequence of such differences, to wit, that no warre should follow, as fearing lest alliance and kindnesse might thereby perish, & vtterly be broken. First then it is ordained, that the other Cantons shall send their Ambassadours, to take order, that the variance may amiably be ended, or according to right, and it is established to be administred in manner following. Each party shall chuse two Iudges of his owne Canton, to whom they shall promise by oath, that without any affection or loue to their country, they will iudge on the difference. To these foure Iudges, a fift must bee added, named Vnpire or Superarbitrator: who is elected sometimes by the Iudges, and sometimes by the parties. If the one canton will not vndergo iudgement, nor suffer his right to bee examined: the other cantons stand bound by alliance, to succour him that consents, that the contro-

uerfie should bee ended by the Arbitrators.

The third Chapter or Article, concerneth alliances. The foure first Cantons do determine, that it is not lawfull for any one among them (without the will & consent of the other; to bind themselues by Oath, or make alliance with any, whofoeuer it is. Likewise, in the alliance of *Glaris*, it is saide, that they may not make any alliance or confederacie, without consent of the other Leaguers. For otherwise, the other Cantons may referue to themselues, the liberty and authoritie of making new alliances, yet leauing (in meane while) the ancient stil in ful force. They kept also the freedome, for increasing and diminishing their alliances, by a publike and common consent. And ordained in like manner, that these alliances might bee renewed by writing, or by word of mouth, and to bee confirmed by Oath, if neede required, from fise or ten to an hundred yeares. If this might not bee done commodiously, yet notwithstanding, they were to be obserued firmly.

In the fourth place, are added exceptions; because certaine Cantones, which anciently did concerne the Empire; as *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*, excepted the Empire, and the rightes thereof, from which they pretended no derogation by this alliance, in any manner whatsoever.

*Lucerna* and *Zug*, excepted the rites of the Duke of *Austria*. By the alliance of *Glaris*, are excepted all rights and deuoires due vnto lawfull Lords and Magistrates. Likewise, in all these confederations, are excepted the ancient alliances, rights, priuiledges, and customes of the Cantons, together with their Castles, Villages, and Hamlets: so that those rights remaine sound and intire to euerie one.

Now, although the other Chapters and Articles are not of any such importance; yet notwithstanding, they tend to maintenance & conseruation of peace and quietnesse. There is one for the punishing of homicides or Men-killers. Hee that killeth any one of the Confederates, shall loose his head; except hee can make good prooffe, that hee did it in defence of his owne bodie, and for safetie

Of wrong done to the whole Nation, or in particular in places farre distant.

Orders for the Soldiours of the Switzers.

The second Article concerneth publike controuersies.

Judges chosen to heare and define variations, and a Superarbitrator added to them.

The third article touching alliances, and beginning with the foure first Cantons.

Liberty to augment and lessen league and alliances.

The fourth Article speaketh of exceptions to bee obserued in the alliance.

For punishment of homicides and banished persons, in their severall qualities of offence.

safety of his life. Whosoever shall be condemned and banished from his Canton, shall stand banished and excluded also from the countries of the other Cantons: and whosoever lodgeth or assisteth any such person, shall be guilty and punished in some other nature.

There is another Article, which prohibiteth the exacting or vrging of names to wit, if any Lay-man attempt to pay himselfe in his debtes, by the name or meanes of Iudges of the Church: onely causes Matrimoniall, and manifest Vsury, are to be referred, and sent to the Court for the Church. No man shall exact a pawne of any one, except of his debter, or him that standeth pledge for him. Neither shall he receiue pawns of his owne priuate authority, but by consent of the Iudge. No one shall engage himselfe for another man.

Concerning iudgements, it is ordayned, that each man may haue, & assigne his Iudge. He that shall not appeare according to the assignation, but falleth into default, and interresseth the contrarie party by his absence, shall pay his charges. Causes shall be pleaded in the Audience Hall of the Canton, where the acte makes mention of the deed doing. Iustice is to be done without fraude or deceite. And euerie man shall content himselfe with the iudgements, Lawes, and customes of the Canton, where his cause is pleaded.

Although that these Articles, and other such like, may seeme to bee of small consequence: yet notwithstanding, because thereby (oftentimes) great debates do arise, yea, warres with our alliances, in discoursing them distinctly & at large, it contents me (for mine owne part) that I haue thus breiefely & summarily toucht them.

*The Tenor of the Arrest or Agreement made at Stantz.*



First, we ordaine, that no one of the eight Cantons, either by it selfe, or aided by others shall enterprize to make war on any one of the said Cantons, or any other ioyned there-with in this alliance. Neither shall offer any wrong

to their bodies, goods, Townes, Countreys, or people, nor robbe or despoile them of any thing to them appertaining. If any one of the eight Cantons shall do otherwise (which God forbid) and outrage any of the other. To the end it may bee remedied, and order giuen, that our alliance may remaine firme, so that wee may liue together in peace like Bretheren: all the other Cantons shall ranke themselves with that which is offended, and conserue the rights thereof, in good faith, and without any fraud. And if some particular person, or many together, shall doe wrong or iniurie vnto some other particular body: that then speedily, and without any contradiction, they shall be chastised by their Magistrate (in vwhat place soeuer it is) according to the quality of the offence, and as they haue deserued. Neuerthelesse, if any one shall commit such insolences vpon the iurisdiction of another, and moue it to be troubled, answer may bee made him in the very same place, and he iustly punished, according to the right and custom of the country.

Secondly we say, that hence-forward, none shall attempt to make any assembly, and therein to purpose any thing whatsoever (either secretly or publicly) in the Citties, Townes, or Countries of *Swetia*, whereby any damage or danger may ensue, without making it first known, and with the consent of the Lordes of that Canton. Whosoever swerueth, and endeoureth to make any such assembly, or shall fauour it, either by worde or deede, shall bee chastised by the Magistrate, according to the exigence of the act, and that without the least hindrance or delay.

In like manner, and by common consent, we expressly ordaine, that (honour and oath reserved) it shall not be lawfull for any one, to entice the subiects of any Canton, to do any thing derogatorie, to the obedience due to the Magistrate, or mooue the people to any disobedience or reuolt. And if the subiects of any one of the Cantons, shall bee rebellious against the commandements thereof: that then the other Cantons shall succour it faithfully, and reforme those subiectes to their duties, according to the agreement of our alliances.

Of insolencies committed on the iurisdiccions of other men.

The 2. Article concerneth assemblies or Conuenticles without knowledge & consent of the Magistrate.

For disobedience to Magistrates, or infringing their orders and decrees.

Concerning debtes, pawns matrimony, & known vsury.

Of iudgments and not standing to the award and censure.

Matters too largely dilated, do manie times breed offence.

The first Article is for pacification of wars that may happen among the Cantons, and of differences betweene particular persons.

The third Article concerneth the Military discipline of the Cantons, answerable to that of Sempach.

Thirdly, because that after the battell of *Sempach*, our Ancestors resolved vpon some ordinances, concerning matter of warre: it seemed good to vs, to explicate in this agreement, that which is perpetuall, euen the principall Article of those ordinances, and in regard of our selues and our successors, to set it downe as followeth. If one Canton or more, do bring an Army into the field, marching with colours displayed against the enemy: all they that march vnder those colours, must continue together for the fight, as honest men ought to do. And according to the example of our Ancestours, what necessity soeuer is enforced, be it to fight in ranged battaile, in skirmish, or otherwise, how short or long soeuer the time be: it is to be carried according to the orders Military, made after the day of *Sempach*.

The fourth Article concerneth matters of contracts passed long ago by our Ancestors

In the fourth place, we haue ordained, that those contracts passed long time since, by our Ancestours, as concerning Ecclesiasticall persons, and other things, in the yeare, one thousand, three hundred and seuentie; shall bee obserued inuolably, firmly, and from point to point. And to the end, that the memory thereof may be perpetuall, at al such times as our alliances may be renewed by oath: those two transactions and ordinances, concerning affaires of warre and Ecclesiasticks, together with this amiable agreement, shall be publicly read, among and with the Articles of alliances. But to the end, that yong men, and they of meaner yeares also, may the better remember our alliances, and obserue them the more faithfully; we haue agreed, that heereafter (from five yeares to five yeares) the alliances shall be renewed throughout all the Cantons, by oath, which shall bee giuen for this effect.

For yong men and they of vnder age.

The fift Article concerneth booties conquered in warre, & the ransomes of prisoners.

Finally, we haue accorded, that when any warre happeneth, all the booty conquered from the enemy, and those sums payed by prisoners for their ransomes: shall be distributed (by equall portions) among the number of Soldiers, which the Cantons or Townes haue in the Army. But the Citties, Townes, Castles, Countries, passages, anuall reuenues, iurisdiccions, and other things of the same nature, though conquered in warre, shall be equally parted or diuided among the

Cantons, according to their ancient custome. If we permit any of these things to be bought or solde to any; the money paide, or arising thereby, shall be distributed among the Cantons by equall portions.

We haue determined and published this louing agreement, and in this manner, that all such as haue or shall carry Armes with vs, all Subiects, citizens, inhabitants, confederates, and parties ioynd with vs, may haue their iust portion in the booties. But as for Cities, Townes, Castles, Countries, men, reuenues yearly, iurisdiccions, ports, and conquered passages: such things doe belong to the Cantons onely. We make exception in this accord, of our perpetuall alliances, intending that nothing thereof shall bee infringed; but that this present transaction shall be inuolably maintained, yea, faithfully and without any fraud, for the confirmation and manutention of our alliances.

This Arrest was ratified with the consent of all, in the yeare, 1481. in the house for particular alliances of our Townes: And by common accord, they of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, were receiued into the number of the Cantons. And then the common-wealth of the *Switzers* (for the space of twenty yeares) stood composed of ten Cantons; whereto consequently, *Basile* and *Schaffouze*, and then *Appenzell* were added. But before we speake of their alliances, wee must say somewhat as concerning *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*:

then will we summarily declare, what they did, after their receiuing into alliance.

CHAP.

The reason of making and publishing this amiable agreement so generally abroad.

Fribourg and Solleurre receiued into the number of the Cantons, making them ten.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Towne of Fribourg; who was the first Founder thereof: And how it came into league and alliance with the Cantons.



Fribourg is a Towne, seated vpon the Riuer of *Sana*, builded by *Berthoull*, fourth of that name, Duke of *Zerlingen*, some few yeares before *Berne*. These two Townes maintained themselues long time in amity: but after the Dukes death, *Berne* became subiected to the Empire, and *Fribourg* fell into the hands of the Counts of *Kybourg*, that dwelt at *Bourgdorff*, which was the cause, that (by succession of time) they forsook their affection to them of *Berne*. First of all, they were present in the warre with *Godfrey*, Count of *Kybourg*, against the *Bernians*. Soone after, their friendship was renewed againe, but yet with this exception, that if the Lords of *Fribourg* were at discord with *Berne*; the *Fribourgers* might follow their Lords part, without any preiudice to that louing accord. Some short while after, the Count solde



*Fribourg* to, *Raoul*, King of the *Romans*, and from thence forward, about the space of two hundred yeares it remained vnder the dominion of *Austria*. During which time, the

*Fribourgers* being conducted and commanded by them of *Austria*, were present in many fought battailes, giuen to the *Bernians* at *Loupen*, at *Schonenberg*, and elsewhere. Againe, afterward they renewed (diuers times) their ancient alliance and amity, with the men of *Berne*.

In the yeare 1403, after they had bin tormented (in many kindes) by Noblemen, they contracted a perpetuall alliance with the *Bernians*: and yet notwithstanding, continued subiects to them of *Austria*. This amity endured forty five

yeares, at the end whereof, warre being moued betweene the Prince of *Sauoye*, and the *Fribourgers*: they of *Berne* followed the faction of the Prince of *Sauoye*, to whom they had beene allied, and stood friends along time. There were some courses on eyther side, and a battaile fought neere to *Griertz*, wherein the *Fribourgers* had the worst. The yeare after, the Ambassadors to the King of France, of the Duke of *Bourgongne*, and of the Cantons, made a peace. And the yeare following, *Albert* of *Austria* being come to *Fribourg*; some certaine men of the Towne plotted with him, to make warre vpon the *Bernians*. Matters grew on so forward, that there was some apparance of sedition, and one was ready to run vpon another: if the men of *Berne* (by a singular prouidence and addressse) had not appeased the commotion, by the sending of their Ambassadors.

*Albert* perceiuing that *Fribourg* fauoured the Cantons; and leaned to that side; and that the citizens, who enioyed the priuiledges of their Ancestors, obeyed not entirely to what he commanded them, and that oftentimes (according to their alliance) they followed them of *Berne*, and went in warre with the Cantons: he began to lose all hope of remaining any longer Master of the Towne. For this cause, the cheefe Master of his household came to *Fribourg* (sent by the Prince, as some say) where he caused instantly to be noysed through the Towne; that the Prince wold very suddenly come thether, how soone he knew not. Heere vpon, he borrowed and got together, all the siluer Vessels, Tapestries, and such like costly moouables, to adorne that house in the Towne, where it was saide that the Prince should alight and lodge. But (by vnder-hand meanes) the Master of the household, caused those goods to be secretly transported out of the town.

The day being come, of the Princes appointment to be there, he rode forth with his horsemen, as it were to meet his Master, accompanied with the worthiest men of the Towne. Being farre enough off, no Prince came; but only such horsemen as he had sent before, to attend the Master of the household, and the charge he had. When they were come into a place of security, he saide to them of *Fribourg*,

The enemies of peace put themselves formost into the greatest danger.

Albert seeing he should lose Fribourg before he could quit it, taketh the latter hand or course.

right to all I upon his needed to

A cunning tricke of the Master of the household.

enrolled his hinder es bestowed a goodly sh

he original of the Towne Fribourg.

he diuers portments of carriage the Fribourgers.

Fribourg sold the King of the Romans.

he perpetuall alliance made betweene the Fribourgers and the men of Berne.

bourg,

bourg, who rode in his company to honour the Prince, that for the confidence they reposed, in their league made with the men of Berne, and combined amity with the Cantons: they were rebels to the Prince, and therefore it stood with reason and iustice, that the Prince should get what he could from them: as namely, the siluer vessels, and the other goods brought from the Towne.

Speaking these words, hee galloped away with his traine to meete the Prince with the spoiles of *Fribourg*. But the citizens, being thus vnworthily handled, made a far stricter alliance with the Bernians, and ioyned themselues also with the confederates, vpon certaine conditions. So that during the warre against the Duke of Bourgogne, the Cantons sent a thousand men for Garrison into *Fribourg*. And the *Fribourgers* likewise, were present in the battailes with their confederates, against the Duke of Bourgogne, carrying themselues very valiantly in that warre. Afterward, they were receiued (with them of *Solleurre*) into the number of the Cantons, as heereafter we shall tell you.

### CHAP. IX.

*Of the City of Solleurre, being one of greatest name in Swetia.*

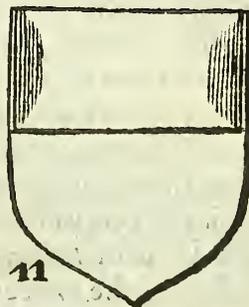
**S**olleurre is one of the most ancient citties or townes in all *Swetia*. It is called by many, the Sister of *Treuers*, which was builded (as the ancient Annals doe make mention) in the time of *Ninus*. The olde Romane inscriptions, which are yet to be seene at *Solleurre*, do testifie the antiquity of the citty. But by the warres and courses of the *Allemaignes*, *Hunnes*, and *Franconians* in *Gaule*, vpon the declination of the Romane Empire; *Solleurre* was ruined, as many other citties and townes were in like manner. But after that the *Franconians* became Lords & Masters, it was rebuilded, and yeelded in subiection to the Bishop of *Geneua*. For it is said, that in the Church or Temple of *S. Vic-*

*tor*, neere to *Geneua*, these words are found written.

*Acta sunt hæc regnante Domitiano, Episcopo Geneuensi, quo tempore etiam Castrū Salodorense Episcopatus Geneuensi subditum erat, &c.*

These things were made and done, in the time of *Domitian*, Bishop of *Geneua*: during which time, the Castle of *Solleurre* was subiect to the Bishop of *Geneua*, &c.

In the times of the *Allemaigne* or *Germane* Emperors, *Solleurre* was daily numbered with the Imperiall cities & townes: yet (notwithstanding) in such sort, as the colledge of the chanons enioyed the principal priuiledges and franchises. And it is saide, that they haue the same rights as the chanons of *Zurich*.



11

The Dukes of *Suaba* were Prouoosts or Gouvernours of this citty, as likewise of other Imperiall towns in *Swetia*. They of *Solleurre* (in ancient times) made an

alliance with the Bernians, I cannot well tell in what yeare; but since that time, the two citties haue borne good and loyall amity together. And (almost) in all the warres the Bernians had: the men of *Solleurre* euermore succoured them with happy successe.

Vpon the contention moued betweene *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, which should be Emperor of them both: they of *Solleurre* tooke part with *Lewes*, by which occasion, the Pope excommunicated them, and then they were afterward besiedged by the Duke of *Austria*. But they of Berne sent them foure hundred men for their Garrison. Moreover, they had warre against the Count of *Kybourg*, who wonne a battaile of the, by treason of one of their cittizens. Finally, in the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, fifty and one, they made a perpetual alliance with them of Berne, & continued alwayes good friends with the other Cantons. So that after the warre of *Austria*, wherein *Leopold* was slaine; they made peace and alliance with the house

There is nothing gained by goods ill gotten, and losing the hearts & obedience of subiects.

*Solleurre* numbered among the Imperiall cities.

The Dukes of *Suaba*, Gouvernours of *Solleurre*.

The original and antiquity of *Solleurre*.

*Solleurre* rebuilded and subiected to the Bishop of *Geneua*.

The men of *Solleurre* excommunicated by the Pope, for taking part with the true Emperor.

of *Austria*. But it was vpon those same conditions, that the other Cantons, with whom they were ioyned in letters and contracts of alliance; by generall and common aduice, should establish and swear them together in the Military ordinances. Then after that the war against the Duke of Bourgogne was ended, wherein they deliuered true testimony of prowesse and valour, in the iudgement of all men; they were accepted and received (with them of *Fribourg*) into the number of the Cantons.

CHAP. X.

*Of the Switzers wars against them of Millaine; against the Venetians; and, at the conquest of Naples.*



HE men of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, being adimitted into ranke with the Cantons; the *Switzers* made these warres ensuing. In the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, eighty and seuen; *Iustus de Sillira*, Bishop of *Sion*, leuied an Army of *Valachians* and *Switzers*, which he led beyond the Alps, against the Duke of *Millaine*. But the issue of that voyage was vnfortunate, because the Duke ouerthrew them: so that they were enforced to returne home againe to their owne houses, after they had lost very many of their men.

The yeare following, the *Switzers* sent succour (according to the tenour of their alliance) to *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria*, against the *Venetians*. And then afterward, they were in pay with the King of *France*, *Charles* the eight, who had renewed the alliance, which his Father made with the *Switzers*. They were first in *Bretaigne*, where the King won a great victory against the Duke, at *Saint Aubin*. Then againe in *Italy*, when *Charles* conquered the kingdome of *Naples*. And at *Fornoie*, when hee gaue battaile to the Princes of *Italy*, that were leagued against him. In all these warres, the *Switzers* did good and faithfull seruice vnto the King.

In the yeare, one thousand, foure hun-

dred, & ninety, another ciuill warre kindled it selfe in *Swetia*. The Abbot of *S. Gall* had begun to build a new Abbey at *Rosack*. The cittizens of *S. Gall*, they of *Appenzell*, and the subiects to the Abbot (partly moued by a kinde of deuotion, as vnwilling that the bones and reliques of *S. Gall*, should be carried any where else; and partly also for their owne profit, fearing lest the packs of linnen cloth (which grew to great gaine among them) should be transported to *Rosack*, conspired together, and at vnawares, went out in Arms, and ioyning together in troopes, went to beate downe the new building, which was not (as then) fully finished. The Abbot not a little moued with this iniury, called the foure Cantons, wherto he was allied, to aide him. The fixe other Cantons, mediatours for peace, exhorted the of *S. Gall*, to decide this difference with the Abbot, by course of right in law. But because the confederates alledged, that great wrong was done them, in building a new Abbey, and (by that means) abolishing their ancient priuiledges; therefore consequently, they had iust occasion to vndertake Armes, and wold not haue it debated in iustice. The foure Cantons with some other people of their allies, brought their troopes to *Turgaw*: but this warre was appeased without blowes. For first of all, they of *Appenzell* made peace with the *Switzers*, who took from them the Valley of *Rhegusce*. Then afterward, the city of *S. Gall* being besiedged, peace was made betweene the cittizens & the *Switzers*; by the means of *George*, Count of *Sargans*, *Gaudentius*, Count of *Metsch*, and the Lords of *Constance*. In like manner, the subiects to the Abbot were reconciled, after each one had paid his fine.

Some short while after, followed the last warre against the house of *Austria*, which the *Switzers* called, the warre of *Suaba*: the Emperor *Frederick* did spread the seeds abroad, but after his death, his Sonne and Successor *Maximilian*, gathered them together. *Fredericke* had procured, that certaine Princes, Lords, and Townes should make an alliance, which they tearmed, The great league of *Suaba*: and (among other matters) to oppresse especially (as was conceiued) the liberties of the *Switzers*. The Emperour was

Strife about the bones and reliques of *S. Gall*, & the building of a new Abbey.

The Abbot craueth aide of foure Cantons.

The war vndertaken of *S. Gall*.

A war ended, and neuer a blow smitten.

The last war against the house of *Austria*, tearmed the war of *Suaba*.

their receiving into the number of the cantons.

War made by the Switzers, against the Millainnes.

Succour sent against the Venetians.

They serued the King of France for pay, in many places.

a great league  
to oppresse  
the liberties  
of the Swit-  
zers.

was chiefe of this league, which was beneficiall to *Germany* in one kinde: for by that meanes, the wayes were more safe & assured, the cues were taken and punished, and their castles and places of retreat beaten to the ground. There had bene (long time before) some enmities betweene the *Switzers*, and some of their neighbours, vassails to the house of *Austria*.

Day by day the fire lay kindling, and the *Switzers* suffered insupportable iniuries and outrages. On the other side, they of *Austria*, greeued the *Grisons* with nouell charges, and had cast them out of their ancient possessions in some places.

Vpon this occasion, and to provide for their owne security, against the violence of their enemies; the *Switzers* and the *Grisons* made a perpetuall league together.

Moreover, King *Lewes* the twelfth, desirous to recouer the Duchy of *Millaine*, which he auouched to belong vnto him: purchased the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*, who in such a perillous time, thought good not to refuse it, neyther to let so fit and apt occasion slippe them.

Many goings and commings were betweene them, to pacifie this businesse, and the parties on eyther side took arms, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, ninety nine. Many encounters they had in this warre, and the *Switzers* still remained victors: except once, when they were put into route, neere to *Constance*.

But they recouered their honour againe the same day, hauing freshly collected their forces, and then giuing battaile to the enemy, enforced him to forsake the place. Moreover, they and the *Grisons*, in eight other as great encounters as skirmishes, had still the aduantage: as at *Mont de Lucé*, at *Treife*, *Harden*, *Frafsenz*, on the plaine of *Malsa*, nere to *Basile*, in the Forrest *des Freres*, in the vale of *Leime*; and lastly, at the Castle of *Dornech*, appertaining to them of *Solleurre*.

They of *Austria*, being tired and spent with so many losses, came finally to a composition; by the intermise of *Lo-*

*dowicke Sforzza*, Duke of *Millaine*, who sent thether the Vicount *Galeazzo*. And so peace was made, vpon this condition, that the liberties of the *Switzers* should remaine in their integrity, and they were confirmed in the possession of all those places which they had taken before from them of *Austria*. In like manner, the iurisdiction in criminall causes, at the command of *Turgaw*, which they of *Constance* had enioyed vntill that time, was giuen to the *Switzers*.

Thus you see the last warre (except that of the *Grisons* against *John Iaques de Medicis*, Lord of *Mus*) that the *Switzers* had to this present time, to maintaine the liberties of their countries, against the violence and force of forraigne Princes. They were afterward present in many other warres, and wonne renowne of beeing hardy and valiant men: but those warres were made partly in Italy, partly in France, vnder authority and command, eyther of the King of France, or of Popes, or of the Dukes of *Millaine*. For immediately after the peace made with them of *Austria*; the Vicount *Galeazzo* began to make secretly a leuye of *Switzers*.

Contrariwise, the King of *France* demanded succour all openly, according to the tenour of the league, which was granted to him. Notwithstanding, contrary to the will and Edicts of the leagued Lords; *Galeazzo* enrolled five hundred *Switzers*, by the aide of whom, together with an army of Lance-Knights, which he had got together, Duke *Lodowicke* recouered *Millaine*.

Soone after that, the Frenchmen being come with a puissant Army to besidge *Nouara*, the *Switzers* that were then in Garrison, perceiuing it to bee a place, not of defence, nor well munited, nor wherein they could any way resist the enemy; agreed to depart, and repaired home to their owne country. The Duke tooke the habite of a *Switzer* Soldier, and mingled himselfe among the rest, onely to escape: but happening to be knowne and discovered, by a certaine man named *Turman* (who afterward was hewed in peeces) he was taken and led prisoner into *France*, and kept in the Castle of *Loches*. For the rest, they do  
great

Behold what  
gaines they  
get, that la-  
bour to abo-  
lish the peo-  
ples liberty.

Rest and qu-  
etnesse doth  
well helpe, a-  
fter long toi-  
and labour  
spent in war

A league of  
the Switzers  
and Grisons,  
against that  
of their ene-  
mies.

Diuers victo-  
ries of the  
Switzers.

The French  
mens besidge  
ing of Nou-  
ra.

great wrong to the *Switzers*, that impute to the whole Nation, the faulte of one man onely. If they will charge all them that were with the Duke, because (maulgre his will) they composed with the French: yet (for all that) they must not couple the whole Nation of *Switzers*, with them in that action. Considering, they that did the deede, were not sent by their Cantons, to succour Duke *Sforza*; but followed his faction, against the Edicts of their Lords. Heere to may be added, that they appeared not to be partiall, or hare-braind in the busines, when they departed by composition.

In the same yeare, when these things were done beyond the Mountaines; *Huldreich*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, made an alliance for twelue yeares, with the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. In like manner, the Emperor *Maximilian* renewed the hereditary alliance, made formerly by Duke *Sigismund*, with the cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*. In the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and one, two potent citties on the *Rhine*, namely, *Basile* and *Schaffouze*, were ioyned to the number of the *Switzers* cantons.

CHAP. XI.

*Of the City of Basile, and diuersity of opinions, how it receiued that name: As also the originall and antiquity of the City.*



THE City of *Basile*, capitall & cheefest in the country of the \* *Rauratians*, is the very greatest of all the citties and townes in *Swe-tia*. It is not knowne at what time it was first of all built. *Amianus Marcellinus* maketh mention in his history of it, calling it *Basilica*, and testifieth, that the Emperor *Gratian* erected a Fort hard by it, to bridle the courses of the *Allemanes*. There are some other, who do thinke that it tooke name of *Basilica*, Mother to the Emperor *Iulian*. *Phlegonius*, the enfranchised seruant of the Emperor *Adrian*, maketh

mention of *Basilica*, in a little Tract which he wrote of admirable things, and of people that liued long: but it is not well knowne, whether hee meaneth this city or no, whereof we now speake. But the opinion of them is most probable, that hold the city of *Basile* to take name, from one of the Romane Colonies, sent by *Augustus* into the country of the *Rauracians*, before named.



But *Basile* is in the number of the free citties of the Empire, and hath obtained (for very long time) verie franke and liberall priuiledges, from the Romane Emperors. The Bishoppricke and Vniuersity encreased the renowne thereof. And as it is a neighbour to the *Switzers*, so hath it beene likewise very carefull for maintaining it selfe in amity, long time before it came to bee allied with them. For after the Pope had excommunicated the Emperor *Lemes* of *Bauaria* (in which case all *Germany* was combusted with great troubles) they of *Basile* made alliance, and promise of mutuall succours, with them of the three first Cantons; and afterward, in the yeare, 1327. with *Zurich*, *Berne*, and many other citties and townes of *Germany*. In the yeare one thousand, three hundred, forty five, they made a particular alliance (for 2. yeares) with them of *Zurich*, and then renewed it for three yeares after. Againe, in the yeare 1365. by the procurement of *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, an Army of Englishmen came and forraged the country of *Halsatia*; besieged *Strasbourg*, and threatned *Basile* with the same behavior, because the cittizens of the lesser *Basile*, engaged by the Bishop to the Duke of *Austria*; would not submit themselues wholly to his will.

On the other side, *Basile* beeing not strong for resistance of an enemy, by reason of an earth-quake, which had cast downe the walles and many houses, and fire had consumed and done as great harme: *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, and *Sollearre* sent a strong Garrison to *Basile*: so that the Englishmen durst not besiege the city, but retired thence, because the

Basile numbréd among the free Citties of the Empire.

The men of Basile were friends with the Switzers a long time.

Englishmen invaded the Country of Halsatia, by Duke Leopolds meances

A strong gar-rison sent to Basile.

One mans offence may not blemish a whole nation.

Alliances of Princes made with the Switzers.

A people of belgia, neere to the Kiuer there.

Opinions concerning the name of Basile.

Empe-

Katherine the  
Widdow to  
Duke Leo-  
pold.

The Dolphin  
of France  
brought an  
Army into  
Germany.

The Basilians  
ioyne with  
the Switzers  
against the  
Duke of Au-  
stria.

War between  
the Emperor  
Maximillian,  
the Switzers  
and Grifons.

Emperor *Charles* the fourth, also broght an Army against them. In like manner, in the warre of them of *Basile*, against *Katherine* of Bourgongne, the widdow of *Leopold*, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and nine, the Bernians & they of *Solleurre* sent succour: the other Cantons imploying themselues carefully, to accord them with the house of *Austria*. Moreouer, at the time of the councell of *Basile*, when as *Lewes* the Dolphin of France, brought a great Army into *Germany*, to breake the councell, and made warre on the *Switzers*, by the instance & working of the Duke of *Austria*, who had procured him to come: the *Switzers* maintained and defended the city and councell, against the encountering of a strange enemy; as an example very remarkable, it beeing not aboue sixteene yeares, since they had coaped with great troops of the French. True it is, that they all (well neere) lost their liues there: but yet they did so weaken their enemies troops, that he tooke part with thē which fled fastest.

They being thus auoyded, the men of *Basile* ioyned their forces with the *Switzers*, and so made warre together on the Duke of *Austria*. In like manner, when *Charles*, Duke of Bourgongne, made himselfe so terrible, and affrighted all the world, they of *Basile* ioyned in alliance (for ten yeares) with *Strasbourg*, and other citties on the *Rhene*. Afterward, with *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria*; *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and with the Cantons. In this warre they shewed themselues both faithfull & valiant, for their confederates. Finally, a great warre being moued betweene the Emperour *Maximillian*, the *Switzers* and *Grifons*: they of *Basile* remained neuters, without giuing succour to eyther side, nor receiued their Garrisons; but they furnished them both with victuals and munition. In this war there was a battaile giuen (almost) against the walles of *Basile*, afterward at *Dorneck*, where the *Switzers* wonne a faire victory ouer the enemies, whom they did beat backe to the gates of *Basile*. But during all this war, the cittizens of *Basile* faouored equally both the one and other side. To conclude, by the diligence of *Lodouico Maria*, Duke of *Millaine*, the Ambassadors on both sides met at *Basile*, & peace

was made betweene the Emperour and the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* allowed well of this expedient, in the men of *Basile* during this warre, and the Emperour *Maximillian* (for his part) seemed not to improoue it. But the Noble-men, who were deadly enemies to the Cantons, held *Basile* (almost) in the ranke of a foe, because the city did not then shew it selfe openly, as an enemy to the *Switzers*; and not onely the subjects to the house of *Austria*, but many more, who till then had beene cittizens; with-drew themselues to the Count of *Ferrara*, and about *Montbeliard*, into *Halsatia*, and to *Brisgom*, countries appertaining to them of *Austria*. Being in those places, they ceased not to outrage (both with words and deeds) the inhabitants of *Basile*, who being moued with such indignities; the yeare after the war ended, to wit, one thousand, five hundred and one; made a perpetuall alliance with the Cantons, and so were left in peace with their neighbours, who stood in awe of the *Switzers* succour.

The Emperour  
and the Switzers  
no way distaste  
the dealing of  
the men of  
*Basile* in the  
warre.

## CHAP. XII.

*At what time Schaffouse was receiued into the number of the Cantons; and the antiquity thereof.*

**S**chaffouse, accepted the very same yeare, to be numbered among the cantons, is not of so great age and antiquity. It is seated on the Riuer of *Rhene*, within *Germany*, and yet notwithstanding, the Bridge is in *Swetia*. In the time of the Emperour *Henry* the third, the Counts of *Nellenbourg* builded there an Abbey, which standeth yet to this day, and it is thought, that it gaue a beginning to the cittie: as likewise the citties of *S. Gall*, *Lucerna*, and many more in *Germany*, haue deriued their originall from Abbeyes. The *Rhene* is also another cause of the citties encreasing, continuing so for some thousand of yeares since, beneath the city, where

The original  
and situation  
of Schaffouse

Many citties  
in Germany  
tooke their  
names of Ab-  
beyes.

wherewith it is (in a manner) enclosed. It falleth downe from a very great height, with such a dreadfull noyse, and remounting vp againe into the ayre so vehemently, that it maketh there a continuall fogge or myst. And for this cause, and the incapableness of any Boates to passe there, all such as descend downe the Lake of *Constance*, and from *Cella* on the *Rheine*, are constrained to discharge at *Schaffouse*; which hath bene conceived by many, to giue that name to the City, to wit, of a Squiffe, or of a Boate, which the Germanes call *Skiff*, or *Schiff*. thence to bee tearmed *Schaffouse*. Neuerthelesse, the vulgar sort, taking vp a false etymologie of the word *Schaff*, which signifieth a Sheepe; haue grounded their opinion strongly thereon, and forged Armes also of the same nature. There is a great tole or custome gathered in this City, especially for the passage of Salt: which appertained in ancient times, and before the foundation of the City, to two Noble Families, to wit, of *Turn*, and of *Stad*, which remaine yet to this day at *Schaffouse*.

Boates are to passe the water at Schaffouse.

concerning the name of Schaffouse.

great Tolle Custome of salt.

Schaffouse at the City at the time, but afterward allienated by the Emperor.

Schaffouse was subjected to the Dukes of Austria for 85 years.



At the beginning, the principall dominion or sway of the City, belonged to the Abbot, who elected and chose one halfe of the Magistrates; but (by little) and little) they exempted themselves from his gouernement, and obtained many good priuiledges and franchises of the Emperors. But *Lewes* of *Bauaria* (weakened by long warres) could not pay the Duke of *Austria*, such monies as he ought him, according to an agreement made betweene them, which caused him to alienate and sell *Schaffouse*, together with some other Townes, and so (by that meanes) it became dismembred from the Empire. After that time, *Schaffouse* remained subiect to the Dukes of *Austria*, for the space of fourescore and five years, euen vntill the councell of *Constance*: for then *Fredericke* of *Austria*, because hee brought Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth out of the councell, was banished by the Emperor *Sigismond*, who caused him

to bee so narrowly pursued, that all his goods were partly pilld, and partly confiscated to the Empire, without any other meanes of helpe.

In this warre, *Schaffouse* became reuinited to the Empire, and the citzizens (hauing giuen a good summe of money, to the Emperor) obtained great priuiledges vnder Letters patents: and therein was plainly expressed, that (thence forward) their City should not any more be alienated from the Empire. But *Frederick* the third, of the house of *Austria*, being Emperor: laboured to subiect it againe, and that the city of *Schaffouse* might remaine to his successors. And therefore hee permitted Duke *Sigismond*, to compell the citzizens to sweare fidelity to him; which they refused to doe, but with exception of their priuiledges, and they would not receiue the Princes Ambassadors into the city, but vpon that condition. Contrariwise, the Ambassadors pressed them earnestly, to oblige themselves to the Prince, without any exception, and propounded certaine Articles, for the maintenance whereof, they required oath: threatening the citzizens with very great harmes, if they would not yeelde to that which they demanded of them.

The men of *Schaffouse*, seeing the Ambassadors persist still in their opinion: to make good their owne part, receiued the Switzers Ambassadors into their city, and made alliance (for some yeares) with them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, so that the Ambassadors of *Austria* returned backe, and performed iust nothing.

Before this, they of *Schaffouse* were in good amity with the Switzers, and from the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, forty five, made alliance (for some time) with them of *Zurich*. But because they were Subiects to the house of *Austria*, against whom, the Switzers had (well neere) continuall warres: they could not then entertaine firmly this amity, but were compelled, to go in war against the Switzers, vnder the Ensignes of the *Austrians*. But after this last alliance, they were very good and faithfull friends vnto the Cantons, and bare them company in many warres and batailes. For immediately after the alliance

begin:

Schaffouse reuinited to the empire againe, and great priuiledges granted thereto.

The Switzers Ambassadors receiued into Schaffouse, & alliance made with them.

The Switzers had continuall warre against the house of Austria.

began: the *Austrians* came and assaulted the *Switzers*, and namely them of *Schaffouse*.

It came to passe, that the Cantons (obeying the command of Pope *Pius*) made war with *Sigismond* of *Austria*, which being pacified, they of *Austria* tooke Armes againe, because *Mulhouse* and *Schaffouse* had ioyned themselues with the *Switzers*, who ledde a great Army to the Count of *Ferrara*, and into the quarters about *Montbeliard*. At the same time, *Peregrin de Hewdorff*, accused them of *Schaffouse* in the Imperiall chamber of *Rotuille*, and sollicited so much, that they were put to banishment from the Empire. Among others, he charged *Iohn* and *Conrad de Fulach*, brethren & citizens of *Schaffouse*; of a noble and ancient Family, who sometimes possessed a Castle, neere vnto the downefall of *Rheine*, whence *Albert* of *Austria* had expelled them, but soone after they entred it againe by intelligence. In regard whereof, they & the other cittizens that maintained their iust quarrell, were proscribed. In this war the Cantons sent a good Garrison vnto *Schaffouse*.

While these helps and succours lasted, the citizens made diuers courses into the lands about, appertaining to the house of *Austria*; as in the Mountaines of the black Forest, in *Hegow*, *Kleckgow*, and other limtrophing lands of *Suaba* and of *Basile*. Finally, hauing laide siede before *Waldshout*, which is a Towne at the entrance into the Blacke Forest, where the Riuer of *Ar* falleth into the *Rheine*, and which was vnder the *Austrian* gouernment, peace was made; wherein they of *Suaba* were exempted, & stood banished from the Empire, at the pursuite and charges of *Sigismond*. Thus then the Cantons hauing experimented in these warres, the faithfulnessse of them of *Schaffouse*, and knowing well withall, what commodities they receiued from such a city, seated in so apt a place on the confines of *Suetia*; And reciprocally, the men of *Schaffouse*, feeling themselues to be deliuered from their enemies, by the good assistance of the *Switzers*; they thought it very expedient, both for the one side and the other, to prolong the alliance. And accordingly, in the year 1479. they made an alliance for twenty five yeares following: wherein were comprehended, the men of *Vri* and *Vnderuald*, with whom *Schaffouse*

(till then) had not any particular acquaintance.

The tenour of this alliance, is (almost) answerable to that of the ancient Cantons. For in the first place, they binde theselues to aide one another. Afterward, they establish a forme of iudgement, for reconciling or auoyding such differences, as should happen between them of *Schaffouse* and the Cantons. Then followeth in what manner debts ought to be paide, & what meanes are to be vsed in such cases. Then for the punishment of homicides, or men-killers. The last Article concerneth the new & ancient alliances, to wit, the one side shall make no new alliance, without the will and consent of the other: And that the auncient alliances shall alwayes be esteemed of most aduantage, & to precede all the other.

After all this, the warre of *Bourgongne* hapned, and some yeares consequently, that of *Suaba*, mooued by the Emperour *Maximillian*, against the *Switzers*. In both theses warres, they of *Schaffouse* did their duty exceeding well, furnishing men and money for the weale-publike: by which meanes, they entred into the good grace of the Cantons, much more then euer they did before, and wonne great honour. Also, the year after the last warre, to wit, 1501. they made perpetuall alliance with the *Switzers*, and were enrolled in number of the Cantons, obtaining the 12. ranke or roome.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Of the warres of the Switzers, since such time as they came to be in number of the Cantons, and making them twelue.*

After that *Basile* and *Schaffouse* were numbred with the cantons, and that they were 12. during the alliance which they had made with King *Lewes* the 12. in the year, 1503. some among them (in great number) went for him in the war of *Naples*, without leaue neuerthelesse, and against the Edicts of their Magistrates. As the *Switzers* and *French* might brag of small happineffe, in the first warre of *Naples*,

The Cantons made war on Sigismond of Austria, by the Popes command.

The men of Schaffouse accused by Peregrin de Hewdorff.

Incurfions made on the Austrians lands, by them of Schaffouse.

A new alliance of Schaffouse for 25. yeares, made with the cantons.

A breefe of the Articles and conditions of the alliance.

Schaffouse is reckoned for the twelfth Canton.

Wars in Italy the French & Switzers not fortunat in the war of Naples.

Naples, vnder King Charles the eight: so their fortune prooued little better in this last warre. They, who (during the first warre) were left in Garrisons, in strong places and Fortresses of the Kingdome; dyed of diseases for the most part. Such as escaped in this warre, in recompence of their trauaile, brought home to their owne houses, that villainous contagion of the Spanish disease, the *Neapolitane* euill; and the *French* Pocks: At the last war they were ouercome in two battailes, and lost a great number of their men. The yeare 1507. the Cantons sent succour vnto the King, who (by their meanes) made himselfe Master of the field, which the *Geneuways* had planted in a Mountaine, that commanded ouer their citty, which (soon after) yeelded it selfe.

At the same time, the Emperor *Maximillian* demanded men of the *Switzers*, and they promised him a leuye of 6000. men, provided, that he should not leade them against the King of *France*, their alie: but because he would not accept this condition, the leuye remained, and was not made.

Soone after, to witte, in the yeare 1509. the league of alliance betweene the King of *France* & the *Switzers*, tooke ending, and the Emperor, Pope *Iulius* the 2. the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, leagued themselues together; and made warre on the *Venetians*, wherein the *Switzers* serued the King of *France* for wages. The yeare following, Pope *Iulius* made alliance with the *Switzers*, by the meanes of *Matthew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who immediately after the alliance concluded, led sixe thousand *Switzers* into *Italy*; vnder pretence of defending the lands of the Church, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. But his true intent was, to surprize and expell the *French* out of *Millaine*. The *Switzers* hauing discouered his purpose, would not follow the Cardinall against the *French*, and their Lords had likewise forbidden them: so that the Pope sent them into *Swetia*, without paying them their wages, wherat they were very highly discontented.

In the yeare 1511. perpetuall alliance betweene the *Switzers*, the houses of *Austria* and of *Bourgongne*, was renewed. On the other side, the Ambassadors of *France* desired the *Switzers* to renew the alliance

with their King: but the most part of them were dispensed, because so soone as the first alliance was expired, the King had denied them all their payes and yearely pensions.

And albeit that a very great number among them, were no sound well-willers or friends to the Pope, who likewise had not payed them: yet notwithstanding, fearing lest he should excommunicate them, they durst not alie themselues with the King of *France*, who then was enemy to the Pope. Heereupon, hapned a disgrace to be done them by the *French*, for they had taken at *Lugano*, a Herald of the *Switzers*, with letters from the Seignery about him: first, they drowned him, and to despight the *Switzers*, the Coate of Armes, which the Heralds and Officers to the Cantons vse to weare, they solde at open port-sale, or out-cry, as we commonly call it.

The *Switzers*, in the very strongest of winter, led their Army ouer the Alpes, where hauing burned some Villages, they returned backe againe, without performing any other memorable deed. But the yeare following, Pope *Iulius* (who had lost a great bataile at *Rauenna*, at encountering there with the *French*) called them to helpe him, and therefore they sent into *Italy*, an Army of twenty thousand me. They being ioyned with the *Venetians* (then reconciled to the Pope) tooke at their arriuall *Cremona* and *Paui*, driuing the *French* out of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, so that nothing remained to them, but onely the Castle of *Millaine*. In regard of these worthy exploits, the Pope gaue the *Switzers* the title, of *Defenders of the Church*; enriching their Standards with diuers Images, and publikely gaue to the whole Nation of the *Switzers*, two great Standards, which they call, *Paner*, that is, *The Sword and Bonnet*, as a noted marke of liberty. *Maximillian Sforza*, re-established in his paternall domination by the *Switzers* succour: made alliance with them, and gaue to the Cantons *Lugano*, *Locarno*, *Mendrisa*, and the Vale of *Madia*.

He gaue also to the *Grisons*, their confederates, the Vale *Telina* or *Volturena*. Likewise *Charles*, Duke of *Sauoye*, whose predecessors had particular alliance (long time before) with some of the Cantons:

The Switzers offended with the King of France, about their payes & pensions.

Great wrong done to an Officer of Armes.

The Switzers reuenged on the French in very notable manner, and called, Defenders of the Church.

The Sword & Bonnet, signes of liberty.

Great gifts bestowed on the Cantons.

Spaniards brought it out of the Indies into Christenome, & bewred it on the French, the siege of Naples.

honorable made in the Switzers, not weare arms in their

Cardinal on a warre and capll enemy the French

made alliance with all the Switzers, for 25 yeares after following.

In the same yeare, the King of France solicited the Switzers, to become agayne allied with them: but because hee would not set free the Castle of *Millaine*, and some discouery was made beside, that his Ambassadors laboured to corrupt some particulars by gifts, and to buy their voyces for faire money layde downe; they were commaunded to depart out of the Leagued countries; and so the warre was renewed again. For the King sent a great Army into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of the Lords of *Triuulfe* and *Trimouille*, who besieged *Maximillian Sforza* in *Nouara*. Hee was then accompanied vwith foure thousand Switzers, to whose ayde, eight thousand more were sent. Their vantgard being arriued at *Nouara*, and they within being ioyned with them, they gaue the battell to the French, vanquishing & driving them out of *Italy*. *Guichardin* the Italian, an Historian much renowned, writes that the *Switzers* won such honor by this victory, as many haue made no difficulty in equalling this happy successe of theirs, with (almost) all the braue exploits of the Greekes and Romanes. Notwithstanding, the field was deere enough bought by them, because fourteen hundred *Switzers* were there slaine, and the most part of them by the Cannon, before that they could come to handye stroakes. Which made the people of *Swetia* to murmur in many places, and all blame fell on them that tooke part with the French: so that diuers withdrew themselves from *Swetia* for a time onely, and two only had their heads smitten off in those mutinies and commotions: for the rest, all was well pacified, without any effusion of blood.

After this victory of the *Switzers*, the Emperor *Maximillian*, quitting the amity and alliance of the King: aduised the *Switzers*, to enter France by *Bourgongn*, with an army of six thousand men; wherto (wel-neere) sixteene thousande other voluntary ioyned themselves, together with some troopes of horse belonging to the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the

Prince of *Wirtemberg*. There they besieged \**Dijon*, the capital City of all *Bourgongne*. But the Lorde of *Trimouille*, an olde Captaine, beeing not of strength to defend well the place, agreed vwith the Switzers, on conditions, that the King should acquit whatsoever he pretended to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and paye them (at certaine appointed times) sixe hundred thousand Crowns; for assurance whereof, he gaue them foure Lordes of marke, as hostages, with whom the Switzers departed thence immediately.

Nowe, although it was a matter most palpable and notorious to all men, that this composition warranted the kingdom because that *Dijon* being taken, the *Switzers* might haue run vp so farre as to the gates of *Paris*, or ioyned themselves there with the English; and beside that king *Lewes* hadde not a sufficient Army to make head against them; yet notwithstanding, he would not ratifie his composition. For he would not admit (by any meanes) that his rights to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, should be so much as talkt of. The Switzers seeing themselves thus handled, and highly offended with such slye trickes: threatned to kill the Hostages, except the confirmation might be brought within a certaine time. Neuerthelesse, the winter grew extreame vpon them, and yet they resolved to re-enter France in the month of *Nouember*: But the King sent his Ambassadors, who laboured (by all meanes) to make a perpetual peace with the Switzers. In the meane while, they coule no way ioyned, because the conditions which the King propounded, were very vnreasonable: which was the cause that the time spent it selfe in dayes and deliberations, in meere talke and friuolous disputes, whereby the enterprize of marching into France, was quite broken. Concerning the rest of these meetings and assemblies, they were thus considered on, that in the month of *December*, the same year, they of *Appenzel* were added to the Cantons number, and held the thirteenth place.

CHAP

The King of France is denied to be leagued with the Cantons.

The victorie of the Switzers ouer the French at *Nouara*, very famous.

An Armie of Switzers, by counsell of the Emperor, entered into France throuwe *Bourgongne*.

\* *Dijon*.

Meanes made to get the Switzers got out of France.

The King of France reiteth the former composition agreed on by *Trimouille*.

Much talkt and nothing done.

*Appenzel* 13. Cantons

CHAP. XIII.

*Of the Originall of Appenzell: how it tooke that name. The Lawes, Customes, & manner of government there obserued.*



Appenzel is the name both of a Country, and of a Village. The country is situated somewhat about S. Gall, betweene the high Mountains, and on the Frontiers of the Grisons country. The inhabitants liue (scatteringly) in Villages, and among the number of them, there are eight chiefe and principal, which haue euery one their Temple or parish church. The maine head of all is the village of Ap-



penzell, whereof all the rest of the country beareth name. This Country was sometimes vnder the gouernment of the Abbots of saint Gall, and because they alwaies vsed to

dwel in the chiefe town or village, wher they builte a very strong Castle, named *Clauz*: the village was therefore cald *Appenzel*, which in Latine is, *Abbatis Cella*: that is to say, *The Chamber or dwelling of the Abbot*.

The people of *Appenzel* aimed at liberty, first by armes, and after peace made, they bought liberty for themselus & their children, by meanes of a great sum of mony, which they paid to the Abbot. They had wars which continued seuen yeares, against *Cuno de Stouffen*, Abbot of *S. Gall*; to whom the townes about the Lake of *Constance*, and belonging to *Frederick D. of Austria*, the bishoppe of *Constance*, the Count of *Wirtemberg*, & many Counts & Gentlemen gaue succour. Yet they of *Appenzel* would not yeeld themselus for all this, but being ayded by the Cittizens of *S. Gal* (who, at the beginning, were partakers with the Abbot, but afterward ioined with them of *Appenzel*, won som battels, tooke siue Townes, and more then sixty Castles, part whereof were quite ruined. In this war, they leagued themselus with the Switzers, who were enemies vnto the

house of *Austria*. Some say, that they allyed themselus with *Suits* and *Glaris* only; but others doe maintaine, that it was with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderuald*. This Warre tooke ending in the yeare, 1408. and by meanes of the Emperour *Rupert*, agteement was made betweene them of *Appenzel* and their enemies, in the City of *Constance*.

This being done, the men of *Appenzel* framed a forme of gouernment to themselus, which yet they hold vnto this day. For till then, each village had her ensign, and her estates apart, or by it selfe. Now there was but one Ensigne, one assembly of their estates, and one Council, composed of the most honest people, and the notablest persons in all the Villages thoroughout the countrey. Then three yeares after the peace was made, the Abbot of *Saint Gall* attempted a new suite against them: but then they made alliance with *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald Zug*, & *Glaris*, which so offended the Abbots of *Saint Gall*, as, about the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty five, *Henric Mansdorff* (then Abbot) preuailed so far, that they of *Appenzel* were proscribed by the Emperour, and excommunicated by the Pope. Banishment was no great hurt, or inconuenience to them in any manner whatsoeuer, because the countrey (being round engirt with Mountaines, and not Trafficking almost with any bodie) no inuasion could bee made vpon them. As concerning the excommunication sent from the Pope, they resolued in an assembly of al the country, not any way to care for it. And therefore they expelled all the priests (that obserued the command of the Pope) out of their Countrey, and would not permit them to administer the Sacraments: amongst all which they killed but one.

The Abbot of *Saint Gall*, perceiuing that this course did him not any seruice; and that (on the other side) the men of *Appenzel* ranne verie fiercely vpon such, as durst tearme them to bee excommunicate, and ruined the Castles of manie Gentlemen. Finally, by helpe of the Byshoppe of *Constance*, and the Noblemen of *Suaba*, hee accused them before the Electours of the Empire, imploring theyr helpe and aide in this extremitie. The Electours sent to the Switzers, and to

Their league with the Switzers.

Their forme & maner of their order and gouernment, first by themselues, and afterwards in due fashion.

People are banished and excommunicated, because they maintain their countries liberty.

The Abbot of *S. Gall* appealeth to the Electors.

A description of the scituation of Appenzel, and the villages there belonging.

Abbatis Cella the Abbots Chamber or dwelling.

The inhabitants of Appenzel buy their liberty.

Their Warre made against the Abbot of *S. Gall*.

The Switzers would not war on their neighbours.

the Citties of *Suaba*, that they should bring them of *Appenzel* vnder obedience. But the *Switzers* would not make any war on their neighbours and fellow cittizens: but rather laboured to make peace, which was agreed on foure yeares after this excommunication, the men of *Appenzell* hauing bene (before) ouercome in two encounters, by the Count of *Toggenbourg*.

Warre made vpon the Noble-men by them of *Appenzell*.

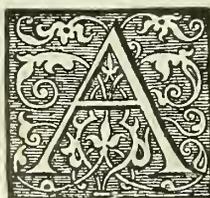
This peace lasted not long, for the Gentlemen, neighbours to *Appenzell*, about the Lake of *Constance*, assembled a great number of horsemen, wherewith to inuade them of *Appenzell*. But they disappointed their hope, and got before them; possessing themselues of *Rineck*, & of the Vale of *Rbegusce*, in the year, 1445. The Lords of *Hagenwill*, who helde that country in pawne or pledge: caused them of *Appenzell* to be censured with banishment, by the Imperiall Chamber established at *Rotuille*. But gaining nothing by the bargaine, they solde them their right, for the summe of sixe thousand crowns, and tooke off the censure. In the yeare, 1452. they made perpetuall alliance with seauen of the Cantons, and (after that time) ioyned themselues with the *Switzers*, in the warres against the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Bourgongne*, and the league of *Suaba*, wherein they shewed themselues both faithfull and valiant. Afterward, in the yeare, 1513. they were receiued into the number of the Cantons.

When anger helps not, patience must preuaile.

*Appenzell* receiued into the Cantons.

## CHAP. XV.

*Concerning the alliance made betweene the five last Cantons; And a breuiate of their Articles, binding them together in confederacy.*



ALL the latter cantons, except *Basile*, long time before their receiuing into this ranke, were allied to the other ancient Cantons, and then afterward, at sundry times they were receiued and numbred with the cantons,

according as wee haue noted already.

Now those Cantons doe hold this right about their confederates, that they deliberate, and giue aduice in their dayes of consultation, for all occasions concerning (in common) the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. They haue a share or part, in all commodities and discommodities of the comminality. They gouerne (in equall authority) all the Baliwicks by them obtained, and partake equally and publikely, all booties gotten in warre. For the rest, the Articles of alliance of the old Cantons, and latter with the first, are almost alike.

What rights and priuiledges belongeth to the Cantons

The first and principall Article, concerneth mutuall succour or assistance, wherein there are diuersity of clauses. The Cantons which shall be called, ought to succour their associate or companion, without any fraud or delay. If a Canton be so suddenly engirt by the enemy, as he cannot call the other, neither by Letters nor Ambassadors; yet shall not they forbear (for all that) from giuing succour, and in as speedy manner, as if they had receiued expresse aduertisement. If the latter Cantons doe conceiue, that a wrong is done vnto them; yet notwithstanding, they shall mooue no warre against any person, without the will and consent of the olde Cantons. If their enemies will debate their cause in iustice, and accept the *Switzers* for their Iudges, or others of equall and indifferent judgement: the Canton may not attempt to pursue his right by Armes. Euery one of the Cantons, at their owne charge and expences, shall come to succour the other, and send such numbers of men as they would haue, and according as they shall see it commodious, wherewith the other Canton must content it selfe. In like manner, the limits are prescribed, wherein the auncient Cantones stand bound to send helpe to the new: And the limits are the confines of the Cantons, as they then stand. There is likewise mention made, concerning charges and expences, at the besiedging and battering of Townes and Castles. And the Lawes agreed vpon at *Stantz*, touching the partage of booties, which also are heerein confirmed.

Articles of alliance of the latter cantons with the former.

The limitation & bound of succour be sent.

The second Article declareth, what kinde

of differences betweene the Cantons many.

of subjects of one Canton to be entertained by another Canton

of especiall urgency of the conditions of material

of the death of Lewis the 12. of France, after whom succeeded Francis de Valois.

kinde of course is to be obserued, if a difference do happen between two Cantons or many: But wee shall speake in our second Booke, what forme of iudgement is in the case to be kept. Moreouer, there is mention made, concerning actions in cases of iniuries betweene particulars, and what Iudges they are to take note of in that kind. Then for the exacting of names: Concerning commerce, and free Trafficke, and what bargaining ought to stand free for buyers, as well on one part as the other. That no Canton shall receiue the citizens and subiects of another Canton: till they be first left at liberty, by them vnder whose dominion they were before. That the new Cantons shall not make alliance with any whosoeuer, without consent of the olde Cantons. If war is moued betweene the old Cantons, the latter shall remaine as newters; and labour onely to agree the parties. Each Canton shall keepe his or her ancient priuiledges rights, and customes in their true integritie.

Behold the principall conditions of the latter alliances, wher namely it is decreed that the new Cantons shal not moue any warre, without aduice of the old, neyther refuse that which is right, nor any honest condition of the countrey; and other such like things, concerning warre, are established fully. And because that the most part of the latter Cantons, are vpon the limits and euen out (as it were) of *Swetia*; they ordained, that no one shoulde attempt to make any warre, except it were for some matter of very great importace: and so much the rather, because it is very hard to conduct and maintaine an army in those quarters.

CHAP. XVI.

*Heere we are to speake of the Switzers wars in Italy, when the French undertooke to recouer the Dukedome of Millaine, &c.*



**I**n the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, siue hundred, & fiftene, King *Lewes* the twelfth dyed. He had newly sought by

his Ambassadors, the amity and alliance of the Switzers. Neuerthelesse, in the meane time, he made great preparation for war, pretending to recouer the dukedome of *Millaine*. *Frances de Valois*, his kinsman, and his sonne in law, came after him (as successor) to his crown; who following the deliberation of his father, had also his minde and eye fixed on the *Mil-laineses*. The Switzers (on the other side) allyed with the Emperour *Maximillian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, *Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*, and with Pope *Leo* the tenth: vndertook to defend *Millaine* against the French. Wherefore, after they vnderstood the King of France his preparation they sent (at their first leuy) six thousand men to the Duke of *Millaine*. Afterward, the tenth of Iune, they made another leuy of 13000. men, which they sent also to ioyne with the first.

King *Frances* passed over the Alpes in the meane while, by vnaccustomd waies, shunning the Garrisons of the Switzers, which were vpon the vsuall passages, and entred into *Italy*, with an Armie verie potent, of French and Germanes. This was the reason that the Cantons sent twelue thousand men more thether, so that the campe of Switzers onely, consisted of one and thirry thousand men. Now, although the Kings troopes were well provided and resolued, yet they woulde not hazard any thing, nor set vpon so great an Army of Switzers: it being such indeed as hardly (at any one time) had so manie euer before beene in the field. Hereupon by their Deputies, they began to treat on peace with the Colonels of the Switzers: who likewise (for their part) were not far off from it in disposition, because they considered, that their confederated princes did not march on roundlie with them.

For first of al, their wages was not paid them, according to promise. Moreouer the Emperour had not sent his companies of horsemen, as he stood bound to do by the confederacy. And contrarywise, he had not prohibited the Lance-Knightes (which hee might haue done in regard of his authority) from going in seruice with the King: but suffered them (by troopes) to depart from Germany, and enter into France. Finally, although the forces of the Pope and King of *Spaine* were nere-

The Switzers attempt to guard Millain against the French.

The Camp of Switzers, was 31000. men in number, and neuer so many of them scene before in the field at one time.

Reasons inducing the Switzers to listen to peace when it was moued.

yet

yet notwithstanding, they could hardlie be perswaded to passe the *Pau*, and ioyned themselves with the *Switzers*. Beside, there were messengers goeing and coming betweene the French and them, & from them to the French. Wherefore, the *Switzers* seeing themselves without money, and forsaken of their Consortes: made peace in the village of *Galleras*, with the Deputies to the King of France, vnder honest conditions. Which having bene confirmed by some Cantons, immediately twelue thousand *Switzers* took their way to *Coma*, and returned home to their country, without tarrying for the rest, who likewise prepared to depart the next morning. But the Duke of *Millaine* would not accept the conditions of this peace; and the Cardinall of *Ston*, (a great and perpetuall enemy to y<sup>e</sup> French) laboured by oblique meanes, to break & frustrate all.

It came to passe, that by cunning tricks and plottes, the thirteenth day of September, the *Switzers* of the Guard to the Duke of *Millaine*, and some others beside offended with the King, in the night time brake in vpon the French, sending worde instantly to aduertise their companions, in what danger they were, and intreated their present succour. The other, imagining that it would be a great shame vnto them, to forsake their friends in such a neede, and being made to beleue with all, that the French had begunne this broyle, went with all their troopes to assist them. The fight was very sharp on all sides; but the night parted them. In this charge was slaine *Frances*, the Lorde of *Bourbon*, the Lord of *Imbercourt*, also the Count of *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Talemond*, sonne to the Lorde of *Trimouille*, the Lords of *Bussy d'Amboise*, and manie other: which made some to holde opinion, that the *Switzers* were Maisters in this conflict, and a brute ran thorow *Italy*, that they remained conquerours. But the very same night, the King hauing mounted his Artillerie on their carriages, leuelled the battalions of the *Gascoigns* and *Germaines*, re-assembling the horsemen vnder their Regiments, and sending *Bertelomeo d'Aluiana* with the Armie of *Venetians*: very earely in the Morning, he gaue battaile to the *Switzers*, whom he vanquished, after they had lost manie

of their men.

The *Switzers* seeing the victory in a contrary hand, withdrew them-selues to *Millaine*; yet in such sort, that their retreat fauoured not of flight. For, they brought backe the Artillery which came out of *Millaine*, and marched in ranke of battaile, hauing their wounded Men in the middest among them, and going but a very softly pace: yet in all the French Army, not a man, eyther Horse or Foot, durst pursue them. On the morrow, hauing left the Duke of *Millaine* fiteene hundred men, to strengthen his garrison in the Castle, they returned into *Swetia*, by the way of *Coma*. But, by reason of their foile, the French recouered the dukedom of *Millaine*.

The Emperour *Maximillian* contested hardly to take it from them againe, & the yeare following, he ledde into *Italy* (to effect that hope) an army of Germans and *Switzers*: but he could doe nothing, and so was glad to come backe again immediately. As for the King of France, hauing well felt how deare a price this victorie cost him: he neuer ceased till hee hadde made peace and alliance with the *switzers* in the end. Perpetuall peace, betweene the French and the *Switzers*, was made in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, and eightene, the last day of *Nouember*: and the alliance was confirmed three yeares after, to wit, in Anno one thousand, five hundred, twentie and one. The Articles both of the peace and alliance, are set downe in their due place, heereafter following.

## CHAP. XVII.

*A Discourse, concerning the Alliance of the Switzers, with the King of France.*



T that very time, all the Cantons, *Zurich* onely excepted, made Alliance with the King of France. And, although they of *Zurich* were earnestly

12000. Switzers part home to theyr country, without the rest of their companie.

A hot & fierce fight between the Switzers & the French wherein the Switzers wer ouerthrowne in the end.

Read the lord du Bellay, in the first book of his Memoires.

The retreat the Switzer backe to Millaine.

The Duke-dome of Millaine recouered by the French.

Perpetuall peace betweene the Switzers and the French.

Certain reasons why the me of Zurich refused to be allied with the king of France

The allegations of Huldrich Zuinglius, why Christian men should not make themselves hyrcings in warre.

The men of Zurich were peacefully minded, and the title given to warre.

Taxations imposed vpon the new league

nestly solicited by the rest, to ioyne in this league with them: yet for all that, they could neuer bring them to the point of yeelding to this alliance. In the first place, the yeares going before, *Mathew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who came verie often to Zurich: by his Orations and perswasive speeches, had wholly estranged them from the French. On the other side, *Huldrich Zuinglius*, being then a principal minister at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceased not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre seruices. Shewing by arguments & remonstrances of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Christian man, to set himselfe to sale for a price of money, and go shed the bloode of such as are (oftentimes) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He sayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had planted liberty in their countrey. All which while, they wholly estranged themselues from such course of liuing; their liues wer maintained by their trauell; neuer binding themselues vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was to be sold.

And as hee had words verie readie at command; so he approued by great store of sound reasons and arguments, that such alliances did but enervate & meere-ly prostitute the liberty of the *Switzers* to forraine Kings and Princes. So that the men of Zurich, being (otherwise) people of peace, and little addicted to martiall affaires; were much moued with his speeches, and abhorred this new League. On the other side, the Captaines that hadde bene in the warres in the times of King *Charles* the eight, and *Lemes* the eleuenth, dissuaded them from the league, as being farre vnlike to the alliances with former Kings. For, in precedent times, after that the *Switzers* had well vnderstood & comprehended the occasion of the war; they made choise of such Captaines and soldiers as they should send to the king, according to their promise. But in the Newe League, the Cantons neither chose Captaines nor Soldiers, neither cared what became of all; what the occasions of the warre were, nor whether they vvere iust, or no. But, if the King were to deale with any people, he chose such Captains

of the *Switzers* as himselfe pleased, and caused them to come whether he thought good. By which meanes, the Cantons had not any power ouer their Men for warre, except they might counter-mand them, when any warre was moued in the country.

Moreouer, many saide, that this newe League was contrary to the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*. For, in the first Article they stand bounde, to guard all the Prouinces of France, against all enemies whatsoever they are. True it is, that the first alliances were exempted; but immediately is added, that if the ancient allies begin to make warre vpon the French, the Cantons ought to send succour to the King, against the other: whereon ensued (as it seemeth) that if any one of the Cantons, or of the Confederates, could not haue reason (in friendly maner) of the King of France, and would pursue his right by Armes; the other Cantons are bound to warre on him, according to the new League, and contrarie to the promises of the ancient alliances.

Moreouer, it is not any long time, since the *Switzers* denied their troopes to the Emperor *Maximilian*, alleadging (for their excuse; because he would haue had them serue at his Coronation) that they were occasioned (for many reasons) to keepe their men of warre (as then) at home in their owne countrey. Therefore it appeared to them verie vnfitting, that they should then allye themselues with the King, who would make a Leuye of them, so soone as the alliance was concluded.

They conceyued also, that it would be farre off from their auncient grauity and magnanimity, if they should league themselues so strictly with the King of France; of whom (but a yeare and an half before) they had written vnto the Electors of the Empire; that it was no way expedient that he should govern the affayres of Germany, so that if he should be elected Emperor, they were not minded to giue him obedience. And, as concerning the commodities of the alliance, which many did make lowd proclamations of: there vvere others of opinion, that the profite would fall into some particular purses, and especially of such; as enriched themselues by the pensions of France; but the Common-

Articles concerning the ancient and perpetuall Alliances of the Switzers.

The Switzers denied their troopes to the Emperor Maximilian, and vpon what cause.

The Switzers denied obedience to the King of France if hee were chosen Emperor.

monwealth of the *Switzers* would be no way benefited by the bargaine, as very easily was to be proved.

For in the first place, the country had no neede of any strange horsemen or infantry, hauing worke enough to doe in nourishing their owne breed for that imployment. Moreouer, the hope of helpe, and money from *France*, robbed the *Switzers* of all their true force and courage. In following the example of their predecessors, they were best to let their hope leane and rest vpon God, to serue and honour him in sincerity of heart, and vprightnesse of conscience. That not onely hope in God, would faile and diminish by such a League, but also it was to be feared, that it would very strongly break and corrupt their ancient manners, cause all husbandry to cease, giue ouer honest trades and exercises, and engender nothing but idlenesse. And then is easily known what followeth; dissolution in diet and apparrell, drunkennesse, whoredomes, adulteries, thefts, and blasphemies. For these are the fruites of warre, and the Arts that are lerned in the armies of strange Princes.

For a finall conclusion, the euent and successe of precedent alliances, haue both instructed and guarded many (especiallie the men of *Zurich*) to weigh well & consider on nouell combinations. For, albeit that some fewe did sufficient seruice to the nation, as that which was made against the Duke of *Bourgogne*: yet notwithstanding, the most part of those alliances, brought it into great extremities. Because in such straunge warres they lost many of their people: or els in those countries, they were rudely hurried and agitated, by factions and seditions. For these reasons, and diuers other considerations; the inhabitants of *Zurich* could not (as then) be induced to ally themselues with the king of *France*.

But the other confederates, who were not of any such opinion, maintaine what they did, by reasons enow. First, they declared, and would prooue it, that euery voyage in war was not condemned by the word of God: but that many holie persons had made wars; wherein they were ayded and succoured by others, as in like manner they had assisted their Allies. Secondly, that the war of the *Switzers* was not mercenary nor vendible; because

they went to the seruice of a King onely, (with whom they were ioyned by an honest alliance) with the will and consent of their Lords.

Thirdly, that if the King should moue a warre, which all men knew to be vniust; then it remained in the power of the Lords of the Leagues, to deny him succour. But if the occasion were doubtfull and vncertaine; the souldier had nothing to doe to make any curious inquisition thereof: it only appertained to the King and his Councell, to render a reason for it. Fourthly, that the *Switzers* Countrey was greatly peopled, but narrow, hard, & barren in many places, and could not furnish so many men with nourishment: wherefore the commodity was not to be condemned, which the King had offered voluntarily.

To these we will adde, that the *Switzers* ought to consider, with what neighbors they were enclosed, som wherof enuyed them, and others pryed into their Liberties: so that it was both well and wisely done, to fortifie themselues with strange succour against them, and that trust and hope in God, did not prohibite the vse of humane assistance. Also, this was a means to traine vp the *Switzers* in martiall discipline, which is necessary for all Commonwealths: and in regard whereof, warlike people haue euermore bene highly respected. Finally, although that some alliances haue discommodited the Countrey; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* haue sped well in the more part, especially, in those which they had with the kings *Lewes* the eleuenth, *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the twelfth. And therefore they must needs expect a happy yssue of this which they contracted with a King powerfull & fortunate.

This was the discourse then made concerning alliance with the French: as I learned of my predecessors, which liued in those times. The selfesame question hath bene often and seriously debated & handled, euen in my time, by men well grounded in the affayres of State, to whome (as yet) I referre the further knowledge of the case.

Arguments very considerably alledged by the *Switzers*, against ioyning in League with the King of *France*.

The fruites of war in forraign Princes seruices.

Some former examples were not altogether warrantable.

Arguments for alliance of the *Switzers* with the K. of *France*, against those formerly alledged by the of *Zurich*.

The *Switzers* countries storred with people, but very barren.

Martiall & militarie Discipline very expedient for all Commonwealths.



Of them that are Allyed and Leagued  
with the CANTONS.

And first, The Abbot of Saint Gall. CHAP. XVIII.



Hitherto wee haue shewne what the Cantons & confederates are, making vp a whole body of the Switzers Commonwealth, and what hath bene the e-

state and condition of euery one of them before they were leagued. Also, for what causes, at what times, and with what conditions they assembled themselues in a body politicke. Now we will discourse of the associates of this Commonwealth, according to the same order: and we will heere shew, wherefore, when, and vpon what conditions they allyed themselues with the Cantons. And because the Abbot, and the City of Saint Gall do holde the first ranke, wee purpose to begin with them.



Gallus, of whom the city of Saint Gall hath taken name, was a Gentleman of Scotland, and Disciple or Scholler to an Abbot, named *Colombanius*, with whome hee came into France, and thence trans-

ported himselfe into Germany, to a place called *Tuggen*, neere to the Riuer named *Limagus*, at the mouth of the Lake of Zurich. There he preached the Gospel with great zeale and affection, to the people of the Countrey, then bewitched with diuers kindes of Idolatry. Hee continued (soone after) at *Bregents*, at the mouth opening of the Lake of *Constance*: next, at *Arbonna*, and in diuers other places of

*Swetia*, for the space of sixteene years, or thereabout. *Conzo* Duke of *Suaba*, hauing called him to bee Bythoppe of *Constance*; he would not accept that charge: but councelled the Duke to giue it to one of his schollers, named *John*, whom hee thought to be more fit for the place. As for himselfe, about the yeare six hundred and thirty, he retired into the Mountaines, aboue the Lake of *Constance*, into a very solitary place; and in the very same plot or square of ground, where the Citie and Abbey of *S. Gall* now standeth: hee builded a little Cell or house, wherein he spent the rest of his dayes, with som of his schollers, in the studye and meditation of holy matters.

After the death of *S. Gall*, his schollers liked well to liue in that place, and according to his manner of life: neuerthelesse, without making profession then of anie certaine rule or order. But the Kinges of France, and the Dukes of *Suaba*, taking delight in their deuotion, did them many kinde Offices: where by the number of these religious men encreased, & (by little and little) the small silly house of saint *Gall*, became conuerted into an Abbey. For fourescore yeares after the death of *S. Gall*, they requested Counte *Bertraid*, Gouvernor of the countrey for the Kinges of France, that hee would giue them an Abbot. He sent them a Priest, named *Omer*, bred and brought vp in a Colledge, called *Coire* of the *Grisons*, and towards *Pepin*, Prince of France, sonne to *Charles Martell*: who following the aduice of his father, established this Priest the first Abbot of Saint *Gall*, and then (first of all) the Monkes made profession of the rule of *S. Benet*.

Gallus refused to be bythop of Constance, and preferred one of his schollers to it.

The death of S. Gal, & succession of his schollers, and his litle house becoming an Abbey.

Omer a priest the first Abbot of S. Gall.

nother Discourse of the author, concerning the associates in particular manner.

The City of Scotland took the name at first from one Gallus, Gentleman of Scotland.

Af-

After that time, the abbey became verie rich and powerfull, so that the Abbot of that place, was sette in number of the Princes. And in ancient times, he was vnder protection of the Emperours, who tooke the Gentlemen of *Suaba* to be Governors of this abbey. Afterward, warre being kindled betweene the *Abbot*, and them of *Appenzel*: the Monkes well perceiued that their Conuent stood in neede of some good Protectours, because the Townesmen or Cittizens of *S. Gall*, who were (as within the abbey) ioyned with them of *Appenzell*, who were also fauored by many seruants of the *Abbot*.

The Abbot of S. Gal desires to be receiued into the number of 4 Cantons, and to be ordered by them.

For this cause *Gaspar de Landberg*, then the two and fiftieth *Abbot* (by the aduice and counsell of the Monks) requested the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suites*, and *Glaris*, to receiue him into their alliance: establishing them patrons, fathers, & defenders of his freedom, & of al his goods, possessions, vsances, and priuiledges. This right is perpetuall, and at all times, and as often as a new *Abbot* is to be elected; hee promiseth this accord, and that al the places of his Seignery, shall alwayes lye open to these foure Cantons, and they to haue free access thither. And if diffrence shal happen between him and any other: he shall commit it (continually) vnto the hearing of the foure Cantons, and be iudged by them.

Landberg the Abbot being dead, *Huldreich* surnamed the Red, succeeded after him.

The successour to *Landberg*, named *Huldreich*, and surnamed *Le Roux*, added to this first alliance, that the foure Cantons should send (one after another) one of their Councell, that should remayne two yeares with the *Abbot*, to be Captaine of all his country. He gaue assistance in pleadings and iudgements, & the moiety of all fines remained to the Switzers. Moreouer, it was ordained in this alliance, that in all warres the *Abbots* subiects should goe to the succour of the 4. Cantons. As concerning that vvhich *Abbot Huldreich* renewed, and the League also, ioyning himselfe more strictly vnto the foure Cantons, the cause was thus. Sometimes before, the Cittizens of *Saint Gall*, they of *Appenzel*, and the subiects of the *Abbot*, had conspired together, and ruined the abbey of *Rosach*, which the *Abbot* had newly builded. So that the foure Cantons hauing sent for the other Cations to their assistance, reseatd the *Abbot* in his rites,

Abbot *Huldreich* renewed the league with the four Cantons, and more strictly.

and reprooued his aduersaries very stoutly. This association endureth yet to this day, and although al the Cantons are not at agreement with the *Abbot*, as concerning matter of Religion; yet notwithstanding, according vnto the articles of alliance, they send him a Captaine, who manageth and gouerneth ciuill causes, conseruing (in this regard) the rights and priuiledges of the *Abbot*.

Couenants of alliance kept though not in Religion all alike.

## CHAP. XIX.

### Of the Towne or City of S. Gall.

**T**HE Citie of *Saint Gall*, oweth her originall and encreasing to the Abbey, and hath beene enfranchised by the Emperours, who vnted it to the Empire, and gaue it many priuiledges and immunities. In the time of the Emperour *Arnould*, the citie began first to be enclosed with walles: as fearing the courses and surprizals of the *Hungarians*, and both it and the Couent were vnder the Empires protection. The cittie was subiect vnto the Abbey in many things: meane while, the citizens had their rites, which they augmented by their industry, & by means of the Emperors liberalities.

The Abbey began and increased the city of S. Gall.

Now, when the number of cittizens, and the riches of the Abbey beganne to increase: many debates and contentions also tooke Original, betweene the abbot and the citizens. Oftentimes, the Townes round about it, and the Imperial chamber, would set them at agreement again. Sometime likewise, they were glad to satisfie the Abbots demands with money, and encreased their liberties, by buying their rightes of him. But when they of *Appenzel* moued warre against *Abbot Cuno de Stouffen*; the men of *S. Gall* beganne to take part with the Abbot, and got nothing for their labour but blouves, vvhich caused them (soone after) to make alliance vwith them of *Appenzel*. This vvarre being ended, and some other after, abbot *Landberg*, being made a fellow-Bourgesse vwith

Wealth and ease are the first cause of strifes & ciuill contentions.



with foure Cantons • the cittizens of *S. Gall*, to maintaine themselves by the like expedient, entred perpetual alliance with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*. This alliance was sworne on the Eue of *S. Iohn Baptist*, in the yeare, 1454. And they of *Saint Gall* made a publicke banquet for the Ambassadors of the Cantons, whereat were present aboue fiftene hundred men. Before this alliance, they were leagued with some Cantons for certaine yeares: as with *Zurich*, *Constance*, and *Schaffouse*, in the yeares, 1312. and 1347. And at other times often with *Zurich* and *Constance*. Afterward, with *Zurich*, *Berne Vri*, *Suits*, & *Vnderuald*, in the yeare 1329. But I haue purposely omitted those alliances, made for so short times, contenting my selfe onely with this last mentioned, which continueth to this day

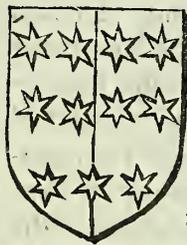
CHAP. XX.

Of the Leagued Grisons.

**I**T is generally agreed on that the people of the Grisons are very ancient. For some ages before the birth of our Saviour Iesus Christ, the Tuscans being driuen from their houses by the *Gauls* they possessed the Alpes, vnder conduct of their captain, named *Rhatius*, for whose sake they called themselves *Rhatians*. Heretofore this country extended it selfe greatly in length & largenes, so that the Romane Emperors made two *Rhatian* Prouinces, named the first & second *Rhatia*: which comprehended not onely the Alpine regions, but also a great part of *Suaba* & *Banaria*. Now, it is well knowne, that this first *Rhatia* beginneth at the source of *Rheine*, & taketh a sufficient great quarter of the Alpes, and all the valleyes on both the sides. Almost all the people there are (to this day) called *Grisons*; and in former times they were tearmed *Gris*: as likewise the *Allmains* gaue them the same name, & call them beside, *Graw pundter*, that is to say, *Leagued Grisons*. For, in regard that these *Rhatians* are Leagued, not onely with the *Switzers*, but also among themselves, and that of verie long

time, we call them *Leagued Grisons*, & sometimes the *Switzers* names them simply, *Pundter*, that is, *Confederates*.

Wee are to obserue three leagues of the Grisons. The first tooke name of her antiquity, and of the scituation of the country: for they called it, *The High League*, or *high Grisons*. It containeth nineteene Communities or Fellowshipes, among whom (heeretofore) the *Abbot of Dissentiff*, and the *Baron of Rhatia*, & the *Count of Misauk* held the cheefest ranke:



but the families of the latter are expired. Neuerthelesse, among them in common, they which possesse the Castle of the ancient *Barons of Rhatia*, are called *Lords of Rhatzurs*, a title which (some short while after) the *Lords of Marbrée* took; and after them; they which are named *Plantes*. They of *Tauetscher*, *Liwiner*, and *Mafoxertal* are the principall people of this league.

The second is called, *The league of Gods house*. I thinke it to be so termed, because the byshop of *Coire* is comprized in this league. It also comprehendeth nineteene Communities; two whereof doe speake the *Germane Language*; the other, vse the *Rhatian* or *Grison*, which is their mother tongue, & cometh neere to the *Italian*. The principal people of this league are the city of *Coire*, which is the *bishops Sec*. Also they of *Pregaul* and of *Engadin*, out of which countries run two renowned riuers, to wit, *Etsch* and *Inn*.

The third league hath ten Communities, and is called, *The League of ten Iurisdiccions*. Therein are comprized them of *Rhuchemberg*, and of *Tunlesch*. The former two leagues had (at the beginning) amity and alliance a certaine time, vwith the Cantons neereest to them. For, in the yeare, 1419. the *Byshop*, the *Chapter*, & the *cittie of Coire*, made Alliance vwith them of *Zurich* for one and fiftie yeeres. Also, they were somerimes allyed vwith them of *Glaris*. And the *Grisons* of the high league, wer long time confederated with them of *Vri*. Then after, with them of *Gods house* they made a perpetuall alliance vwith seauen of the Cantons. But the thirde League is not comprized in this alliance, and yet notwithstanding do

Three feuerall Leagues of the Grisons.

1. The High Leauge, or high Grisons.

2. The league of gods house or of the Hof-pitall.

3. The league of ten iuriddiccions.

Seuerall alliances, & at seuerall times.

oo men pre at at one inquet.

Concerning antiquitie of the Grisons, being sometime called Rhetians, one captain Rhatius.

Derfite of nes. giuen to the people of Rhatia.

entertaine this amity and society with the confederates, euen as firmly and faithfully, as if they stood tolemly bound thereto.

First then, in the yeare 1497. the high league, more properly called, *The Grifon league*, made perpetuall alliance with seauen Cantons: and the yeare following, the league of *Gods-house* ioyned it selfe with them, by this occasion following. Some yeares before, the league of *Gods-House* had had certaine great differences, with the dwellers in the county of *Tyroll*. In the end, by the will of the Emperour *Maximillian*, it was decreed; that the parties should chuse an equall number of Iudges, to take knowledge of their variance, and that *Thomas*, Bishop of *Constance*, should be Arbitrator aboue all the Iudges. But while the Councillers to the King delayed to end this discord, the Bishop of *Constance* dyed: and in his stead, *Maximillian* subrogated *Fredericke*, Bishop of *Ansbourg*. But the Kings councellers taking no knowledge of this other Arbitrator, prolonged (from day to day) the decision of the suite, as before they had done: all this while mollesting the *Grifons*, and charging them still with nouell impositions.

They perceiuing no cessation, deputed two of each league, and sent to *Innspruk*, insisting, that this difference should end, according to the order of the Emperour *Maximillian*. Which the councellers pretended not to know, albeit diuers of them, and (among the rest) the chanceller was present when the decree was set downe. Yet notwithstanding because the Deputies should not bee sent backe without answer; they assigned a day at *Velcure*, in Lent the next yeare ensuing. In the meane while, they of *Austria* planted Garrisons vpon the Frontiers, and strong Artillery in diuers places, making (vnder hand) their preparation for warre. For they had appointed that day expressely, because they would set vpon them at vnawares, & vtterly ouerthrow the *Grifons*, no way standing on their guard: wherein the Bishop of *Coire* lent his helping hand to them of *Austria*. But the league of *Gods-House*, hauing discovered the enemies intent; sent men to the cantons, who kept then a day at *Zurich*, and gaue them to vnderstand this eminent danger.

The Ambassadors declared, that beside the olde quarrels, new differences were moued, betweene them of *Austria* and the Switzers, so that there grew an appearance of warre: therefore for the profit & security both of the Switzers & Grifons, it seemed good, that they should be allied together. For by that meanes, the *Grifons* should easily expell the enemy out of their country: although they gaue them but little ayde, or almost none at all. On the other side, the Switzers should haue a Bulwarke to back them, and so might the more strongly make head against the enemy. The Cantons, who had bin well affected to the *Grifons* before, and knew those Mountaine-bred men, to bee a warlike disposed people, and how beneficiall this alliance wold be both to the one and other: concluded and established a perpetuity of loue with the *Grifons*, in the yeare 1498. and the Moneth of December, and the Articles of the alliance are these that follow.

*The Articles of alliance, betweene the Switzers and the Grifons.*

1. *First, that they shall be friends, & giue mutuall succour one to another.*
2. *The second Article concerneth the agreeing of differences, which may happen betweene confederates.*
3. *The third is, that no man shall giue or sell away, those actions that he hath against his debter, or the answerer, or surety for him.*
4. *The fourth concerneth victualles, according to one anothers trading: And to bee freely in the Markets, without standing bound to pay any new tributes.*
5. *That neither the one nor other side, shall make any new alliance, wherein these Articles shall be comprised, but with exceptions: And that in times of warre, the one side shall not make peace, except the other be therein comprehended also.*

These are the Articles and principall points of the alliance. But the yeare following, the warre of *Suaba* happened, wherein the *Grifons* valiantly defended their Frontiers, against the men of *Austria*. And by the ayde of their people, many times in like manner, and by the assistance of the Switzers, diuers braue battailes were

Alliance of the Grifons with the Switzers, and vpon what occasions.

A great difference betweene the league of Gods-house, and them of Tyroll.

The Grifons depute two of each league for ending their cause.

Cunning tricks, and fit for such to vse, as desire to oppresse the peoples liberty.

An offer of alliance betweene the Switzers and Grifons.

A perpetuall league of loue with the Grifons.

For friendshipp and assistance.

Agreeing of confederates.

No selling of debts.

For food and trading.

For new alliances, & making of peace.

New troubles happened by the warre of Suaba.

were wonne against the enemy. Yet after these victories hapning on either side, peace was (at length) made in the city of *Basile*, with the Emperor *Maximilian*; in which peace, the *Grisons* are also comprised. By this meanes, the beginning of the alliance was wholesome and happy to both parties, and afterward, in many wars where the *Switzers* were present, vnder wages of strange Princes their confederates: the *Grisons* alwayes marched as kinde companions with them.

It came to passe, that in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, thirty and one: *Iohn Iaques de Medicis*, who afterward was Marquesse of *Marignano*, getting vsurped possession of the Castle of *Musß*, vpon the Lake of *Coma*, and hauing taken *Clauenna* from the *Grisons*, forraging the country thereof: many Cantons, according to their league of alliance, sent succour to the *Grisons*: by meanes whereof, the enemy was ouercome at last, and driuen far off. In our time, the *Grisons* were allied with the French, and with the cantons of *Swetia*, and went to warre together for the King: yet in such sort neuer thelesse, that they send oftentimes a regiment separated of the *Switzers*, & which hath his Colonell & Captaine in chiefe.

CHAP. XXI.

*The Alliance of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.*

THE name of *Valaisians*, or them of *Valois*, comprehendes three distinct people, enclosed within the most high Mountaines, and dwelling in the Valley, from the fource of *Rheine*, so farre as the Lake \* *Lemannus*. They were anciently called *Viberines*, *Sedusians*, or *Segusians*, some say, *Sebusians*, and *Veragrians*. At this day, the *Viberines* and *Sedusians*, are called the high *Valaisians*, and are diuided into seuen Diocesses, or Wards of ten Parishes. The *Veragrians*, or lowe *Valaisians*, are subiects to the other: but the Bishop of *Sion* is Prince of all the country, hauing the soueraignty both temporall and spirituall, and he is called Count, or Governour of *Valois*. We haue descri-

bed in another Tract, apart by it selfe, not onely this Valley, but likewise all the most remarkable things of the *Valaisians*.



Five Wardes or Diocesses of the *Valaisians*, made first alliance with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, in the yeare 1417. They were then in warre against a Bishop, named *William de Raron*, and his

Father *Guiscard*, whom they had (by a popular tumult) forced from their houses. The *Bernians* gaue assistance to the Bishop and his Father, who were of their Bourgeses: And for this cause the *Valaisians* desiring to haue succour elsewhere: allied themselues with the fore-named 3. Cantons. Now fearing lest this might be an occasion of breeding quarrell betweene the *Bernians*, and the three Cantons allied with the *Valaisians*: the other cantons, who were as neuters to the businesse, laboured so earnestly, that the difference was pacified, and the Lords of *Raron* re-established in their goods. Before this alliance, the *Valaisians* had made one (for the space of ten yeares) with them of *Berne*, in the yeare 1250. Againe, after this warre, they contracted another alliance (for certaine time) with the *Bernians*. But in the yeare 1475, they made a league defensiue and offensiue. And in the same yeare when wee wrote this History (to wit, 1575.) an hundred yeares being expired, after the beginning of this league: they renewed and confirmed it on eyther part, by magnificent Ambassadors. Two yeares before they were leagued with the *Bernians*, they made a certaine agreement with them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*.

To conclude, in our time, vpon great differences mooued, concerning matters of Religion, Ceremonies, life and manners of the Cleargy, whereof reformation was required, *Swetia* being diuided into contrary parts; *Adrian*, Bishop of *Sion*, and seuen Wardes of the *Valaisians*, in the yeare 1533. made alliance with seauen Cantons, in the Towne of *Fribourg*, which Cantons made profession of the Roman Religion, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollenre*. In this Alliance (ouer & beside that which is vsed in the other) it

Guillaume de Raron and Guiscard his father.

Contracted alliances of the Valaisians with the Bernians.

Differences about the ceremonies, liues, and manners of the Cleargy.

Peace made in the city of Basile, for the Switzers and Grisons.

John Iaques de Medicis, Marquesse of Marignano.

The Grisons allied with the French.

Description of Valois or Valais.

A Lake of the Allobroges by Geneva and Lausanne.

The Bishop of Sion is Count and Governour of Valais.

was especially agreed, that they should aide one another, to maintaine the vsed and approued Religion, to wit, that of the Romane Church, against all them that would depriue or violence it.

### CHAP. XXII.

*Of. Rotwill, or Rotuill.*

**S**ome haue imagined, that *Taxgatum*, whereof *Ptolomy* speaketh in his *Geography*, was *Rotwill* or *Rotuill*, which *Glareanus* calleth *Erythropolis*, hauing changed the *Aleman* or *Germane* word, into a *Greek* word: but they much deceiue themselues. For *Ptolomy* placeth *Taxgatum* in the country of the *Grisons*, and *Rotuille* is scituated beyond *Danubius* in *Germany*, on the left side of the Riuer *Nicra*, and very neere to the Spring-head of both those Floods or Riuers. This city is sufficiently renowned among the Imperials, for therein is a chamber of the Empire, which is vulgarly called *Hofgericht*, whereunto all the round neighbouring countries resort, for causes of appeale. Such as are contumacious, and fayle of their appearance there; are sent (by sentence of the Iudges) into banishment from the Empire. It is said, that this chamber was established by the Emperor *Conrad* the third, and that it is 424. yeares since.



The first alliance that they of *Rotuille* made with the *Switzers*, was in the time of the Emperor *Fredericke* the third, in the yeare 1463. This alliance was renewed diuers times betweene them. At last, in the yeare 1519. they contracted perpetuall alliance with all the Cantons of the *Switzers*. Dvring the warre of *Suaba*, they of *Rotuille* (engirt with enemies on all sides) shewed themselues alwayes faithfull to the *Switzers*; offering them amiably and liberally all their riches and men: which the *Switzers* could not accept, but onely desired them, to defend their city against the enemy. Now in regard that *Rotuille* is sci-

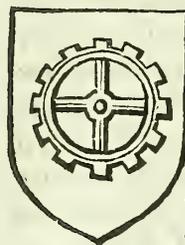
tuated along the limits of *Swetia*, and that succour cannot bee brought to one another, but with danger, considering, they must passe through other mens lands: the alliance speaketh expressely, that they must be carefull for drawing any war vpon them, or vpon any of their confederates.

And first of all; It is said, that they may not make war with any whofoeuer, without the knowledge and consent of the Cantons. They shall giue no succour to any person out of *Swetia*, without the will and consent of the Cantons. Moreover, if they would haue reason by Arms, for any iniury or out-rage done vnto the; they must attempt nothing, but by aduice of the Cantons. If their enemies will vndergoe iudgement, such as the Cantons shall thinke to be honest and equall: the men of *Rotuille* must also consent thereto. If warre chance to bee moued among the cantons; they of *Rotuille* are to follow that part, which the most part of voyces do allow. The cantons are to conferue (with all their power) the Imperial chamber of *Rotuille*; which (in the mean while) shall vse no authority against the *Switzers*, or any of them. And if any stranger shall cite or summon thither a *Switzer*; they are to make knowne, and he likewise, how farre he is to bee defended by priuiledge. In breefe, they are not to mollest any *Switzer* in that iurisdiction.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*Of Mulhouse.*

**M**ulhouse is a Towne in the county of *Ferrara*, or (as some do hold opinion) in the Territory of *Basile*. It is thought that in ancient times it was called *Ariabinium*. For in the Guide or Director of wayes, appointed by *Antonius Augustus*; this place is set betweene *Augusta Rauraca* (which is *Basile*) and *Vruncim*, which some do thinke to be called at this day, *Ensbeym*; then *Mount Brisfac*, *Heluetum*, and *Strasbourg* are named. In times of antiquity, *Mulhouse* was in number of the Imperiall townes: but the Bishop of *Strasbourg* was Gouvernor thereof, also of the Towne



Opinion concerning the name of *Korwill*, or *Rotuill*, which is an Imperiall Towne or Cltry.

The first alliance of them of *Rotuille* with the cantons.

*Rotuille* is scituated thorough the midst of *Swetia*.

A breuiate of the Articles of alliance betweene them and the Cantons.

The Imperiall Chamber of *Rotuille*, to be powerfully detended.

The situation and nomination of *Mulhouse*.

*Mulhouse* one of the Imperiall Townes.

Towne of *Colmar*. It came to passe, that warre happened betweene *Raoul of Habspourg*, and the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, wherein *Mulhouse* was taken from the Bishop, & the Castle ruined. After which time, *Mulhouse* was againe re-obtained, and numbred among the Imperiall Cities and Townes.

Her first alliance with the *Switzers*, was made about the yeare 1464. For in regard that the neighboring Gentlemen mollested the Towne, and narrowly watched all occasions to assault it: the cittizens made alliance with them of *Berne*, for fifteene yeares, as also with *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*, and by meanes of the *Bernians* intercession, the other seuen Cantons tooke the Towne into their protection. Which proued so displeasing to the Noble-men, that these priuate enmitie conuerted themselues (soone after) into open warre: which caused the *Switzers* immediately, to send and plant Garrison in *Mulhouse*. Afterward, all the Cantons brought their troopes into the field, and came with great assistance to releue *Mulhouse*.

In the end, hauing besiedged the towne of *Waldshout*, appertaining to the house of *Austria*: they compelled the Gentlemen, to come to some equall conditions of peace. Afterward, they of *Mulhouse* were receiued for fellow-Bourgeses with them of *Basile*, and thereby more strictly vnited to the *Switzers*. Nine yeares after, the 19. day of *Ianuary*, they made alliance with all the thirteene cantons. The conditions were all alike to the alliance of *Rotuille*, as well in regard of warres, as leagues with strangers.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Bienna.

**B**ienna is at the ende of a very pleasant Lake, abounding with plenty of fish & round engirt (on all sides) with goodly Vineyards. It is vnder the government of the Bishop of *Basile*; and yet it enioyeth lawes and regi-

ment a part by it selfe, as also liberall franchises and priuiledges.



The first alliance of the of *Bienna*, was made with the men of *Berne*, in the yeare 1303. to ridde the country of certaine robbers and theeues, which wandred there in so great numbers, as almost no way had any security for passage. In this alliance, they of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg* and *Solleurre* were also comprized. Three yeares after, in regard of some great differences, which they had with their neighbours: they made a particular alliance with the *Bernians*. Their third alliance was made in Anno 1352: and fifteen yeares after, because *John de Viana*, Bishop of *Basile*, (a man of turbulent spirit) wold not suffer any of his neighbours to liue in quiet: they of *Bienna*, desirous to provide for their owne ease and tranquility, ioyned themselues more strictly with the men of *Berne*, by giuing each to other the right of fellow-Bourgeses. The Bishop very angry at this vnion, mustred together some troopes of horse, and (at vnawares) ranne vpon them of *Bienna*, and clapt vp in prison the Authors of this association.

When the men of *Berne* heard of this deede, they came to succour their fellow-Bourgeses, tooke (by force) the Castle, which the Byshop had in *Bienna*, set the prisoners at liberty, and made warre vpon the Byshoppe, as also on them of *Solleurre*, his associates. In this warre, they tooke and ruined many places, which were in subiection to the byshop.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Geneva.



**G**eneua is the last and vtmost Cittie of the *Allobroges*; of which (amongst other of Antiquity,) *Cesar* hath made mention in his Commentaries.

John de Viana Bishop of Basile, a man troublesome to his neighbours.

Julius Cesar in comment. lib. 1

alliance made with Berne for fifteene yeares, and her.

alliance with the thirteene Cantons

The situation and estate of Bienna.

*Jul. Cas. in com.*  
*Lib. I.*  
The situation and antiquitie of Geneva.

Geneva called by the name of Aurelia.

The Countes of Genevay and of Sauoye, great enemies to the liberties of the citizens of Geneva.

An agreement made betweene the Bishop and citizens of Geneva, concerning the liberties of the City.

It is nere to the limits of the Switzers, at the end of the Lake *Lemanus*, and an issue of *Rhone* commeth into it. — Not onely the words of *Julius Casar*, but also many antiquities there found, do testifie the ancientnesse of the city. Many famous Monuments might haue bene seene there, but that the city was oftentimes ruined by enemies, and much destroyed and defaced by fire. For I finde in ancient chronicles, that in the time of *Heliogabalus*, *Geneua* was embraced with so fierce a fire, as hardly was any one house to be found, that stood free from it. The Emperour *Aurelianus* restored the city againe, being so pitifully disfigured, granted it great priuiledges, and gaue it the right of Fairs, and of the Empire, because it was scituated most commodiously. Hee called it *Aurelia*, according to his owne name: but after his death, shee took her ancient name againe. Afterward, it was forradged (as many other cities were) by diuers barbarous Nations, intruding themselues into France. And some 250. yeares after, or thereabout, within the space of 7. yeares, fire tooke it in such terrible manner, as the most part of the city was quite ruined.

The Bishopricke of *Geneua*, in former times had very ample priuiledges & franchises: yet notwithstanding, the citizens held their liberties to themselues, and alwayes carefully conserued their leagues perpetuall with the Bishop, according as they were left vnto them by their ancestors. The Counts of *Genevay* were great enemies to their liberties: who (neuerthelesse) were vassailles of the Bishopricke, and held their Earledomes of him by fealty. So in like manner were the Counts of *Sauoye*; but the citizens maintained their rights and priuiledges couragiously against the Counts.

In the yeare 1420. when *Amias*, the first Duke of *Sauoye*, laboured to obtain of Pope *Martin*, by way of enterchange, the right and superiority (as they call it) ouer the city of *Geneua*: the Bishop named *Iohn de Pierre-scize*, made an agreement for him, and all his successors with the citizens, that he nor they should at any time consent, that the liberties of *Geneua* should be exchanged or alienated. If cyther he, or any of his successors did otherwise; the citizens might hold and ranke him or them in the number of traitors

and conspiring enemies. Some while after this, the Emperour *Maximillian*, hauing amply published his Sonne in law, *Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, Vicar of the Empire in those parts: then againe, *Philebert* and his brother *Charles*, stroue to subiect *Geneua* vnder their awe, pretending the title of this new right; and priuiledges of the Vicarship, giuen in former times to the Counts of *Sauoye*, by the Emperour *Charles* the fourth. Who (notwithstanding) tooke from Count *Amias*, all action, power, iurisdiction, and preheminance, ouer the city and territory of *Geneua*.

While these practises and conspiracies of the neighbouring Princes lasted, they of *Geneua* maintained themselues heedfully in amity with the Switzers, and (diuers times) made alliance with the *Bernians* and *Fribourgers*, for certain yeares. At length, they combined alliance and fellow-Bourgeship perpetually, with the of *Berne*, and confirmed it more strictly, in the yeare 1536. Then in regard of the religions alteration, the Duke of *Sauoye*, and the Bishop of *Geneua*, made war vpon the citizens, they being succoured by them of *Berne*. This alliance hath bene (since then) renewed, and many friendly motions made, to allie *Geneua* with the Cantons: but I know no reason, why it is nor executed and done.

## CHAP. XXVI.

### Of New-Castle.



THE City of *New-Castle*, is seated in the country of the *Auantici*, vpon the lake which is called the Lake of *New-Castle*, at the head whereof is another little Towne, called *Tuerdun*. *New-Castle* is both a city and country, and the Count thereof was chosen by succession of the Counts of *New-Castle*: but since, salne to the Counts of *Hochberg*, the Marquesse of *Rotclin*, and to two Dukes of *Longueuille*. During the warre betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Switzers, the men of *Berne* (in name

The estate *New-castle*, being both a City & County in the ancient country of the *Auantici*.

Gouernor  
aced in  
ew-castle by  
e Cantons.

name of all the cantons their confederates) possessed themselves of the city of *New-castle*, and of the whole county, and placed there a Gouernor. This order the other cantons continued, except that of *Zurich*, who hauing lost their ranke: at the returne of it to their turne againe, they should command at *New-castle* two yeares together.

But when the time drew neere, *Ione* of *Hochberg*, widdow to the Duke of *Lougueuille*, preuailed so much, as (with certaine conditions) the county was surrendered back againe, in the yeare 1299. Sometime before, this county had bene allied from the Cantons of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre* by meanes of some Articles, which were confirmed againe vpon this restoring or surrender. At this day, the counties of *New-castle* are particularly allied with the men of *Berne*, or the *Bernians*.

CHAP. XXVII.

*Of those people that are gouerned (in common) by the Cantons of the Switzers.*



We haue appointed for a third part of our Switzers common-wealth, those people that are gouerned (in common) by the Switzers.

It is necessary then, to say some-what of the time, and by what title, they became subiects to the Switzers. Among them there are some Townes, which wee may tearme stipendaries: because (at their own proper costs and charges) they march along in warre with the Switzers. Neuerthelesse, they gouerne themselves by their owne lawes, and make election of their Magistrates; & yet the maine souerainety appertaineth to the Switzers, to whose Lawes and Edicts, those Townes stand bound to obey. Anciendly they belonged to the house of *Austria*, but during the warres against that house, the Switzers became Masters of the neighbouring countries, and these Townes yeelded themselves to them vpon certaine conditions; to wit, that they should be as well subiect

The cause &  
reason of this  
ancient argu-  
ment.

Good and  
regular kinde  
of gouernment  
well ob-  
served among  
them in those  
parts.

to them, as to the house of *Austria*, their ancient priuiledges saued and excepted. Those Townes are *Bada*, *Bremgarten*, *Frauenfeld*, *Mellingen*, and *Rasperwill*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bada.



*Bada* is a Towne vpon the River *Limagus*, or *Limmatus*, and so called, in regard of hot waters, whereof there are many Welles or Fountaines in that place, whereunto men and women vse to resort (in great numbers) from diuers countries. For this cause some haue called it the Towne of Baths, others, the Castle. According to custome of our Elders, who called Baths, those places where there were hot Springs and Fountaines: so may wee tearme this, the Switzers Baths. As in Italy there are the Baths of *Statiell*, and others: In France, the Baths of *Aix*, of the *Comuenes*, and of the *Tarbes*. In Germany, the Baths of *Spach* or *Spaw*, and of *Aix*. In like manner, *Bada*, a Towne of the Marquisate of *Bada*, in a certaine inscription, is named, *The Bathes*: And in the inscription of *Wettingen*, they of *Bada* are called, The cittizens of the Baths.

This Towne is one of the most ancient of *Swetia*, by the testimony of *Cornelius Tacitus*, who tearmeth it a Towne or City, hauing in abundance, and with great pleasure, very wholesome waters. The same Author saith, that the Romans took notice of a Garrison in the Castle of *Bada*, and reputed it selfe to be a Garrison: for the Mountaines which close & ioine together in that quarter, do locke vp the country. To passe out of Germany and *Swetia* into France, and into Italy, wee must goe through *Bada*, then ouer the lands of *Zurich*; from thence into the country of *Ergow*, and thwart ouer *Swetia*. In ancient times, this Towne had two Castles, one seated vpon an high Rocke, which is nothing now at this day, but old decayed ruines (being spoyled and defaced by the Switzers, as we shall declare anon.) And the other at an end of a bridge, where

Hot waters or  
Baths belong-  
ing to the  
Switzers.

Hot waters or  
Baths belong-  
ing to the  
Switzers.

Of Baths in  
diuers coun-  
tries,

In England  
likewise is a  
Towne of  
Baths.

The testimo-  
ny of *Corne-  
lius Tacitus*,  
concerning  
*Bada*.

where (in our time) dwelt the Bayliffes or Gouvernours; which were sent thither by the Cantons. *Bada* hath had (in former times) Counts, the race whereof are quite extinct, and their successors have bene the Lords of *Habsbourg*, who ioyned that County to the house of *Austria*, and diuers other goods. But from the house of *Austria*, *Bada* came into the *Switzers* hands, at the time of the Council of *Constance*, in manner following.

*Fredericke* of *Austria*, brought Pope *John* the 22. out of the Councell, & maintained him against the Emperour and the Councell. For which cause, by the Decree of the Councell, he was excommunicated, banished from the Empire, and his goods confiscated. The Emperour himselfe, with an assembled Army, from the Townes and Citties of *Germanie* and *Suaba*, the Duke of *Bauaria*, and some others, made warre vpon him. Also commandement was giuen to the *Switzers*, on behalfe both of the Emperour and the Councell to assaile *Frederick* with al their forces. Whereof they made refusall, alledging that they could not doe it, and their honor saued: in regard of the peace formerly made (for fifty yeares following) with them of *Austria*; confirmed by Oath and Letters Patents. The Fathers of the Councell made answer to this excuse of the *Switzers*: that *Fredericke* was an enemy to the Church, excommunicated and banished by publike order: This warre concerned the good of y<sup>e</sup> Church, who was offended and iniuried (in her members) by *Frederick*.

Wherefore, if in this cause the *Switzers* vndertooke Armes, according to the command of the Emperour, they should do a good and holy worke. They should also well consider with themselues, how much it woulde wounde their honour, if (in contrary opposition) they continued idle excuses, which would wrap them vp in the same censure and condemnation with *Frederick*.ouer and beside all this, according to the aduicc of the Ambassadors of *England*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Bohemia*, *Polonia*, and Princes, Gentlemen, and Lawyers, the Emperour declared, that the *Switzers* might (vvith a good and safe conscience) make warre vpon *Fredericke*, notwithstanding the peace made. Because that the Subiects of

the Empire, in all actions doe except expressly or couertly, the right and Maiesty of the Emperour.

The Emperour sent a copy of this arrest and decree to the *Switzers*, enioyning them againe to make war on *Fredericke*, and by the same meanes adiudged to the empire, all that which they of *Austria* had engaged to them before. Promising also, not to make any peace with *Fredericke*, til the *Switzers* were first reintegrated into their former agreement. The *Switzers* being then perswaded with such reasons, leuied their Armes; but because they were to Warre in the name of the Emperour, and of the Romane Empyre, they demanded wages of the Emperour: declaring, there was no reason, that they should furnish themselues at theyr owne charge, and the fruite of the victory fall into other mens hands; and that theyr wealth was not sufficient to furnish such expences.

The Emperour thought this demand to be made in equity: neuerthelesse, because he was somewhat empty of money, hee agreed with the *Switzers*, that all the goodes of the house of *Austria*, which they possessed already, or could conquer in this warre; they should enioy it in the Empires name, vntil they should be paid their wages, and charges during the war. By especiall Letters, the Emperour exhorted them of *Zurich* to enter the field, and granted them (in title of Fee) the Countrey which is beyond Mount *Albius*, named the Free Prouince, which they of *Austria* held. According heereto, the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and fiftene, about the fiftenth day of April, the men of *Zurich*, with their troops well prepared; went to besiedge a Towne seated on the Riuer of *Russ*, named *Mellingen* and on the third day tooke it by composition. From thence they went to *Bremgarten*, where the Cantons of *Suits* & *Zug* ioyned with them. They of *Bremgarten*, (by example of the other) yeelded themselves to the *Switzers*, vnder protection of the Empire.

At the same time, the *Lucernians* tooke a Towne named *Sursey*. The *Bernians*, assisted by them of *Solleurre*, *Bienna*, the County of *New-castle*, and some others beside, got into their power *Zofingen*, *Arberg*, *Arow*, *Lentzbourg* & *Brug*,

to-

Bada ioyned to the house of Austria, & reuolued to the Switzers.

By what meanes Bada came into the power of the Switzers.

A Council of war, & their answer returned vnto the Switzers.

In the selfe same councell it was decreed, that men did not stand bound to keepe Faith with them that were called hereof.

A Copy of the Decree sent by the Emperour to the Switzers.

The Switzers demand wages of the Emperour for their seruice.

The Emperours Letters to them of Zurich.

The Conquests of the Switzers.

together with the country of *Ergow*. As for them of Zurich, after they had taken the forenamed Townes, they besiedged *Bada*. All the other Cantons, except *Bern* ioyned with them, for they of *Austria* held no place in *Swetia* of greater strength then this: and the Garrison of *Bada* had much ouer-travelled the Switzers, especially them of Zurich, and this was the reason, that the Cantons resolved to force both the Towne and Castle. As for the town, after it had beene beaten with the Cannon, for the space of three weekes, without ceasing, it yeelded. But the soldiours still defended themselves in regard of the fortresse, and held out well, after reddition of the Towne. The Switzers on the other side, hauing receiued succour from them of Berne, did dayly beate the place, and pressed the Garrison to yeelde themselves. At length, the Souldiers hauing no more stones, arrowes, darts, nor anie other munition proper for defence, truce being granted for some dayes: vpon condition that if within a limited time *Fredericke* of *Austria* did not deliuer the from this sledge, they would quit the place, and deliuer the castle into the power of the Switzers.

While these things were in working; by the intercession of the Duke of *Bauaria*, and the Burggraue of *Nuremberg*, *Fredericke* was reconciled to the Emperor *Sigismond*, who sent immediately his Ambassadors to the campe of the Switzers, to giue them command for the ceasing of warre. But the Switzers feeling yet the outrages which the Garrison of *Bada* had done vnto them, so soon as the truce time was expired, so pressed them within, that two dayes after Pentecost, the castle was deliuered to them, which they burned and quite ruined, as soone as the enemy had auoided it. On the Morrow, the Count of *Togge*, Ambassadour from the Emperor, being arriued at the Switzers campe, to command them agayne; that they should giue ouer armes, found the castle to be taken and spoyled. This strooke somewhat deadly vnto the Noble mens hearts: but they had no occasion to complaine, because the Switzers had done nothing, but in case of open & lawfull warre.

Then, as the Emperor was ready to go for Spain, to fetch thence *Pierre de Lune*,

that he might be Pope, who afterwarde was called *Benet* the eleuenth; being in need of money, because his cofers were emptied (hauing disbursed great payes, without any intermission in the precedent warres, and for the affaires of the Council) he engaged to them of Zurich, *Bada*, *Bremgarten*, *Mellingen*, *Sursey*, and the Lands to them belonging. Also to them of Berne, the country of *Ergow*, which they had taken, as already hath beene declared: yet paying a great sum of crowns. At this day, the country of *Ergow* is possessed by them of Berne onely. The yeare following, they of Zurich made a part of that which was ingaged to them, ouer to the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*.

From the beginning, the men of *Vri* would not haue any part; as thinking, that the detention of these places, contradicted the treaty of peace made with *Fredericke*. But after they vnderstood the reasons of their confederates, who protested (in themselves) the same desire of obseruing the peace: but that by command of the Emperor, and of the Council, they vndertook armes. Next, that by the will and consent of them both, they possessed now those places for wages, and price of warre-seruice, and held them on the faith of the Emperor, the soueraigne Lorde; yet for a great summe of money, which they had layd out & disbursed. The men of *Vri* hauing heard these Reasons, and other of the like Nature, entred into part of this engagement. The Bernians also were receiued in at the length.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bremgarten, and Mellingen.

**B**remgarten is a Towne, situated on the Riuer of *Russ*, which encloseth it in the midst almost, in forme of a demy Island, a great Germane mile beneath *Lucerna*. It appeareth by the ancient priuiledges of this Towne, that it was (heretofore) numbered among the Imperials. Neuertheles, it became (afterwards) subiect vnto the Counts of *Habsbourg*, then to the Princes

The Emperor engageth lads to them of Zurich, and of Berne.

*Vri* stood free from all these partakings, till further information from their confederates.

*Vri* and Berne accepted into this combination at last.

How and in what manner Bremgarten is seated.

The town of Bada is yeelded vnto the Switzers.

The Castle of Bada vpon conditions of deliury.

able deuise, to breake the blowes of the Switzers, and to holde their liberties vnto the bridled.

counter-attagem of the Switzers.

of

of *Austria* descended of them. But it is not well knowne at what time, neyther by what title, they came to make themselves Lords thereof.

*Mellingen* is a little small Towne vpon the selfesame Riuer, about half a German mile below *Bremgarten*. It hath alwayes bene vnder the dominion of the Counts of *Habsbourg*. These two Towns were taken (as *Bada*) in this war which the Switzers made vnder the Empires name, and then afterward, the Emperour *Sigismond* pawned it to the Cantons: vpon condition, that all their ancient rightes, priuiledges, and customes, should remain entire, and the Cittizens to yeelde the same dutie to the Cantons, as formerly they had done vnto the Counts of *Habsbourg*, and Princes of *Austria* their Lordes. At this very day, both these Townes are vnder gouernement of the eight first Cantons.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Rasperwill.

AS concerning *Rasperwill*; it is a town on the Lake of *Zurich*, wherein dwelt (sometimes the Counts of *Rasperwil*, who had to their successours the Countes of *Habsbourg*, that gouerned likewise in these quarters. In the yeare 1458. the Switzers became masters thereof. There were then two factions in this town; the one of *Austrians*, and the other of Switzers. Duke *Sigismond*, tooke some of the Switzers partakers, and brought them as prisoners to *Inspruk*. The rest amazed at this deede, fled into *Swetia*; but by entermise of the Cantons, they all re-entred *Rasperwill* againe. For the Cantons protested out a lowde, that they would come and assault the towne, except the prisoners might be enlarged, and the banished receiued.

It came to passe the yeare following, that the Switzers made warre on them of *Constance*, who had done them some despightfull outrages. Peace being made, as they of *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, and *Glaris* returned homeward to their houses, they demanded victuals for their troopes, and passage thorow *Rasperwil*, which they easily obtained by the pursuite of their partakes. But, being entred more strong, and

in greater number then the Cittizens (the most part whereof were Switzers in affection) they compelled the Cittizens to sweare fidelity to them. So that from that time, *Rasperwill* remained in the power of those foure Cantons: who (neuertheless) left the cittizens to the same liberty as they had vnder the Dukes of *Austria*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of *Frawensfeld*.

TWO yeares after the taking of *Rasperwill*, the seauen Cantons then being in warre against *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria*, tooke *Frawensfeld*, the chiefest town in all the country of *Turgow*. There were reasons and occasions enow, whereby this warre was vnder taken and attempted. The Duke had imprisoned Cardinal *Cusano*, byshoppe of *Brescia*; and because he did not release him, so soone as Pope *Pius* (who formerly was named *Aeneas Sylvius*) sent him command to doe it, hee was therefore excommunicated. But, because this Thunder-bolte did not dismay him, and he appealed from that sentence, to the next Councell: the Pope commanded the Switzers to defend the Churches rightes, and to set vpon *Sigismond*. The Cantons, who had as much credite with the one, as vvith the other, obeyed the Popes command: but there happened other occasions to induce this warre.

The towne of *Winterduer*, in the countie of *Kybourg*, appertaining to the Canton of *Zurich*, was subiected to the Duke of *Austria*. There is euery yeare in that place a *Fayre*, on the day of *Saint Gal*, the sixte of *October*, whereat the Countrey people round about doe meete in great numbers. They of *Kybourg* being come thither, the gates vver shut against them, vpon a sinister suspition of the inhabitants, that they of *Zurich* would surprize the Towne, during the *Faire* time, & had therefore made some preparation.

Now, as the Bayliffe established by the Canton of *Zurich* in those quarters, required that the Gates might be set open, and that they of *Kybourg* might haue free trading, according to theyr accustomed maner, promising that the town should

A description of the scituation of *Mellingen*.

The forme & scituation of *Rasperwill*.

Two factions of *Austrians* and Switzers in *Rasperwill*.

How *Rasperwill* became ioyned to the Cantons, and so afterward continued.

How the towne came to be taken by the 7. Cantons.

The causes that procure this warre.

The Pope commanded the warre.

Small sparkes can cause and kindle a great fire, and frivolous suspition proues to produce great harme.

should receive no endamage; notwithstanding all this, no credite would be giuen vnto his words. As a counterchange of this iniury, they of Zurich prohibited their people from bringing either victuals or merchandizes to *Winterduer*. The Duke of *Austria* on the other side, standing vppon his guard, placed a garrison in the towne. These things happened before the excommunication from the Pope.

But yet there was another occasion for the moouing of this warre. There were two brethren, Gentlemen of mark, of the country of *Stiria*, named *Vigilius*, and *Bernard Gradlers*. They of *Austria*, had inforced them from their houses, and despoiled them of all their goods: without expecting so much as the dowrie belonging to *Bernards* wife, who was of the house of *Starckenberg*. After they had sollicitied the Duke a long time, to restore their goods againe, and neuer could obtain so much, as that hee would admit but what iustice did allow: at length, they withdrew themselues into *Swetia*, and were receyued as Bourgeses into Zurich. Afterward, hauing brought a little town, called *Eglisow*: they made warre on the Duke of *Austria*, assisted by the men of Zurich. The Duke placed a new garrison at *Winterduer*, but after the troopes of Zurich were drawne thence: some difference fell betweene the Garrison, and the inhabitants of *Kybourg*. So that once more they of Zurich (hauing demanded succour of their confederates) went forth into the field, going to besiege *Winterduer*. At this time then, to wit, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred and sixty, *Diesenhaw*, a Towne on the *Rheine*, in the country of *Turgow*, this country also, and *Frawenfeld* were conquered, and reduced vnder the power of the Switzers.

CHAP. XXXII.

*Of the nine Baylywicks, or Governments.*

THE common Baylywicks, are governed (in part) by the seauen first Cantons, and partly by some other with them. There are nine Baylywicks, or Go-

uernments in all, to wit; the Countie of Bada, the three Prouinces, *Turgow*, *Sargans*, the *Rhegusces*, that is to say, the valley of *Rheine*, which they call *Rinthall*, *Lugano*, *Locarna*, *Mendrisa*, and the vale *Madia*. The foure last are beyond the Alpes, in Italy, towards the *Millainneses*, & speak Italian; the other the Germane tongue. *Sargans*, and the valley of *Rinthall*, are on the frontiers of the *Grisons*: the other 3. are seated within the confines of ancient *Swetia*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*Of Bada and Turgow.*

IN this manner (then) were the Towne and County of *Bada*, *Turgow*, and *Frawenfeld*, by the *Switzers* conquered; at such times, and by those means, as formerly hath bene related. The Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, *Vnderualde*, *Zug*, *Claris*, and *Berne*, commaunded at *Bada*. They are Lords of *Turgow*, except the Canton of *Bern*, which hath no part therein. As concerning the taking knowledge of criminall causes, the Emperour *Sigismond* tooke it from *Frederick of Austria*, at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, and engaged it to the City of *Constance*, which kepte it till the yeare 1499. when the Emperour *Maximillian* attributed that authority to the *Switzers*, by a treaty of peace which hee made with the. And therefore the seuen first Cantons aboue named, are Lords of *Turgow*. But concerning the knowledge of crimes, appellations and fines or amercements, which may happen, as oftentimes they doe: that appertaineth to the tenne first Cantons, who made warre agaynst the Emperour *Maximillian*, and the League of *Suaba*.

CHAP. 34.

*Of the three first Prouinces.*

NOW, to speake of the three Prouinces, which are along beyond the River of *Russ* (to distinguish them from the free Prouince, beyond the Mountain *Albius*, which was giuen to them of Zurich, by the Emperour *Sigismond*, as we haue already declared before:) they were taken by the Switzers, at the very same time when

The maner of their Conquest hath bin already declared.

Criminal causes took away by the Emp. Sigismond.

The authority belonging to the ten first Cantons.

Concerning the situation and true names of the free Prouinces.

the wrong iniury drawn on another, and to be meant anger

is now called both *Stiria* and *Austria*.

violence and cruelty is desired will not be any iudice.

new Garrison is planted at *Winterduer* which soon after was besieged.

the Baylywicks governed by the 7. first Cantons, and others with them.

The reason why the name was thus giuē them, according to the authors opinion

Some difference among the Cantons, concerning the conquest of the free Prouinces.

The Lucernians pleaded their Title in right of theyr Ambassadors.

Vri ioyned with them ten yeeres after, & had a part in the gouernment.

when *Bada* was conquered. Heere let me tell you, that we call certaine Castles & Villages, which lye along the Riuer of *Ruß*, both aboue and below *Bremgarten*, free Prouinces. This name was giuen them (in mine opinion) because that the three villages, to wit, *Meyenberg*, *Richensee* and *Ergow*, had anciently kept (each one) her iurisdiction, Magistrates, and Officers by themselues: so that they seemed as three seuerall Prouinces, nowe ioyned all into one. In times past, all that quarter was called the Countie of *Rora*, and so it was named by *Henry* the 5. Emperour, in a priuiledge of the Abbey of *Muren*. The castle belonging vnto the Countes of *Rora*, was in the Towne of *Arow*.

At such time, as (by command of the Emperor and the Council of *Constance*) the Switzers made warre on *Fredericke* of *Austria*, they of *Lucerna* conquered those places, which are along the Riuer of *Ruß*, and namely that county of *Rora*. After the warre, when they contended vho should be Lords thereof only: the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* opposed against them, and in diuers dayes held at *Begkenried*, *Vnderwald*, *Suits*, and in the campe before *Bremgarten*, they shewed, that (from the beginning of the warre) the Cantons had agreed, that they should be Lords (in common) of all places in the countrey of *Ergow*, that should be won in that Warre. Now, although the Lucernians maintained, that they had giuen charge thereof to their Ambassadors; yet notwithstanding, after the testimonies were gathered both of the one side & other, the Lords of *Berne* beeing appointed iudges of the variance, pronounced, that these 5. Cantons had part in all the country.

Tenne yeeres after that, by consent of the sixe Cantons, they of *Vri* were ioyned with them, and hadde a great part also in that gouernment. And therefore *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, are Lords thereof at this day. The countrey is not great; and therefore, of what Canton soeuer the Bayliffe is, hee makes not his residence there: but when necessity doth so require, he comes once a yeare to iudge suites in law, and then he is lodged (most often) in the Abbey of *Muren*, which is rich enough, and well builded.

## CHAP. XXXV.

## Of the Sargans.

Among the Grisons, the *Sarunetes* liued long time since; but at this day, both their towne and countrey is vulgarly called *Sargans*, whereof diuers ætymologies are made. But in the auncients Chartes, this Towne is named *Sarungans*, which is a word deriued from the name of *Sarunetes*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention. Now, because the dwelling of the *Sarunetes* was at the spring of the Riuer *Inn*, where now they of *Engadin* and of *Munstertal* make their abiding; the inhabiting *Sargans* (now in question) it may be, are yssued from them there: or else might take their name of the Riuer called *Sar*, which runneth thorough the Towne.

In former times, this countrey belonged to the Counts of *Werdenberg*, who in that respect were called Countes of *Sargans*. Afterward they pawned it vnto the *Austrian* Princes, and at another time to the Counts of *Togge*, but redeemed it againe, and possessed it til the yeare 1483. And then, *George* Count of *Werdenberg*, sold it to the seuen first Cantons, who sent a Bayliffe thither each one by his turne, that commanded the whole country, & kept in the castle where the Countes were wont to dwell. As for the Towne of *Sargans*, although it is subiect vnto the Switzers: yet notwithstanding, it enioyeth hir priuiledges, and electeth Magistrates that administer Iustice, and also deale in criminall causes.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

## Of the Rhegusces: now adayes called Rhinthall.

That is to say: *The Valley of Rheine*.

THE *Rhegusces* are of the Grisons countrey, dwelling on the bankes of *Rheine*, aboue the Lake of *Constance*. As for them that dwell beyond the *Rheine*, where

The situation of the Country and Town of *Sargans*, and diuerstie of names thereto belonging.

The Counts of *Werdenberg*. Count of *Sargans*.

*Sargans* sold to the Switzers.

The situation of *Rhinthall*, and of the countrey on either side of *Rheine*.

where are *Bregents* and *Velcure*: they are yet to this day, subiects to the House of *Austria*. But they on the hither side, as *Rhinek* and *Alstetten*, two little Townes, and the valley tending toward the Count of *Werdenberg*, they are obedient to the Switzers. Heeretofore, all this countrey appertained vnto them of *Austria*, who pawned it to the Lords of *Ion*. But at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, when as *Fredericke* of *Austria* was banished by the Emperour *Sigismond*: the Count of *Togge*, the Emperours adopted sonne, seized on this valley of *Rheine*, and other places belonging vnto the house of *Austria*, by disbursing money for them, to whom they were engaged.

Afterwards, this Count pawned this Valley of *Rheine*, for a great summe of money, to two Gentlemen, *Huldrich* and *Conrad Beierer*; brethren. In the yeare, 1460. *Iaques Beierer*, their Brother and heyre, hauing some variance with them of *Appenzel*, and fearing his vnablenes of keeping this valley against their strength: willingly solde them his rights, and resigned the engagement. After that, this valley remained in the power, and vnder dominion of *Appenzel*, for the space of thirtie yeares, or thereabout.

But when it so fell out, that the men of *Appenzel* were troubled in warre, against the Abbot of *S. Gall*, his subiects, and the Citizens also, and the Abbey of *Rosach* (new built) quite defaced: the Canton'd Switzers, confederates with the Abbot, mustred vp their troops, and called their other allies to them, by whose helpe they maintained the Abbot, and condemned them of *Appenzel* in a great fine. Which made them to require peace, and beside, to offer them the rule of the Valley of *Rheine*: the possession whereof fell (as a recompence) to the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*. After this, they parted with a portion of this Seignury, to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Vnderuald*, and *Zug*, who had assisted the: likewise to *Appenzel*, who indeed wer ancient Lords thereof. So that (euen to this day) these eight Cantons, each after other) send a Bayliffe into this valley, who makes his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhinek*, at one end of the valley, somewhat aboue the place, where the *Rheine* enters into the Lake of *Constance*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Governments and baylywicks which are in Italy.

FOURE Bailywicks do yet remain, which the Switzers call Baylywicks beyond the Mountaines, because they are quite ouer the Alpes. The first is *Lugano* or *Luca*, a Towne vppon the Lake, which some call the Lake of *Gauna*; others, the Lake of *Lugano*. This Lake is in the middest of two other Lakes, to wit, that of *Coma* on the left had, and on the right hande of the Lake *Maïor*, whereinto it shutteth vp it selfe.

The second Baylywicke, and neereft of all to this former, is *Locarna*: a very pleasant Towne, at the head of the Lake *Maïor*, sometimes beautified vwith verie goodly and strong Castles, and accounted the cheefest in *Lombardie*, next vnto that of *Millaine*.

The Bayliwick of *Mendrisa*, on the left hand of the Lake of *Gauna*, maketh the third.

And for the last, there is the Vale of *Madia*, which depended heeretofore vpon *Locarno*, as *Mendrisa* on *Lugano*.

These foure Baylywicks fell to the Switzers, in the yeare, 1513. by the Donation of *Maximilian Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*. For, hee hauing driuen the French out of Italy, by the counsell and authority of Pope *Iulius*, and being holpen therein by the Venetians and Switzers, he made a present of these four Baylywicks (abutting on the Frontiers of their countrey) to the Switzers. He gaue also the Vale of *Tellma* to the Grifons. But three yeares after, King *Frances* hauing vanquished the Switzers at *Marignano*, expelled the Duke, and re-vnited to his Crowne the Dukedome of *Millaine*. By an accord made at *Fribourg*, he confirmed this donation of his owne royal authority, as his successors in the dukedome of *Millaine* did the like.

All the Cantons send their bayliffs thether by turnes, except that of *Appenzel*, which vvas not in the number of the Cã-

Baylywicks beyond the mountaines.

Lugano or Luca the first Bayliwicke.

Locarna the 2

Mendrisa the third.

The vale Madia the fourth

How and in what manner these feuerall Baylywicks came to be commanded by the Switzers.

he valley of Rhein seized by the Count Togge a-pred Ion to the Emperor.

the valley sold to them Appenzel.

the Rhin- all came to long to the Switzers.

Bayliffes sent the eight cantons to the valley for bayliffes there.

tons, when as these countries were first giuen to the Switzers: but they were recieued in a yeare after onely.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Bellizona.

WE might ranke among these Bayliwickes of *Italy*, the Towne of *Bellizona*, which obeyeth to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*. This Towne (in former times) appertained vnto the Countes of *Misauk*, who were reiectet by the Dukes of *Millaine*. Afterward, hauing found meanes to enter againe by intelligence; they sold it to them of *Vri* and *Vnderwald*. But the Duke of *Millaine* recouered it againe, and tooke it from the Switzers, by the same subtile tricks which the Counts of *Misauk* had vsed to repossesse it. This hapned about the yeare, 1422.

After that time, the *Switzers* made many voyages ouer the Mountaines to recouer *Bellizona*. At length, in the yeare 1500. they got into possession of it againe. For, in regard of continuall warres betweene the *Sforzaes* and the French: the men of *Bellizona* willing to prouide for their owne safery, yeelded themselues to the Canton of *Vri*. The French, becoming masters of the *Millaineses*; labored often (but all in vain) to regain the town. Finally, at such time as the Dukes of *Millaine* gaue the fore-named foure Bayliwickes to the Cantons, they were also confirmed in the possession of *Bellizona*.

The whole country is diuided into 3. Bayliwickes, to witte, *Bellizona*, the vale *Brune*, and *Riuiera*; and in like maner gouerned (turne after turne) by those three Cantons, that they haue a Baylicke belonging to each one. As if *Vri* doe establish a Governour or Bayliffe at *Bellizona*: *Suits* placeth one also in the vale *Brune*, and *Vnderwald* one at *Riuiera*. Then beginning againe, *Vri* commends one to *Riuiera*, *Vnderwald* to the vale *Brune*, and *Suits* to *Bellizona*. And because that the Baylicke of *Riuiera* is of the least reuenew, most commonly, he that hath bene Bayliffe at *Bellizona*, is established nexte after at *Riuiera*.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Alliances made by the Cantons, with Kings and Princes neere neighbouring to them.

**D**emosthenes, the most eloquent of all the Græcian Orators, a man woonderfully well acquainted with affayres of State, and (about all) a deare Louer of his Countreyes liberty, wrote thus. *Over-great familiarity with Tyrants, should be suspicious to ciuill and free Citties: And no trust is to bee reposed in them, especially if they bee neighbours, because euery King and Tyrant is an enemy to liberty, and contrary to lawes.* The euent and successe attending on such cases, did well witnesse, that this Learned man had giuen very wholesome counsell to the Athenians, yea, and to all Greece. For *Phillip* the sonne of *Amyntas* (against whom *Demosthenes* made head) and the succeeding Kings of Macedon oppressed the liberty of the Greekes, by a dissembled amity, and working certaine combinations and alliances, deuised onely for their owne aduantage.

The case standing thus, I thinke, that many stand thus amazed, what should moue the ancient *Switzers* to make such alliances as they haue done with straungers, Kinges and Princes, their Neighbours. But heere is to bee noted and obserued, that all alliances doe not hurt one like another in a Commonwealth. They are to be mistrusted, which do import a league offensiue and defensiue, & ouer-great familiarity. Otherwise, for the benefite of peace, it is needfull sometimes, that Princes and great Lords nere neighbouring, should ally themselues together; for the better vse of some rightes, and the easier manning of their affayres. The ancient *Switzers* made many such alliances of peace and amity. And if at any time they were knit more strictly to some King or Prince, it was not inconsiderately done: but, as appeareth by the tenour of the alliances, the conditions wer such, as their liberties could no waies be easily touched or wronged.

They

Bellizona in obedience to three of the Cantons, yet recouered by the Duke of Millaine.

Bellizona yeilded to the Cation of Vri.

The Switzers in full possession of Bellizona.

Three Bayliwickes in Bellizona, & how their gouernment is ordered equally.

The Learned & wise counsell of the Græcian Orator Demosthenes wel approued and experientced by his own country.

The Switzers haue bin wronged at, for their league.

What alliances are said to be dangerous and what are indifferent, not hurtfull.

The prouidencare of the Switzers, in making their Leagues.

Legues with Peas.

Wh neigh- bc Princes.

Wh Bishops at Cities.

Their alian- ce of most ne and ob- ligation.

Vertaintie of the first try of alli- an.

Gleazo D. of Maine, and his Wife Blanche Ma- ritime capitulate w eight Crons

They made diuers alliances, for a certainty of times, with Popes; as *Sixtus*, *Iulius* the second, *Leo* the tenth, & with *Clement* the seauenth. With neighbouring Princes; as the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Sauoye*, of *Millaine*, and of *Wertemberg*. Then, with the Byshoppes of *Constance*, the Citties of *Suaba*, and others on the Lake of *Constance*, and on the Riuer of the *Rheine*. But, without staying our selues at the most part of these alliances, wee will touch those onely, which were hereditary, that continue yet, must longer continue, and are most notable among all the other. As namely, the Alliances with the Dukes of *Millaine*, of *Austria*, of *Bourgonzgne*, of *Sauoye*, & the most remarkeable and last of all, with the King of France.

CHAP. XL.

*Of the Alliance made by the Switzers, with the Dukes of Millaine.*

**N** Cannot well set downe what treaty or discourse was anciently had, and at the first time, betweene the Duke of Millain, and the Switzers. But in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred sixty and sixe, Duke *Gleazo*, and *Blanche Maria* his wife, made an accord and agreement with eight Cantons, vpon certain conditions: which yet vnto this day, are called, *The Articles or Capitulations of Millaine*. Wherein also, mention is made of other auncient capitulations, which shew and testifie, that long time before, the Switzers, especially they of *Vri*, which inhabite at the *Alpes*, had beene associates with the *Lombardes*, vnder certaine Capitulations, are (almost) quite worne out of mens memories: I will propose the Summary of the accord with Duke *Gleazo*, and his wife, the Lady *Blanche Maria*.

*The Articles of Agreement, betweene the Duke of Millaine, and the Switzers.*



**T**HE first Article, concerneth them of *Vri*. The Ordinary of the great church in *Millaine*, intended a Proesse against them, concerning the Valley of *Luiner*. By this first Article, the Duke agreeth with them of *Vri*, to haue free possession of that valley, in the regard of ciuill Iurisdiction: reuouncing his owne rightes; and promising to obtain the same of the Ordinary.

They of *Vri*, on the other side, shall pay a tribute to the Duke, & euery yeare, in the Moneths of *Iune* or *Iuly*, or before midde-*August*, shall send him foure Hawkes, and a *Crosse-bow*. As concerning the difference touching the Churches reuennewes, betweene the Ordinary, and them of the Valley, each of the two parties shall nominate two Iudges; and to those foure Iudges, the Duke shall adde one, as an Arbitrator: and of him he must and will make choyse among the Lords of Councell, and in one of the seauen Cantons. These Iudges, must nominate what it is, that the Prince and they of the Valley, should pay vnto the Ordinary. And if there happen anie variance besides, for matters of Duties not payed: they also are to censure thereupon.

The second Article is, that the eight Cantons, their subiects, and all they that haue dwelt in their countries, the space of foure yeares, shall enjoy the ancient liberty, to wit, that they shall stand exempt from all tributes, impostes, and tolles, throughout *Millaine*, euen to the ditches of the Towne.

The third Article, concerneth debts, and imprisonments.

The fourth is for such variances as may happen between the Duke and the Cantons, and of some particulars against the Duke.

The fifth, is for proesse and suites of particular persons.

The sixth; matter of free Trafficke, and that it shall bee lawfull for the Switzers, to go and sell their *Wares* and *Cattle*.

The Ordinary of the great Church of Millaine, against them of Vri, and vpon what occasion

Iudges appointed betweene the Ordinarie and them of Vri.

The nature of the 2. Article.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth.

The sixth.

tle: and the Duke no way to impeach them in their selling, or his Subiectes in their buying.

The seventh.

The seventh importeth, that the duke and the *Switzers* shall maintain and preferue themselves in good amity: and that neither party shall giue passage, or allow lodging or harbor to the enemies of neither side.

Renewing & reconfirmation of these articles.

Now, in regard that after this transaction, *Millaine* changed her Lordes oftentimes, these Articles haue bene also renewed and confirmed from one time to another. And finally, in the yeare, 1542. *Ferdinando Gonzaga*, Gouvernour of *Millaine*. in the name of the Emperor *Charles* the fift, renewed this accord with the *Switzers*, very neere with the same conditions.

*The Articles of Agreement, betweene Ferdinando Gonzaga, Gouvernour, and the Switzers.*

Freedom from Tolles.

**T**HE first Article concerneth benefit of exemption, from Tolles, Taxes, and other charges. Item, it shall be lawfull for the *Switzers*, to buy any kinde of bread corne. But if there be a dearth, and the Market measure is sold for more then thirteene Francks, it is not lawfull to transport any. Neuerthelesse, for our amity with the *Switzers*, they may carry away two hundred measures. The Cantons did make the same condition with them of *Millaine*.

For Bread Corne.

A Franke is two shillings sterling.

Selling of salt

The second, is for the selling and carriage away of salt.

Free passage and trading.

The third, confirmeth to the *Switzers* their ancient priuiledges, for going and comming freely, and trafficking through all countries of *Millaine*, without any need of support or safe conduct; except in the time of pestilence, and then to bee free from all Tolle, onely the gate of *Millaine* excepted.

To whom these priuiledges belongeth

The fourth, declareth who and what they are, that must enioy these priuiledges, wherein are (by name) excluded all *Millaineses*, that shall retire themselves into *Swetia*.

For auoyding of fraud and deceit.

The fift ordaineth, to prevent & auoyd all means of fraud, that such as inioy these priuiledges, shall not keepe companie, or trade in merchandize with them that are vncapable, or may not haue the benefit of them.

The sixt speakes of awards, and decision of law suites.

Awards in suites.

The seventh willeth, that if criminall parties on either side, doe withdraw to anie one of their precincts, after that they or he shalbe adiudged culpable, on knowledge of the cause: he or they shall be sent backe to their Magistrate, who is to chastise them according to the exigence of the case.

Disobedience in awards & sentence.

The eighth is, that in such reuennues, dismes, goods mouable and immouable, which the *Switzers* possesse in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or which may fall to the from this time forward: they shall haue the same rights in them heere, as the *Millaineses* enioy in *Swetia*.

Of reuennue goods, &c. either side.

The ninth; that passe & passage may be as free and safe in the countries of each other, as formerly it hath bin, & with the like maintenance of amity.

For free and friendly passage in either countries.

In the tenth, the *Switzers* make exception of their other alliances, & all precedent instruments: to the end that they may not derogate or faile in the fore-named conditions.

Of other Alliances.

In the last, the time is agreed on and prefixed, for this combination: which is, to continue for foure years after the death of the Emperor *Charles*.

The time of thus alliance

Now, although (for diuers reasons) this agreement hath not bene renewed to this instant between the King of *Spain*, Duke of *Millaine*, and the *Switzers*: yet notwithstanding, both on his part, and theirs likewise, ancient amity hath bene carefully kept; and euen to this day, the *Switzers* enioy (almost) the same priuiledges, as in elder times they did among them of *Millaine*.

Of the *Switzers* alliance yet with *Millaine*.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Of the Switzers Alliances with the Dukes of Austria and Burgongne.*

**L**Ike as there hath bene no Prince or Princes, that haue made so much war vpon the Cantons, as the Dukes of *Austria*: so in the same manner, the *Switzers* did neuer make so many accords, treaties and alliances, as with those Dukes. At this time, I meane not to make mention of those

A strange course, that much contention should beget as many friendship.

those alliances which haue lasted but for some few years, and agreed or combined with one or two Cantons onely; but rather will resolue my selfe on the perpetuall and hereditary alliance of *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria* with the Cātons; which was renewed afterward, by the Emperor *Maximillian*, *Charles* the fift, and *Ferdinand*.

This *Sigismond*, surnamed the Simple, was sonne vnto *Fredericke*, who brought Pope *Iohn* the 22. out of the Council of *Constance*, whereby he was banisht from the Empire. *Sigismond* was a great Enemy to the Switzers, and had many warres against them, wherein he was continually beaten, as at *Winterduer*, *Mulhouse*, *Waldshout*, in *Turgow*, and other places, & lost in these warres the countrey of *Turgowe*, which is great, fertile, and well peopled, yet afterward conquered and kept by the Switzers. Seeing by Armes he could not quail the Switzers, hee withdrew into *Fraunce*, and required succour of King *Lewes* the eleuenth, which hee was flatly denied: because the King would not entangle himselfe in warre with the Switzers, of whose magnanimity he had formerly made good proof, being Dolphin, when the battell was fought against them neere to *Basile*.

Hereupon, he made his recourse to the Duke of *Bourgongne*, and pawned to him the County of *Ferrara*, and other Seigneries on the Frontiers of *Swetia*, for the sum of fourscore thousand crownes: onely that he might finde busines for the Switzers, by meanes and help of the duke of *Bourgongne*. *Lazius* writes, that *Sigismond* sold *Swetia* it selfe, but therein he abuseth himself. This engagement did not aduance the matter, according vnto *Sigismonds* expectation: for *Hagenbach*, gouernor in these pawned countries to *Charles* Duke of *Bourgongne*, began to tyranize vpon all the people, violating women and children, and putting many innocents to death. By which occasion; *Sigismond* being moued to compassion, and incited by the continual complaints of his subiects; redeemed the pawned countries, & assigned the mony to be paid at *Basile*. But notwithstanding all this, *D. Charles* would not forsake his possession, but stroue still to hold the same by force. The Switzers (on the other side) were but crookedly

dealt withall by Duke *Charles*.

To be plaine, *Sigismond* nor the *Switzers* were strong enough to make head against the Duke, and therefore some men, better seene and skild in such businesse; layd downe their opinion; that *Sigismond* and the *Switzers* were best to agree in vinity, and make war together vpon their common enemy. King *Lewes* the eleueth pusht hardly at that point, and followed the matter very hotly: for it was his custome to prepare such diets for the Duke of *Bourgongne*, and to raise him so many enemies as might bee. To further these practises, he serued his owne turne with a *Switzer*, namd *Iustus de Sillini*, who soon after was byshop of *Sion*, and of *Granoble* also. *Sigismond* likewise fauored him, and gaue him as many good respects, as hee could receiue by his byshoppricks. At length also by his meanes, and by authority of the King, an hereditary alliance was made, the substantiall points wherof follow thus.

*A breuiate of the Articles of hereditarie Alliance, betweene the Duke of Austria, and the Switzers.*

First, They shall continue them-selues in mutuall peace and amitie, so that the Austrians in *Swetia*, and the Switzers in the Countreyes belonging to the Duke of *Austria*: may freely and safely Trafficke, and also mannage theyr other affayres.

If any variāce or contention happen betweene them: they shall pursue their right in iustice, and not by armes.

The Arbitrators to iudge their causes shall be the Bishop or Citie of *Constance*, and the Byshop or Seignery of *Basile*. And before they take knowledge of the cause, both parties shall promise to the Iudges, by authenticke Letters vnder their handes: that they wil beare no malice, neyther doe any outrage, what sentence soeuer is giuen vpon their difference.

As for common suites, concerning successions and debts: the ordinarie Iudges in their Courts of iustice, are to take order for them.

If Duke *Sigismond* stand in need of succor from the Switzers, they shal send him

Good aduice in cases of extremity, much auaille.

Iustus de Sillini, byshop of Sion & Granoble.

For trading in frendly manner.

For differēces

For Arbitrators to certifiere causes.

For ordinarie Law-suites.

The Emperor Sigismond, surnamed the Simple, a great enemy to the Switzers.

Lewes the eleuenth denied ayde to Sigismond against the Switzers

Sigismond pawned the County of Ferrara to the Duke of Bourgongne.

The cruel and violent dealing of Hagenbach.

Of succour  
from the  
Switzers, and  
from the D.

Of Charters,  
letters, Regi-  
sters, and  
books of cau-  
ses.

12th of  
August.

For benefit of  
enjoying their  
owne rightes.

Of meddling  
with the sub-  
iects one of  
another.

No enemies  
of each other  
to be fauored  
on either side.

The transac-  
tion of *Waldshout*.

For portages  
and tolles.

For tenure in  
case of fealty.

men: provided, that it may be done with their honor, and without prejudice vnto their ancient alliances, and they are to receyue as much wages, as the Cantons haue customarily payed to their Souldiers. The same is also to bee done by the Duke, if the Switzers desire any succour from him.

The Cantons shall deliuer such Charters, Letters, Registers, Bookes of reason, and other like instructions to the Duke, as are or shalbe in their hands, and belong to him; or declare to whom they haue formerly given them: onely excepted, such letters and Registers, as concerne cities, townes, and castles, which nowe are in the power and authority of the Switzers.

The Duke and the Switzers shall remaine Lords of those countries, citties, castles, Fortresses, Townes, Burroughes, and Villages as they haue taken, and now possesse; without any suite in Law, or any kinde of quarrell to bee offered on eyther side for them; neyther shall suffer anie wrong or iniurie to bee done, neither to the countries, citties, castles, &c. of one another.

Neither side shall make alliance with the other subiectes, nor giue them the right of Bourgeship, nor receiue them into protection to eithers damage or prejudice; except any one with al his goods retire into the country. And yet with this exception notwithstanding, that hee shall remaine answerable to the iurisdiction of his first Lord. But if any such person do pursue his intention by violence, they among whom he hath retreated himselfe, shall present him immediately in iustice. Because neither the Duke, nor the Cantons ought to lodge, maintaine, or fauour (in any kinde whatsoever) the Enemies of one another.

The Duke shall make satisfaction, for the transaction of *Waldshout*; wherein the Switzers shall assist him with al their forces.

The one shall not greue or offend the other, by exaction of any new Portages or Tolles.

Such persones as hold any thing by title of fealty of the Duke *Sigismond*, shall continue his Subiectes: excepting them of conquered countreyes, and of places engaged, and that haue not bene re-

deemed.

This alliance shall bee renewed from tenth yeeres to tenne yeeres: and if by aduenture it happen to be broken, the party interessed shall demand Iustice, without mouing any warre.

All enmities and warres which formerly haue bene betweene Duke *Sigismond*, and the Switzers, and their predecessors; shall bee appeased and layde to sleep; by meanes of this agreement, which is to be inuolably kept on either side.

This first transaction was made before the war of Bourgongne; in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie & foure. In the same year, *Sigismond* of Austria, *René* of Lorraine, the Bishoppes of *Strasbourg* and *Basile*, the Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Colmar*, *Selestad*, *Montbeliard*, and some others, made alliance with the Switzers for certaine yeeres, against the violence and tyranny of the Duke of Bourgongne, who being slaine 3. yeeres after in the battaile of *Nancy*, *Sigismond* of Austria renewed the hereditary Alliance, and this first transaction made with the Switzers, by the entermise of K. *Lewes* the eleuenth. This alliance was confirmed with the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Solleurre*, with liberty to the other Cantons, to enter into the same alliance if they pleased. There was not any new Article added at that time: but onely the forme and meanes of mutuall succour, which was couched in far more cleare and plaine tearmes. Some years after this, Duke *Sigismond* not hauing any legitimate children, resigned his Dukedome to the Emperor *Maximilian*, reseruing onely to himselfe an annual pension. *Maximilian* required the Switzers to enter the forenamed alliance with him. But because they had bene at some variance with him, and hee with them, and there grew some apparence of warre (considering it seemed evidently, that *Sigismond* had thus despoyled himselfe, to iniury the Switzers:) they would not enter into any nouell alliance, especially, because hee meant nothing else but fraudes in all this carriage, as the euent plainly declared. For immediately, they of Austria, and of the league of *Suaba*, moued warre against the Switzers and Grifons.

After peace vvas made, betweene the Emperor *Maximilian* and the Cantons,

on

For renouati-  
on of this alli-  
ance.

All former  
wars and iur-  
cut off by the  
peace.

The alliance  
of many com-  
monwealthe  
to resist the  
proud D. of  
Bourgongne

D. *Sigismond*  
resigned his  
Dukedome  
to the Emper-  
Maximilian

*Maximilian*  
intended  
thing else  
but fraudes  
in all his  
dealing

he Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of Austria with the Switzers.

on the twelfth yeare, which was in Anno, 1511. the Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of the house of *Austria*, with the *Switzers*, and ioyned in one, the house of *Bourgogne*, and his Nephew *Charles*, of whom he was tutor. Moreouer, not onely the *Switzers* of the first alliance, but the twelue Cantons. Item, they of *Appenzell*, with the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gall*, confirmed this alliance hereditary, with the houles of *Austria* & *Bourgogne*. In this alliance or transaction so confirmed, made by the meanes of King *Lewes* the eleventh, is expressly set downe first of all: that therein is comprehended onely the county of *Bourgogne*, and the high countries of *Austria*, the county of *Tiroll*, and that which is beyond the Mountaine. Item, some Townes along the *Rheine*, as *Waldshout*, *Lauffenberg*, *Secon*, *Rhinfeld*, & others that are on this side the Mountain. Neuerthelesse there is added, that order shall be giuen, that those other countries not comprized in the alliance, shall not enterprize any thing by Arms against the *Switzers*, nor the *Switzers* against them. All outrageous words & actions are prohibited, for feare of alienating their harts, as hath happened sometimes heere to fore thereby.

Moreouer, the Emperor *Maximillian* promised, in the name of *Charles* his Nephew, to giue (in present) euery yeare in the city of *Zurich*, to each one of the cantons, two hundred crownes. To the Abbot and city of *S. Gall*, and the Bourg of *Appenzell*, an hundred crownes to each of them: vntill such time as *Charles* shall be growne greater, to gouern these countries himselfe, & then he shal stand bound to confirm the alliance, which accordingly was done. For in the yeare 1547. by letters which the Emperour *Charles* the fift, sent to the Cantons, he confirmed the alliance; insomuch as concerned the house and county of *Bourgogne*, for his brother *Ferdinand* was chosen then Duke of *Austria*. The conditions and Articles of alliance with *Bourgogne*, are the very same as them of *Austria*. To wit, that it shall be lawfull for eyther side, to traffick, and to go and come freely into one anothers countries. Item, that they neyther doe, nor suffer any of the countries, to make warre vpon each other. And if (by aduenture) some enemy would doe vio-

lence to one of the two sides: the other (being thereto required) shall be carefull to preuent it without any delay, for feare, lest against right and equity, it should be oppressed.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Alliances betweene Sauoy and the Switzers.

THE Dukes of *Sauoy*, (which part was called by our Ancients, the country of the \* *Allobrogians*) long since, and for long space of time, helde amity with the Cantons of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*. In the ende, *Charles*, Father to *Philibert*, now Duke of *Sauoy*, made an alliance with all the cantons, for twenty five years, in Anno, 1512.

The first Article treateth of the amity which is to be maintained on either side, without any outrage, or seconding an enemy to passe among the Allies.

The second ruleth the knowledge of Processes and Law-cases, wherein Iudges of equall number are to bee elected on both sides, who shall call the parties into the Towne of *Bienna*, and there ende the difference. If two sentences be giuen, hauing as many voyces on the one side as other: the Iudges shall elect a subarbitrator in one of the cantons, that shall haue no part of interest in the Proceffe. As for causes betweene particular persons; they are to be decided by Iudges of the places.

The third ordaineth, that it shall be lawfull for the subiects of the allies, to goe about their affaires freely, and in all safety, in the countries of *Smetia* & *Sauoy*, without being charged with any new imposts, portages, or tolles.

The fourth auoucheth, that if any man haue a difference against the Duke, and would haue it referred to the orders spoken in the cantons: if the Duke will not agree thereto, the Switzers doe not stand bound (by any alliance) to assist any such party against the Duke.

The fift speaketh, that if the Switzers are assayed and pressed with warre, the Duke shall send them (at his own charge) fixe hundred horse at the leste; prouided, that

\* People of Prouence, containing the Countries of Sauoy and Dauphine. The alliance of Duke Charles with the Cantons. For preservation of amity.

For suites and law-cases.

For freedom of commerce on both sides.

For any difference against the Duke.

For mutuall succour in warre on eyther side.

he contents the alliance transaction made by the meanes of King Lewes the 11.

ney giuen the Emperour in the name of his Nephew Charles.

Charles the fift confirmed the alliance with the Switzers when he came to age.

that hee haue then no warre in his owne country. In like manner, if the Duke haue any warre in his owne hand, & demandeth succour; the Switzers shall send him fixe thousand foot, or more, to each man wherof, the Duke shall pay 6. *Liures Trurnois*, for wages euery Moneth. If (ouer and aboute this number) hee demandeth some other Switzers, that desire to goe to warre vpon their owne good will towards him; hee shall not stand bound to pay them any wages, but what he will do out of his owne liberality.

The Duke may demand no seruice of the Switzers, in any nauall warre, nor cause them to passe the Seas: but onely to defend the countries, which they possesse at the day of making this alliance.

To the end that this accord may be firmly kept, the Duke nor the Switzers shall meddle with any affaires of strangers, to debate any thing to the preiudice of their alliance: neyther shall they giue right of Bourgeship, to any subiects of Swetia or Sauoye, but onely to such, as shall haue their persons and goods transported into eythers countries.

While this alliance endureth, the Duke shall yearely pay in the City of *Berne*, to each Canton, the summe of two hundred crownes.

Vpon the ending of this alliance, which lasted almost 25. yeares, the King of *France*, *Frances* the first, despoyled Duke *Charles* of the most part of his countries. And in this warre, the *Bernians* taking in hand the cause of their fellow-Bourgeses of *Geneua*, with them of *Fribourg* and *Valois*: tooke all the Dukes places in the countries of *Vaut*, county of *Romont* and *Tuian*. After this time, the Emperour *Charles* the fift (in the protection of whō the Duke of *Sauoy* was put) was in war continually in *Piedmont* gainst the *Frēch*: and that was the cause of breaking the renewing of the alliance. At length, *Philebert*, the Sonne of *Charles*, hauing recouered his countries, by the meanes of peace betweene the Kings of *Spaine* and *France*: made a new and perpetuall alliance with the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vri*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Solleurre*. It is (almost) the very same as the former: but onely that there is no mention made (to my remembrance) of mutuall succour. Soone after, the other Cantons re-

newed with him, the very same conditions of ancient amity and alliance.

## CHAP. XLII.

*Of the Alliances betweene the Switzers and the Kings of France.*

**K**ing *Lewes* the 11. was the first King of *France*, that allied himselfe with the Switzers, and that assigned rewards & pensions annually to all the Cantons. Being as yet *Dolphin*, hee led a great Army into *Germany*, conducted by the Count of *Armignac*. This he did in fauor of *Pope Eugenius*, and of the Emperour *Fredericke*, onely to breake the councill of *Basile*, as the *Pope* desired: and furiously to inuade the Switzers, whom the Emperour hated, and to break off their sledge (in meete despite of them) which they had planted before the city of *Zurich*, because he was allied with the house of *Austria*. The Switzers had another Army before the castle of *Fransperg*: 1600 men whereof, they sent thence, to succour *Basile* & the Fathers there in the councill.

Being about 2 miles from *Basile*, they did set vpon the *Dolphins* troops so stiffly, as (although in regard of their enemies multitude, who had enclosed them on all sides) they were euery man (almost) slaine in the field: yet notwithstanding, they so weakened the *French* Army (for there were slaine about 6000 of them) that the *Dolphin* standing in feare of a further losse, and of the valour of the Switzers; tooke his way suddenly home to *France*, leauing the businesse vnexecuted, which he came for. It is reported, that the *Dolphin* seeing his enemies slaine bodies lying on the ground, saide thus. Sometimes with farre lesse forces, and in the space of three houres; I haue broken an Army of thirteen thousand men, without any such paine or danger as I haue met with heere, labouring a whole day toughly, to overcome a little handfull of men. Neuer hadde I to deale with more valiant and fast enemies; and therefore I will take order, for euer warring any more against them. Which hee most truly and faithfully performed a long time after,

euē

The Liure Tournois is two shillings sterling.

No Nauall war, or passage of the Seas.

For preferuation of this alliance firmly.

Payment of 200. crowns to each Canton yearely.

The men of *Berne* ioyned with their fellow-Bourgeses of *Geneua*

A new and perpetuall alliance betweene *Philebert* and the Cantons.

Rewards and pensions yearly allowed to all the Cantons, by King *Lewes* the 11

The Switzer set vpon the *Dolphins* troops nere to *Basile*.

The words the *Dolphin* vpon the slaughter of his enemies the Switzer

euē vntill he came to the crowne.

Hee neuer loued Charles Duke of Bourgongne, and yet durst not make open warre on him, because hee was not well appointed for it: and therefore he laboured by all meanes, to set the Duke a iustling with the Switzers. But to compass his intent the more easily, and haue the Switzers at his command, when he should stand in need of their assistance: he made an alliance with them for ten yeares, giuing as an annuall pension to each Canton, the summe of seuen thousand *Liures Tournois*. During the warre of the Duke of Bourgongne against the Switzers, the King furnished them with a great summe of money: as fearing least (through want of coine) they should giue ouer contending, and talke of truce. The Duke being foyled at Morat; the King gaue publikely great gifts to the Switzers, and in particular to their Captaines and Colonels. Finally, after the death of the Duke, slaine in *Lorraine*, to set an imbarment, that (by right of warre) the Switzers should not possesse themselues of *Bourgongne*, where there were many men that nodded the head at their deuotion: hee bought the country for a goodly summe of money. And because he must needs make warre; to get into possession of the country: hee made vse of the foote Switzers to serue him, giuing to them farre greater wages, then euer any Prince had done before.

Charles the eight, sonne to Lewes, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, fourscore and three, renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Switzers: and vsed their seruice in the warre, whē he ouercame the Duke of *Bretaigne*. But principally in the warre of *Naples*, he diuers wayes made good prooffe, that the warlike Switzers, were both loyall and valiant of their persons. His successour, Lewes the twelfth, hauing vndertaken the conquest of *Millaine*, and very desirous to turne the Switzers, from the amity they bare to Duke *Lodowick Sforza*; made alliance with them for ten yeares. At the end whereof, he thanked the Switzers, & denied to pay the rewards and yearely pensions, which he had payed in publike and to particular persons. Which so highly offended this martiall people, as partly of their own inclination, but much more by meanes of the Cardinall of *Sion*,

who sollicitated the principals of the cantons; they made a league with Pope *Julius* the second, in the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and ten. Oftentimes after ward, this King laboured to make a new alliance: but the Switzers beeing ioyned with the Pope, would neuer listen to it. But in the yeare, one thousand five hundred and twelue, they droue the French out of *Millaine*, and re-established *Maximilian Sforza* in the Dukedome. Then the yeare following, they ouerthrew the French at *Nauara*, and came with a maine Army along into *Bourgongne*.

Lewes the twelfth, had his Sonne in law *Frances de Valois* for his successour: who wonne a memorable battaile against the Switzers, when he ouercame them at *Marignano*: Hee brought into France, *Maximilian Sforza*, and made himselfe Lord of the Dukedome of *Millaine*. After a victory so remarkable, knowing well, how bloody it had bin, and at how deare a price the French had bought it: the first thing he did, was (to winne the good fauour of the Switzers) a kinde agreement made with them, ioyning them to his crowne, by a firme and durable alliance. The conditions and treaties of this peace and mutual amity, are comprized in these thirteene Articles following.

First, all enimities, dissentions, warres, differences and quarrelles in precedent times, are vtterly brought to nothing: and as for particular variāces, which concern nothing in common with the occasions of warre, they shall stand vtterly void, by those Articles of agreement, made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, King Lewes the twelfth, and the Cantons.

Secondly, all prisoners, in what part or place soeuer they are deteyned as prisoners, or as slaues; they shall be released and set at liberty, without paying any ranfome.

Thirdly, if any man at Armes of the Switzers, haue any suite against the King of France, not for any matter of warre, he may contest in iustice, according to the Articles following.

Fourthly, all such persons as after the accord made betweene King Lewes the twelfth, and the Cantons, were and are allied with them, or receiued into the number of their Bourgeses: shall be comprehended in this treaty, and enjoy the benefit

ing Lewes great enemy Charles Duke of Bourgongne, yet durst not war with him.

great gifts & presents to the Switzers for foyleing the Duke at Morat.

ing Charles renewed his fathers league with the Switzers.

ing Lewes made alliance with the Switzers ten yeares.

To Switzers deafeled with K. Lewes

The Switzers chased the French out of Millaine.

Frances de Valois successour to Lewes the twelfth

The tenour of the peace made betweene King Frances the first and the Switzers.

For free delivery of prisoners.

For suites in law against the King.

For such as are to enjoy the benefit of this peace.

ness thereof. Onely such excepted, as are out of the limits of *Swetia*, that speake not the Germane tongue, and are not subiects to the Cantons.

The first Article, confirmeth to Merchants and subiects of *Swetia*, the priuiledges and franchises, which the Kings of France haue formerly graunted vnto them.

Sixtly, to the end that the *Switzers* may the better vnderstand the good will and liberality of the King: hee will pay them downe presently a great summe of crownes, for their great charges at the sledge of *Dijon*, and afterwards in Italy.

Seauenthy, that peace may bee the more firmly maintained on eyther side, and to continue on this begun amity: if any difference happen to be moued, neither the one party or other shall vnder-take Armes, in that manner to pursue his right; but according to the order before mentioned, is to demaund reason by course of iustice.

Eightly, neyther side shall giue passage, food or harbour to the others enemies: nor suffer their subiects to vndergo Armes, for such Princes or common-weales, as are enemies to France, or to the *Switzers*. Such as do the contrary, shall be repealed to their country, and punished according as they haue deserued.

Ninthly, permission is granted vnto Merchants, Pilgrims, & Subiects, French or *Switzers*, to trafficke, voyage, goe and come freely, into France and *Swetia*; without any outrage, or beeing offended by any new tolles or taxes.

Tenthly, the King giueth yearely to each Canton, the sum of two thousand *Liures Tournois*: As much to the *Valaisians*, and as much to the *Grisons*, as was granted vnto them by king *Lewes* the 12. And moreouer, the sum of 20000 *Liures Tournois*. Item, to the Abbot of *S. Gall*, to the Subiects, and to them of *Toggenbourg*, the sum of 600 *Liures Tournois*: To the city of *S. Gall*, 400: To *Mulhouse*, 400: And to them of the county of *Gruyere*, 600.

Eleuenthy, the ancient priuiledges and franchises, which they haue (till then) enjoyed in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, the inhabitants of *Bellizona*, *Lugano*, *Lo-*

*carna*, and the Vale *Madia*; are to them fully reserued and confirmed.

Twelfthly, the king leaueth it in choise to the *Switzers*, to declare within the compasse of a yeare, whether they affect or no: to hold the countries and castles of *Lugano*, *Locarna*, and of the Vale *Madia*; or else to forsake them, for the sum of thirtie thousand crownes of the Sunne. And if they take the money: then they of the Vale of *Telina*, and of the county of *Clawenna*, shal haue their part in this summe, as much as one of the Cantons.

The last Article ordaineth, that this peace and amity betweene the Realme of France and the cantons, shal continue inuiolable and perpetuall.

The king excepteth in this peace, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See and Romane Empire, the kings of *Spaine*, of *England*, of *Scotland*, of *Nauarre*, and of *Denmarke*: The Dukes of *Sauoy*, of *Lorraine*, of *Guel-dres*: Item, the Duke & common-wealth of *Venice*, *Laurentius de Medicis*, the house of *Medicis*, and the common-wealth of *Florence*: The Bishop of *Liege*, and all the confederates of the king.

The *Switzers* also except on their part, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See of Rome, the Emperour and Romane Empire; the house of *Austria*; the Dukes of *Sauoye*, and of *Wirtemberg*; the family of *Laurentius de Medicis*; the common-wealth of *Florence*, the Marshall of *Bourgongne*, their ancient alliances; and all their allies and fellow-Bourgeffes.

The reason for these exceptions, is, that if the king of France make warre vpon any one of them aboue named, in his own countries: the *Switzers* may keepe what promise or alliance they haue formerly made or sworne, to those Princes or common-wealths. But if one or more of those Princes or common-wealths, come to assault the king in his owne kingdom: the Cantons shall not permit any of their Subiects to goe in warre against the king; but shall countermaund them, as it is ordayned in the eight Article, and which they are to keepe and obserue inuiolably.

To these conditions is added the forme to be kept, in the deciding of strifes and differences. But it seemeth to me, that it would bee great losse of time and paper

For priuiledges and franchises.

The kings bounty to the *Switzers*.

For maintenance of loue and amity.

No harboring of enemies on either side.

For free permission of trafficke and passage.

Yearely pensions giuen by the King to the Cantons, &c.

Priuiledges belonging to particular places.

A courtesie left by the king to the *Switzers* choise.

For continuance of this amity.

Exception made by the K. of France.

Exception made by the *Switzers*.

The reason of these exceptions.

he Author  
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rrouns.

paper to insert it: because it agreeth almost altogether, with the accord of *Millaine*, and other formes of iudgements, whereof we haue spoken heeretofore. All this conference and treaty of peace, was made by the Ambassadors on eyther side, and sette downe in writing in the Towne of *Fribourg*, on *S. Andrews* day, in the Moneth of Nouember, and in the yeare 1516.

The King hauing made pacification with the Switzers, as already hath bene declared: yet hee would needs proceede somewhat farther, and allie them more strictly to his crowne. Which also he obtained, and that agreement was past at *Lucerna*, siue yeares after the fore-mentioned peace. Then all the Cantons (except *Zurich*) and all their confederates, allied themselues with the K. of France: and the tenour of that alliance was as followeth,

### The Tenure of a more nere agreement, made betweene the King and the Switzers.

1. IF any one (whosoever it be) make war within the Realme of France, in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or any other country appertaining to the crown, cyther on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the King may make a leuye of Switzers, when and at what time himselfe shall thinke meete, to wit, of sixe thousand men at the least, and seauen thousand at the most, except the Lords of the Leagues will permit more.

2. Hee may also chuse out of all the Cantons and confederates, such Colonels and Captaines as he shall thinke fit: provided, that they be men of good fame and credite.

3. The Lordes of the Leagues shall giue no hinderance to those Colonels, Captaines, and Soldiers, neither delay time, or put any case in question, to hinder their going: but that within ten daies after that first day, whereon the King required succour, they shall bee permitted to march away.

4. They shall continue in the Kings seruice, vntill the end of the warre; if it seeme good to him, and they not recalled home by their Lords: The King shall

also pay them (euery one) his accustomed wages. But if there happen warre in *Swetia*, and that thereby the cantons cannot succour the King, as they otherwise wold: In this case, they shall stand quit of their promise, and they may suddenly countermand home their men; to whom also the King stands bound, to grant their departure immediately.

5. If the King would make warre vpon his enemies: he may make the same leuie of sixe thousand Switzers at the least, and seuen thousand at the most; chusing Colonels and Captaines, men of faire and good fame, which are Switzers, or of their Allies.

6. The King may not separate an Army of Switzers, or diuide them in troops for Garrisons in diuers places: and they are not to serue at Sea, but on the land.

7. As concerning the wages for the Gendarmery; it is agreed on both sides, that the King shall pay for a Moneth vnto each Switzer Soldier, foure Florius and an halfe, of them that are called *Florius du Rhin*. And their wages shall begin on the day, when they set forth from their houses: and then shall three Moneths pay be due vnto them, although the King do not vse them in seruice so long. And before they part out of *Swetia*, they must receiue the first Moneths pay: and the rest for the two other Moneths, at meete places, according as need shall require. If after those three Moneths are past, the King will longer retaine the *Switzers*; hee shall pay them the same wages euery Moneth, vntill such time as they may commodiously returne home to their owne house.

8. The Colonels, Captaines, Ensigns, Ambassadors, & others that haue charge in the troopes; shall bee payed after their accustomed manner, and according as the Predecessours to the Kings of France haue done.

9. If any war is made vpon the *Switzers*, the King of France shall stand bound to succour them at his owne cost: sending them two hundred compleat horsemen, and twelue peeces of Artillery, with all their equipage and furniture; to wit, sixe peeces for battery, and sixe Canons. Moreouer, hee shall furnish the *Switzers* (from three Moneths to three Moneths) in the city of *Lyons*, with certaine sums

When the King shall haue occasion to make war.

An Army of Switzers not to be diuided, &c.

wages agreed on for the horsemen, & in what manner it is to be paid, vpon the due of three Moneths pay

Pay for men of higher rank & place, according to their degrees.

Concerning succour to be sent the *Switzers*, when war is made on them.

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of money, for expences in the warre. And if the *Switzers* affect it rather: instead of two hundred compleate horsemen, the King shall giue them all the three Moneths, the sum of two thousand crownes at the least.

10. If it come so to passe, that if (thorough occasion of moued warre heere or there) the *Switzers* cannot haue any Salt: it may be bought for them in France, & so bee conuayed home into their countries.

11. No side or party shall receiue into protection, neyther bestow Bourgeship on any of the others subiects, nor succor, lodge, or defend men banished, or enemies to eyther side: but according to the Articles of peace, shall hinder & expulse them.

12. Finally, the King being willing to make knowne his loue and good will towards the *Switzers*: ouer and beside the twenty thousand Francks, which he promised to pay them by the treaty of peace, further promiseth, to pay yearely to each one of the Cantons (while this alliance shall continue) the summe of a thousand pounds *Tournois*. He will also pay to the confederates, the moiety of the pension which they had before.

The King excepteth Pope *Leo* the 10. The Romane See and Empire; the kings of *England* and of *Scotland*: the Duke of *Sauoye*, of *Lorraine*, of *Halsatia*, and of *Gueldres*; the common-wealth of *Venice*, and of *Florence*; the house of *Medicis*; the Marquesses of *Brandenbourg* and of *Montferrat*.

The Cantons do likewise except Pope *Leo* the tenth: the Romane See and Empire: the common-wealth of *Florence*; the house of *Medicis*; the Duke of *Sauoy*; the house of *Austria*; their alliances, their Bourgeshes and confederates; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and *Otfauian Maria Sforza*, Bishop of *Lauda*.

Neuerthelesse, if any of these aboue named, make warre on eyther of these parties, in their countries on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the other shall giue succour, without exception of any person, according to the tenour of this alliance, which is to endure while King *Frances* liueth, and three yeares after his death.

This alliance being expired, *K. Henry*

the second, Sonne and Successor to king *Frances*, contracted a new alliance with the Cantons, vpon the same conditions before named: and that alliance lasted 5. yeares after his death. Now because the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and some other Prouinces, comprehended in the alliance made with king *Frances*, were dismembred from the crowne, when this newe league was contracted: It is expressly set downe, that the *Switzers* shall not stand obliged, to giue the king any succour, for recouery of those countries. But if he can reconquer them by the ayde of another Army, and he shall bee Lord of them againe, as of other Prouinces belonging to his Kingdome: for the better conseruation of them, the Cantons shall furnish him with men, who shall likewise attend him in warre, for the recouery of *Bullen*, and the county of *Bullenois* in *Picardy*.

If the king will goe in person to some warre, hee may make choise (at his pleasure) of Captaines *Switzers*, and command a leuye of sixe thousand men at the least.

He may not disioyne or separate the *Switzers* Army, when hee is vpon the point of giuing battaile: but out of such occasion, he may plant the in Garrisons, in Townes and strong places, to defend them.

As for the wages, rewards, & succors, which the king is to giue vnto the *Switzers*; it beareth the very selfe-same reason as is in the precedent alliance; and the other Articles doe agree with them before mentioned.

And to the ende, that the treaty of peace, made in the yeare 1516. may remaine firme, when wages rest vnpaid, it is thus ordayned. The demander shall acquaint his Magistrate with the matter, to whom, if the cause seeme vpright; he shall goe or send to the kings Ambassadors, which are in *Swetia*, or if they be absent, the Magistrate shall write to the king, and require satisfaction for the party. If the king yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity; the demander may then call his cause before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the K. yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity, the demander may then call his cause

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Vpon dearth or necessity of Salt.

Against receiuing eyther others enemies.

The liberality of the King to the Cantons.

Exception made on the Kings behalfe

Exception also on the cantons behalfe.

A caueat or generall warning.

King Henry the second succeeded his Father King Frances.

Concerning the losse of the Dukedome of Millaine.

A breuiate of the new adioyned Articles.

For leuye of men.

No sundering of the *Switzers* army.

For wages & rewards.

When wages remaine vnpaid.

In cases concerning the King and a priuate man

before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the King will not yeeld to the Iudges his part, the Switzers may passe on to further knowledge of the facte, and what they appoint, shall be allowed for firme and auailable to cyther party, euen as if the Iudges on eyther side had therein assisted.

The Merchants both French and Switzers, according to the articles of peace, shall not be greued with any new taxes, tolles, or imposts.

If any suite be moued betweene par-

ties on eyther side, the demaunder may pleade before the Iudge, in the place where the defender dwelleth.

This alliance was treated and past at *Solleurre*, in the yeare, 1549. All the Cantons (except *Berne* and *Zurich*) with their confederates, being bound thereto.

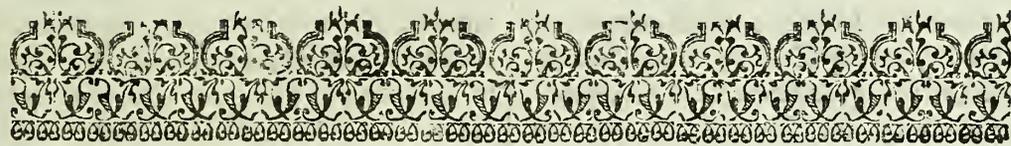
Finally, King *Charles* the ninth, Sonne to King *Henry*, renewed this alliance with the Switzers, vpon conditions little differing from the former: and that alliance continueth yet to this day, after the kings death.

For suites in law.

When this alliance was made.

King Charles the 9. allied with the Switzers: to obtaine

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## THE MANNER OF GOVERNMENT obserued among the *Switzers*.

### THE SECOND PART.



We haue shewne in our first Part, of what parts & parcels, the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is composed; for what causes, & with what conditions these people, dwelling in diuers places, allied themselues together, to make vp one body of a Commonwealth. Also with what industry and trauaile, they haue maintained their liberties; and with what Princes and peoples, they haue associated and leagued themselues. In this second Booke, wee shall declare, how this common-wealth is gouerned. And because the confederates haue (each one) their Magistrates, Lawes, and particular government, and that the cantons do make one common-wealth apart, and yet there is a councill in common to the whole Nation, and lawes and ordinances, to whose obseruation all are obliged: First, I will make mention of the *Switzers* commonwealth in generall; then I will describe the estate and government of the Cantons, severa-

ly in their places.

They that haue written concerning common-wealths, doe set downe three sorts.

The first, when all the managing and government of the common-wealth, is in the power of one only, who is called a King, if he gouerne iustly, with consent of the people, and according vnto the lawes; for if he do otherwise, he is a Tyrant.

The second, when a small number of principall men, and more people of good behauiour, do gouerne.

The third, when all the people haue the authority in their hands.

Thus there are three kindes of Commonwealths, to wit, Monarchy, Aristocracy, & Democracy: who haue for their vicious shaddowes, Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy.

We cannot compare or sute the *Switzers* common-wealth, with any of these before named: but as (aunciently) the great Commonwealths of *Rome* and *Carthage*, and (in our time) that of *Venice* may be tearmed mixt and compounded,

Three severall kindes of common wealths, & their hurtfull shaddowes

A forme or shape of the Switzers commonwealth.

breife discourse of the first Bookes government.

breuiate of this second bookes Argument.

A Democrati-  
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The other are  
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because (in some matters) they shared or tooke part, with all the three kindes of governments; so in like maner, the common-wealth of the Switzers is mingled or composed of a Seigneuriall, Lordly, and Populare government. For among all the people, of whom the whole common-wealth of the Switzers is compounded: there are some, whose government is meerey democraticall, & where al things (almost) are done by the deliberation of the people. As in those Cantons that haue no citties, to wit, *Vri, Suits, Vnderwald, Glaris, and Appenzell*: yea, euen in *Zug*, although it is a citty. The other are gouerned by Lords, as cittyes commonly vse to be, namely *Zurich, Berne, Lucerna, Basile, Fribourg, Solleurre, and Schaffouse*. But because the Soueraignty appertaineth to the people, who doe elect these Lords, these common-wealths are compounded of two kindes of gouernment: so that notwithstanding, the one is more Aristocraticall, and the other more Populare.

So then, the common-wealth of the Switzers being compounded of people, that haue not al one, and the same forme of gouernment: the order and pollicy also is very diuers and mixt. For if vpon some dayes of audience, ambassadors do aduise on matters of the whole common-wealth, or end some differences: this appeareth to be a gouernment meerey Aristocraticall. And yet neuertheless, because they are (for the most part) elected by the people, and that in causes and affaires of importance, they cannot go beyond their aduice, but deale according to the peoples command, to whom they must render an account of their negotiation: it may easily bee noted, that such a kinde of gouernment is not altogether Aristocraticall.

Now it plainly appeareth, that the Switzers common-wealth cannot bee better gouerned, for the liberties which they do enioy, was gotten by their ancestors, not by the industry and power of one, or of a small number of particular men: but the people themselues were imployed therein, and did enfranchise it with the expence of their purses, blood, and liues. And therefore it is no more then reason, that they should reape some fruite of their trauaile. And as concerning, that

it seemeth incommodious and perillous in a populare estate, that all men should deliuer their aduice, but rather, that it ought to be done by them of most wisdom, and men of best quality: This danger is not to bee doubted in the Switzers Common-wealth, for they do most imploy, and send on their dayes of audience, the best and wisest persons of each Canton. And although they haue not power to conclude definitiuely (because it might be a dangerous consequence, for the peoples liberty) yet notwithstanding, they are as the cheefest councellers, and make a conference of opinions, vpon the State affaires. Afterward, the people giue their consent, by assemblies which they make in Townes and Villages. Now such as are not altogether stupid and ill-affected, may know and approue, that which hath bene deliberated in those dayes meetings, for common benefit: considering, they giue them plainly to vnderstand euery thing.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the manner and behaiour of the Switzers, in the times of both peace and warre.*



Orasmuch as the right gouernment of a common-wealth, is best discerned in affaires and managements of peace and warre: it behooueth vs to shew how our predecessors haue carried themselues therein. As concerning exercises of war, beside that which nature hath done, in fashioning the Switzers fit thereto: necessity also hath constrained them, to apply their paines, and that in good earnest. The Country is Mountainy, sharpe, and hard for culture, anciently desert and sauage for the most part, making the people not onely indurate and hardened for trauaile: but also robuste, stiffe, & strong, and so (by consequent) very apt for warre.

Now as natuarally the people of *Europe* are more magnanimous and warlike, then they of *Asia*: so the *Europeans* which

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The Switzers are naturally fit for warlike im- piments.

concerning these people lived on the Alpes, & nature of the country.

In the Switzers are soldiers borne.

The Princes of Austria are most inclined the Switzers.

comparison all worth the obseruation.

is an especial command every Switzer young and old to beare arms.

which dwell in Mountainous and hard countries, are reputed to be more martially minded then the other. Proofof hereof appeareth, in the histories of the *Goths, Vandales, Hunnes, Lombards, Franconians*, and other people; who being bred in the very coldest countries of the North: did yet disperse themselues over the sayrest parts of *Europe*, and cyther foraged, or troubled them, treading vnder their feete the power of *Rome*, sometimes so much renowned through the world. In like manner, as the very coldest countries of the *Alpes*, do beare the highest and tallest *Trees*, and haue beasts more fatte and faire then can be desired: so the naturall disposition of the country, and tempera- ture of the ayre, produceth men more ro- buste and strong then others are. Where- fore, in many Countries, some are men for *Armes*, others are labourers; and o- thers artezans: but in *Switzerland*, all are Soldiours borne, euen by a meere man- ner of desire, and there is not a *Switzer*, (prouided that hee haue stature and apt disposition) but in him may be seene the very liues (to life) of a man of warre.

And because almost all the neighbors to the *Cantons*, but especially the *Princes of Austria*, laboured by continuall warres, to annihilate the liberty of the *Switzers*, and that for the space of two hundred yeares: meere necessity made the *Switzers* martiall, beeing compelled to carry weapons daily in their hands, to maintaine their liberty, bridle the head- strong courses of their enemies, & to pre- serue their wiues and children. And as it was said of *Agessilaus*, after he was woun- ded by the *Thebanes* in an encounter, that he receiued worthy wages, for teaching them the arte of warre: euen so *Noble- men* that entrusted the olde *Switzers*, simple peafants, and shepheards, to han- dle a *Sword*, and compelled them to vn- derstand the trickes of fencing, receiued (in the end) the recompence for their ap- prentiship, hauing beene so many times beaten in battailes, and finally driuen out of *Switzerland*.

From hence it ensued, that their lawes & customes were accommodated to the exercises of warre. For whereas in many Countries, the people are forbidden to carry and manage weapons: so on the contrary, there is none so young in *Swit-*

*zerland*, dwell he in Citty, Town, Village, or Field, be he a peasant, porter, or of the very basest condition can be denised; but he is strictly commanded to haue *Arms*, according to his quality. And because that in our time, the *Harquebuz* or *Caliu- er* was in great vse for warre: there was a prize and reward proposed in publike, for such as would exercise, and could dex- teriously handle these fiery weapons. Not only in Citties, as was done in many parts of *Germany*: but also in the most peopled Townes and Villages. Nay, there was a prize and reward appointed for children, that could draw the *Bow*; to the end, that they might afterward be the better fash- ioned for weapons of more danger: which prooued to such an expert practise, that from their very youth, they accustomed themselues to discharge the *Caliu- er*.

Their other pastimes also sauored all of war. For they neuer vsed to meete toge- ther, were it on solemne daies & festiualls, according to the Churches dedications, or at weddings and other such like occa- sions, but with *Drums* and *Trumpets* for war. And it was (and stil is) a great honor for a *Bride-groome*, to be attended on with a great number of *Pikes*, *Halberts*, & *Shot*, who (vntreated) march before him, or come to honour his feast, in the nature of a muster, marching after the manner of war. Many times also, boyes of 8. or 10. yeares old, and others somewhat more aged, meet together and make mu- sters, with *Drums* & *Ensignes*, some bea- ring *Caliuers*, others *Halberts*, & others *Pikes*: so that to see them march, it might well be said, that they had hearts & hands already, apt to manage those warlike wea- pons. In this manner, they that neuer vn- derstood any thing set downe in the *Mil- itary* precepts of *Vegetius*, nor of any o- ther, inured from their infancy, without any command: but onely of their owne motion, and by a naturall inclination to *Armes*, can carry and manage themselues with countenances and steppings fit for *Soldiours*. In many places, euery yeare, or at certaine times of the yeare, the *Lords* cause general musters in arms to be made for all their followers, as if they were go- ing to war against the enemy. These mu- sters are somtimes performed at the de- dication of *Temples*, somtimes at *Fairs*; and in some other places, when the

Prizes & re- wards propo- sed onely for encouragement to handle the caliu- er

All the exer- cises and pas- times of the Switzers fa- uour of war.

The exercises of the Swit- zers children, that they be- come soldiers from their Cradles.

Good & ver- tuous exam- ples are terri- ble to bad minded men.

Subiects take their oath to a Gouvernor, sent newly to some Bayliwicke, for then they all muster, and shew themselues in Armes.

It is altogether needlesse, that I should make any long discourse of other exercises, which do dispose the to be the more valiant in war: as to runne, leape, throw the stone and barre, to wraffle, to shew all kindes of defence fit for Arms; for which there are prizes publikely appointed euery yeare. Moreover, I am of the minde, that in all christendome, there is not any people, that do exercise themselues more in swimming, then the Switzers: who (with much ease) can vse that Arte, swimming thorough great Lakes, Riuers, Streames, and very impetuous floods, where-with the country doth greatly abound. When they are at leysure, and haue done their husbandry in the fields: they daily follow hunting, sometimes ouer the highest Mountaines and Rockes, almost inaccessible, after wilde Goates, Kids, and other beasts. At other times they pursue Beares, Wolves, Ounces, & wilde Boares, reputing it as an honour to him that can kil one of those sauage creatures, and fasten his head at the entrance of his doore; yet sometimes hee makes a present of it to the Seigneury. The Grecians had an ancient custome among the, to giue the heads of wilde Boares, vnto Gentlemen or Gouvernours of the country, as an honourable present after hunting.

Now we are to declare, how the Switzers doe carry themselues in warré. First then, I will make mention of their Armes: next, how they chuse and enroule theyr Soldiours: And consequently, of other things belonging to the acte of warre. Let me then tell you, that (ordinarily) the Switzers Souldiours are well furnished with Armes in their houses: yet (oftentimes) the Citties and Towns do fit them with Armes, which are kept in their publike Arsenalles and Magazines. Their Armes are commonly those of the Germane Lance-Knights, to wit: the Harquebuzze, or Caliuer, or Musket; the Pike of eightene foote in length; the Halbert; the Courtlace, and Sword made apt for both hands. They weare also a long Sword by their sides, whereas their ancestors did weare one farre shorter on

their thighes, proper to ioyne with the enemy neerer hand, and to giue him the Stoccado.

Now adayes, ouer and beside this long Sword, they weare a large Poniard or Dagger, of three or foure fingers bredth, and sharpe pointed: which the very meanest of them do adorne and enrich, with curious workmanship of gold and siluer. Some weare shirtes of Mayle; others Corselets, or a good Cuirats for the body.

The poorer sort, and especially the Muskettiers, content themselues with a Murrian or head-peece. Some, in stead of Armes plated with yron or steele, make vse of skinnes of Beares or Buffelles: Others weare doublets of linnen cloth, redoubled in iust thicknesse, and made full of oylet-holes, and these doublets thus made, are not easily to bee transpierced. For the rest, as *Polybius* writeth, that the braue Parado or Romane Soldiour, vsed to weare a Panache of three plumes, red or blacke, about the length of a foote and an halfe, because this addition to the rest of his furniture for warre, made the Soldiour seeme to be twice greater and higher, then he was indeed, much more comely to looke on, and terrible to the enemy. Euen so the *Switzers* Soldiours, who couet to appeare sightly among all other, do weare on their heads a Plume of Feathers, one part white, and the other answerable to the Ensigne, or Colours of their distinct Cantons.

They beare euery man vpon his Armes, a white crosse, plaine and right, which is the *Switzers* Ensigne of war: Each man yeelds himselfe vnder the Standard of his Canton. They serue their turne with Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets: yet in such sort, notwithstanding, that the Drums of the *Switzers* are easily discerned frō them of the *Allemanes* or *Germanes*, because the sound of the *Switzers* Drum is weighty and deepe, and the other more blustering. Particularly, they of *Vri* vse in warre, a Cornet made of a wilde Bulles horne. They of *Vnderwald* do the like. The *Lucernians* oftentimes vse a Cornet of Brasse, which they say was giuen them by *Charlemaigne*.

Now as concerning the enrollement of their Soldiours, it is done in manner following.

Other agilities and commendable qualities exercised by the Switzers in feuerall kinds.

Their sports and pastimes after tilling their ground.

How the Switzers do beare themselues in warre.

What kinde of Armes are most in vse with the Switzers, according to the elder times.

What they vse now at this present day, in their due order.

The braue Parado, or Soldiour of Rome in his gallantry of Plumes.

The Impre or signall of the Armes the Switzer purposed for warre.

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If warre be made vpon the *Switzers*; and that they are assailed in their owne country; as no person was excused at Rome, when *Hanniball* was at the gates of the City; euen so (without the least delay) all such as are able to carry Armes, they lay command on, to run with speedy succour, as to a sudden and dangerous fire, which euery hand ought helpe to quench. Yet in all this, they proceede by good order; for in the time of peace, each Canton hath certaine Captaines, Ensignes, and chosen men, that ought still to be ready vpon any warning. But because it cometh to passe more often, that they must leade their troops out of their country, and all are not meete for marching, neither ought to be drawne abroad, for feare the country should be left naked of men of warre, and so remaine as a prey to the enemy: Then one neighbour makes choise of another for his companion, and according to the aduice of *Xenophon*, the very strongest Army that can bee imagined, is that which is compounded of friends and companions.

The ancient *Switzers* well knowing this, tooke especiall care, that in their enrolement, friends, and such as knew one another, might be ranked together. And heereupon they ordained, that in warre, *Switzers* should aide each other, & loue together like brethren, throwing of all particular hatreds, which they could formerly pretend one against another. The other *Allemaigne* Soldiours had a custom to call one another brother: in regard whereof, some haue thought, that our ancients named them *Germanes*, which is as much to say, as brethren. Yet notwithstanding, they were all (almost) at the Swords point one against another, & (very often) the furious Lance-knights, who by their hackt and slasht faces, seeme to breathe no other word but warre: haue receiued more cuts and gashes by their friends and companions, then from their enemies.

On the contrary, ordinarily in the *Switzers* Campe, there is a very great tranquility, & one louing another (thogh otherwise they know not at all) euen as if they were brethren. And when they are the very greatest enemies in the world: yet notwithstanding, for the good and quietnes of their country, they renounce

all spleene & particular quarrels. Whereof I will declare a memorable example, which oftentimes (in my youth) I heard reported by my ancestois.

Two *Switzers* being deadly enemies; to wit, *Arnould* of *Vnderwald*, who afterward was a great Captaine, and *Zerchintes* of *Zurich*, both of them very valiant men, and meete for war. It came to passe, that during the warre of *Suaba*, they were both at one time in the Campe: when the cheefe Leaders (knowing their enmity) commanded them to be friends; and (as then) to forget their ancient quarrels. It happened in a certaine encounter, that *Arnould* was round engirt with his enemies: which *Zerchintes* perceiuing, came with his companions to releue him, and did set him free from the danger wherein he was. In the euening, being returned to the Campe, *Arnould* went to the Tent of *Zerchintes*, and called to him by his name. His fellowes and followers, beeing ignorant of that which had happened, were perswaded by their owne opinion, that he came to challenge combate with the other. Wherefore they stept betweene them, & admonished *Arnould*, to remember the command giuen by the Captains, and to take heede of moouing any trouble in the Campe. He answered, that he came with a quite contrary disposition, and so acquainted them with all the aduventure. And instantly presented to *Zerchintes* a very goodly horse, fit for warre seruice, which he had wonne in that daies trauaile. From that time forward, euen to the houre of death, they were very louing and intimate friends.

As the ancient *Switzers* shewed themselves brethren, in succouring and assisting their companions, doing as they wold be done to themselves: so did they obserue the same forme, in sharing and diuiding a gotten booty. For first of al, they gaue prohibition on paine of death, that no man of theirs, should bee so hardy or bold, as to forsake his ranck & the troops, vntill such time as the enemy should bee driuen in route. Afterward, when the Captaines had giuen licence to rife and ransacke; all the booty was brought in common, & distributed by the poll. And because the cantons are publikely vnited; euen so the publike booty, as Artillery, Castles, conquered Countries, Tolles,

A very memorable example of great vertue in the *Switzers*, appearing by two mortall enemies.

How the ancient *Switzers* vsed to diuide such booties as they won in the warre.

Distribution  
by equality of  
portions.]

They that de-  
serve best  
ought to have  
best.

The ancient  
Switzers or-  
der for victu-  
als, Arms, mu-  
nitions, &c.

Prohibition  
for violacing  
of Churches,  
maids, and  
women.

Of the maner  
of the Swit-  
zers battalio

Example of  
the battaile of  
Nouara.

Example of  
the two dayes  
at Marignano

and other reuennues, are parted among them by equall portion. Albeit there are some of the Cantons, that doe furnish out twice, thrice, and some whiles five times more Soldiours, then others doe. Neuerthelesse, extraordinarily and particularly, recompence is giuen, and gifts bestowed vpon Soldiers, that haue borne themselues valiantly, & performed some braue exploit in the warre, beyond the fortune of their companions: and also to those Cantons in like manner, that haue bene more employed and charged, then the other.

Forasmuch also, as victuals and other munitions, are in warre to bee especially considered: the ancient Switzers ordained, that such as brought victuals, Arms, or other necessary things, and came to sell them in the Switzers campe, they should be fauoured & maintained, in all respects as if they were Switzers. There is also a perpetuall law, and established by length of time, that in warre, Temples and other places destined for the exercise of Religion, should be left intire and vntoucht. And that no outrage should be offered to maids nor women: but onely to such, as shall giue Armes to enemies, or acte the parts of Soldiours, by hurling stones, or hurting in some other manner.

As concerning the manner of camping, and raunging themselues in battaile; it is needlesse for me to shew heere, that which the Switzers do in particular, or in common with the other Germans. Only I will say, that in our time, and by the memory of our auncestors; among all Infantry, the battalio of the Switzers hath alwayes bene highly esteemed. For being composed of Pikes crossed, it resembleth a Porcupine, so that such as vnderstand the affaires of warre, doe iudge, and experience hath approoued it, that this battalio may beare head against the horsemen. In the battaile of *Nouara*, the Infantry of the Switzers beeing not covered with any horse: foiled and droue in route, the French Infantry and Horsemen. Afterward, on the day at *Marignano*, hauing had battaile against king *Frances*, two seuerall dayes, which they lost, by reason of the thundring Artillery, and multitude of their enemies: Neuerthelesse, though vanquished, yet they returned to *Milaine*, ranged in battaile, so that

their retreat seemed nothing like a flight; and yet the French (for all their victory) durst not follow them. It is not long since, when on the day at *Dreux*, in the first Troubles, the *Reistres* & the French Cavalery, liuely charged the battalio of the Switzers, and slew the most part of their Captaines: yet notwithstanding, the Switzers rallied themselues three times, and kept their rankes so well, that euen in that battaile, their enemies confessed themselues, that they were very valiant & warlike men.

But let vs leaue such discourse to men of warre, and shew you, how the Switzers busie themselues in the times of peace, & how they are ordered from their infancy. First, as concerning letters and learning, which holds the first ranke: I freely confesse, that the ancient Switzers were not very carefull thereof. But rather they imitated the Romans therein, when they were in warres continually, against the *Aequi*, *Volsicians*, *Veientes*, and other neighbouring people. And as they then, with rusticall songs celebrated the valiancy of their ancestors: so in the same manner, the olde Switzers had vulgar songs, to remember the victories which they had obtained in warre. The Song wherein the day of *Sempach* is aptly described, when as Duke *Leopold* was slaine, is very common in Switzerland. As for knowledge of Artes, and of the Latine tongue, men of warre, bruske and vnapt to handle Bookes, rather thought, that such matters belonged to Churchmen. But in our dayes, there are to be found in all the cantons of Switzers, men learned both in the Tongues and Sciences. And as for many that vnderstand not the Latine tongue: yet they forbear not to reade Histories of all kindes, either concerning government of life, or affaires of State, or of Religion: And there are Libraries, well furnished with Bookes, written in the vulgar tongue.

Now, as concerning Schooles, it is a very long time since, that the Colledges of the Abbey of *S. Gall*, and of *Coire* among the *Grisons*, were renowned, as wee haue already shewne else-where. But within some certaine yeares after, letters and learning became quite banished. The Pope *Pius*, formerly named *Aeneas Sylvius*, provided an Vniuersity at *Basile*, from whence

Example of  
the day at  
*Dreux*.

How the Swit-  
zers carry  
themselues in  
times of peace  
and are trained  
vp from their child-  
hood.

Letters or  
learning little  
regarded among the an-  
cient Swit-  
zers.

Many in the  
Cantons learned  
in tongues  
and sciences.

Of Schooles  
for the further-  
ring and main-  
tenance of  
learning.

Pope *Pius* e-  
rected a Vni-  
uersity at *Basile*.

whence haue come many learned and excellent men: whom it is needles to name, because they are sufficiently famous, and knowne by their writings. There are also diuers notable and publike Schooles at Zurich, at Berne, and one established at Lausanna, by the Lords of Berne. Nor must I let sleepe in silence, the goodly Printing-houses at Basile, Zurich, and Geneva, renowned among them all that are in Germany.

Beside the study of good letters, whereof I haue made mention, there is loue of all vertue, and especially of Iustice, which appertaineth also to the maintenance of peace. For it is a matter most certaine, that the common-wealth of the Switzers is grounded vpon most great equity, and hath evermore bene famous, in regard of her iustice: as appeareth by the lawes, alliances, customes, and manner of life among the ancient Switzers, and by many examples, and particular actions. I need not make mention of their lawes, because they agree with those of other common-wealths, that are ruled by good lawes: where crimes and misdeeds are seuerely punished, without any exception of persons.

As for their alliances, the Articles of them, reported in the first Booke: do declare, with what vprightnesse, diligence, & faithfulness they are made. The ends of them are, that euery man may enjoy his owne peaceably, and that (by a common consent) all violence may be expulst and banished. For the better governing of this case, it is expressly forbidden, to goe and assault, and make warre one vpon another, eyther rashly, or without iust cause. And therefore also, before Armes may be vndertaken, the wisest and most discrete persons in all the nation: in a publike assembly, must examine the causes of the warre, and vnderstand them to be iust and lawfull. Then afterward, when question is vrged of repulsting an enemy, it is most strictly prohibited to the confederates, that ought to giue assistance; to vse therein no fraud nor cunning. But if they be called by letters, or by messages, or, admit they could not bee called, the passages being fore-closed by the enemy: yet notwithstanding, they are commanded to go and giue succour, euen to their vtmost power.

Moreover, because it many times happens, that the recouery of debts and borrowed money, do beget great debates, so that such differences betweene particular persons, doe sometimes set the Cantons at variance one with another: the Articles of the alliances do euery where make mention, what course is to bee obserued in the recouery of such debts, and for taking pawns, to cut off the ouer great licence of lenders, and to shunne the fraudulentcy of borrowers. Whosoever hath bene but a meane reader of Histories, knowes very wel, what troubles haue happened in Rome, in the case of debts, at all times, and whensoever the people are oppressed by the violence of vsurers, & taxed in great summes: then they would mutiny, and demanda, that the vsurers contracts might be torne in peeces, & other made of more honest nature. But the prouidence and vprightnesse of the auncient Switzers, made such an imbarment, that neuer was the abolition of Obligations vrged in Switzerland; although the country is not very great, nor rich, and hath bene troubled with warres continually.

Because also, that men of warre are prompt and ready, to lay hand on their weapons, and (oftentimes) fight vnder a false and dangerous pretence, they being men rather quarrellous, sturdy & outragious, then valiant, yet taking a delight in this forwardnesse of enduring nothing, as thinking it makes men magnanimous and inuincible: the auncient Switzers laboured to remedy this euill, first by imposition of great fines, on such as began the stirre, and to outrage their associates. But because choller is a furious beast, and very difficult to be brideled: to hinder him from taking carriere, and obuiate murders; they added another remedy, to wit, that such as were found present at those quarrels and debates, if they did not pacifie and hinder their proceeding, and impose on them the penalties appointed by the lawes: then themselues should be greuously punished by the Magistrate. For they would not permit, that men should be so ouerswaied and mastered by choller, and their lawes (in the meane while) lose their power and authority. If any man committed a murder, and escaped from the hand of iustice: hee could not be receiued into any of the Cantons.

Concerning debts & borrowed monies.

Great troubles in Rome about cases of debts.

Great care & prouidence in the Switzers.

An especial care against quarrels and frayes of particular persons.

A good law to be vsed in other places.

Against such as committed murder.

Goodly Printing-houses.

Loue of vertue & iustice among the Switzers.

The Lawes of the Switzers.

The alliances of the Switzers.

Of vndertaking Armes & going to warre.

In the case of mutuall aide and assistance.

If any man were banished, for offending any one of the Cantons, or killing a man: he was to stand excluded from all the rest, except hee could proue by sufficient witness, that he slew his enemy in the mere defence of his owne body.

Such hath beene, and still is, the equity of the *Switzers* in doing iustice, & punishing the faulty from time to time: that many strāgers haue made their recourse to them, and haue accepted them for Arbitrators in their differences. For they do shew themselues protectors of all such as haue any wrong done to them, and vpon this their comming to them; they haue sent Ambassadours, nay, haue vndertaken Armes, to re-establish in their goods and possessions, some that haue bene despoyled of them by very powerful Lords.

The Cantons (in this cause) made war on the Princes of *Austria*, to maintaine the right of the *Fulachs*, Citizens of *Schaffouse*. And for certaine Gentlemen of *Stiria*, named the *Gradlers*: & constrained the Duke of *Austria*, to restore such goods as he deteyned from them. In the like case, but of much greater importance they gaue battaile vnto Duke *Charles* of *Bourgonne*; to maintaine *Renè*, Duke of *Lorraine*, whom *Charles* had dispossessed of the most part of his countries. In like manner also, many times haue they made warre on certaine theeues, who couering themselues with the title of Noblemen; robbed and spoyled Merchants. To foile these theeues, they haue bin faine to make out vpon them, not onely in their owne country of *Switzerland*; but also in countries further off, allying themselues (to effect so good a worke) with those farre off townes. By which meanes, the wayes of *Switzerland* haue beene made very secure: so that Merchants, charged with neuer so great summes of money, goe and come in al safety, transporting their Merchandizes whether they please, without any need of company or transport. And a pleasant Prouerbe grew thereon, that if any man carried his purse full of gold or siluer on his staffes end; hee might safely passe through *Switzerland*, and care not how many looked on him.

Iustice sildome walkes without her companion Liberality, vnder which epithite wee will comprehend hospitality, which alwayes hath made the people of

*Switzerland* to bee highly commended. They haue not the delicates of the *Italian* and *French*, but they offer liberally those presents which the earth yeeldes them, as namely, Milke, Butter, & Hony. And who would bee ashamed, or can despise this liberality; seeing the great Patriark *Abraham*, entertained Angels with such viands, when they came to see him? And yet the country is not without good store of wilde Beasts and Fowles, with diuers kindes of Fishes, both in Lakes & Riuers. And as great men in times past, (so sweetly sung of by learned Poets) honoured men of worth, by giuing them flesh for their food: euen so ostentimes in *Switzerland*, presents are giuen to strāgers, and them of the same country also, passing from one place to another, of good and delicate flesh, namely Venison, and also of very dainty Fish. But principally, the *Switzers* are liberall and charitable to the poore, in lodging, feeding, & furnishing them with other needefull things: so that there are very few countries, wherein so many poore beggars are to be seene, as in *Switzerland*. I do not heere dispute, whether the Magistrate doth well, or no, in suffering or supporting them: onely I was desirous to shew heerein, the great humanity of the *Switzers* towards the poore, which resort thither from all parts.

The people of *Switzerland* (among all other) take pleasure in Feasts and publike Banquets. In Citties and Townes, they of one trade, or of one band, haue certaine houses ordained to assemble themselues in. Euery Village (almost) hath a house by it selfe, which they cal the house of good company: because they there meete, onely to maintaine loue and amity. The men doe meete there often, and sometimes the women are invited thither, to sitte and banquet with their husbands. They do not vse any sumptuous dishes or delicates, but most often content themselues with one or two kindes of meates. Many times euery neighbour bringeth his dish, and there feed friendly together, on that which was prouided for their owne priuate houses. And as among the *Lacedemonians* it was ordained, that aged men and Magistrates should be present at banquets, to the end, that euery man should carry himselfe honestly: the very

The Switzers are protectors of the oppressed.

Examples of diuers protected & holpen to their rights by the Switzers.

The Switzers haue made warre vpon theeues that robbed and spoiled passengers.

Good actions are euermore worthy to be commended.

The bounty and hospitality of the Switzers.

It is no shame to follow virtuous & good examples.

The Switzers are greatly charitable to the poore.

The Switzers delight in feasting & banqueting, only for the maintaining of loing neighbourhood.

Aged men & Magistrates allowed by the Lacedemonians to be at Feasts and Banquets.

very same is practised in *Switzerland*, so that all of one Trade, or of one Brotherhood, haue their distinct places, and the Magistrate, with the most auncient men, haue the higher ende of the Table allowed to them.

They do not much delight in Musicke at such Banquets, because they conceiue more pleasure in conferring together: either of particular affaires, or (oftentimes) of publike businesse. Abooue all, when one of the most aged begins to discourse on some notable matters, which happened in his youth, or that himselfe had learned from his predecessors; euery one is very attentiu, without the least interruption. And many times, he that hath a good & pleasing tongue, will speake loud enough on the faire deseruings of his Ancestors. The ancient *Switzers* were very sober & modest in all things, especially at publike Feasts and Banquets: so that it is a matter rare & most ignominious, if any man should be drunke in such an assembly.

But I am enforced to write, and to my great greefe, that although there is more moderation in the *Switzers* Banquets, euen at this day, then in many other people of *Germany*: yet notwithstanding, drunkenesse will not be banished, nor so vilely thought on, as in elder times it hath beene. And as *Xenophon* saide of the *Lacedemonians* (whose common-wealth hee had most highly commended) that hee durst not maintaine now in his time, that the lawes of *Lycurgus* were in full force, because in former times, sober and moderate people, affected rather to liue among them in great continence, then to be Lords in other Citties, where they might possesse worlds of riches: So now in the time of *Xenophon*, the *Lacedemonians*, yea, them of greatest power among them, contended to haue the gouernment of citties, as fearing they should be compelled to liue in their owne particular condition, glorifying themselues openly, of their wealth and riches. And whereas their Ancestors were studious, to make themselues become honourable, & worthy of giuing command to others: these men coueted after dignities onely. So that whereas the *Grecians* (on their owne meere motion) made request to the *Lacedemonians*, that they would accept of the gouernment: matters became so contra-

rily changed, that the *Grecians* prayed & exhorted one another, to resist against the *Lacedemonians*, yea, and to expulse the vtterly, fearing lest they should vsurpe vpon the gouernment.

It appeareth now to me, that euen as much may be said of the *Switzers*: for I must needs confesse, that the frugality & temperance of our auncients, in eating, drinking, cloathing, and in the whole course of life, is dead, or as if it had neuer beene at all. The *Switzers* are not now so continent and spare in liuing, as heeretofore, when they maintained their liues with the labour both of their mindes and hands, without taking wages of Kings & Princes, strangers to them. And therefore I am much affraid, lest we lose that wholly too, which yet remaineth, namely, valiancy and strength in warre, humanity, debonarity, iustice, and vprightnesse. So that one day, they who (heretofore) haue so carefully compassed amity & alliance with the *Switzers*: it is to bee doubted, may change their mindes, and study how they shall best subdue them. I desire of God, that he will turne from my country so deadly a danger; and I desire also, and exhort all them that ought to think thereon, to striue to bring in vse againe those honest ancient manners, that frugality, continence, equity, humanity, loyalty, & constancy of the olde *Switzers* in al their actions.

The *Switzers* are greatly altered from their famous progenitors.

The Authors especiall care of his countries honour, and of his countrymen.

CHAP. III.

Of publike assemblies and meetings, or rather of the Councill and Senate of the *Switzers*.



All Commonwealths, three things are especially to be considered, to wit, the Councill or Senate, the Magistrate, and Iustice; for the Common-wealth of the *Switzers* hath no common Magistrates: except wee may place in that ranke, the Bayliffes and Gouernors, which are sent heere and there, not by the councill of the Common-wealth, but by each one of the Cantons in it selfe. For the rest, the coun-

The three ornaments of any common-wealth.

The *Switzers* delight not in Musicke at their meetings

The Author seemed to desire that which the people folly impels him to do.

The words of *Xenophon* concerning *Lacedemonians*.

The strange alteration in the government.

The councell of the Switzers not equal always.

The Ambassadors of the 13 cantons meet oftneft together, but not vpon all occasions.

The Ambassadors haue their assemblies according to their causes.

Factions among the Switzers, about matter of religion.

Lucerna, Vri, Suits, Vnderwald and Zug, are the five small cantons.

councell of *Switzerland* is not alwayes equal in number; for sometimes, ouer & beside the Cantons, the other allies and confederates, especially the Ambassadors of *S. Gall*, of the *Grisons*, and of *Mulhouse*, do meete together. And then this is the very greatest councell, which doe assemble but rarely, and to conferre on peace or warre, or of other affayres, which appertaine equally to all the confederates.

Oftneft of all other, there do none but the Ambassadors of the thirteen cantons meete together, to consult and aduise on matters of the Common-wealth. Euery man of them hath a deliberate voyce, as well as the other, and therefore, though one Canton do send two Ambassadors: yet they shall haue but one voyce, & one aduice, because the aduice is collected according to the number of the Cantons, and not to the number of Ambassadors. Neuerthelesse, all the Cantons doe not send their Ambassadors at all daies meetings; as when there is question of the Bayliwicks, governed by the seauen or eight first Cantons, or of other things on them depending: then seuen or eight ambassadors onely meete together, & haue their deliberatiue voyces. But if there be any speech concerning the Bayliwicks of Italy, belonging to the twelue first Cantons: then those twelue ambassadors doe assemble. And as for that which concerneth the good of the whole Common-wealth: the ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons, do then make a perfect & compleate body of councell.

In our times, since *Switzerland* became diuided into factions, by reason of differences happening in Religion, they likewise instituted particular assemblies: so that the five Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*, that make expresse profession of the Religion and Ceremonies of the Romane Church, & are very strictly vnited together, by especiall amity (I know not whether it bee by league or alliance) they meete together more often then the other cantons, and are (as it were) a councell apart. And therefore, when speech is made of the five small Cantons, they before named are vnderstood, and not the five first in alliance. As also in making mention of three, of seuen, or of eight Cantons: it must be considered according to the time and or-

der, when they were entred into league; as thus. *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Lucerna* and *Zurich*, shall be the five Cantons. Sometimes they of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, assemble themselues with the five forenamed, and call themselues the seuen catholike Cantons. Now, although any in the cantons of *Glaris* and *Appenzell*, doe belong to the catholike Church, & Masse is sung in their cheefest Villages: yet notwithstanding, they are not ranked among the catholikes, because (for the most part) their people walke with them that are of the new Religion. Finally, the foure Citties, to wit, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Rafile*, and *Schaffouse*, haue likewise (sometimes) their assembly apart; but yet it is not so often as the other.

Moreover, it is very vneasie to discipline particularly, all those things whereon the councell of *Switzers* do deliberate: neuerthelesse, I will touch some of the principall articles. The first and cheefest, is concerning war and peace, as likewise mention is made in most part of the alliances, that if a great wrong is done to one of the cantons, and it thinketh good to haue reason by armes: it must first be referred to the councell of the leagues, to the end that the ambassadors may regard together, whether the cause of warre bee iust, or no, lest warre should bee lightly moued, and vpon triuiall occasions. Then afterward, if it appeare to bee expedient to begin warre, and for the safety of the common-wealth, the meanes must next be consulted on.

It chanced (in my time) that *Christopher Landberg*, being leagued with many Gentlemen, furiously to inuade them of *Rotuille*, allied to the Cantons: many said, that such succour ought to be sent to *Rotuille*, as the inhabitants desired. But the greater part of the Senatours, and Deputies to the councell of *Switzerland*, hauing vnderstood the causes of the variance; hindred any such proceeding. For they saw plainly, that the whole State would ouerthrow it selfe into very great perill, and vpon silly occasion: because there was pregnant apparance, that by inuading *Landberg*, they must therby meddle with the Duke of *Wirtemberg* his neighbour, to whom the Switzers hadde beene good friends a long time. Nor could they come so neere him, without irrita-

The seuen Catholike Cantons, that will be so distinguished by the seuelues.

Of what matters the councell of the Switzers vse to take knowledge.

War is not be moued or sleight occasions.

An example of *Rotuille* allied to the Cantons, threatened with danger.

irritating (by the same meanes) many other Princes, that wer his kindred, friends, and confederates. Neuerthelesse, because they of *Rotuille* should not complaine, that they were forsaken in such a necessity: fifty Soldiours of each Canton were sent as a Garrison to their Towne, but they staid at *Schaffouse*, and (soone after) the difference was pacified by Iudges, chosen for eyther side. And as the councill deliberated on the matter of warre, and whether it should be begun, or no: peace also was treated on by the same councill, and not by the Cantons in particular.

According hereto, in the warre of *Suaba*, all the Cantons together sent their ambassadors to *Basile*, where they made peace with the Emperor *Maximillian*. So the councill of *Switzerland*, assembling at *Fribourg*; made perpetuall peace with the King, and all the Realme of France, in the year, 1516. The negotiation of alliances, is ioyned with that of peace: for very often in the dayes of our ancestors, and in ours also, the Cantons (by aduice of their councill) haue made alliances with neighbouring Kings and Princes. Wherin this order is kept still to this day, that no one of the Cantons can bee constrained to make alliance with a strange Prince, but is to remaine at his owne liberty. As in the year, 1519. when all the cantons allied themselues with king *Frances*; they of *Zurich* refused to be bound, and afterward, they of *Berne* renounced this alliance. In like manner, when *Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, obtained to enter league and amity with the Switzers: first the five small cantons began, and then *Solleurre* ioyned with them afterward.

The second Article, of such things as the councill of *Switzerland* do ordaine, concerneth lawes and ordinances. Each Canton hath his lawes and customes by himselfe, which remaine firme and inuolable: neuerthelesse, by a common consent, our ancestors deuised and established many publike Edicts and Ordinances. Among which number, are the fore-mentioned lawes of warre: wherewith also may the accord at *Stantz* bee ranked, passed betweene the eight first Cantons; and whereof we haue spoken in the first book. Also, because Priests abused their immunities and priuiledges; they were reprop-

ued by a publike Edict, containing this in effect. Whosoever of the citizens or inhabitants of the cantons, be hee Priest or no, be he a Counciller, Vassalle, or bound to the Princes of *Austria*: he shall stand bound neuertheles, and promise by oath to his canton, to procure & aduance the profite therof, and of all the confederats, and discouer speedily and in good conscience, all that may bring them any damage. This oath shall precede all other, and no obligation, how expresse soeuer it be, shall excuse them, if they go against this oath.

Such Priests as dwell in *Switzerland*, and are not of the country, may draw no man into ciuill or ecclesiasticall iustice, out of the country; except in matrimoniall and ecclesiasticall causes. If any one dare do otherwise, the Magistrates of the canton wherein he dwelleth, shall prohibite all men, not to harbour, lodge, or friend him, nor to frequent his company: none shall presume to protect him, vntill such time as hee hath renounced all forraigne iustice, and payed the charges of the party, that receiued endamage ment by such iustice. Whosoever shall doe wrong to his neighbour, eyther in taking pawnes against order of right, or by any other meanes: he shall be punishable in body and goods, vntill hee haue satisfied the party. He that is not of the Church, and yet hath summonsd his aduersary, eyther before a Iudge of the Church, or secular, and out of the country: he shall pay all the charges endured in that cause, in regard hee ought to pleade in the same place, where the party dwelleth. No man shall assigne ouer his action to another, by which meanes he may the easier afflict the contrary party.

If any man shall renounce his Bourgeship, and therby do wrong to another, by drawing him into strange iustice: hee shall neuer bee receiued againe into the number of the citizens, till first hee haue made satisfaction to the party. All the cantons shall take order, that the waies be sure and safe, because both Switzers & strangers may passe securely, conuaying their Merchandizes through the country, without any manner of violence done to them: whosoever shall attempt otherwise, by common consent of all, and our helpe to the vttermost, hee shall be compelled

Gainst Priests that abused their immunities & priuiledges.

No Priest may commence law-suites out of the Country, but with exception,

For punishing of wrong done to neighbors.

No suite to be pleaded out of the country

No colour admitted to wrong another.

For secure & safe passage, on the high-ways.

sample of the warre at Suaba, when peace was made at Fribourg.

Canton to be compelled to make alliance with strange Prince.

For the establishment of lawes and ordinances.

elled

elled to make satisfaction, answerable to the faculties and riches as the party hath lost. No man in any Canton whatsoever, shall receive pawne or pledge of any other, without consent of the Magistrate: neither shall do, or procure any injury to be done to his neighbour; but hee that doth the contrary, shall be compelled by them of his Canton, to satisfie the other to the uttermost damage.

All these things before recited, were agreed on, and ordained by the fixe cantons of *Zurich, Lucerna, Uri, Suits, Vnderwald, and Zug*. There was another Edict also published, against many Brokers of Benefices, for in regard that such fellows did oftentimes cause much trouble vnto Priests, made by the Ordinaries of the places, and (vnder colour of some purchased Bulles) were so put in possession of vacant Benefices: It was concluded by common consent of all the thirteen cantons, in the year, 1520. that if such people pursued to maintaine the right of such Bulles, they should be imprisoned, where if they did not renounce those Bulles, they should be drowned. I could set downe many other examples, of Edicts & publike lawes, but I thinke it needlesse: and these formerly rehearsed, are to no other end, but to let the Reader perceiue, that the ancient *Switzers*, who were deuoutly affected to their Religion, and euermore gaue great honor to men of the church, did neuer yet (for all that) leaue the bridle so freely to them, or admit them any such licence, as was contrary to publike liberty and tranquility.

If any Embassages were to be sent out of *Switzerland*, for the appointing of some difference, contracting of alliance, gratifying some Prince, or exhorting some one to this or that, or else to command or declare some matters of import, or to denounce warre: Say also, that it were in *Switzerland*, to negotiate with some Canton, Citty, Towne, &c: The councill consults and determines what is to be done in this case: as whether it is necessary to send ambassadours of all the Cantons, or of some few onely.

When there is a question in hand, for contracting alliances or leagues, all the Cantons do then send ambassadors: As when the alliance was made and signed with King *Henry*, not onely the Cantons,

but also the confederates sent their ambassadors to the King. But in many other affaires, they name but foure or fixe Cantons, who send Embassages in the name of all. As the ambassadors of *Zurich, Lucerna, Uri, and Glaris* went to the day at *Ansbourg*, & obtained of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, confirmation of the priuiledges for their owne cantons, and for all the rest likewise. Moreouer, this councill hath charge, with reference to the Lords that assist them, to aduise on what is to be negotiated, or answering ambassadors of Kings and Princes strangers, and also of other common-wealths, as they are oftentimes met withall, in the publike assemblies of the *Switzers*.

Finally, the councill aduiseeth to provide for the Prouinces, which do belong to the Cantons, to the end, they may be governed as best beseemeth. First of all, because that some estates are of great profit, as of Secretaries, Commissaries, Officers, Interpreters, *Landmans, & Landweibell* in the country of *Turgow* (where of the first, to wit, the *Landman* is Iudge criminall, in name of the ten first Cantons, and the other is as ordinary Proctor or Attorney) the councill commits these estates to certaine men, who cannot (in meane while) chuse Officers vnder them, answerable to their appetite. Moreouer, if some difficult proceffe or suite happen in a Prouince, and the Governours or Bayliffes will not iudge according to their aduice: the whole busines is referred ouer to the council, where if the sentence of the Bayliffes seeme to bee vniust to cyther of the parties, they may appeale to the maine Senate or Council of the *Switzers*.

As for causes in the Bayliwicks and Governments beyond the Mountaines; the ambassadors (which are yearely sent thither in the Moneth of Iune) doe take knowledge of them, and end them. But for other suites on this side the Mountaines, the councill of *Bada* doth iudge them: And appeale also may be made from the sentence of the ambassadours that haue giuen iudgement beyond the Mountaines, to the councill of *Bada*; because that authority is greater, and their power more ample. Yet some say no, and that the appeale is to be addressed to the Cantons: that each of them may vnderstand

No pawne: to be taken but by the Magistrates consent.

An Edict against Brokers for Benefices.

The Authors reason for the Lawes & Edicts alledged

Concerning Embassages sent forth of the country, or employement at home on serious affairs.

When Alliances are to be contracted.

In other occasions,

Aduice for negotiations, & answering Ambassadors

For provision & governing of the Bayliwicks and Prouinces.

Landmans & Landweibell

When difficult cases happen in any Prouince.

Order for causes on cyther side the Mountaines

The councell of Bada.

stand the matter, and by them the difference to be decided. Also the Governours and Bayliffes, are to render an account to the councell, of the tolles, reuennues, and fines: the annuall reuennues are distributed by equall portion among the Cantons, to whom the Bayliwicks do appertaine. There is the like also of the Abbeyes in those Bayliwicks, the protection and government whereof (in temporall occasions) do belong to the Cantons. In brieft, the councell doth know all things, which concerne the administration of the Prouinces appertaining to the Cantons; they cause the Governours to render their accounts; they giue audience to whosoever can accuse them, and they punish them, if they haue deserued it; eyther by depriuing them of their dignities, or returning them to the Cantons that established them, to haue some other sent in their stead. To speake all in one word, the councell takes knowledge of all matters that concerne the good and tranquility of the common-wealth: as well in the Governments and Bayliwicks, as also in the Cantons themselues.

Now concerning the authority of calling, and assembling the councell, for the demanding of their aduice: it hath belonged (of ancient time) to the Canton of *Zurich*; which by a very authentick priuiledge, holds the cheefest ranke among all the Cantons. Whensoever then there is question made, to hold a generall councell of the nation: the Lords of *Zurich* make knowne by their Letters to each of the Cantons, both the time & the place where they are to meete together. If any one, or more of the cantons, do thinke it necessary, that the councell publike and general should be assembled; first they giue aduertisement to the canton of *Zurich*, and require by their letters, that the Ambassadors of the other cantons may meet together. But if the affairs are pressiue, and require speedy deliberation, then each canton must aduertise his confederates, to be in readinesse for aduising (altogether) on that which is to be done.

Likewise the Ambassadors from Kings and Princes strangers, do demand leaue of the cantons, to present theselues at those dayes of meetings: & somtimes they make request, that one day (extraor-

dinary) may be held for them. But on the dayes of particular meetings, they proceed otherwise, because *Zurich* signifies the same to foure Townes: and when to fife or seuen catholike cantons; they of *Lucerna* do assemble them: There are also daies of and for particular meeting of the cantons allied to the K. of France: whose Ambassador residing at *Solleurre*, calleth the cantons at the Kings charge. I thinke there is permission also, for the ambassadors of the Pope, and of other kings, friends, and allies to the *Switzers*, to demand their dayes: provided, they are at their Masters expences.

The ancient *Switzers* had no perpetuall or certaine place, for holding their daies of generall councell: for I am perswaded, there is no one of the first eight cantons, but they made an assembly at some times, though most often it was done at *Lucerna*, at *Zurich*, *Bremgarten*, and at *Bada*. In our time, the custome hath beene (not by any law or ordinance purposely made for it) that the *Switzers* kept their dayes at *Bada*, in the Townehouse: and so much the rather, because the Towne hath many commodities for such assemblies. First, the place is beautified with goodly buildings, and very apt Innes or houses of lodging. The scituation of the place is pleasant and healthfull, and the neerenesse of the Bathes yeelde wonderfull pleasure, drawing thither great resort of people from farre remote countries. By meanes whereof, the neighbouring people to *Bada*, (feeling the gaines sweetnesse) bring thither all kindes of victuals in great abundance, which causeth the Towne to be well furnished with all good prouision, and at all needfull seasons.

Next, it is seated (almost) in the midst of *Switzerland*, so that the cantons furthest off, may appeare there (by neerenesse of wayes) all at one and at the same time. Also it appertaineth to the eight first cantons, & (by that meanes) the most part of the cantons are Lords thereof, and haue equall authority in the place. Beside, the particular assemblies of the foure Townes, is ofteneft kept in the Towne of *Arow*, appertaining vnto the canton of *Berne*; howbeit (sometimes) it hath bin of *Basile*, when question was made of entering accord with *Luther*, & that for the cause

Dayes of particular assemblies, according to their order, and for whom they are called.

In what place the councell did assemble on their daies of meeting.

The commodious scituation of the Towne of *Bada*.

*Bada* belongeth to the 8. first cantons.

Distribution of annuall reuennues.

The capacity and power of the councell, in all matters whatsoever that concerne the common-wealth.

To whom the calling & the assembling of the councell appertaineth.

The order & scituation for calling the generall assembly.

The Ambassadors from Kings and Princes.

The meeting  
of the Catho-  
like Cantons.

of *Strasbourg*, that then sent their Ambassadors thether. The catholike Cantons do oftentimes assemble at *Lucerna*, sometimes at *Beckenried*, in the territory of *Vri*, or at *Brunen*, which belongeth to them of *Suits*. But when the Ambassador of France demandeth (in his Kings name) a leuye of men of the *Switzers*: the day is ofteneft held at *Solleurre*, where he entreateth the Cantons to be present: and sometimes also it is at *Lucerna*.

At what times  
the dayes of  
audience for  
suites are  
held.

The custome is, that (euery yeare) dayes of meeting are held at *Bada*, about mid-Iune. Then the Bayliffes or Governours appertaining to the Cantons, yeeld a reason of their seuerall charges before the councill, and attend to the ending of suites concerning the Prouinces. At the same time, the Ambassadors of the twelue first Cantons, do meete at *Lugano*, & take an account of the foure Bayliffes for the Prouinces of *Italy*, and iudge the causes of appeale: but yet in such sort as a man may appeale from them, to the Councill or Parliament of *Bada*, it being of farre greater authority. The councill so assembled, they sit by ordination of the Cantons, to ende such controuersiall cases, as were not concluded on at the precedent meeting: for oftentimes causes of importance are not ended at the first Session; either because they appeare not of sufficient merit, or want due power of prooffe. In regard whereof, they are referred ouer to a further day, and in the meane while, the Ambassadors craue aduice of the Lords of their seuerall Cantons, to know how they shall carry themselves therein. Sometimes also, in an vnexpected accident, or some other such case of consequence: the Canton of *Zurich*, or some other, will assigne the day, especially, if it be a matter concerning the common-wealth. Now, although the Councill are assembled only for publike affaires; yet notwithstanding, after they haue taken order for them, if any particulars of the Prouinces come, and would haue their causes pleaded, they giue them audience. But the particular dayes of the Cantons, and those that the Ambassador of France causeth to bee held; haue no certainty of time, but according as occasions offer themselves, & as it is pleasing to them that haue power to assemble the councill.

The reason of  
the councils  
fitting and  
meeting.

Concerning  
sudden & vn-  
expected ac-  
cidents, and  
suites of parti-  
cular persons,  
from the ge-  
nerall busines.

Particular  
dayes for the  
Cantons.

The manner of proceeding on these daies of meeting, is thus. At the day assigned by the ordinary councill, or commanded to be kept: the day before, the Ambassador for the canton of *Zurich*, sends the Lieutenant of *Bada* to all the Innes and houses of receipt, to know what Ambassadors are come, to whom the Lieutenant giueth kinde welcome, and receiueth them honourably, in name of the whole *Switzers* common-wealth, and the morrow after, he calleth the to come to the Townhouse. If the Ambassadors of all the cantons are come, they are called, and then they treate on affaires concerning all the Cantons together. But if vpon the day named, they for the new Cantons, as for *Basile*, *Schaffouse*, *Solleurre*, and *Fribourg*, are not as yet arriued, as oftentimes it comes so to passe: then seuen or eight Cantons do assemble, and discourse on matters onely concerning themselves.

The Ambassadors are seated in councill, according to the order & number of the Cantons, so that he of *Zurich* sits in the highest and most eminent place, he of *Berne* next; then he of *Lucerna*, & so consequently the other, according to the order of the Cantons. Being seated, the ambassador of *Zurich* saluteth them all, and hauing made some breefe preface & excuse, according to custome; he declareth y which the Ambassadors had in charge on the last dayes meeting, and referred them to the next dayes deliberation, as oftentimes they are assembled to that effect, and if any thing hath hapned since then, he propoundeth it also. Then he addeth that which his Lords haue giue him in charge, touching the Article whereon he is to deliberate: the other ambassadors do the like in their ranke, & declare whatsoever their Lords commanded them. After that euery one hath made knowne that which they haue in charge to say: the Bayliffe or Governour of *Bada* (of whatsoever Canton it is) demandeth orderly of each councillor, his aduice concerning the matter that hath bin in question. The he of *Zurich* speaketh first, and the rest after, according to their ranke. Hauing all spoken, the Bayliffe counteth the voyces, according to the number of the Cantons and not of the councillors: for sometimes one Canton sends two ambassadors, who may well assist in councill, yet they haue but

Of the order  
and manner  
of proceeding  
on the dayes  
of meeting.

In what man-  
ner the Am-  
bassadors do  
sit in coun-  
cill according  
to their degre

Each man  
keeth his  
milsio know  
in councill

but one voyce, as of one man onely.

Thus you see how they proceed in deciding those things, which concerne the publike good: In particular causes also, they follow the same order, giue their aduice, and collect the voyces. But such as haue any causes to pleade on these daies, demand audience first of the Ambassador for Zurich, who assigned their day, & put their names vpon the Role. When they appeare before the councell, sometimes the parties themselues will pleade their owne causes: or haue Aduocates, Proctors, or speakers, which they bring with them, or chuse among such as they finde in Bada. For at all times, and whensoever these dayes are appointed, there will meet there a great number of such men, belonging to the neighbouring Townes & Burroughs, pentioners of the Switzers. Causes are there debated, not according to the ciuill Law, nor by the aduice of Lawyers; but with equity, and according to the lawes & customes of the people, long time obserued among them.

I know, that many will account this forme of pleading, to be barbarous, especially such as would haue men follow the Romanes order of pleading, for the ending of suites: without which (they say) the very wisest men do wrong themselues often, in the deciding of difficult causes, and matters of importance. As for my selfe, I thinke well of the Romanes lawes, written by men very wise and skilfull in affaires, and I will not infringe their authority in any manner whatsoever. But yet I say, that the proceeding obserued by the Switzers, for ending controuersiall cases, is to be preferred before that which is vsed among other Iudges, that giue sentence according to the Romane lawes. And I am well assured, that mine opinion cannot be reiected, but by ill-disposed & wrangling spirits. For it cannot be denied, that many Aduocates and Attornies, are much more carefull for maintaining the ciuill law, then eyther equity or right: considering, they do nothing else many times, but tye themselues to sillables, words, and termes of the law, which they expound according to their owne fancy, labouring to circumuent a party, and to take him by the nose, as we vse to say. And surely, they do nothing but for the benefit of their owne purses, troubling theselues

ouermuch, to obscure and muffle vp matters; by which meanes, suites are made immortal, to the ineuitable detriment & ruine of both parties, being brought (by them) to extreme pouerty and misery.

In which respect, they gaue no very euill language, that tearmed such practitioners and brablers, blood-suckers of the people: for they empty their purses, yea, and sucke them to the bare bones. And if among the Iustices of Switserland, an error happen to be committed, in the decision of difficult causes, which commeth very sildome to passe: yet notwithstanding, it causeth no such harme, as doth the length and immortalizing of suites. So I may well say, that the manner of proceeding among the Switzers, doth lessen expences, ease the people, cuts vp the rootes of lingring suites and differences: because the sentence doth sooner resolue both the parties, and brings them to agreement: whereas in other places, we see suites encrease day by day, and from one case vndecided, growes a great number of nouel variances.

Lawyers make suites to seeme immortal.

Error sildom committed among the Switzers in law causes, because the suites are quickly ended

CHAP. III.

Concerning Sentences and Iudgements, in publike and peculiar differences.



Having thus made mention of the councell, and daies of audience among the Switzers; we are now to speake, concerning such sentences and iudgements as they vse to giue. If any suite doth happen betweene particular persons in the Bayliwicks: the Bayliffs or Governours are Iudges in those places, or else the Canton. (from whence the appellation ariseth) taketh knowledge, and iudgeth thereof. But the Iustices of euery Canton, do iudge (each one within his iurisdiction) in the causes & differences of the Subiects. Beside this, there is iustice for publike suites, which are variances, happening betweene two or more Cantons, or betweene some particulars against a Canton: and such condition as the Cantons haue, the same also their confederates haue.

Concerning suites of particular persons in the Bayliwicks.

Publike variances betweene Cantons.

Particular cases haue the same order of proceeding, as them in generall.

After what manner their cases are decided.

The Romanes order for pleading law-cases, is not so convenient as that of the Switzers.

The negligence of many Aduocates & Attornies do sometimes iudice verust causes.

Thus then, for the deciding of such differences, each of the parties doe chuse two Iudges for either side, who are absolved of the oath which they haue taken to their Canton: and promise to iudge according to right and equity, and labour that the suite may bee lovingly and very speedily accorded, or iudicially ended.

By the ancient alliances, there were certaine places appointed, for the ending of such suites. The seven first Cantons sent their ambassadors and arbitrators to the Abbey of the Hermitage, to end ther such suites as happened among them. By an article of very ancient alliance with them of *Glaris*, it is expressly said; that if they had any suite with them of *Vri*, the assembly should be at *Merch*. If against the canton of *Suits*; the arbitrators shold meete at *Bergeraz*: and at *Erunen*, if against them of *Vnderwald*. And then the other Cantons, hauing had knowledge of the cause, pronounced the sentence. The *Bernians*, and the three Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, assembled at a place named *Daskienholtz*. They of *Zurich* and *Berne*, at *Zofinge*. The *Fribourgers* & they of *Solleurre*, hauing a suite against the eight first Cantons, or some of them, sent their Iudges to *Zofinge*; and if they were defendants, to *Willisow*. As for the causes of them of *Basile*, *Schaffouse*, and *Appenzell*, they pleaded them at *Bada*, together with them of these Cantons, allied with them of *Rotuille* and of *Mulhouse*. But the differences of them of *S.Gall*, were determined in the Abbey of the Hermitage: and them of the *Grisons*, at *Wallenstad*, which is a Towne at the ende of the Lake of *Rine*, in the Bayliwick of *Sargans*.

When then some difference happeneth, which cannot bee kindly accorded, and that the entreaty of the Cantons serueth to no purpose: the arbitrators and ambassadors of the Cantons that are in suite, do meete at the place appointed, & (with them) the ambassadors of the other Cantons confederates, who come together to atone the parties, and to make some amiable composition. The Iudges and Arbitrators beeing assembled, after that the parties haue pleaded their causes: if the Iudges take resolution, & giue sentence, the parties must (of necessity) be contented. But if they be of diuers opi-

nions (as many times it happeneth) and that there are as many voyces on the one side, as on the other; then a fift Iudge or arbitrator is chosen, whom they call *Ein obmann*, or, *Ein gemeinen mann*. He giueth no sentence at all, but onely approueth one of those, which the arbitrators haue pronounced. Sometimes the Iudges themselues do chuse the odde arbitrator: yet in such sort notwithstanding, that he is a man of one of the Cantons, no medler with eyther party, nor hauing any interest in the cause.

The alliance of the seven first Cantons, makes mention of this election and choise: as that of *Fribourg*, that of *Solleurre*, that of *Appenzell*, and them of *S.Gall* and of *Mulhouse*. It is added to the articles of the alliance of *Schaffouse*, that if the Iudges cannot accord, by choise of another arbitrator, taken from one of the Cantons; they shall then take one of the Lords of the councill of *S.Gall*. And in the alliance of *Rotuille*, command is giuen to the Iudges, to chuse for an odde arbitrator, one of the Lords of the councill of *S.Gall* or of *Mulhouse*. Sometimes also the complainant chuseth. As if the *Bernians* haue a suite against the three first Cantons, or any one of them; the Cantons shal name sixteen men, out of which number, the *Bernians* are to chuse a sub-arbitrator. But if they bee defendants, the Cantons will then (for sub-arbitrator) chuse one of the Lords of the lesser councill of *Berne*. If soine difference fall betweene them of *Zurich*, and of *Berne*; the complainants chuse for an odde arbitratour, one of the defendants Lords of the councill. The same is obserued in suites for them of *Basile*, against the other cantons; and so in the *Grisons* causes.

Thus you see how the *Switzers* gouerne themselues, in the deciding of controuersiall suites betweene the commonwealths. I know very well, that some may dispute subtilly, both for, and against this order there obserued: but I will leaue that discourse to the Readers. For mine owne part, I admire the simplicity and integrity of our ancestors, who by such manner of proceeding, haue often brought to end very great variances, and carefully conserued publike peace and concord. But they did not regard their owne particular profite, neither desired any thing more

Two Iudges chosen for either side.

Places appointed for the ending of suites & differences according to ancient custome.

They that met at one place, went not to another except by especiall appointment.

Whé matters cannot be lovingly ended, what course they take then

When voyce are alike on either side: then a fift Arbitrator is chosen.

The addition to the Article of Schaffouse

The complainant is allowed sometimes to chuse the odde Arbitratour.

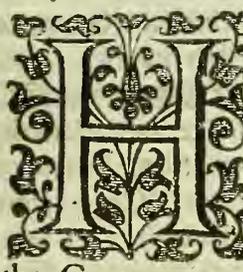
There is nothing so we become in one place, it may seem vs for another.

Their ends & ends are quite contrary.

more, then to see their country peaceable and flourishing. If now each man had no other meaning, but would aime at that marke: so many suites would not be seene, and easily might those be appeased, that are the hottest attempted.

CHAP. V.

Of those Common-wealths, which are in each of the severall Cantons.  
And first, of the Common-wealths of Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse.



AVING shewne already, how the whol Commonwealth of the Switzers is governed in common: it behoueth now to make mention, of the Common-wealth in each distinct Canton. Now it seemeth to me, that the common-wealths of the thirteene Cantons, may be referred to three formes. For as there are three names of soueraign Magistrates and Cantons, so haue they likewise as many formes of common-wealths; differing not onely in name, but also in the things themselues.

In some certaine Cantons, the cheefe Commanders or Heads of the councill, are called *Ammans*. This is obserued in the Cantons that haue no Citties or Townes, but Villages onely, hauing a popular estate, and the soueraignty appertaining to the people; by whose aduice, the very greatest affaires of importance are decided. Of this number are *Vri, Suits, Vnderuald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzell*.

The other Cantons haue their citties and townes, which haue the soueraignty: yet in such manner, as there are two formes of common-wealths. For the citties and townes, especially such as haue bene built by some Princes, or some-

times haue bene subiected to them: are governed by an *Auoyer*, whom they call, *Schulthetz*, (who is cheefe of the councill) and by some number of councillers chosen by free election, from and by the whole number of cittizens. The forme of this common-wealth is *Aristocraticall* among all the other: and in this manner are governed the common-wealths of *Berne, Lucerna, Fribourg, and Solleurre*.

There are other citties and townes diuided by certaine companies, by each whereof, and by voyce of such men as are in euery of them, the Lords of the councill are elected, and the soueraigne Magistrate or cheefe of the councill, who by them is tearmed *Burgermeister*, that is to say, Master of the *Bourgeses*, which we in a shorter word cal *Bourgmaster*. Such are the common-wealths of *Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse*. Now we are to speake of these diuers formes of common-wealths in order, beginning with the last, first.

First then, all the people of these Townes free and Imperiall, were diuided into two rankes: the one of Noblemen, the other of Yeomen. The Noblemen had a Society by themselues, apart, which the *Allemaignes* or *Germans* did call, *Ein Gesellschaft*, and they of *Zurich, Ein Constaffell*.

In elder times, in the city of *Basile*, which is very spacious, and for the multitude of Noblemen, they were diuided into two societies, bandes, or companies of Noblemen. Oftentimes they were in quarrels, and had the soueraignty: so that out of the one cōpany they chose the *Consull*, and out of the other, the *Tribune* or *Captaine* of the city, which is the estate of greatest authority, next vnto that of *Consull* or *Bourgmaster*.

Neuerthelesse, afterward the Noblemen lost this soueraignty, or else forsook their right voluntarily. For at the time of the councill of *Basile*, when *Lewes*, then *Dolphin* of *France*, brought (very neere to *Basile*) an Army of *Armignacks*, in fauour of Pope *Eugenius*, and the Duke of *Austria*; many Gentlemen of *Basile*, went and ioyned with that Army, in regard whereof, they were all banished, and their posterity depriued & excluded from all publike honours.

In townes or citties, the cheefe man is called the *Auoyer*, the cheefe man of the councill.

Election of the Lords of the councill and the supreme Magistrate, called a *Burgermeister*.

Townes diuided into two rankes, Noble men and Yeomen.

Two bands of Noblemen in *Basile*. The *Consull* and the *Tribune* or *Captaine* of the City, the two cheefe offices

The Noblemen banished and their posterity depriued.

The common-wealths of the Cantons referred to three formes

The cheefe of some councill called *Ammans*, in a Estate or rely popular.

Oecolampadius his preaching & the alteration of Religion.

Some of the Noblemen got entrance again into the City, but wer excluded from governing in the State.

The companies of Lords so called to do them honour.

The priuiledge of them of Zurich in chusing their Lords of councill.

Afterward, when the Burgesse (by common consent) made alliance with the ten Cantons of the Switzers, in the yeare, 1501. the most part of the Noble-men, who hated the Switzer: dislodged from the city, and withdrew themselues to Castles heere and there, so that their authority diminished greatly then, and all the rest was lost in the yeare, 1529. For by the Sermons & exhortations of *Oecolampadius*, the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church were reformed, by order sent from the councill, against which, many Noblemen opposed themselues. And although they could not hinder the change of Religion, yet they abandoned and left the city, and would not abide in it.

After which time, the two companies whereof we spake, entred in againe, and got possession of some priuate houses, & as yet they keepe those houses to themselues, and they belong to the whole body of the Nobility. And those houses are called in their language, *Zuin sunstz en vnd zum brunnen*, but yet none of the is of the councill. For although the councill do meete together (almost) euery day, and the Gentlemen (having forsaken the city) dwelt most part of the time in their Castles: by common aduice of the Burgesse, they were excluded frō governing in the common-wealth, which they had renounced voluntarily. Neuerthelesse, some noble Families that dwell in the city, & haue had care of the common-wealth with the other Bourgesse, are in ranke of the foure first companies or supporters of the city, and (in them) are chosen to be of the councill. And therefore, to do them honour, in regard of their condition; these Tribes or companies are called *Herrensunst*, that is to say, the companies of Lords.

Therefore, there are no more companies of these Noblemen in *Basile*, but those that are distinguished with the other Bourgesse. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouse*, the Noblemē haue their companies apart by themselues. And they of *Zurich* haue this priuiledge beside, aboue the tribes and companies of Tradesmen, to take the moiety, that is, the most part of the Lords of the councill, from soorth the company of these Noblemen: so that they are as a counterpoise to the other companies. Notwithstanding, there is

some difference among these Noblemen, for the Families of race, that are very noble and ancient: they do make a band by themselues, and they are called *Die Stubler*, by reason of the place where they assemble apart by themselues, by right & especiall priuiledge. To the whole body of these tribes or companies, are ioyned many cittizens, which are not of any trade nor traffick: in which respect, they may haue place in one company, rather then in another. Porters, Labourers, Burden-bearers, and other such like manner of people, who when warre hapneth, are held and reputed to be of this body of companies, which they call *Sin Constaßell*, and receiue wages: they haue a voyce in electing the Master of the whole body of companies, and he is of the Seigneuries councill, in regard of his place.

Beside the Society and Company of Noblemen, the people of those citties & townes there, are parted into certaine tribes or companies, which the Germans call *Zunft*. The word (it may be) taketh name or originall, of *Zamenkunst*, which signifieth to meete and assemble themselues in company. Some interpret them to be Tribes, others, Courts, and others, Colledges or Abbeyes: but wee will call them Tribes or Companies. The number of them is not equall in the fore-named Citties and Townes. For there are fiftene at *Basile*: whereof the foure first are esteemed more noble then the other, and are called the companies of Lords, as already hath beene said. The first tribe or company, is that of Merchants. The second of Gold-smiths, Goldfiners, Founders, and Pewterers. The third is of Merchants dealing onely in wines: with whom the Notaries, Masters of Hospitals, Spittles, and other such like communities are ioyned. The fourth is of Merchants dealing in Silkes, and of Factors for all States: This company is the very greatest of them all. The other eleuen, are of all sorts of trades and handycrafts men.

Now there is a dozen or twelue tribes or companies at *Zurich*: heeretofore they were thirteene in number, when many Drapers & workers in wooll dwelt there: for that was one company by it selfe. But now adaies, the weauers of woollen cloth and other things, are ioyned into one company

Porters, Labourers, and toyling men are of the body politique.

Of other Tribes and Companies beside the Noblemen.

Fiftene companies at *Basile*, and how they are distinguished from the Noblemen.

Twelue tribes or companies are at *Zurich*.

pany with the Fullers and Diars. At *Schaffouse* there are eleuen companies onely: neuerthelesse, it falleth out many times, that diuers trades are ioyned together in one company. They haue their meetings by themselves: as at *Zurich*, the Millers and Bakers, the Barbers and Chirurgions, the Smiths and Metall men. So at *Basile*, the Fishermen and Marri-ners or Barquers, the Cordwainers and Curriers, the Taylors & Skinners. These companies are diuided, and they are called *Spaltue Zunfft*. For when there is question of cheefe Trades, and especially workmen in them, their houses of meetings and assemblies are by themselves. But in things that concern the common-wealth, and when, and where all ought to be present, to elect Lords of the coun-cell, or the *Zunfft*-Masters, who must be also in the counsell; euery man speaks his minde, and giues his voyce.

Out of each of these companies, some men are chosen, as many of one compa-ny as of another, to be Lords of counsell. In euery city there are two publike coun-cells, which haue the principall authority: as namely, the great counsell, when as a good number of counsellors meete to-gether, in name of all the people: as is vsed in the affaires of greatest importance, and which do appertaine to the whole com-mon-wealth. Next, the lesser counsell, who meete together euery day, about the common-wealths businesse, and take knowledge of differences happening a-mong the cittyzens. The great counsell of *Zurich*, consisteth of two hundred me: That of *Basile*, is of two hundred forty foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, is of foure, score and sixe.

As concerning the lesser counsell of *Zurich*, it is of fifty: that of *Basile* hath threescore and foure: and that of *Schaf-fouse*, hath but twenty sixe. For out of each tribe or company, twelue are taken for the great counsell: except at *Zurich*, where they elect eightene of the Nobility. At *Zurich* also each company giueth three men for the lesser counsell: at *Basile*, foure; at *Schaffouse*, two. Next, in euery of these cittyes, there are two Con-suls or Bourgmasters, who are the cheefe and Presidents of counsell.ouer and be-side these two, at *Basile* there are two Tri-bunes; who are cheefe in counsell with

the Bourgmasters. Moreouer, at *Zurich* the Noblemen send sixe from among them, to the lesser counsell: the other companies doe send each one but three. By the plurality of voyces, choise is made of sixe other men, out of such companies as the counsell do propose, to fill vp the number.

As concerning the election of coun-cellers (for so will wee heereafter call the Lords of the lesser counsell) it is done in manner following. Euery yeare, about mid-June, and mid-December, all the cit-izens of *Zurich* assemble themselves to-gether, euery man in his tribe and com-pany: and the elect a cheefe man, whom they call, *Zunfftmeister*, that is to say, Master of the tribe or company. The cus-tome of these three cittyes, is, that the companies haue two Masters: but one of them is in estate but sixe Moneths, at the end whereof, the other succeedeth him. Neuerthelesse, it often comes to passe; that hee who was *Zunfftmeister* the halfe yeare before, is chosen againe. By this meanes, the lesser counsell is diuided in two parts, to wit, the old & new. Such as haue beene in charge the first sixe Mo-neths, we tearme them of the olde coun-cell; for although they be called whē the counsell is helde, yet notwithstanding, it is not alwayes so done, and there are many matters which passe in the new counsell onely.

The great counsell of *Basile* is diuided in the same manner, and of twelue which is taken from each company, there are sixe of the new counsell, and sixe of the olde. Beside the *Zunfftmeisters*, the lesser counsell of *Zurich* chuseth one counsellor from each of the companies: but the lesser counsell of *Basile* chuseth two. These counsellors thus elected, with the other which we haue said to bee chosen extraordinarily at *Zurich*, are di-uided into two bands: whereof the one is the old council, and the other the new. These two councils are changed euerie sixe Moneths at *Zurich*; so that at their ending, the olde counsell electeth the new. At *Basile*, and at *Schaffouse*, they continue in the estate a whole yeare to-gether.

The election of the counsell at *Schaf-fouse*, is made on the morrow after Pen-tecoste: and that of *Basile*, on Satterday

How many are sent from each company

The election of counsellors for the lesser counsell, and after what order they elect the Zunfftmeister.

Of the old & new councils.

The great council of Basile diuided in like maner.

The changing of the old and new councils.

The times of these elections, & their approbation.

euery tribes companies at Schaffouse.

chiefe trades and artzans distinguished by them-selues.

concerning election the coun-ll.

the great uncill.

the lesser uncill.

the great uncills of Zurich, Basile, Schaffouse.

of the lesser uncills seuerally.

of Consulles and Bourgmasters in each Citty.

before the foure and twentieth day of Iune. At *Zurich*, the *Zunftmeisters* are elected by the companies in their houses of meeting: then the councill of two hundred confirmeth this election; but at *Basile* this confirmation belongeth to the olde councill. The voyce is giuen openly at *Zurich*, and secretly at *Schaffouse*. For in each tribe or company, charge is giuen to particular persons, to collect the voyce, whereupon they all come to them in order, and tell them closely in the eare, for whom they giue voyce to be *Zunftmeister*. The lesser councill assemble at the ofteneft, three times every weeke, and some whiles (vpon earnest occasion) four times. The old and new councillors of *Zurich*, are seated one by another, & sometimes one among another: but at *Basile*, the old councillors are aboue the younger. They haue also this custome, to withdraw often into another Hall, to consult together. After resolution is taken, a councillor of the first company, reporteth the aduice to the new councill: and they call the reporter *Den Offner*.

The Bourgmaster, whom they call *Burgermeister*, as much to say, as Master of the Bourgeses, is President of the old and new councils. The great council electeth him by open voyce at *Zurich*; at *Schaffouse* by secret voyce: and at *Basile*, the olde councill first electeth the Bourgmaster, and the new councill the yeare following. The Bourgmaster is in state at *Zurich*, sixe Moneths: but at *Basile* and *Schaffouse*, a whole yeare together, and turne by turne, the Bourgmasters and Councillers olde and new are changed. They whom at *Basile* they terme *Zunftmeisters*, and *Oberstermeisters* at *Zurich* (as much to say, as Masters of companies and communities) doe second the Bourgmasters in their authority.

At *Zurich* there are three, and at *Basile* two, who with the two Bourgmasters are called the foure chiefe & principal Lords of the city. Nine other Lords of the lesser council at *Basile*, are ioyned to these four in cheefe, and by reason of the number, they are called the councill of thirteene. They heare the causes of very gretest importance, and deliberate on them first, before they propound any thing to the lesser councill: and therefore they may be called Preconsulters, or first council-

lers. Moreouer, there is a particular councill at *Zurich*, whom wee may name the Chamber of accounts, for it manageth publike affaires: and is composed of eight councillors, and haue the Bourgmaster of the olde councill for their President. Then is there two Purse-bearers or Treasurers, and the Superintendents for Ecclesiastical goods do assist them, together with foure other councillors, two of the olde, and two of the new councill. They take knowledge not onely of monies employed for the common-wealth: but oftentimes also, the younger councill demandeth their aduice in cases of importance, whereon they consult a while, and then giue their report to the yonger councill.

To these publike councils, there are alwayes two Secretaries assisting, with their committees, when necessity requireth. The first and chiefeft is cald *Stattschryber*, that is to say, Secretary of the city. At *Zurich*, the other is called *Underschyber*, that is to say, sub-Secretary: but they of *Basile* call him *Raatschyber*, that is, Secretary to the councill. There is a particular Secretary for the Chamber of Accounts; whom they of *Zurich* call *Rechenschryber*. The estate of Secretary in these citties is honorable, and of great gaine. In regard whereof, the Gentlemen strive to keepe it in their owne power, as sildome is it giuen to any other. These men are they (among all other) that know the lawes, customes, priuiledges, and all the secrets of the common-wealth.

Next to the councils publike, are Iustices of the city. There are two at *Zurich*, one for ciuill causes, *Das Stattegricht*, which was in ancient times vnder power of the Nunnes, and the Abbesse elected the Lieutenant, or cheefe man in that kinde of iustice, whom they called *Den Schultheissen*, and his assessors or assistants: but now the election belongeth to the lesser or yonger councill. Their number is of eight, and they haue their Lieutenant, Secondary, and Serieant. To them appertaineth the knowledge of ciuill causes, Debtes, Hires, Lendings, Borrowings, Sales, and as the *Switzers* vse to say, they iudge *Umb etb vnd eigen*. There is no appeale from their sentence: but if there happen any difficult

Of giuing the voyce it is not in all places alike.

The sitting of the olde and new councillors.

Of the Bourgmasters or Consuls, the manner of their election.

Masters of companies & communities, Tribunes of the people.

The council of thirteene men.

The chamber of accounts, & the officers thereof.

Two Secretaries assisting to the councillors.

The office of Secretary, honorable.

A Iustice for dealing in ciuill causes.

What causes they take knowledge of.

No appeale from the Iustices sentence.

The office & authority of the other Iustice.

The Iustice of greatest power and authority.

The law and Iustice for criminal causes.

Criminal Iudgements are openly performed.

Criminal causes at Zurich are openly heard.

The other orders of Iustice at great and lesser Basile.

difficult cause, they send it to the Councell.

The other Iustice, whom they call **Das Zinsgericht**, is a Iudgement of processe and suites, which happen for rents and yearely reuennues. The Secretary of the other Iustice, and two Lords of the younger councell, it seemes doe daily assist for the ending of all such differences. In the bigger *Basile* there are two such kindes of Iustices, and a third in the lesser *Basile*. That Law or Iustice of greatest authority, which they tearme also **Das Statigrecht**, is composed of ten Iudges; one part whereof is of the councell, and the other, such as the people do name. They take knowledge of all causes, ciuill and criminall: but when there is question of testaments, wils, contracts, monies borrowed, and other such like things: the Prouost or Lieutenant of the citty sitteth in iudgement. As for causes criminall, the Prouost of the Empire iudgeth them. And there are three Lords of the councell, who do pursue criminall causes, by the sollicitation of one, who is an ordinary Attorney, named by them, **Oberstenknecht**, and keepeth company with the Iudges, hauing an aduocate waiting on him.

These iudgements are done publike-ly, and haue eight open audiences, whereby all are permitted to be there present, to heare and see whatsoeuer is done. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouse*, the new councell doth iudge the criminall causes. Neuerthelesse, the Bourgmaster doth not then sit: but it is the Prouost of the Empire, whom **Rychsuogt**, or, **Blutrichter**, who presideth and collecteth the voices. Euery yeare the councell chuseth some one of that body, to exercise that charge. Processe and suites criminall are handled at *Zurich*, with the doores fast shut: but at *Schaffouse* in open Court, so that all men may vnderstand the accusations and defences. But the councell commandeth all to bee absent, when there is question of pronouncing sentence. The second order of Iustice at great *Basile*, iudgeth not but in cases of small importance, which hardly exceedeth the summe of ten pounds. But the Iustice of smaller *Basile*, hath a Iudge apart, & taketh knowledge of all causes, except of criminall.

There are two Courts, or kindes of

Iustices at *Schaffouse*. The one which they call **Das Schuldgericht**, is law or iustice for debts: for therein onely is ended differences of contracts, debts, and such like things. And if the summe whereof question is made, doe amount about an hundred crownes, the councell then takes knowledge of it. In this Court are twenty assessors or assistants, to wit, one of each Tribe: moreouer, eight other persons, chosen by the councell. The other order of Iustice is named **Uogtgericht**, or, **Dussingrecht**, that is to say, Iustice for fines and ameracements: because the Prouost of the empire, or Iudge in causes criminall, presideth there, and condemneth all such forfeitures & fines. There are twelue assessours out of the twelue Tribes, and who are of the great councell. Causes criminall of lesser importance, are debated and ended in this Iustice there; as light iniuries, vulgar outrages, and suchlike. But when wordes do wound honour, and the wrong is not easie to bee dissembled or digested; the knowledge of such cases appertaineth to the lesser councell.

Beside what hath beene saide; these three citties haue each one their particular councell, which they tearme **Sin Chorgericht**, or, **Begricht**, where they discourse on causes of matrimony. For after that the religion was changed, the councels of the three citties established one councell: wherein were a certaine number of assistants, elected by buplike suffrages, and taken out of the olde and new councels, and among whom were some Diuines or Theologians as they call them. Neuerthelesse, at *Schaffouse* none of the Ministers were assistants, but onely some learned men admitted to councell, who had each one as his adiunct, some Doctour of the Law. These Iudges take knowledge of all matrimoniall causes: punish whoredomes and adulteries, and haue charge to obserue the liues & manners of euery one.

Beside, in these common-wealths, bastards are deprived of all honours and dignity: nor is it lawfull for them to bee seene at the councell, nor in the Courts of Iustice. True it is, they are not guilty of that staine to their birth, neither can it bee denied, but that (oftentimes) bastards haue wonne more commendations

Two kindes of Iustice at Schaffouse.

The second kinde of Iustice at Schaffouse.

Criminal offenses of slender importance.

The three citties haue peculiar councels beside the other.

Diuines admitted to be of the councell.

Of such as are exempted & prohibited, nor to be seene in the councell, or in any Court of Iustice.

for

for their vertues, then euer could their legitimate brethren: as we haue an example of *Iephea*, a Iudge of Gods owne people. But to bridle the leud concupiscences of many, and to conserue the dignity of sacred marriage: Bastards stand as branded with infamy, and yrkesome eye-fores to well ordered common-wealths.

Next, hee that hath not dwelt tenne yeares within the city of *Zurich*, cannot be chosen to be one of the publike councill.

Such as are borne out of *Switzerland* cannot be of the lesser councill at *Schaffouse*: But if they be Bourgeses of twenty yeares standing, they may be brought into the great councill, & into the number of the Iudges.

I will not tell you that strangers are vnworthy of these honors: but it is requisite first of all, that hee who ought to haue charge in a common-wealth, should be particularly affectioned and obliged thereto, and afterward be well skilde and seene, in the lawes and customes of the country.

And me-thinks, cittizens, and such as (from their youth) haue beene bred in a common-wealth; should haue more advantage therein, then strangers.

Moreouer, there is nothing more pernicious to common-wealths, then enuies and despights, proceeding from such advancements to high degrees: as draw on partialities and factions, the danger whereof cannot be auoyded, when naturall borne subiects are left despised, and ancient Families contemned, and charge of publike Officers giuen to strangers, & men of no merit.

Beside bastards and strangers, adulterers, murderers, and men made infamous for any crime: are (by a common law) excluded from councill in these common-wealths.

Publike estates and conditions are of diuers kinde in these common-wealths, and in great number, according as the citties are peopled: we will make mention of the principals onely.

The highest degree, next after the Bourg-masters and *Zunft*-Masters, are such as haue charge of the publike monies: who are called in many places of *Switzerland*, *Seckelmeister*, as much to say, as Treasurers or Purse-bearers. At

*Basile* there are three, named *Dreyherren*, that haue the keeping of the citties treasures. Besides them, there are three other, named *Ladenherren*, who manage the monies of the Imposts, Customes, and yearely reuennues of the common-wealth: They also pursue criminall causes, making themselues parties, by meanes of the ordinary Atturney. At *Zurich* there are men (almost) in the selfesame charge, whom they call *Die Umbgelter*; who manageth the tolle-monies of Corne and Wine, which they cause to be gathered by their committees. This tolle or taxation is not but on the Wine publicly sold, and on the Corne brought in from abroad: but for the wine & corne which the Bourgeses eate and drinke in their houses, they pay not any thing.

Beside these two Treasurers of the common-wealth, there is a third at *Zurich*, for the reuennues of the Church, & he is called *Der Kloesteren obman*: he gathereth certaine reuennues of the Abbeyes; wherewith the Ministers wages are payed, the Churches maintained, and the poore cherished or releued, and the ouerplus remaining, is reserued to ease the people in times of publike necessities. Some yeares past, the country of *Zurich* hauing beene afflicted with an extreme dearth of victuals: the receiuer sold corne at a meane price to them of the city, and to most part of the Villages round about, bought with the reserued mony at the best rate, and thereby the Subiects of the Seigneury were greatly releued.

Next to these, there are other Officers, as they that take care of publike buildings, whom the French call *Voyers*, the Germans *Bauhherren*, and they of *Basile*, *Lonherren*, because they pay the works & workmen that serue in publike. These Suruayers haue charge of the waies, Gates, Towers, Rampiers, Bridges, Couduits, and other publike Edifices: taking order that they shall bee maintained and kept in their best ability. Moreouer, they iudge with three Lords of the councill (who are their adiuncts) such differences as happen for the confines, Gutters, Channels, Windowes, Walles, and such like things, & wherin the neighbours are to be guided by their direction in their building. At *Basile* there are five Seigneurs, that take knowledge of these matters.

There

For time of dwelling.

For men born out of Switzerland.

Against strangers not natiues.

For natiues.

Against advancement of strangers and vnworthy persons.

Adulterers, murderers, & infamous persons.

Of publike offices and estates.

Treasurers of the publike monies, & of Customes and Imposts.

The order at Zurich.

Tolle or tax for corne and wine.

The Treasurer of churches reuennues.

A great dearth in the country of Zurich.

Suruayers of publike buildings & their further charge.

They ioyne iudgement with the councill on especiall occasions.

Diers Offi-  
co appoin-  
te to take  
charge of vi-  
tals.  
F. bread.  
F. flesh.

F. fish.

F. butter &  
cheese.

Caer Offi-  
ces noted by  
their names.

Schooles  
& vniuersities

The vniuersi-  
ty of Basile,  
founded by  
Aeneas Sylui-  
us who was  
our Pope,  
called Pius 2.

the reason  
why so few  
schollers are  
the vniuer-  
ty of Basile.

There is another degree of them that take charge of victuals. Of this number are the visiters for Bread, to consider if the Loafe carry his full weight, or no. Others view the Flesh in the Butchery, and aduisedly obserue, that they kill not any Beast, the flesh whereof is bad, and dangerous to be eaten; they also set a price vpon the pound, to sell it by. Then there are some that take charge of Fish, and heedfully foresee, that none be taken whē they are spawny, and haue an eye beside to the goodnesse of all other Fish in the Market. Others looke to salt Fish, and to the Market of Butter and Cheese, how it is reasonably sold. There are some other Officers, whose names are sufficient to be noted: as the Patrons of Widdowes and Orphanes, **Schirmuoegt**, and at *Basile*, **Weissenherren**: The Almoners; Visiters for weights and measures; Deputies for questioning of matters; Comptrolers of Ecclesiasticall goods; and Visiters of Schooles.

Moreouer, in these citties there are Schooles very well ordered. At *Basile* is an Vniuersity greatly renowned, established by *Aeneas Syluius*, afterward Pope, named *Pius* the second, who gaue it all the same priuiledges, rights, and immunities, which the Vniuersities of *Boulogne*, *Colongne*, *Heidelberg*, *Erdford*, *Lipsa* & *Vienne* haue. *Aeneas Syluius* was lodged at *Basile*, during the time as the councell was kept there. He found the city so pleasant, the ayre so sweete, with such commodity and abundance of all things; that he reputed the place apt and worthy to haue an Vniuersity founded in it. In the times of our ancestors, and our owne also, this Vniuersity hath yeilded many wise men, professors of the tongues, in Philosophy and all Sciences, who are needlesse heere to be named. Neuerthelesse, considering the greatnesse of the city, and the fame of the Doctours there abiding, there are but few Schollers. *Beatus Rhenanus* rendreth the reason, and saith; It is occasioned by the smalnesse of reuennues belonging to this Vniuersity, and to many Schooles in Germany. As thinking, that if there were fewer Schooles and Vniuersities, they would bee much more frequented then they are. There is not any Vniuersity at *Zurich*; notwithstanding, euen to this present day, the tongues haue

beene so faithfully taught there, and all good Sciences and Diuinity, that it is very famous, and highly esteemed among all them that study Diuinity.

Finally, these three citties whereof we speake, haue power to stampe and coyne monie: and therefore there are forging Mints, and Masters of the monies, whose charge is to take order that the money coyned with the stamp of the city, shold beare full weight, and be of a good allay. Each of these citties hath her mony apart by herselfe. They of *Basile* do coyne the same mony with them of *Halsatia* and of *Bourgongne*, and call it a **Rappennuntz**, in regard of a Rauen, which serueth for Armes to many peeces of their mony. Fiue & twenty Sols of this mony, makes a Florin of gold, which is thought to value threescore crutzers. At *Schaffouse* the mony is of the same allay & price, as that of the Empire. They of *Zurich* do coyne Dallers, and halfe Dallers, of equall price with them of the Empire: but they haue a kinde of mony, which is their owne in particular, whereof forty Sols makes a Florin of gold. They stampe also another sort of mony, which they cal *Baches*, whereof fixteene makes a Florin.

In ranke of these publike charges and offices, we may set downe the Watch, & such as take care for prouision against the accidents of fire. There are two sortes of watch, besides the Sentinels in the clock-houses, and the Porters. First the perpetuall guardes at the citties cost, who keepe watch euery night, and diligently search through all parts of the city, crying at all houres of the night.ouer and beside these, out of each company are taken a certaine number of Bourgeses, who likewise watch (according to their turnes) with their Armes. This double guard is not done for any feare they haue of enemies: but to auoid the inconueniences of fire, and to take order also, that (during the time of night) all matters may be peaceable and quiet.

They that are Committees, to take care of dangers concerning fire, when any such happeneth in the city, may command the Carpenters, and other men of like quality, to runne for quenching the fire, taking order that all may bee done without confusion, and for the best safety of them that haue the misfortune of the fire.

Mints for the  
coyning of  
mony in these  
three citties.

The mony of  
*Basile*.

The monie of  
*Schaffouse*.

The monie of  
*Zurich*.

The watch  
may not be  
forgot among  
other officers  
in publike, &  
tending to the  
generall good

The office of  
them that are  
guards for ac-  
cidents of fire

What the order is in times of fire.

The city distinguished into diuers bands in martiall order.

When fire taketh a village out of the city.

What care the Switzers haue of the poore.

A collection of charitable almes for the poore.

fire. Moreouer, they carry an eye ouer the watch at the Gates, and on the wals; leste any tumult should happen in the city. For it is ordained, that when the fire is in any one place, a certaine number of the Bourgeses (chosen out of each company) make their sudden appearance at the Gates or Ports, and vpon the walles in Armes. Moreouer, the whole city is distributed into certaine bandes, euery one of them hauing his Captaine & Ensigne to it selfe, vnder whom they go marching in excellent order. The Bourgmaster betakes himselfe to the Town-house, with some of the principall councellers and officers of the Seigneury, to aduise on what is good for the weale publike. And not onely Carpenters, Mafons, and their seruants, but likewise most of the Bourgeses meete together, all labouring industriously to quench the fire: and oftentimes the women shew themselues of no meane courage, in bringing and casting on the water. Beside, if the fire happen in some Village out of the city, the lustiest disposed of euery Tribe (whereof election is made for the purpose) do meete, and issue forth together, to quench the fire. They are conducted by one of the councell Seigneurs, who is sent to helpe and aduise what is meetest to bee done, but most especially, to comfort them that haue the losse.

We haue already told you, that the Switzers take great care for the poore. At Zurich, and in some other Townes, there is a daily distribution of almes to all the poore there, as of Bread and Pulse-pottage. There are a great number of poore Schollers in Zurich, sometimes forty, otherwhiles fourescore, that are thus releued; some bestowing garments, and other needfull things on them also, vsing the poore in no worse manner, then they of the Abbeyes and Couents in the Seigneury of Zurich are. Vpon the Sundayes and festiuall dayes, an almes collection is made of the people: which Monethly, or at euery two Moneths, by men chosen & deputed to the office, is distributed equally to the poore in the city, and such as liue abroad in the fields. Beside, in the Citties there are great Hospitals, wherein needy cittizens, aged, impotent, sicke persons, orphanes, and many other are releued. The Seigneury appointeth diuers

honest people, to haue care of the poores necessities: such as are the Master of Hospitals, Proctors, Receiuers, & their Committees and Comptrollers.

Hitherto wee haue shewne you the forme and state gouernment obserued in the citties: but ouer and beside these, they haue authority in the neighboring countries, and (among the rest) the canton of Zurich hath more country iurisdiction, and larger Bayliwicks, then eyther Basile or Schaffouse. But in all the Lands and Seigneuries belonging vnto these three cantons, there is one and the selfe-same order of gouernment. For certaine Bayliwicks are gouerned by the councell of the city, in such manner, as the Bayliffes dwell in the city, and are councellers of the common-wealth, and yet go to keepe Courts in the Villages. And if there happen any criminall suite, and whereof there is desert of punishment capitall, the councell taketh knowledge thereof. There are other Bayliwicks of farre larger extent, and thether Bayliffes are sent with ample power: so that they iudge not onely in ciuill causes, but oftentimes in criminall occasions, and chastise malefactors, according to the greatnesse of the delicts. These Bayliwicks haue their priuiledges and ancient customes: some also haue law and iustice apart by themselues, and are administred by Iudges chosen out of the same places.

The Bayliffes make no change or alteration (of any thing) in these places; but they leaue to the inhabitants, all their rights safe and sound: contenting themselves onely to preside in iustice, and giue sentence according to the lawes and customes of each Bayliwicke. The canton of Zurich hath nine great Bayliwicks, to wit, the county of Kybourg, the Bailiwicks of Groningen, Andelfingen, Grifensee, Eglishow, the free Prouince, Regensbourg, Vadouille, and Laufen, neere to the fall of Rhein. There are two and twenty small Bayliwicks or Castle-ships beside: in some of which, there is as large extent of ground, and as great number of men, as in some of the greater Bayliwicks. Moreouer, beside these Bayliwicks, two pleasant Townes, namely Winterdner and Stein, are vnder the protection of Zurich's canton. The Officers of iustice are in the same Townes; but the inhabitants are tyed

The citties extent in gouernment is broad, foorth of the cittie limits.

All the Bayliwicks are alike in the extendure authority.

No change lawes, priuiledges, or customes, by the Bayliffes in any of their iurisdicions.

What Bayliwicks do bee long to Zurich, & other Townes beside.

ed in obedience to the Seignery of Zurich, to obey their lawes, and to go to war for that Canton; in which respect, the two Townes haue their feuerall Ensignes by themselves.

The Bayliwicks belonging to the Canton of Basile, are the Cattle of *Farnsberg*, seated on the top of a Mountaine about *Rhinfeld*; *Walbourg*, a small towne on the Mount *Iura*, which they tearme *Der Hohenstein*, in regard of the Rock there cut in sunder; *Hombourg*, *Munchenstein*, and *Ramstein*.

*Schaffouse* hath the most part of the country of *Cletgoem*, all about *Basile*, and sendeth Bayliffes and Chastellaines into the Bourroghs and Villages on it depending.

CHAP. VI.

*Of the publike estate and government, of the Townes of Berne, Lucerna, Fribourg, and Solleurre: which are not divided into Tribes and Companies, as Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse are.*

WE have already said, that the second kinde of publike government, is considered in such Townes, as are not distributed into certaine Tribes or Companies, out of which are equally chosen, the Lord & Seigneurs appointed for Councell and Iustice. In these towns they that are soueraigne Magistrates, or Heads of publike councell, are called *Ein Schuldheissen*. The old *Alleman* word is found in the Lawes of the *Lombardes*, where it is written, *Schuldahis*. It seemeth that the word came of debt, which the *Switzers* tearme *Schuld*, and of commanding: as much to say, that the *Schuldahis* commands the debtors to satisfie them of whom they borrowed. And in this sence it is found written in the *Lombards* lawes, vnder the title of debts and wages, in these words.

*If a free man who is a debtor, hath nothing else wherewith to make satisfaction, but his owne private Cattell, as Horses and Oxen for labour, or Kine to the paille: then he that challengeth or demandeth the debt, shall go to the*

*Schuldahis, and intimate the cause, giuing him to vnderstand, that his debtor hath nothing else to make repaiment withall, but the matters aboue rehearsed. Then the Schuldahis is to make seizure on the said Cattell, &c.*

The same word is found also in the twentieth title of King *Luitprands* lawes, in significant tearmes, as followeth. *If any man haue a cause or suite, and do appzare before his Schuldahis to demad iustice: if in case that the Schuldahis do him not iustice within foure houres after following (if both the parties stand bound to answer before him) himselfe shall pay to the demander sixe Sols, and to his Iudge sixe Sols.*

We may perceiue heereby, that the word *Schuldahis* signified (among our graue Ancients) a Iudge, that gaue sentence vpon differences concerning debts, made leuey on the debtors goods, and compelled them to pay their creditors. Neuerthelesse, there was no iustice so high, but hee stood in subiection to the county. At this day, the name is in frequent vse among the Princes of *Germany*: so that the Iudges of Townes and Villages haue no other name. Among the *Switzers* it is more honourable, for in the forenamed townes, the *Schuldahis* is lord ouer all. The soueraigne Magistrates of Townes among the *Switzers*, some haue thought were called Consuls, in imitation of the *Romans*: others hold opinion, that *Bourgmasters* and *Schuldahis* ought to be called Prestors. For mine owne part, I call them Consuls, that are Presidents in publike councell. The *French* call him an *Auoyer*, whom we tearme *Schuldtheß*.

Now as concerning the Towns wherof we speak, they are not diuided by companies and trades, because there are lawes which prohibite them from so doing. But although the forme of the Commonwealths of *Zurich* and *Berne* are different: yet the one stands bound to succour the other reciprocally, to maintaine and conferue the estate, such as is established in eythers common-wealth. In the meane while, the trades that are at *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue houses established for meeting, for knowledge of the best and cheefest workmen, but not for the election of Magistrates. They tearme those Officers by the name of *Stillschafften*, and not *Zunftten*.

The words out of King Luitprandes lawes to the same effect.

A Iudge that sentenced cases of debts onely.

The cheefe Magistrate of any Towne among the Switzers.

No Trades or companies in these Townes after such manner as at Zurich.

The Bayliwicks belonging to Basile.

The second kinde of government without tribes or companies.

The word Schuldheiß is derivatiue of the word.

The words as they are written in the Lombards lawes.

Two publike  
councils in  
those Towns:  
the great and  
the lesser.

In these Townes there are two publike councils, as at *Zurich, Basile, & Schaffhouse*; to wit, the great and the lesser. The great councill of *Berne*, is of two hundred men, as at *Zurich*, although it hath more then two hundred councillors. The lesser councill of *Berne*, is of fixe and twenty. At *Lucerna*, eighteen councillors do gouerne the estate, during the space of sixe Moneths, and eighteene other sixe Moneths, or the rest of the yeare. To elect the councill of *Berne*, the proceeding is in this manner.

Banderet is  
the Capitaine  
of a quarter in  
any good  
Towne.

The third Feries before Easter day, the foure Banderets of the Towne, doe chuse, and take with them sixteene Bourgeses, the worthiest and best esteemed men of all: then these twenty, with the *Auoyer*, do elect the great councill, wherefore we may well call them Electors. First of all, they consider and examine exactly, the liues and manners of all them that are to be of the councill of two hundred: and if any one of them hath soyled his dignity and reputation, with any bad or villainous acte; they depose him, and in the place, as wel of the deposed, as of the ded, they chuse another, whom they do better like and allow of. In meane while, their election remaineth secret, vntill the evening of the day before Easter, & then the Officers goe, and signifie to all them that are elected for the great and lesser councils: that they are to meete on the morrow morning in the Towne-house.

The manner  
of electing  
the councill  
of two hundred.

The Seignours  
of the  
great council  
meete in the  
Towne-house

The first Feries after Easter, the Seignours of the councill do assemble in their houses of meeting, and afterward they conduct them to the Towne-house, that are newly set downe, to be in number of the two hundred, and then all the Magistrates are elected. The election ended, the Bourgeses go to feast in their houses, and after dinner, walke soorth into the fields: exercising themselues there in leaping, running, throwing the Barre, Stone, and other pastimes. But the *Auoyer* goes againe to the towne-house, accompanied with the twenty Electors; and there they elect the councillors, that are to be of the lesser councill. On the morrow, they are named to the councill of two hundred, and after that their election is approued, they goe and sitte downe in their places. Now in regard that the councill of *Lucerna* doth command no longer time the

The election  
of the lesser  
councill.

fixe Moneths onely: the election of the Seignours both for the lesse and greater councill, is made twice yearely, if there be any vacant places, and that is done about mid-Iune, and mid-December. The new councillors are taken from the lesser councill, that gouerned during the sixe precedent Moneths.

The coun-  
cil of *Lucerna*  
chosen twice  
yearely.

The *Auoyers* or Consuls, who are aboue the other Seignours, are elected by the lesse and greater councils, & by common voyces. The authority of the *Auoyer* at *Lucerna*, lasteth but a yeare, and 2. yeares at *Berne*: but yet in such manner that the voyces are yearely taken for him, and hee againe elected. Next to the *Auoyers* of *Berne*, the principall men in the commonwealth, are the foure Banderets, chosen out of foure companies of trades-men onely, or men of handy-crafts, to wit, Carpenters, Curryers, or Leather-dressers (who are distributed in three parts) Bakers, and Butchers.

The electi-  
on of the *Auoyers*  
or Con-  
suls.

The chusing  
of the foure  
Banderets  
of foure co-  
panies.

The Towne of *Berne* is diuided into foure parts, which are committed (each one of them) to these foure Banderets: who view and ouer-see the Armes of all the Bourgeses, and prouide for the affairs of warre. They continue in their charge the space of foure yeares: but euery yeare on the same day as the *Auoyer* is elected, they resigne their estates, and deliuer into the hands of the cheefe Vsher of the Seignoury, their Ensignes, and all the other marks of their dignity, which are laide on a Table before the *Auoyer* and the councill: and then the great and lesser councill giues their voyces, concerning the Banderets. If one of them haue continued in his charge fully foure yeares, or is preuented by death, another is planted in his place: but yet it is thus conditionally done, that if the dead did not finish his foure yeares, his successour must accomplish them in the nature of a substitute, and afterward, execute the same charge foure other yeares.

The diuisi-  
on of *Berne*  
the foure  
derets.

The time  
the Banderets  
continue in the  
office.

In all the Townes of the *Switzers*, the dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers is great. Some whiles, the time of their charge is not limited at all; but they continue in that estate, so long as pleaseth the councill, and themselues also. There are two of them at *Berne*, the one receiueth the reuennues of the Towne, and of the *Allemaigne* country:

The digni-  
ty of Purse-  
bearers or Treasurers.

the

To Treasurers at Berne, at their charge.

Concerning election of other public Officers.

The election of councillors at Berne for the lesser council.

Election of men for the great council

The ordinary number of Judges at Berne.

the other is for the Romane country, because hee receiveth the reuennues which the Seigneury deriueth from the countries of *Vant*, and of *Sauoye*. Those men which we haue so lately named *Auoyers*, *Banderets*, and *Treasurers*, with one councillor of the two hundred, are called at *Berne*, *Die heimlichen Rath*, which is as much to say, as the secret or priuy councill. For to them (before all other) matters of most secrecy, of consequence, and which concerne the whole Common-wealth, are reported and trusted.

After that the abouenamed Magistrates haue beene elected, and confirmed by the lesse and greater councils, aduice is vsed, concerning other public Offices, which is done in some of those Townes the very same day, and on the morrow in others.

As for those estates that haue not any dignity, as *Serieants*, *Executers of iustice*, *Messengers*, *Watches*, and other such like charges: ordinarily, the lesser councill bestowes them of such, as they know meetest for them.

The *Bernians* hold this properly to themselves, as concerning election of their councillors, that they will not receiue any person into the lesser councill, if he be not borne within the Towne. In elder times, if the sonnes of councillors were borne out of the Towne, they could not attaine to the fathers dignity. Now adayes, when some councillors are absent, about occasions of the weale-public, and for the gouerning of some *Bayliwicke*: if they happen to haue any children, they are reputed as borne in the Towne. For the great councill, they may be elected that are borne out of *Berne*: provided that they be *Bourgeses*, haue houses in the Towne, and are issued of the *Switzers* country, or of the confederates of the *Cantons*. For no man is receiued into the councill of the two hundred, if he be borne out of *Switzerland*: and the same is in practise at *Zurich*, as we haue already declared. In like manner, bastards, and people of infamous note, are quite excluded from councill.

There are three Courts or Benches of iustice at *Berne*, all the Judges whereof, are elected by the *Banderets* & *Trea-*

surers, and are confirmed by the lesser councill.

The first Court of iustice is called; *Das Aergrecht*. The *Auoyer* presideth there, but the cheefe *Visher*, whom they call *Der grosz Weibell*, doth (almost) daily keepe the place, and hath 12. Assistants, to wit, the last man elected of the foure *Banderets*, one of the *Seigneurs* of the lesser councill, and tenne of the great, with one *Secretary*, and two *Officers*. They take knowledge of debts, injuries & outrages of slender consequence, as if one man giue another a box on the eare, or giues some words to his disgrace. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser councill, and from them, to the sixty men, which is a councill composed of *Seigneurs* of the lesser council, and of sixe and thirty councillors of the great councill. From the sixty, appeale may be made vnto the generall. The *Iudges* doe assemble euery day to conclude causes, onely *Tuesday* excepted, which is the *Market day*.

The second Court of iustice, iudgeth the appellations of the country of *Sauoy*: and therefore it is commonly called, the Court for strange Appellations; *Das belsch Appellatz gricht*. The *Purse-bearer* or *Treasurer* of the country, sitteth in iudgement there, & hath ten assistants, to wit, two *Seigneurs* of the lesser councill, and eight of the great, with one *Secretarie* and an *Officer*. They end all the appeales for the country of *Sauoye*, and giue audience to parties at all times, and as oftē as they desire it. Notwithstanding, their ordinary vse is to meete after the day of *S. Martin* in *November*, vntill the Moneth of *December*. All they of *Sauoye* come thether to the appellations, they onely of *Lausanna* excepted: but at euery two yeares, the *Treasurer* commeth to *Lausanna* with some assistants, and there decideth the causes of appeale.

The third Court or iurisdiction, takes knowledge of matrimoniall causes. It is the *Consistory*, where there are eight *Iudges*; two of the lesser councill, who preside or giue sentence there (turne by turne) from two Moneths to two Moneths; two *Ministers* of the Church; foure of the great councill, and they haue a *Secretary* or *Clarke*, and an *Officer*. They assemble three times in the weeke,

The first Court of Iustice, how and what causes are therein determined.

The second Court is called the Court of appellations, or appeales.

The ordinary meeting of the Court.

The third Court, the Consistory for marriage-matters.

The limitation of their authority.

Two Courts of iustice at Lucerna, and what causes are censured in them.

Criminall causes concerning life and death.

How they proceed in cases of death.

In the Bayliwicks of Bern

Of the Bayliwicks belonging to them of Berne.

namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, then they consider not onely on matrimoniall causes, but also censure such as giue scandales, and put in practise the discipline of the Church. Moreouer, these men and the Iudges of the first court of iustice, doe hold in estate but halfe the yeare, and are changed about Easter, and likewise about the end of September.

They of *Lucerna* haue two courts of iustice, the one they call *Das Muehenricht*, because the Iudges do meete euery weeke, and decide al suites proceeding of debts and contracts. The other is called *Das nurr richt*, the iustice of nine: for nine Iudges take knowledge of iniuries and outrages, and accordingly inflict punishment. There is not any Consistory at *Lucerna*, neither at *Fribourg*, or *Solleurre*: because they are Catholiques, and subiected to the iurisdiction of Bishops, by whose Officials the causes concerning matrimony are debated.

As for criminall matters capitall, there are not any particular Iudges thereto appointed, neyther at *Berne*, nor *Lucerna*. But when question is made concerning any ones life, the great and smaller counsels take knowledge thereof, and iudge it. The *Auoyers* sit in cheefest authority, and censure on the matters. After sentence is resolued on at *Berne*, the *Auoyer* goes and sits in a seate of iustice, appointed in some eminent part of the Towne, enuironed with Officers of the Seigneury. Then the Clarke or Secretary readeth out aloud the confession of the offender, & the sentence giuen against him. Afterward the *Auoyer* enioyneth the hangman to execute the sentence, and commandeth the condemned person to bee deliuered to him. At *Lucerna*, the counsell do iudge in criminall causes, of all the Bayliwicks, and all the Malefactors are punished within the Towne. But in all the Bayliwicks of *Berne*, there is iustice apart by it selfe, which they call *Landtgericht*, and whether the Iudges of all the Bayliwicks are called, and giue their aduice in presence of the Bayliwicks, who presideth: and yet in such sort, as the counsell of *Berne* may approue, or change the sentence, if they thinke good.

The *Bernians* haue many Bayliwicks, & are the most powerfull Seigneurs of the Leagues. In some they speak the *Alleman*

or *Germane* tongue; in other the *Romane* or *Sauoyan*. Among the *Alleman* Bayliwicks, there are foure depending on the Towne, and are euen as Subburbs thereto: whereof the foure Banderets are Bayliffes, and if they were to go to war, those Bayliwicks march vnder the Ensignes of the foure Banderets. Moreouer, there are seuen and twenty other beside, to wit, the vale of *Hafell*, which hath an *Amman*, out of the body of the inhabitants, but hee is elected by the counsell of *Berne*, & there rendreth an account of his charge. *Vndersee* is a Towne so named, because it is at the end of a Lake: thether is an *Auoyer* sent, but he is of the Towne of *Berne*. The vale of *Simma*, both high and low, do call their Bayliffes *Schachtlandt*, that is to say, Castilians. *Frutingen*, *Sane* and *Aelen*, do name their Bayliffe, *Gouernour*. *Laupen* and *Thun* are in the same condition as *Vndersee*.

Next to these, are *Signow*, *Trachselwald*, and the Riuers of the vale of *Emme*. *Brandis*, that receiues her Bayliffe from the Lord of the place: but he is numbred among the Bourgeses of *Berne*. *Sumswald*, where the Masters of the *Tentonicke* Order established a Bayliffe. *Burgdorff* and *Pyrnestic* are gouerned all alike, as *Vndersee*, *Landhott*, *Arberg*, *Nidow*, *Erlach*, *Bippiu*, *Wange*, *Arwange*, *Arbourg*, *Biberstain*, *Schenkenberg*, and *Lentzboung*. Moreouer, there are three free Townes in the country of *Ergow*, vnder the Seigneury of *Berne*, to wit, *Zofinge*, *Arow*, and *Brug*. There are eight Roman Bayliwicks, as namely, *Auanches*, *Modon*, *Tuerdun*, *Lausanna*, *Morges*, *Nyon*, *Orbe*, *Aille* and *Veua*. Beside, they of *Berne* and of *Fribourg* haue foure Bayliwicks in common; as *Mort*, *Schwartzenbourg*, *Granson*, & *Chalaisse*, whether they send a Bayliffe successiuelly at euery 5. yeares end: so that if the Bayliffe be of *Berne*, his causes of appeale goe to *Fribourg*, where the reasons of the Bayliffe are examined. There are *Prouoists* beside, for the gouernment of *Abbeys*. The *Bernians* had nine in the *Allemane* country, sixe wherof held iurisdiction, and three in the *Romane* country.

They of *Lucerna* haue onely two out of the Towne, as at *Wiken*, and at *Sempach*: but hee of *Sempach* hath no other authority in the place, but only the superintendency of the Lake, and of the Fish.

As

The Amman of the Vale of Hafell.

The Auoyer of Vndersee.

The Bayliff of the Vale Emme.

\*The company of the Hanse-Merchants.

Eight Roman Bayliwicks.

Foure Bayliwicks in common.

Of the Bayliwicks that belong to Lucerna.

As for their other Bayliwicks, they are governed by some of the Seigneurs of the councill. Those Bayliwicks are *Willison*, the Vale of *Entlibuch*, *Rotembourg*, *Habsbourg*, *Berone*, and the neighbouring countrie, which they call, *Che-lampt*: *Merisuande*, that hath this privilege, to chuse for Bayliffe, one of the Seigneurs of councill in *Lucerna*, euen whom they list, except the *Auoyer*: *Weggis*, *Ebicon*, *Horbe* and *Krientz*. Moreover, the two Townes of *Sursey* and *Sempach*, are in the protection of the *Lucernians*: Neuertheless, they haue their councill apart by themselves, who iudge in causes both ciuill and criminall. But the *Auoyer* of *Sursey*, giueth his oath to them of *Lucerna*. He of *Sempach* is elected by the councill at *Lucerna*: but he is in number among the citizens of *Sempach*.

The law of likenesse or equality, which the Latines tearmed *Lex Talionis*, is as yet vsed (in some sort) at *Lucerna*. For if any man kil a citizen of the place, althogh he did it vpon iust occasion, hauing bene prouoked thereto by the other, and in defence of his owne body: yet it hee be taken, they smite off his head; or if he flye, he is banished for euer. But if he make satisfaction to the children or kindred of the dead, and cause them to giue ouer all pursuite: hee may obtaine leaue of the councill to come againe into the towne.

Among all the *Switzers*, there is not any but them of *Lucerna*, that make vse of *Brasse Cornets*, instead of *Trumpets*. The crooked *Cornets*, which they call *Hartschhorn*, giues a frightfull sound. The *Romanes* also made vse of *Cornets* in warre: and thereupon, they that sounded or winded those *Cornets*, were called *Cornicines*. The men of *Lucerna* say, that *Charlemaigne* gaue those *Cornets* to the; because they carried themselves valiantly in a warre which he had against the *Sarrazins*, and that *Rowland*, a Lord very highly beloued of *Charlemaigne* in those times, serued himselfe with those kindes of *Cornets* long before.

These forenamed Townes do coyne monies, but *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue one particular kind of coyne: whereof two and forty Sols, and two thirds of a Sol, makes a *Florin* of *Rheine*. Moreover, they stampe another more great sort

of money, which the *Switzers* call *Ein Dickenpfemling*, and the French a *Teston*. These *Testones* are minted at *Solleurre* for the most part; and yet notwithstanding, are counted of lesse value, by a tenth part, then them of *France*. They of *Berne* coyned first certaine money, which the *Switzers* termed *Baches*: in regard of the figure of a Beare, which was stamped on the one side, for they called a Beare *Waren* and *Wactzen*. Afterward, the other Citties and Townes of *Switzerland* and of *Suaba*, coyned the same money: sixteene peeces whereof, valued a *Florin* of gold. The mony of *Lucerna* commeth not neere to the value and price of that of *Basile*, which is more hard and strong: for the Sol of *Lucerna* valueth but the moiety of that of *Basile*, and fifty Sols of *Lucerna*, will make one *Florin*.

Now we come to speake of *Fribourg*, which is diuided into foure parts, like vnto *Berne*: the first is called the *Borough*, the second, the *Island*, or the *Medow*; the third, the *new Towne*; and the fourth, the *Hospitall*. The councillors of the common-wealth are chosen out of these quarters. As in the other Townes, so in this there are two publike counsels; to wit, the great councill, consisting of 2. hundred, and the lesser of foure and twenty. The election is made on the Sunday before *S. John Baptist* day. The lesser councill manageth the affaires of the Towne, deciding the causes of appeales: except of the Bayliwicks of *Sauoye*, conquered in warre. As for the matters which concerne the whole State, and are of maine importance, the councill of two hundred takes knowledge of them. The *Auoyer*, who presideth both in the lesser & great counsels, is elected on *S. Johns* day by all the people, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeares.

Next vnto the *Auoyer*, are the foure *Banderets*, who are *Captaines* of seuerall quarters in the city or towne, & althogh they are not of the ordinary number of Seigneurs of the lesser councill: yet notwithstanding, they assist there in name of all the people, and deliuer their aduice, except in appellations. If some thing be propounded which seemeth to belong to the councill of two hundred; they may ther make their report of it. Furthermore they remaine in authority, three yeares:

Worth eighteene pence sterling.

Mony with a Beare stamped on it.

The valuation of the coines.

The estate & condition of Fribourg, and how it is diuided into foure parts.

The two counsels.

The office of the lesser councill and of the greater.

The Auoyer in his place of charge.

The foure Banderets next to the Auoyer.

he priuiledged Meriuande, and of other places side.

Lex Talionis is yet in vse at Lucerna.

Cornets of Brasse vsed instead of Trumpets at Lucerna.

Cornicines.

Rowland who was Italian in Orlando.

Monies coyned by all the townes.

The office of the Treasurer.

and are chosen by the great & lesse coun- cels, as many other Officers are. Then followeth the office of the Treasurer, who manageth the monies, and all the reuennues of the Towne: he hath (as his coadiuter) the Secretary or Clarke of the Towne, or his Committees, who register downe all those summes, which the Treasurer receiueth, or imployeth. His charge also is, to haue an eye on all the publike buildings. Twice euery yeare he renders an account to the lesser councill, and remaineth in his charge, the space of three yeares.

Foure princi- pall Secreta- ries in Fri- bourg.

In *Fribourg* there are four e principall Secretaries: the first is called Secretary of the Towne; the second, Secretary of the councill; the third, Secretary of the country; and the fourth, Secretary of law or iustice. In like manner, the estate of *Saultier*, or cheefe Vsher, is honou- rable both in *Berne* and *Fribourg*, where it is named, *Groszweibels*. He is very often neere to the *Auoyer*, and when the Seig- neurs are set in council, he is at the door, counteth voyces, calleth the parties, and takes care of prisoners. His charge conti- nueth three yeares.

The Saultier or chiete Vsher.

The Courts of law and iustice at Fri- bourg.

As concerning Law and Iustice at *Fribourg*, they are established in manner following. First, the Court of Iustice be- longing to the Towne, called, *Das Stattgericht*, is a particular assembly of certaine Iudges, to know and decide dif- ferences among the Bourgeses. And if there be any criminall proceffe or suite; their charge is to interrogate the priso- ners, to present & deliuer the case in que- stion, and then to relate all to the lesser councill. The other assembly of Iud- ges, is tearmed *Das Landtgericht*, iud- ging the causes of dwellers in the coun- try. In each of these iurisdictions, there are two Seigneurs of the lesser councill, and two of the great, and they meet three times euery week. Appeale may be made from their sentence, to the lesser council. Moreouer, there are twelue Iudges, cho- sen out of the great and lesser coun- cels, for the appellations of the Bayliwicks, conquered in the last warre against the Duke of *Sauoye*. They meete together once in euery Moneth, and there is no appealing from their sentence.

The first Court or as- sembly.

The other Court of iustice.

Twelue Iud- ges for the conquered Bayliwicks.

At *Fribourg* there are two kindes of Bayliwicks, as in the other Townes: the

one of Bayliwicks neighbouring to the Towne, which are gouerned by certaine Seigneurs of the councill, who dwell in the Towne, and come dayly to councill, and of such Bayliwicks there are five. The other is, when the Bayliffes are sent to dwell on distinct places with ample au- thority: and they of *Fribourg* haue four- teene such Bayliwicks, and four e in com- mon with the *Bernians*. The Bayliffes are elected by the great and lesser coun- cels, the morrow after *S. John Baptists* day, and hold in office the space of five yeares: but euery yeare they render an account of their charge, before the lesser councill. They enstruct also, and deale in criminall suites: but them they send to the lesser councill with their sentence, which the councill hath power to approue, change, or moderate.

That which at *Fribourg* is called *Cro- stungen*, and in the vulgar, *Leistungen*, is carefully maintained at *Fribourg*. by these words is vnderstood a remise or ta- riance for certaine time, and the charges to be on his owne head; when the debter doth not pay his debt, at or on the day of assignement, as in this manner. When the debter maketh not satisfaction, on the day appointed for repayment, the creditor sendeth one, two, three, or more seruants (on horse-backe) to an Inne or Hostery, whose expences there the debter is constrained to pay (tarry they there neuer so long) vntill hee hath made satisfac- tion to the creditor. Some say, that the Duke of *Zeringen* established this Law. Such as infringe or breake it, are punished by imprisonment, banishment, or by the purse. And there is a certaine Iudge, who they call Bourgmaste, that holdeth a strict hand in this case. Moreouer, if a ti- on or suite is moued, and a man demand the *Crostung* three times, if it is not gra- ted to the demander, it is present banish- ment. Such as breake the peace, where- in they are enioyned to liue one with a- nother, are banished likewise: and they that (without iust cause) will meddle, or take part on eyther side, when a cause is in pleading.

Finally, the *Fribourgers* make feasting yearely, with solemne procession of all e- states through the Towne, on the second day of March, and on the eight and twen- tieth day of Iune; which are dayes of bat- tailes

Two kindes of Bayliwick belonging to *Fribourg*.

Four e Bayli- wicks in com- mon with th of *Berne*.

Dealing in criminall oc- casions.

A stay or fo- bearing of a debt at the cost & char- ge of the debter.

A law mad- by the Duke of *Zeringen* for paymen- of debts.

Banishment for the breake of peace.

Dayes of solemne feasting for victorie obtained.

tailes giuen, and victories wonne by the *Switzers*, against the Duke of *Bourgongne*, at *Granson*, and at *Morat*.

CHAP. VII.

*Of the Commonwealth of those Cantons that haue neither Citties nor Towns, but dwell onely in Villages.*

**H**itherto we haue discoursed on two formes of Common-wealths, con-  
cerned in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, that haue Citties and Townes. There remaineth now a third, which is of those Cantons that haue no Townes, but make their abode in Villages, and for that cause are called, *Die Laender*. There are sixe of them, to wit, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*. *Zug* indeede is a towne, & hath her Officers in the towne; but the soueraignty of the Canton appertaineth to them that dwell in the lands of the Canton, with them of the towne, and are Lords as well the one as other. In all these Cantons, the cheefe of the publike councell, is tearmed *Amman*, which signifieth a man in office and authority, and that name is attributed to all publike Officers. So that Abbots, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, do call their Iudges, Receiuers, and other such like Officers, *Ammans*.

As the Townes are diuided or parted, by Companies and Colledges of *Artezans*, or *Tradesmen*; so the Cantons are distributed into certaine parts and portions.

CHAP. VIII.

*Of all the sixe Cantons forenamed, which in this ensuing Chapter we will handle together, according to their seuerall rights & iurisdictions.*

**T**HE whole country of *Vri* is diuided into ten parts, which by them are called *Gnoszaminen*, as if a man would say, *Participations*. It may be in

this respect, because they are all partakers in pasturages, goods, honours, and publicke charges, and that from those ten parts onely, they are summoned and called, to be present at those assemblies which are yearely made.

The Country of *Suits* is diuided into sixe parts, which they call quarters. Because the country (heeretofore) was distributed into foure portions: but the people coming to encrease greatly, they made a new partage into sixe portions, which neuerthelesse do retaine the ancient name.

As for the Country of *Vnderuald*, there is a Forest that diuideth it in the midst: and therefore the diuision is thus made to them that dwell aboue and beneath the Forest. The whole Country taketh name of that part which is beneath the Forest: for *Underualden* is as much to say, as beneath or vnder the wood. In elder times, *Stants*, a principall Village beneath the Forest, and neere to the Lake, was the prime and cheefe place of the country, and the people were called, inhabitants of the Valley of *Stants*. But now adayes, because the word *Vnderuald* is taken for the whole country, the *Switzers* haue added these words, aboue and beneath the wood, *Underualden ob vnd vndt dein kernwald*.

Now as concerning them of *Zug*, we haue said already, that they are diuided in two parts; the one is the Towne it selfe, the other the Villages round about, comprehended vnder three assemblies, to wit, the Mountaine, the Vale *Egeria*, and *Bara*, a Parish very neere to the Towne.

*Glaris* is diuided into fiftene parts, which they tearme *Tagwan*. The word signifieth the work of a day, and as much distance or spacioufnesse of ground, as a man can plow in a day. It may be, that these parts were called *Iournals*, or *day-labours*: because euery one prepareth & ordereth the way in his quarter, and each one knoweth where he is to labour.

The country of *Appenzell* is parted into twelue orders or portions, which they call *Baden*, whereof those sixe conioyned to the Village of *Appenzell*, they name them the orders within, and anciently were subiects to the Abbot of *S. Gall*. The other sixe are called the orders without: to wit; out of the Abbots Seignery,

The diuision of *Suits*.

*Vnderuald* diuided in the midst.

Of the name.

Stants a principall village.

The partition of *Zug*, the Towne & the Villages.

The diuision of *Glaris*.

The orders or proportions belonging to *Appenzell*.

The author distinguisheth the Cantons according to their qualities of government situation.

Anman is called as a major or burgomaster among the *Switzers*.

The Cantons are diuided into certaine portions.

Election of  
the councill.

The generall  
councill of  
Appenzell.

Publication  
of a councill  
to be holden  
on a day ap-  
pointed.

None but  
natives can  
be councilers

The Switzers  
louing and  
kinde to strā-  
gers living a-  
mong them.

The councill  
generall of all  
the people, &  
their appoin-  
ted places of  
meeting.

Seigneury; heeretofore partly free, and partly in the iurisdiction of Gentlemen. Out of these parts (by equall number) are chosen certaine men, for the councill of the Canton: in many of them there are threescore councilers, beside such as (having beene in office) continue perpetuall councilers. At Zug there are five and forty councilers, nine of each assembly, for the Towne is counted for two.

The councill generall of *Appenzell*, consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelue of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the councill of all the people: then they will double or treble the councill in this manner. Each of the councilers takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a coñcell of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they vse to do: and one of the councilers, on Sunday, in the Church after Seruice is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councilers are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to bee an honest and wise man, who shall also bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obliged to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a counseller, neither can he assist in the generall councill, if he be not borne in the country, **Ein Landman**: And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the *Switzers*, then in these Villages. Which proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselues very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new commers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to prevent charges, and to preserue the common-wealth (the more easly) in one and the same estate and condition.

The souerainty in these sixe Cantons, belongeth to the assembly of all the people. All they of the country, from the age of fourteene, or sixteene, or vpwards, do meete eyther at the principall Village of the Canton, or else at some other place in the midst of the country. As they of

*Vri* meete at *Betzeling*, distant halfe a dayes iourney from *Altorff*, the chesfest Village of that Canton. The people of *Glaris* meete at *Suanda*. The ordinary and annuall assemblies of these Cantons, is made euery yeare about the beginning of May. They of *Suts*, of *Vnderwald* vnder the wood, of *Glaris* and of *Appenzell*, do meete the last Sunday of Aprill. They of *Vri* and of *Zug*, the first Sunday of May. In elder times, they of *Zug* held their generall councill the 24. day of Iune, being *S. Iohn Baptists* day. They of *Vnderwald* about the wood, meete the first day of May.

In these assemblies, first of all he is elected whom they call the **Amman**, in which office hee continueth the space of two yeares. Heeretofore there was no terme of time assigned, but (ostentimes) the same **Amman** gouerned for many yeares together. He is permitted to be chosen among all the people, as a man that (for his vertue and wisdom) shall be thought most worthy of that dignity and charge, without regard at all, in what place or Village of the Canton hee dwelleth. Notwithstanding, in certaine Cantons, as at *Appenzell*, while the **Amman** is in his office of authority, hee goeth to remaine in the principall Village, where the publike councill keepeth most.

At *Zug* there are three assemblies of them without the Towne. Next, the Towne hath the power of two assemblies and the **ammans** are chosen by order of each assembly. They that are elected of the assemblies without, doe dwell in the Towne, during the two yeares that they are **ammans**. In the same assembly wher the **ammann** is elected, his Lieutenant also is chosen, whom they tearme **Statthalter**: and so are the Treasurers or Purse-bearers, called by them **Sekelmeisters**. Next, the Secretaries and Bayliffes which gouerne the Bayliwicks of the Canton: or those which the Canton holds apart with other Cantons. Moreouer, Edicts are there read & confirmed, or abrogated yearely, by the voyces of all the people: so likewise sports, and playing at cardes, dice, dancing, excessiue drinking, fore-stalling Markets of victuals, and such like things.

When the councill is thus held yeare by yeare, councilers are elected and confirmed:

The yearely  
assembling  
of these canton

The Amman  
is the first  
officer chosen  
in the assem-  
bly.

Of the assem-  
blies that are  
at Zug, both  
without and  
within.

The election  
of the Lieut-  
nant.

Secretaries  
Bayliffes.

The electing  
and confir-  
ming of coun-  
cellers.

An extraor-  
inary coun-  
cell holden.

The counsell  
is secret  
and priuate.

The counsell  
is seuen at  
its.

Two Courts  
of iustice.  
The first of  
the.

The second  
of seuen.

The order at

The Court of  
is seene there.

Two Courts  
of law & iu-  
stice at Vn-  
derwald.

firmed: but yet this is not done by euery assembly, but each of them ordered by the subiects of the Canton, and by the companies among whom they dwell. Finally, if at some other times of the yeare, there happen affaires that concerne the estate of the common-wealth, an extraordinary counsell is held. As if need require, to send Ambassadors to the dayes at *Bada*, or to some other Kings and Princes; or if there be question of making alliances, be they eyther for peace or warre, &c.

Beside the lesser counsell and the generall, composed of all the people; some of the cantons haue a counsell more strict and priuate, and courses of iustice for discision of suites. In the Canton of *Suits*, which is diuided in fixe parts, the principall counsellor of each part is taken: and these fixe, with the *Amman*, make the counsell of seuen, called *secret*. These seuen do manage and order all the reuenues of the country, and furnish all that is laid out for publike expences. Moreouer, there are two Courts of iustice, the one being called the order of nine, in regard of the number of Iudges, and there the *Amman* sits as President. In this Court are decided the causes of greatest importance: as of inheritances, outrages, and terrible iniuries, hard to be endured.

The Court of seuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the *Amman* sits as President: and those seuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of *Vri* haue (almost) the same government: for there the Court of seuen, with the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threescore pounds. There is another iudiciall Court of fiteene, where the *Amman* sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.

At *Vnderwald* also there are 2. Courts of iustice, the one at *Stants* vnder the wood, and the other at *Sarna* about the wood, and each of them hath an *Amman*. It is saide, that the country was parted, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred and fifty, when some debate fell among them for paying of a certaine tribute. And whereas before that time, they had but one counsell, and one Standard, bearing

a double key for the whole country: this partition caused each of the sides to take one key onely, and they that were about the wood, retained still their olde Standard, white and redde, because they were the greater part of the Canton. Then they vnder or beneath the wood, received from Popes another Ensigne, which had two keyes in it: for in regard that *Stants* (long before) had bene the principall Village of the Canton, they therefore kept still the Ensigne, which in those times they had at *Stants*.

The Towne of *Zug*, beside the counsell generall of the whole country, hath a counsell apart, order of iustice, Magistrates, a Lieutenant to the *Amman*, Treasurer, Voyer, &c. who iudge the causes of the Bourgeses, and manage all the publike affaires.

At *Glaris* there are two Courts of iustice, one of nine, the other of fise Iudges, which the counsell generall of the Canton do elect euery yeare. They decide law-suites in the Moneths of May, and of December onely. The nine take knowledge of differences concerning inheritances, and dangerous iniuries. The fise do censure suites of debts and payments, after that the nine (who keepe Court the space of fixe dayes) haue ended.

They of *Appenzell* haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a publike place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it *Das gassen-gricht*. Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the *Vsher* of the canton, *Der Land-tweibell*, and they meete together weckly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called *Das geschwozen-gricht*, iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreouer, from each order of the canton, a counsellor is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake publike ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the counsell generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and termed cheefest counsellors: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,

But one coun-  
cell and one  
Standard till  
the diuision.

The Popes  
gaue them a-  
nother En-  
signe.

The obserua-  
tion at *Zug*.

Two Courts  
of iustice at  
*Glaris*, and  
their seuerall  
authorities.

The Courts  
of iustice at  
*Appenzell*.

The first  
Court.

The second  
Court.

Another or-  
der of coun-  
cellers, and  
their power.

Of the catho- like Cantons.	<p>ton <b>Landthelick</b>.  <i>Suits, Vri, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel</i>, are Catholicke, and vnder the Diocesse of <i>Constance</i>. And if there hap- pen any difference concerning mariages, they goe to the Officialtie of the sayde place, but they of the other opinion goe to <i>Zurich</i>.</p>	<p>four Bayliwicks, to wit, the <i>Marché</i>, the <i>Hermitage</i>, <i>Cusnach</i>, and certaine small Villages or great Farmes, neer to the lake of <i>Zurich</i>: but the two former haue ob- tained municipall right, and doe elect a councill and triall of suites in their owne bodye. Notwithstanding, euery yeare, when a councill generall is held at <i>Suits</i>, ordinarily they send their Ambassadors thether, and require, that they may haue leaue to elect their Magistrates; which is granted them, as in verie great fauour, with this exception, that they are to bee modest and obedient, for otherwise it re- maineth in the peoples power of <i>Suits</i>, to send a Governour thether, whensoever they thinke meet.</p>	Four Bayliwicks here before belong- ing to Suits but two of them altered
Punishment for adultery.	<p>As for adulteries, they are chastised in each Canton: some, by confiscation of goods; others (sometime by the fine of ten Dallers. I haue heard likewise, that (diuers times) the councill general of the whole Canton, doeth decide some differ- ences concerning mariages.</p>	<p><i>Cusnach</i> hath the same condition, but because, within some few yeares certaine straungers (customers for carriage of salt and other thinges that way) made their complaint, that they of <i>Cusnach</i> did them wrong, and vsed them harshlie vpon no occasion: the men of <i>Suits</i> know- ing the accusation to bee true, sent a Bayliffe thether againe, and appointed new ordinations for <i>Cusnach</i>. Besides, they haue two Bayliwicks in common with them of <i>Glaris</i>, to wit, <i>Vznac</i>, which is a Towne, and <i>Gastall</i>. Thether they send Bayliffes, turne by turne, and alwaies there is one of <i>Suits</i> in one of the Bayliwicks, and one of <i>Glaris</i> in the o- ther.</p>	What priu- ledges belong to Cusnach, but lo through the owne negli-
Iustice in crimi- nall causes.	<p>Iustice in causes criminall; is admini- stred (almost in all the Cantons) by the publike councill, and oftentimes doub- led or multiplied by the ordinary coun- cellers; the <i>Amman</i> sitting President, or his Lieutenant. At <i>Zug</i>, in criminal mat- ters, other assistants are ioyned with the councill or Iudges, chosen out of each di- uision or assembly of the Canton. Suites of Law are discust in an open publique place, where all may heare that which is said, and know the merite of the sentence giuen by the Iudges.</p>	<p>In like manner, they haue three other Bayliwicks in common, beyonde the Mountaines, in the valley of <i>Liuner</i>, with the Cantons of <i>Vri, Suits, and Vnderwald</i>. The charge and office of all their Bay- liffes lasteth two yeeres, except in the Bayliwicks beyonde the Mountaines, where they holde for the space of three yeares; and they goe not to the other but at certaine times, and to decide law con- trouersies.</p>	What Bayliwicks they enjoy in com- mon with o- ther.
The order & disposition of the Bayli- wicks in these Cantons.	<p>Now to speake of the Bayliwicks or Gouvernements appertaining vnto these Cantons, they are carried and disposed in manner following. They of <i>Vri</i> send a Bayliffe into the valley of <i>Liuner</i> beyond the Mountaines: who hath one of the same valley for his Lieutenant and Assi- stants also; with whom he iudgeth causes both ciuill and criminall, and continueth in his charge the space of three yeeres. Beyond the same Mountaines, they send Bayliffes also to <i>Bellizona</i>, and to two o- ther places. They of <i>Bellizona</i> haue three Bayliwicks, to wit, <i>Bellizona</i>, the Vale <i>Brune</i>, and <i>Riuiera</i>, where the three Can- tons do command in such manner, that each of them hath alwaies a Bayliwicke. Moreouer, the inhabitants of Mount <i>S. Godardo</i>, are subiectes to the Canton of <i>Vri</i>; neuertheless, they haue their Coun- cell and their <i>Amman</i>, who are confirmed by them of <i>Vri</i>, &amp; when there are criminal suites, two of the councill of <i>Vri</i> do meet there. They haue their Standard likewise: but when they of <i>Vri</i> do display that be- longing to the Canton, the other hold vp theirs.</p>	<p>They of <i>Toggenbourg</i> are not subiects but Bourgeses of <i>Suits</i> and <i>Glaris</i>, and go to warre for them successiuelly. They of <i>Zug</i> send Bayliffes to <i>Cham</i>, a very lit- tle Towne neere vnto their lake. To <i>Saint Andrew</i>, sometimes a Towne. To <i>Huneberg, Walchewill, Stein-houfc</i>. To <i>Saint Wolfgang</i>, and to other Villages. They bought this Countie, in the yeare 1517. Next, with them of <i>Suites</i>, they send (turne by turne) Bayliffes to</p>	What time their Bayliff continue in authority of gouerning.
Bellizona hath 3. Bayli- wicks belong- ing to it.	<p>They of <i>Suites</i> haue sometimes hadde</p>	<p>The order and maner sending the Bayliffes, to their severall places of Iurisdiction.</p>	The order and maner sending the Bayliffes, to their severall places of Iurisdiction.

*Vznac* and *Gastal*. They of *Toggenbourg* are their Bourgeses, as we haue sayde already; and go to warre for them, and for the Canton of *Suits*. Finally, the five first Cantons are Lordes with the other Cantons, of the Bayliwicks gouerned by them in common: except the men of *Appenzel*, who send a Bayliffe onely to *Rhinsthal*, with the seuen first Cantons, & in the same manner.

Now follow some particular customs of these sixe Cantons, and which are not common to all the Switzers. Whosoeuer shall haue committed a murther, although it was done in the defence of his owne body, hee is constrained to forsake the Canton, and it is not lawfull for the lesser councell to repeale him; but hee may demaund and obtaine leaue of the councell generall to returne againe.

They doe not permit, that Landes and foundations of inheritances should be pawned or ingaged vnto any one that is not of the Canton; for they holde them to be no longer Lords of their countrey, if once they will becom bound for debts and morgage in such manner their inheritances to straungers. Likewise in the Canton of *Vri*, it is not lawfull for strangers, that haue bene receyued there as inhabitants, to buy any inheritances, but a house and a small garden for Pot-herbes onely.

If any man being drunke, doe commit some scandalous action, hee is punished by imprisonment, and beside, hee is forbidden to drinke wine for the space of a certaine time, and vntill the Councell generall haue pardoned him.

In publike assemblies, and in the distribution of honourable charges and Offices: hee that is put in election, is present, and his parents, brethren, and sons may giue him their voyces. They giue their voyces by lifting vp their hands on high, and some are set in an eminent place to count them. If they stand in doubt, and cannot so decide it, then they haue another course. There are two men, who hold two Halberds touching together at the points; they that giue their voyces, do passe vnder them, and two other men count them as they passe.

Finally, they vse Feasts and Processions, on such dayes as their Ancestors obtained any remarkable victory. As they

of *Glaris* do yearly celebrate the memoriall of the victory which they wonne against the *Austrians*, in the yeare 1387. and in the month of Aprill, I wil declare at large, the ceremonies obserued by them in this festiuall; to the end, the better iudgment may be made of such feasts as are vsed by others.

*The order of the solemne Feast and Procession, performed by the men of Glaris, in honor of their victory against the Austrians.*

IN the moneth of Aprill, euerie yeare, on the Thursday of the first weeke (except Easter day fall on the Sunday following, for then it is deferred til Thursday in the weeke after) the Feast is celebrated. On the Sunday before, it is a lowde and openly published in the church, in behalf of the Seigneury, that on Thursday following, the most honourable persons of euerie Family, especially the men, are to meete and go in solemne Procession to *Mulhousere*, by those waies, places, and passages, where their Ancestors were in great danger, euen so far as the Fountain, and to be warie of descending to the Village of *Haurres*, til first they haue past the other way. Moreouer, that all keepe silence while the Sermon is done, and to carrie themselues (that day) so modestly in their refection, that no disorder may be noted, because the Seigneury will chastise them feuerely that do otherwise, and because the whole Canton of *Glaris* doth solemnly feast that day. Forbidding also, that no man shall mount on Horsebacke out of the Village of *Glaris*, sicke & aged men onely excepted, who are not (being so mounted) to goe anie further then *Scheneisinge*.

After they are all assembled together, and rounded in a ring as it were; the *Amman*, who is in the midst, makes a kinde welcome (in name of the whole Canton) vnto such strangers as are come thither. First, to the Ambassador of *Suits*, who is yearly sent for celebration of the Feast: because thirtie Souldiers of *Suites* were present in the battell for which this Feast is kept. Likewise, he saluteth the Abbots, Priests, & neighbors of *Gastal*, *la Marche*, *Rasserwill* and *Toggenbourg*, giuing them hearty thanks, for comming to celebrate this

Reade in the former part.

The great Feast of Glaris.

Remembrance of their Ancestors great peril.

Obseruation after their meeting together.

of customs belonging to these sixe Cantons.

in case of murther.

against morning of lands and inheritances to strangers.

with drumme

voices giue at the election of publike offices.

Feasts & Processions for honourable occasions.

this solemn Procession, and to thanke & sing praises to almighty God, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hillary*.

First, one beareth a red Standard, wherein is the Image of *S. Fridolin*, then follow 4 men, bearing a gilded Toomb, whereon are many faire and holy reliques enchased. Then come the Crosse-bearers, carrying the Crosses of *Glaris*, *Haures*, of the Vale of *Liuthe*, and of the churches neighboring to the Canton of *Glaris*, as of *Schennis*, *Wesen*, and others. The Crosses are followed with Banners of all the Churches, and the Priests come after them, singing according to their order. The Curate of *Glaris* is the first, accosted by an Abbot, or else some other man of the Church. Among the strangers the other Priests follow. Then the councill of *Glaris*, to witte, the *Amman*, with the Ambassadour of *Suits*; then the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, and the other Officers in their order, each guiding or leading one of the most honourable strangers. The women (in great number) follow, to make vp the end and conclusion of the Procession.

Being come to the place where the battail was fought, there are eleuen stones set down in those seuerall parts of ground where they began and held on fight with the enemy: for they had partings & meetings againe at hand-blowes, eleuen seuerall times, and at each of those stones the Standards and Banners stay, and all fall vpon their knees in prayer to God. When they are come to the sixt stone, they cast themselues round in a ring, and then the Secretarie of the Canton readeth in a paper, the cause and originall of this Procession, the summary whereof is this. War being moued betweene *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, and them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Solleurre*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*; *Leopold* led his Army to *Sempach*, where hee was overcome, and slaine by the *Switzers*, the ninth day of Iune, one thousand, three hundred, fourescore and sixe, beside sixtene Earles and Barons, and a great number of Gentlemen.

Afterward, in mid-August following, they of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*, besieged and tooke the towne of *Wesen*, & the inhabitants promised perpetuall fidelity to the *Switzers*. Truce was made, till

the beginning of Lent in the yeare following; which being ended, and war beginning againe, they of *Glaris* sent a Garrison to *Weson*, wher the Souldiers thinking themselues to be in safety, and confiding on the oath of the townesmen, were slaine (for the most part) in a night by them of *Austria*, who entred in the dead of night, by intelligence which they had with certaine of the inhabitants, that machinated this villany against the garrison, and opened the gates to their enemies.

Furthermore, that the very same yeare, and the ninth day of Aprill, they of *Austria* brought an Army of fiftene thousand men towards *Haures*, and wonne the Fortresse of the Country. But three hundred and fifty Souldiers of *Glaris*, & thirty which the Canton of *Suits* sent to assist them, assayed the enemy, and (Gods helps furthering, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin* and *S. Hilary*) they became conquerors, wonne eleuen of their cheefest Ensignes, and left two thousand five hundred enemies slaine in the field; beside them that were drowned in the Lake, and among the rest, many of *Wesen* were there slaine, that formerly had betrayed the Garrison of *Glaris*. And therefore, in dutifull thankfulness to God almighty, the glorious Virgin *Mary*, and *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary* their Patrones, and to all the Saints and Saintesses of Paradise, & in euerlasting remembrance of so great a helpe and deliuerance, this annuall Procession was ordained vpon those limits, where their Ancestours had suffered many inconueniences.

After the reading of these seuerall letters, a Sermon is made in the same place; the Priests of *Glaris* performe their Aniuersary, and followeth the Minister of the new opinion. All their prayers being ended, they go againe to the same stones, in the same ranke and ceremony as they began, vntill they come to the eleuenth, which is placed neere to the Village of *Haures*, towards *Wesen*, where they assayed the enemy at the last time. Then they take their way to the Church of *Haures*; but they of the new opinion return home to their houses. The rest go to the church, where they sing a Masse for the *Switzers* that were slaine in the battaile: and one reciteth all the names of them of *Glaris*, that perished there. Soone after this, a banquet

The order of the Procession in marching, as they passe along to the place where the battaile was fought.

The ceremonies in the Procession of Glaris, being come to the field where the eleuen stones are fixed in the ground.

The reason and originall of the Procession, read in particulars by the Secretary.

A second reason, vpon the besieging & taking of *Wesen*.

A third reason of coming with an Army against *Haures*.

Gods iust iudgement for breach faith.

Performance of the final ceremony.

The concluding of the ceremony at the stones.

A banquet  
made at the  
Cantons cost.

banquet is made (at the Cantons expenses) for the Priests, and all the strangers that came in the Procession. After dinner, the Priests singing, bring backe againe to *Glaris* the guilded Toombe, the Banners and Crosses.

This is the manner of the annuall Procession and Feast of them of *Glaris*, in remembrance of so famous and remarkable victory. The other Cantons also haue their Feasts, to celebrate the victories obtained at *Morgarten*, *Sempach*, and elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

*Of the Common-wealths belonging to the Confederates. And first of all, Of the Abbey of S. Gall.*

After we haue spoken of the thirteene Cantons, and of their seuerall Common-wealths; me-thinks now (according to the same order) wee should make mention of their Confederates, I among whom, the Abbot and Abbey of *S. Gall* holdeth the prime place. The Abbots of *S. Gall*, haue bin great Lords for the space of many ages possessed of great meanes, and numbred with the Princes of the Empire: but I know not well, from what Emperour they receiued this honour and title. *Stumpfius* noteth, that *Conrad de Pfauerts*, Annalist of *Switzerland* writeth, that Abbot *Huldreich*, of the house of *Alt-sax*, was made Prince by the Emperour *Phillip*, in the city of *Basile*. Now albeit these Abbots are not of such power as heeretofore; yet notwithstanding, they continue still great Lords, and haue their dominion in large extendure.

In the country of *Turgow* they are Lords of *Wile*, and haue a Pallace and a Vicar in the Towne. Moreouer, in the high country of *Turgow*, they haue a great Territory, and well peopled, who are all subiect to them. The inhabitants are called *Die Gottshuslute*, the Subiects of the house of God, or of the Abbey, and are parties in certaine Regions. Their names are *Rosac*, *Thumbach*, *Gold*, *Vndereg*, *Morswill*, *Tablate*, *Gozow*, *Wald-*

*kilch*, *Romishorn*, *Summery*, *Mule*, *Hofschwill*, *Bernattzell*, *Lumiswill*, *Berg*, *Wittenbach*, *Rodtmont*, *Strubenzell*, *Geiserwald*, *Helbach*, *Bergknecht*, *Zuzwill*, *Ziberwangen*, *Vnd Wiger*. These places are diuided into Castle-wicks or President-ships, and the Abbot sendeth Prouosts thether. Moreouer, he hath his *Ammans* and Officers, that hold meane Courts of Iustice in many places. Beside, he hath a higher Court of iustice, whether resort all appellations, and where causes of importance are decided. All kindes of duties, and such as are rendred to Princes, in these places are confirmd vpon him.

Beside this country, the county of *Toggenbourg* acknowledgeth (as Lord) the Abbot of *S. Gall*, who sendeth a Governour into the country, and a Iudge in criminall causes, which admitteth no further appeale. And yet they of *Toggenbourg* are Bourgeses of *Suits*, and of *Glaris*, & haue their priuiledges & franchises; by meanes whereof (among other things) they enioy the freedome of Religion. Also in the Bayliwick of *Rhinthal* which belongeth to the cantons: the Abbot holdeth law courts of iustice in many Villages, & keepeth Officers there for that purpose.

The Abbots  
power in the  
county of  
Toggenbourg

CHAP. X.

*Of the Common-wealth in the Towne or Citie of S. Gall.*

*Saint Gall*, *Mulhouse*, and *Rotuille*, are numbred among the Imperial townes, and therefore haue (almost) the same manner of gouernement, as we haue already described vnto you. But because the cittizens of *S. Gall*, do hold something in particular; I will here set downe a summary description of their common-wealth.

In the first place then, the Towne of *S. Gallis* diuided into sixe Tribes or Companies, & the Society of Noblemen. The first & principal of these Tribes, is of weauers, because of the linnen cloth there wouen, which is made very faire, and in abounding quantity: which afterward is sold in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spaines*, *Bohemia*, and *Poland*, greatly enriching the inhabitants that dwell in *S. Gall*, and ma-

Imperial  
Townes.

Sixe Tribes  
or Compa-  
nies in *S. Gall*

The first tribe  
is of weauers

The Abbot  
of the  
Abbey of  
S. Gall  
holdeth  
all the  
Confederates

The Abbot  
Huldreich  
was made  
a prince  
of *Basile*.

That posses-  
sion the Ab-  
bot hold in  
*Turgow*, and  
diuers o-  
ther parts of  
the country.

Two councils  
in S. Gall.

Twelve  
masters.

The election  
of the Zunfft-  
masters.

Nine Sena-  
tors.

Three Con-  
suls, and how  
they governe.

Election of  
the Council.

The great  
Council, in  
what manner  
they are cho-  
sen, and what  
order they  
obserue.

king the Towne much renowned. It hath two councils, according to other towns, to wit, the great and the lesse. The lesse is composed of foure and twenty, and namely first of all, twelue *Zunfftmasters*. Each Tribe, Colledge, or Company, hath three Masters, which governe the company a yeare, turne by turne: but there are no more then two, which enter into the lesser councill; the first is of the new, the second of the olde. The thirteenth *Zunfftmaster*, is the first of the eleuen, which are elected out of each Tribe, to be of the great councill.

The *Zunfftmasters* are elected by secret voyce in their Tribes, and are confirmed by the lesser councill. Euery yeare, the councill and officers of iustice, are elected about mid-Iune, and mid-December. Beside the *Zunfftmasters*, nine other Senatours do assist in the lesser councill, and are chosen as well in the company of Noblemen, as in the other companies. The three Consuls (with them) make the number of foure and twenty councillors: For there are three Consuls in *S. Gall*, the first is in charge; the second is called olde Consull, for hauing governed in the very neereft yeare before; and the third presideth in iudgement for criminall causes, and in other places he is called, Prouost of the Empire, *Keyhuogt*. The councill is elected the first Sunday of Aduent, not in the lesser councill, but in the generall, by secret voyce, *Mit derrun*: the Sub-consull and the *Zunfftmasters*, going then out of office, do collect the voyces.

The great councill is composed of threescore and sixe, to wit, twelue of each company: whereby there are ninety persons in the great and lesser councils. After the election of the Consuls and the councill, the ordinances of the Towne are read in this assembly: whereon the Consull and the new councill do deliberate. Then they go (by two and two together) to the great Temple or Church, named *S. Laurence*, where all the cittizens meete, and after reading of the lawes and ordinances, the Consull sweareth first to obserue them, and afterward, receiueth of the councill and whole assembly, the same oath. This done, the morrow after christmas day, and the day following, the *Zunfftmasters*, and the other eleuen Seigneurs of the lesser councill, do meete to-

gether in the Towne-house, and elect the Sub-consull, whom they call *Vnderburgermaster*. His charge is to take order for the watch of the Towne, and to appoint Tutors and Ouerseers for Widdowes & Orphanes, and also to examine their accounts.

Euery weeke, the lesser councill do ordinarily meete together twice, on Tuesday and Thursday; except those dayes be Festiuals, or haue Fayres. Also the Thursday before Lent, which they call the mad Thursday, *Den Unsinrigen donstag*: because once, and on that day, the people mutined against the councill, by meanes whereof, it was ordained, that (fro thence forward) there should be no more assemblies held, as on y day. The lesser councill manageth the Townes affaires, decideth ciuill causes, and giueth sentence concerning inheritances and willes: but medleth with no criminall suites, nor differences about Scedules, Obligations and iniuries.

The great councill meeteth together five times euery yeare. First, the morrow after christmas day, when they elect and confirme the new Magistrates. Secondly, in mid-Lent, to elect and confirme the Master of the Hospitall. Thirdly, the Friday before *S. Bartholmewes* day, being the foure and twentieth day of August, whē they establish the Masters of Halles, and consider on the tolles and taxes at the Gates. Fourthly, and fiftly, before the Fayres which they keepe, on the morrow after Ascension day, and the day of *S. Gall*; and then they consult on the conseruation, and course of Courts for the Fayre.

The great councill also doth sometimes extraordinarily meete when they are to discourse on matters, whereof the councill ought to haue knowledge, as concerning sentences in criminall suites. Then the Prouost of the Empire sitteth President, and demandeth each case: this is done in the Towne-house, and the doores kept close. The lesser councill electeth the Prouost, and giueth him power to iudge. Afterward, the great councill decideth the appellations made vnto him, and receiueth such strangers as desire to be Bourgeses.

But this is done more often, in the ordinary assemblies of the great councill, and

The electio  
of the Sub-  
Consull or  
Vnderburge  
master.

When the le  
ser councill  
do assemble  
together.

The mad  
Thursday.

The office  
of the lesser  
councill.

The five me  
etings of the  
great Coun  
cell euery  
yeare.

Extraordina  
ry meetings  
of the great  
Council.

Election of  
the Prouost  
by the lesser  
Council.

and then also they conclude there on many appeales. Sometimes the lesser councell sendeth affaires of importance to the great councell, to bee considered on.

Every yeare, the councell generall of all the people, is assembled three times, about publike affaires. First to elect the Confull. Secondly, the morrow after Christmas day, to take oath of the new Confull, and to binde him to obey the Magistrates. And thirdly, in the Moneth of August, about S. Bartholmewes day, after that the ordinance for tolles and taxes is agreed vpon, to heare the Lecture, which is made before all. Moreouer, the lawes and staturs of the Towne are distributed into three parts; one part whereof is deliuered to the people, in each of these three assemblies.

The principall and cheefest Court of iustice, is that of five; who are the Confull, the Sub-Confull or Lieutenant, one of the new **Zunftmasters**, and two of the new councell. They iudge in differences concerning borrowed monies, things laid to pawne, debts that haue no certaine time prefixed, wages that are due, suites concerning victuals, iniuries, and fines. They sit on the Wednesday, or Friday, and there is no appeale from their sentence; neuertheless, they may send backe difficult causes, and of importance, to the lesser councell.

Next to this, there is the Towne court of iustice, **Das Stattgericht**, composed of twelue Assistants, chosen out of the Noble mens companie, and out of the other companies; so that the one is of **Zunftmasters**, and the other of the people. The cheefe Officer of this court is called **Statamman**, Maior of the city, and is elected with the other Magistrates, about Christmas day, and is confirmed by the great councell. As for the Assistants, they are changed twice every yeare, and elected by the great councell, on one of the feast dayes of christmas, & by the lesser councell, about S. *John Baptists* day, in the Moneth of Iune. These Iudges take knowledge of debtes, barterrings, and yearely rents, although the summes bee great. They are called together by tolling the Bell, and assemble in the Towne-house on Monday in euery weeke, except it bee a Feast day, or that

all the councell doe meete together, for then they referre those causes till Wednesday. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser councell, provided, that the suite be of no lesse moment then an hundred Sols, or Shillings: and if the appeallant loseth his cause, he is condemned in a fine to the Iudges.

The consistory court is composed of eight Iudges, whereof foure are Ministers of the Church, or some other men of learning: next, two councellers of the lesser councell, and two of the great. There sitteth another Seigneur of the lesser councell, as President, who questioneth the causes: and if there be as many voices on the one side, as on the other, hee reduceth both parties to such a course, as hee conceiueth to be iust, and then sentence is giuen accordingly. The consistory censureth matters of marriage, and of diuorces, and no appealing is permitted from sentence. But if there happen any inuolued or entangled variance, or if some colour of pollicy be mixed with the case of marriage; then cause and all, is sent to the councell, where the deciding is suspended, vntill the councell, and some other learned men, haue aduisedly considered thereon.

As for publike Offices, estates, and charges, this common-wealth is therein gouerned, as the other are; hauing Treasurers, Masters of Halles, Receiuers, and Administrators at the Gates, for customs, tolles, and taxations, *Voyers*, &c. Such as hold these places, doe render their accounts, first to the **Zunftmasters**, next to the lesser, and lastly to the great councell, on the morrow after christmas day. Hauing giuen vp their accounts, the lesse and great councell do elect new officers, or reconfirm the olde: and it is openly read, what the charge is of each one of them in particular, and afterward, in presence of the councell, they swear to discharge their duty faithfully. But when many are established in one and the same charge, then such rules as they are to follow, are giuen them in writing.

And because the very greatest trading of S. Gall, consisteth in linnen cloth, and that not onely the people of the towne, but them also in most part of the Villages round about, doe maintaine their liues therby; the councell is diligent and

the three meetings of the Councell generall of all the people, and their appointed times

the cheefest Court of iustice and authority there

the Court of iustice, called the Towne or City Court, and what Officers belong thereto.

what causes they shall when they sit in Courts.

Of the Consistory Court, and Iudges thereto belonging.

Concerning intricate and cumbersome cases.

Of publike estates, charges & offices.

New Officers chosen, or the olde admitted againe.

Linnen cloth the only main trading of S. Gall.

Viewers and  
Ouerseers for  
the goodnesse  
or badnesse  
of linnen  
cloth.

A Market of  
linnen cloth  
onely.

What is done  
after appro-  
bation of the  
cloths good-  
nesse.

Viewers of  
the whitening  
of cloth, & how  
they are  
thickened.

Linnen cloth  
reputed fit to  
be dyed in co-  
lours, & how  
they deale  
therein.

carefull, for well ordering all things in that respect, and for the auoyding of fraud and deceit. First, therefore, so soone as the weauer hath finished a peece of cloth, there are three expert sworne Visiters or Ouerseers, that come to looke vpon it, and according as it is good, or indifferent, they set on such and such marks. If it appeare to be bad and naught, they send it to the **Zunftmaster** of the weauers, and to the other eleuen **Zunftmasters**; who condemne the workman in a fine, or cut the whole peece into some portions, of eight Elles in length each one, or else through the midst, or if it bee worth nothing, they burne it openly. This view and visitation is done daily, and there is a Market of linnen cloth, which hath certaine Lawes, for the obseruation whereof, they that deale in such Merchandize are strictly bound.

After that the cloth hath bene seene and approoued; the sworne Measurers do both Ell it, and marke it. The Measurers haue some other sworne men of the Mystery, to be their adiuncts; and the Merchants haue with them the Ouerseers of the measuring. They call them **Den reiff**, measurers of linnen cloth, which are of diuers lengths: but a whole peece consisteth of 134. Elles, and may not be of any greater length. There is another view made at the whitsters, wher the cloth is thickened and whited. These Viewers are called **Die wyssen Schowcr**. They looke that the clothes haue their requisite whitenesse, and whether they sustaine any harme in the thickning: and according as they finde, they marke, or condemne the whitster in a fine. Likewise there are certaine Merchants and Weauers, that visite the whitsters houses and grounds, to see if all things bee fitting and conuenient there: whether they haue sufficiency of wood and ashes, that none may be wronged by delay. Euery yeare the Masters whitsters take newly their oaths, to doe their duties as becommeth them.

As for the clothes which the Viewers (whom they vsually tearme **Blaw vnd Schwartz gschowcr**) thinke fit to send to the Diars: the cutters of linnen cloth, named **Lynwathschnyder**, do cut them iust in the midst, and there are other committees, to regard that they haue their iust measure. After they are dyed into colours blew or blacke, if the Ouerseers

finde the dying to bee well taken, they marke the peece, and when they haue plained and smoothed it with a Rowler; others come to approue it valuable, and they set on the Seale. Contrariwise, if it be spoyled and viciate in the dying: they cut it, or dip it againe, if it may bee done, and the Plainer and Diar are condemned in some fine. All these things aboue named, are very carefully obserued, and if any dare do otherwise, hee is seuerely punished. For the Towne or City of S. Gall hath this priuiledge, to condemne in criminall suite; to fetch men out of places of refuge, and to punish them that vse any fraud, in weauing, marking, sealing, dying, plaining, or misusing any Linnen clothes.

Something likewise must needs bee said, what order they of S. Gall take, to auoid the inconueniences of fire: because they hauing bene heeretofore much endangered thereby, it hath made them (suruiuing) to be the more prouident. Euery euening, for the space of a quarter of an houre, there is a Bell rung, and it is called **Die Feurglocken**, the Fire-Bell: which admonisheth euery one, to looke to the hearths of their Chimnies, for feare lest fire should take in any part. Then are there two **Zunftmasters**, that foure times yearely do visite the hearths, furnaces, & chimnies in all the houses; and thereupon are called **Die Feurgschowcr**, Visiters for fire. They regard also, what Armes and prouision of foode the Bourgeses haue: and whether they be prouided and furnished, according to the ordinances of the Seigneury.

Beside, if there rise any impetuous windes, or any rough stormes or tempests happen (beside the ordinary Captaines of the watch, whom they call **Die Wachtbieter**) there are two other, named Masters of the watch, **Die Wachtmaster**, who take with them two men of euery Tribe, well appointed, and goe with the Captaines of the watch, to walke the round through all the streetes of the City, to preuent the dangerous accidents of fire.

Euery night, two and thirty men keepe watch on the Towers and Walles, and in other places of the City, beeing appointed as Sentinels, by the cheefe **Zunftmaster**, with the Captaines of the watch.

Penalty for  
cloth spoyl  
in dying.

The priuile  
belonging  
to  
S. Gall.

What prou  
on they ma  
against the  
inconueni  
ces of fire.

Visiters for  
fire.

Against tr  
blefom wi  
and tempe

Captaines  
the Watch

When fire  
breaks in any  
place.

pure Cap-  
tains of the  
lesser council

schools,  
almshouses,  
hospitals, &c.  
are to be  
taken of.

If fire take in any part, some of the Citizens runne to the Gates, some on the Towers and Walles, some into the cheefest streetes; some keepe company with the Consull, and others labour to quench the fire. There are foure Captaines of the lesser councill, that haue a care of all this businesse, commanding euery one to that which is to be done, and punishing grieuouly the disobedient. If the fire be without, and neere the city, they send forth a certaine number of men with their Captaines, to prouide against the inconuenience. Others keepe watch at the Portes, upon the Walles, and in other places, where they are by them appointed.

I spare to speake heere of Schooles, Almes-houses, and Hospitals, because they of *S. Gall* gouerne themselues therein, as other well pollicied citties do, and carry a faire and comely order among them. Likewise, I will not speake of the election of the Ministers of the Church, nor of their establishing and charge, neither what order they hold in their assemblies: because in this worke, we treat on the matters of pollicy onely, reseruing to discourse on the other, at some apter time and place.

CHAP. XI.

*The Common-wealth of the Grisons.*



THE name and dominion of the *Grisons* heerebefore was of great extendure: but now wee vnderstande by that word, a people of the Alps, who the *French* and *Italians* haue named *Grisons*, and the *Switzers* *Grauwundter*. In ancient times, they inhabited *Rhatia* in the Alps, neere to the source or head of *Rheine*, and of *Iun*.

The *Grisons* are diuided into three Leagues. The first is called the League

*Grise*, and hath ten Comminalties, to wit, the Abbey of *Dissentis*, which the ancient *Cardes* or *Mappes* called *Difertine*. To this Abbey are ioyned *Tauetch*, *Trumb*, and some other places. 2. *Walterspourg*. 3. *Obersachs*. 4. *Lugnits*. 5. *Fals*. 6. *Plantz*. 7. *Schlewis*. 8. They of *Laax*, *Sinis*, and them enuironing about the wood. 9. *Thannen*. The *Grisons* call these nine Communities; the part about the wood, *Die obdem Wald*; and the other ten, they call, vnder the wood. 10. *Flims*. 11. *Trimon*. 12. *Sasien*. 13. *Ratzuns*, the ancient abiding of the noble Family of the Barons of *Ratzuns*. 14. *Henltzenberg*, and *Tusis*. 15. *Schopine*. 16. *Schamps*. 17. *Splugen*. 18. *Mafax*. 19. *Rufflee*.

In each of these Comminalties, they yearely elect a soueraigne Magistrate, which many of them do call *Amman*, who with the Iudges or Assistants, elected by the same comminality, doth iudge suites in law, and condemneth delinquents, according to the exigence of the case. Beside these *Ammans*, there is a great Prouost of the whole League, whom they call *Den Landtrichter*, who is chosen by euery one in the generall assembly of all the comminalties, and sitteth President in the dayes meetings for all the League.

These meeting dayes for this *Grise* League, is in the Village of *Trumb*, which is the cheefe comminality, and there also meet the Seigneurs of the Iusticial court, wherein the *Landrichter* sitteth President, who hath fiftene Assistants, one Clarke or Secretary, and one Officer. The Lord of the Castle, and of the Barony of *Ratzuns*, is yet about the *Landrichter*, by an ancient prerogatiue, belonging to the race of the Barons of *Ratzuns*, in whose rights, the Lords of the places haue euermore succeeded.

The second League is called *Der Gottshuszpundt*, The League of Gods Household, or of the *Cade* or League *Cathedrall*, because of the Bishoppricke and Colledge of *Coire*: and it hath one and twenty Comminalties, which sometimes were reduced into eleuen much greater. The Towne or City of *Coire* is numbred in the first place, as the chiefe of the League: and alone (among the eleuen Comminalties) is compounded of two lesser. But as the cittizens

Three leagues  
diuided of the  
Grisons.

The first  
league, ha-  
uing all these  
Comminal-  
ties belong-  
ing to it.

A soueraigne  
Magistrate in  
each of these  
Comminal-  
ties.

The Grand  
Prouost of  
the whole  
League, and  
his order in  
Court of Iu-  
stice.

The League  
of the Cade,  
or of Gods  
House.

Concerning  
the Grisons in  
ear time.

The estate & condition of the common-wealth of Coire.

The great councill of seauenty.

The lesser councill of thirty.

Two Consuls.

The Governour or Prouost President

The Lieutenants Court of Iustice, and his Assistants.

Of the second Comminalty.

These Comminalties are here counted as they stand in the Record.

are enclosed in the same walles: euen so are they counted but for one Comminalty, and the other twenty reduced into ten, make vp ten great Comminalties. The city (for so we will call it) of *Coire*, hath a common-wealth apart by it selfe, like (waiting but little) to that of *Zurich*, and to other governments of the same condition. For first of all, the cirtizens are wholly diuided into five companies, from each of which are chosen fourteene men, who are of the great councill publike: so that the great councill and generall, is composed of seauenty. From these seauenty men, are chosen five of each company, for the lesser councill: to whom are ioyned the five *Zunftmasters* of the precedent yeare, whereby the lesser councill hath thirty counsellors, whereof fiftene called *Senatours*, gouerne the common-wealth.

In the councill there are two Consuls, who are Presidents (turne by turne) a whole yeare. The councill and the Officers of iustice, are yearely elected on the eleuenth of Nouember, being the day of *S. Martin*. The thirty of the lesser councill do iudge in criminall causes, and the Governour or Prouost sitteth then as President, remaining in that charge a yeare: at the ende whereof, another taketh his place, and they two are (in this Office) as two Consuls. Next, there is a Court of iustice belonging to the Lieutenant, who hath fiftene Assistants, to witte, the five *Zunftmasters*, and ten from the thirty of the lesser councill. This Court taketh knowledge of ciuill causes, and pecuniary actions concerning debtes: there is appeale from them to the lesser councill, who doe decide also matrimoniall matters.

The second Comminalty, which wee should count for the third, because *Coire* takes it selfe for two, is named *Die vier Doerffer*, the foure Villages. 4. *Bergon*. 5. *Tieffencasten*. 6. *Stalla*. 7. *Trintzen*, with *Reamps* and other Villages, which with *Tieffencasten*, make one iurisdiction, where the Bayliffe of *Reamps* iudgeth ciuill and criminall causes. 8. *Vatz* the high, where sometimes dwelt the Barons of *Vatz*: this Comminalty is ioyned with the fourth. 9. *Purstnow*. 10. *Ortenstein* in *Tumlesch*. 11. *Sinnada*. 12. *Zutz*: these two are in *Engadin* the high, and make one of the great comminalties. 13. *Ardetie*. 14. *Scultine*. 15.

*Remss*: which with two other small comminalties, maketh one of the great. 16. *Bergell* about the Port. 17. *Bergell* vnder the Port. 18. *Pesclaw*, or *Postlaaf*. 19. *Brusch*, which is ioyned with *Postlaaf*, and maketh one of the eleuen great Comminalties. 20. *Munstertall*. 21. *Mals*. Each Comminalty hath his *Ammans*, *Podestats*, and vnder-Officers as they tearme them in least authority, vnder whom they are maintained in liberty.

The third League tearmeth it selfe the League of Iuridictions, or the league of Rights. The first and principall of the ten, is called *Tafaas*, in regard of a Village so named, where the house of the League is, and where the dayes meetings for the ten Comminalties are held. 2. *Beelfort*, or *Aluanuw*. 3. *Churwalden*. 4. *Langwiss*. 5. *S. Peter de Schanfik*. 6. The little Abbey in *Brettigow*. 7. *Ienats*, or *Castelser*. 8. *Schiers*. These eight iuridictions doe acknowledge the Arch-Duke of *Austria* to be their Soueraigne. Anciently, the Barons of *Vatz* were Lords thereof: but all their race sayling, the Counts of *Toggenbourg* succeeded them. And after them, the Counts of *Amat*, whereof one being named *Gaudentius*, dying in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, eighty nine, left these eight iuridictions to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*.

The Arch-Duke established a Governour there, which to this day is chosen among the *Grisons*. The Governour dwelleth at *Castelser*; and presideth in sentence of criminall causes: he manageth and conserueth the other rights of the Arch-Duke, who hath not the same right and equall authority ouer the eight iuridictions: but each of them enioyeth his priuiledges & particular customes, the instruments and charters whereof are kept at *Tafaas*. The first and fourth iurisdiction haue great priuiledges and immunities, farre beyond the other.

The ninth Iurisdiction is called *Malsans*, by reason of a Village so named, betweene the Riuer of *Langquart*, & Mount *Rhatia* towards the South.

The tenth is named *Meyensfeld*. These two last did belong sometimes to the Barons of *Vatz*, afterward to the Counts of *Toggenbourg*; then they fell vnto *Wolfhard de Brandis*, in respect of his Wife, who was of the house of *Werdenberg*. The they

The League of Iuridictions, or of Rights.

The house of the League for their meetings.

How they came to the Duke of Austria.

The Arch-Dukes authority not absolute there, euery part.

\* A high Mountain by Rhatia

The addition of the third league to the two other.

The Jurisdictions bought by the three leagues.

The ten Jurisdictions ally themselves together faithfully.

The 3 leagues united all together in a perpetuall alliance.

The Author proceedeth to more significant expression of the Comminalties, in their due places and order.

they became ioyned (with the other eight Jurisdictions) to the two Leagues of *Grifons*, and made the third; reserving to the Lords of *Brandis*, the right justly to them appertaining. Afterwardes, these three leagues together bought these Jurisdictions, and sent a Governour thither, who dwelt in the castle of *Meyensfeld*, and sate President to iudge in criminall suites: he condemned men in fines, and to death, & gathered the tolles, and other publike reuenewes. The ten Jurisdictions allyed themselves together, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, thirty six, conditionally, to succour one another, & be abiding in all things (iust and reasonable) against enemies, repelling all wrongs that should be offered to any of them, & procure the peaceable enjoying of their liberties. Also, all rights and duties appertaining to the Lords, they should be duly rendred, they permitting them to possesse their franchises and priuiledges: all the rest being carefull and prouident to preferue the good and benefit of one another.

In the same yeare, or the next following, these Jurisdictions made perpetuall alliance with the two other Leagues, and so the three leagues became ioyned as in one body, the particular parts whereof haue bene already mentioned. But in our numbering and setting them downe, we haue rather followed the situation of the place, then the ranke which they holde in the dayes of assemblies, wherein notwithstanding are many opinions: & therefore I will describe them heere, according to the comminalties of the two first leagues, & as they are comprized in their alliance with the Switzers. The Comminalties of the *Grise* league, are the vally of *Lugnitz*, *Ylants*, *Oberfuchs*, *Walterzburg*, *Laax*, *Sinif*, and other places about the Woods, *Flims*, *Schewis*, *Trimmis*, *Retzuns*, *Hemtenberg* and *Tufis*, *Schamps*, *Rhinuald*, *Mafax* and *Rufflee*, *Safien*, *Thannen*, *Schopine*, *Fals*. The Comminalties of the league of *Cade*, are in order as they followe, *Coire*, *Furstnow*, the foure villages descending on *Aspremont*, *Vatz* the high, *Reamps*, *Tiefencasten*, *Gryfenstein*, *Beuio* or *Stalla*, *Auers*, *Bergel* aboue and belowe the Port, *Zutz*, *Sumada*, *Postlaaf*, *Steinsberg*, *Schuls*, *Remuff*, *Munfental*, *Mals*, *Galfen*, and *Schantzen*. As for the ten Jurisdictions, I

vnderstand their order thus. *Tafars*, the three Jurisdictions of *Brettigow*, *Beelfort*, or *Aluanuw*, *Churwalden*, *S. Pierre*, *Langwisz*, *Malans* and *Meyensfeld*. I know very well, that some doe name these Comminalties otherwise, but that importeth nothing, because in each Comminaltie there are many times notable villages, so that the Comminalty sometime takes his name of one, and sometimes of another. For mine owne part, I haue named the principall places of the Comminalties.

Thus then there are three leagues of the *Grifons*, containing fifty Comminalties, which (neuerthelesse) doe make but one Commonwealth. For, although many of the Comminalty haue their Iudges lawes, customes, & iustice, aswel ciuill as criminall; yet notwithstanding, the Soueraignty is with the council of the three leagues (which they name in theyr Language, *Sin pundts tag*) dayes of meeting or assemblies of Ambassadors, from each comminalty of the *Grifons*: whether some of them send two Ambassadors, others but one onely. If the councill be ordinary, the *Grise* League sendeth thether 28. Ambassadors or councillors; that of *Cade* 23. and from the Jurisdictions, 14. If either one or other doe send a greater number, they haue no voyces there, but according to the aboue-named account. Sometimes also, the councill general of the whole Nation (which was made no long time since) do meet together: but that is very rarely.

The fore-mentioned councill, manageth the affayres of the common-wealth: yet in such sort, that the councillers or Ambassadors deale not according vnto their owne best seeming, but as the commaunds and remembrances from theyr comminalties, and which they bring with them in writing on the dayes do direct them, and whereto they conforme their resolutions, which passeth by plurality of voices. The council of the *Grifons* is (almost) like to that of the Switzers: for there they treat on the selfesame things which concerne the good of the vvhole cuntry; of peace, of warre, of alliances, of Ambassages, lawes and ordinances, & causes of appeales from the Baylywickes. There are three places appointed for the to sitte in council, to wit, *Ylants* in the *Grise* league, *Coire* in the league of *Cade*, and

He leauerh his labour herein so due consideration.

Fifty Comminalties in the 3. leagues

The Council of the three Leagues of the Grifons, and sending their Ambassadors thither.

The Ambassadors are to be guided by their directions.

& *Tafaas* in that of the ten Iurisdiccions. But ofteneft the dayes are held at *Coire* at times of their affaires, which happeneth three times in the yeare: about the fixe and twenty day of Ianuary, the beginning of Iune, and the eleuenth day of Nouember.

They haue another Councell or Senate, which they name *Emhytag*: whē the principal Magistrates onely, and, as being the cheefe of the three Leagues, do assemble themfelues together. These men; are the Iudge-Prouinciall for the *Grife-League*; the Council of *Coire* for the league of *Cade*, and the *Amman* of *Tafaas*, for the League of the tenne Iurisdiccions. At all times, and as often as neede requireth, to prouide for the publique affayres; and it appeareth not conuenient, to call all the Deputies of the country together; then those 3. Principals do meete, with some of the cheefest of the three Leagues. But they cannot determine absolutely, onely they referre separately vnto the Comminalties of the three Leagues, whatsoeuer hath bene discust among the Councillers, and that which is approoued by plurality of voyces, is receyued of all. There is appeal also from the council, to the Comminalties, and then matters are propounded in the Comminalties, whose sentences are set downe in writing: and being conferred on, they are gathered to a resolution and an arrest, by the pluralitic of Voyces.

As concerning iudgements in criminal causes: the *Grisons* doe therein proceede like the *Switzers*. If there happen any difference among the three Leagues, three or foure Iudges must bee chosen on eyther side, and discharged of the Oathe which bindeth them to their league. They are to accord the difference by kind composition, or iudge according to theyr consciences. If the voyces fal out equall: an Arbitratour must bee chosen by voyces and common suffrages of the three Leagues. If two Leagues bee in suite, they must referre themfelues to the third, who shal deliuer vnto both the parties, the right whereby they are to bee quieted. If it chauce betweene two Comminalties of one and the same League: they must take (as Iudge) the verie neereft comminalty or Iurisdiction belonging to

the same League. But when the Comminalties of diuers Leagues are at difference: the council of the three Leagues, namely the Iudges, are to prouide therefore.

When one Comminalty, or some particular person therein, hath processe and suite against the three Leagues, or any one of them; two or three Iudges of each League are then to be chosen for it. And when two Leagues are at difference against the other, fixe Iudges of the two Leagues, and fixe of the other alone, are to bee appointed. If they cannot conclude the strife; an arbitratour must bee chosen, by plurality of voyces of the three Leagues. These iudgements are to be deliuered first at *Ylantz*, nexte at *Coire*: a second time againe at *Ylantz*, then againe at *Coire*, and at *Tafaas* the last of all.

It would much weary mee, if I should describe at large the Statutes & customes of the *Grisons*: notwithstanding, I shall not greatly displeasē or offend the Reader if heere I glance at a worde or two. First then, it is agreed vpon betweene them, by the consent and aduice of the vvhole council, that neyther the Byshoppe of *Coire*, or any of the Ecclesiasticall Order: shal elect or establish any ciuile Magistrate, nor aduance a *Gouernor* or *Amman*, for any Comminaltie or Iurisdiction whatsoeuer; but that the people of the *Grisons* (by theyr suffrages onely) shal elect and choose theyr owne Magistrates.

Such as haue obtayned any Offices of the Byshoppe, may not be accepted into council, so long as they do remaine in his seruice.

As concerning the Ministers of the Church, euery Parish electeth their owne: may depose them, pay them their Wages, which are too little in many places.

Thoroughout the country of the *Grisons*, no smal Tythes are payed, and as for the great, they pay but the fifteenth part, and giue nothing in the fiede, but they giue it in the house, and alwayes after the haruests both for their Grapes and corne.

All they that are of a comminaltie, may fish in al the Riuers and Pondes, and hunt both Beasts, and flye Fowles freely, within

Another principal Council or Senate for them al.

The Principals meete together when the other need not.

Appeale from the Council to the Comminalties.

Concerning iudgments in publike causes

When variances happen amongst the Leagues, how they are then to behaue themfelues.

When one Comminaltie hath suite against the 3. Leagues.

The places appointed for iudgements.

Concerning som statutes & customes among the *Grisons*.

For election of Magistrate

For Ministers of the church

For admision to Council.

For paying Tythes.

For Fishing, hunting, and Fowling.

within their sayd Comminalty.

Thoroughout all the countries, one weight and measure of things licquid and dry, is to be vsed, to wit, the weight and measure of *Coire*. And it is not lawful for the Bourgeses of *Coire* to alter any thing therein, without the consent of the other Leagues.

For our conclusion, we are to speak of Governments and Bayliwickes, wherein the three Leagues of the *Grisons* do command equally. On this side the Alps nere to *Coire*, they send a Gouvernor to *Meyensfeld* and to *Melantz*. On the other side the Alpes beneath *Bergel*, toward the riuier of *Maire*, the Gouvernement or Bayliwick of *Plurs* first presenteth it self, which is a great village in the field neighbouring to the Alpes; and on the bankes of *Maire* riuier, and euen as sightly to bee lookt on, as if it were a good Towne. In this place, there are digged infinite Chauderons of Rocke-stone coales, which serue as fewell for the kitchin; and it is faithfully reported, that the nature of this stone-coale is such, as when Fish commeth to boyling, they make them mount and leape out of the kettle into the fire; these coales are very abundantly sold in *Italy*. All the villages round about, are answerable and like to *Plurs*, where the Gouverneur (whom they terme *Podstat*) decideth causes, & is soueraigne in that place in name of the *Grisons*, and deputed by them.

Next is the Towne and county of *Clauenna*, whereon *Plurs* in elder times depended. *Clauenna* is a Towne about the Lake of *Coma*, about fise miles, as *Antonius* obserueth it also, in his booke of the wayes. The *Grisons* call the Gouvernor of *Clauenna*, Commissary: & he is the most apparant, next to him of *Sondria*. The third more spacious and noble gouernement is that of the vale *Telina*, famous for the excellent wine, which there is made in extraordinary plenty, and is thence transported into Switzerland and Germanie. The whole vale of *Telina*, is diuided into fixe Bayliwickes. The first is that of *Bormia* a Towne about the valley; towards the Mountaine of *Braull*: this Bayliwick hath many priuiledges and franchises, farre beyond the other. The second is the towne of *Tiran*. The third is *Tel*, wherof (as some thinke) the vale *Telina* first tooke name. It is a Towne seated in a very high place, &

appearing to be so naturally: & it is counted to be the best fortresse of all the Province. *Sondria*, the most renowned town of all the vale *Telina*, maketh the fourth Bayliwicke. It is the most rich & powerfull among all the rest, and he that is Gouvernor thereof, is called Captain, because ouer and beside the Bayliwicke, hee hath an eye to the whole valley when it is chief in Armes. He hath his Lieutenant, who iudgeth with him the ciuil causes of the the Bayliwicke. Hee iudgeth also the criminal matters of all the vally, hauing lawyers and learned men to his council, and giuing sentence according to the Lawes and Statutes of the vale *Telina*: which ne- (uerthelesse) may be moderated & made milder in the Bayliwicke by the *Podestats*. Beside all this, all causes may be appealed to the council of the *Grisons* Signeuries, or to them that they haue ordained commisaries, and sent to iudge: or finally, to the councel of the Comminalties, who haue the soueraigne power. The fift Bayliwicke is called *Morben*, and the sixt *Trahon*, which is last of al.

This is the order of the Bayliwickes of the vale *Telina*, yet some doe not set the Bailywick of *Bormia* in this ranke, but diuidethe whole vale into three partes; whereof the first comprehendeth *Tiran* and *Tel*: *Sondria* maketh the second; and *Morben* and *Trahon* are the third. In electing the Bayliffes, they follow the order of the Leagues and Comminalties. As for example; if the *Grise* League establish a Captaine at *Sondria* for two yeeres, the League of *Cade* sends one thether for the two following years: at the end wherof, the League of the Iurisdiccions sends one for two other yeeres, this order is obserued in each League of the Comminalties. And sometimes the Comminalties, vwho should send a Bayliffe by their turn, vwould elect him only: but now the council of the *Grisons* makes the election. The byshop of *Coire*, and the City, do stampe money. The Abbot of *Dissentiff* hath the same priuiledge also, amongst many other.

4. Sondria.

The Gouvernor of *Sondria* is calld Captaine, and iudgeth in causes both ciuill and criminal for the whole vale.

Appeal to the Seigneurs of the *Grisons* Council.

5. Morben.  
6. Trahon.

Another order of diuiding the vale.

The manner of electing their Bayliffes

Coyning of money.

or weight and measure.

of their Governments & Bayliwickes, and how they stand in the *Grisons* country.

coales called one or rock-coales in wondrous plenty.

the Towne and Countie of *Clauenna*.

the vale of *Telina*, & the Bayliwickes belonging thereto.

*Bormia*.

*Tiran* and *Tel*.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Commonwealt of the Valasians, or people of Valois.*

The diuision of the country of Valais or Valois, the higher, & the lower.

Seuen Iurisdic-tions in the higher Valois

Hundreds or Btronnies, or the account of so much land.

The names of the seuen Comminalties.

Six Banneries in the lower Valois.

Long warres betwene the Veragrarians & Viberines.

**T**HE whole country of *Valois* is diuided into two parts. The higher *Valois* from the source or spring of the riuier of *Rhone*, so farre as the riuier of *Morsia*, which vnitheth it selfe with *Rhone*, somewhat beneath *Sion*. This was the dwelling of the ancient *Viberines* and *Sedusians*. The lower *Valois*, is from the riuier of *Morsia*, so farre as *Saint Mauris*, and this was the country of the *Veragrarians*.

The higher *Valois* is diuided into 7 Iurisdic-tions, which they call *Dixaines*, wards, and *Zenden* in the *Alleman* tongue. I know not whence this worde is deriued, for it cannot produce the number often, because there are no more Iurisdic-tions. A friend of mine told me, that the worde intended so much, as *Diocesses*, because that euery Ward hath his *Diocesse* or Iurisdic-tion, his *Common-wealt*, and priuiledges apart by it selfe. Others do hold that the word *Zenden* commeth of another word, signifying, an Hundred: as in the *Lawes of France*, the Offices of the *Earledomes* or *Counties*, the *Vicariates* and *Hundreds* are number; and in some places of *Germany*, they are called *Zend-graues*, the Iudges of some certaine Iurisdic-tion. But without standing so strictly on the words originall: wee may verie fitly tearme them *Diocesses* or *Comminalties*. So then, there are seuen *Comminalties* in the higher *Valois*, to wit, *Goms*, *Brighe*, *Vespie*, *Raron*, *Leuck*, *Siders*, and *Syon*. These seuen *Comminalties* haue thirty parishes. The lower *Valois* hath sixe *Comminalties*, which they call *Banneries*: because each one hath his particular stand-ard, and foure and twenty Parishes so numbred.

The *Veragrarians* or lower *Valasians*, had (in times past) long warre against the *Sedusians* and *Viberines*. In the end, after fourescore and thirteene yeares, they were ouercome and subiected; so that the *Se-*

*duasians* and *Viberines* ruined sixteene *Castles*, the old pittifull foundations whereof, are yet to be seene, and it is not lawfull for any to builde them againe, for feare they should prooue hurtfull to the countries liberty. And therefore the higher *Valois* ouer-ruleth the lower, and sendeth *Gouernors* thether to iudge in causes, & manage the affayres of the State. The *Byshop* of *Syon* (whom some call *Count* & *Gouernor* of *Valois*) is *Prince* of the country. Hee is elected by common suffrages of the *Chapter* of *Syon*, and of the 7 *Dizaines* of higher *Valois*.

The *Annales* of *Valois* do declare, that *Charlemaigne* gaue the County and *Gouernment* of *Valois*, to *Theodosius*, *Bishop* of *Syon*, and to his successors: with power to beare a sword, in signe of ciuill Iurisdic-tion, and other priuiledges of *Princes* of the *Empire*. Because that *Byshop* (by reuelation of an *Angel*) had declared to *Charlemaigne*, that some secret sinne (I know not what) was forgiuen him. Howbeit, there are sufficient circumstances to call the county into suspition, as we haue already made more ample mention in our description of the country of *Valois*. Notwithstanding, it is certaine, that the *Emperors* which came after *Charlemaigne*, accorded & confirmed the fore-named priuiledges to the *byshops* of *Syon*: namely, the *Empèrour Charles* the fourth, then *Charles* the fift renewed & increased them willingly, at the request of *Mathew Skinner* *Byshop* and *Cardinal* of *Sion*, from whom he had deriued many good and gracefull seruices.

Afterward, the *Byshop* had another grace granted, that the next most excellent estate to his, should bee that of the *captaine* or *Bayliffe* of the whole country whom they vse to call *Landts Hauptman*. He iudgeth in ciuill causes, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeeres: being elected by the *Byshop*, and by the *Ambassadours* of the *Dizaines* or *comminalties*. Afterward, he is confirmed by publike approbation and consent of all the *comminalties*, which haue each one his *Magistrate*, whom they of *Goms*, *Raron*, and *Leuck*, call *Maire*, the others *Castillian*. He iudgeth all suites, especially them criminall, with the *councillers* which the *comminalties* giue him as assistants. There be *Ammans* also (who are fo-

Higher Valois ruleth ouer the lower.

The Byshop of Sion Prince of Valois.

Charlemaigne gaue the Government of Valois to the Bishop of Syon.

The priuiledges of Valois confirmed by the Emperour.

The Captaine or Bayliffe of Valois, and authority.

soueraigne Magistrates in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, but they of *Valois* are iudged inferiours, and haue *Maires* as theyr superiors.

Appeale may bee made from the sentence, which is giuen by the Iudges of a comminalty, to the councell of *Valois*, who are called *Den laudts rath*; and according to the custome of theyr Ancestors, they assembled twice a yeare, in the months of March, and of December. At which times, two or three Deputies of each Village, do meete at *Syon*, in a Castle named *Maierin*. The Byshop assisteth there, and the Bayliffe calls for the causes, and then they treat on affayres of the Common-wealth, election of gouernors and publike Officers, & such as shal iudge in the last power, of causes that concerne appeale.

The Barons of *Raron*, were sometimes great Lordes in the country of *Valois*. Their successors were the Lords of *Chinron*, who are Marshalles of the Bishoppricke of *Syon*, Vicount of *Syon*, and Stewards of *Valois*.

As for the *Maze*, which they tearme *Mutzen*, it is a particular inuention of the people of *Valois*, to oppose theselues against the power of great and rich men. Wee haue made ample mention in our description of the country of *Valois*, and there declared, wherefore it was putte in practise, and how it began.

We haue told you, that the Byshop & the seuen *Dizaines* of the higher *Valois*, hold the soueraignty of the whole country in their handes. The lower *Valois* is subiect to them, and is parted into sixe Comminalties, viz. *Gundes* nere to *Syon*, is the chiefe Castlewicke or comminaltie of lower *valois*. Heeretofore it appertayned to the Canton of *Berne*, but in thewar which the Switzers made on the Duke of *Sauoy*, in the yeare 1536. the *Valasians* did there recouer it, in exchange of another country. 2. *Ardon*, 3. *Sallion*, 4. *Entremont*, 5. *Martinach*, 6. the Towne of *Saint Mauris* in *Chablais*, where the mountains seeme as if they ioyned together. So that all *valois*, is shut or lockt vp by a Tower, & two gates (as it were) at both the endes of a bridge, vnder which the *Rhone* glyderth. In the yeare, 1475. the *valasians* brake down the wals and fortresses of the fore-named places, except that of *Saint*

*Mauris*. Without the country of *valois*, the *valasians* possessed themselues of 3. Bayliwickes, during the warre of *Sauoy*: as namely, *Montey*, *Yuian*, and *Hochtall*. Neuerthelesse, some few yeares after that they surrendred *Yuian* to *Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, and retained both the other.

3. Bayliwickes without *Valois*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Common-wealth of Bienna.

**T**HE Towne of *Bienna* made perpetuall alliance with the *Bernians*, as wee haue already sayde: and it happened in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fifty two. Thirty yeares after, it contracted perpetuall Allyance with *Solleurre*; and in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and seuen, with *Fribourg*, so it became allyed with three cantons of the Switzers. It acknowledgeth as temporall Lord, the Byshop of *Basile*, because as concerning the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, it is the Diocesse of *Lausanna*: but it is a long time, since it was no more subiect to the spirituall gouernement of the Bishop, as in like maner were the citizens of *Zurich* and *Berne*.

*Bienna* made alliance with the *Bernians*.

The Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction of *Bienna*

Afterward, when it came to passe, that the *Bernians* got the possession of the Bishoppricke of *Lusanna*, they enfranchised *Bienna* of the Ecclesiasticall subiection. The Byshop of *Basile* is Lord thereof very peaceably, in temporall power, and establisheth the soueraign Magistrate, whom they call *Maire*: but hee is chosen out of the number of the Townes councellers, and the *Maire* giues oath to the councell, and they to him. Hee taketh knowledge (with the councell) of criminall causes; & sitteth as President in censuring them. The moitie of fines, amounting to aboue 3. *Liures Tournois*, apertaineth to the Byshop, with some tenths, and other reuenues: but the ports, rolles, customs, and such like, belong to the Towne only, and not to the Bishop. For hee is not permitted to impose any charge whatsoever vpon the *Bourgeses*, nor to engage the Towne: but the *Bourgeses* are bound to

The soueraign Magistrate of *Bienna*. & his authoritie in criminall causes.

The Byshop imposeth no charges on the *Bourgeses*

The Councell of *Valois*, and their meetings, and how farre theyr power extendeth.

The Barons of *Raron*, and their successors.

The Maze.

The Comminalties that are in the lower *Valois*.

The manner of the situation of *valois*.

The *Mauris* is very spared.

go in warre for the Byshop, and at their owne expences, yet no further then a dayes journey from the Towne. If hee would haue them march any further, hee is bound to pay their wages. Yearly, there is repetition made to the Councell, what priuiledges Byshop *Immer Ramstein* gaue to the Towne, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fourescore, & three. They of *Bienna* haue as ample priuiledges as in the greater *Basile*.

The Common-wealth of *Bienna* is gouerned in maner following. All the Bourgeses are diuided into fixe companies or brother-hoods: yet in such order & carriage, as no one man whatsoeuer may ioyn himselfe with two or more of the companies, who haue each one two Masters, & a seruant attending. The Councell publike is chosen out of the number of these Bourgeses. The lesser council is composed of foure and twenty: and the greater, of thirty councillors. The election is made at the yeares ending, and at the beginning of the yeare following, their names are openly publisht in the church. There is choise made of some Eleatours, out of the great and lesser councell: who (in presence of the cheefe Secretarie) do confirme the ancient Councillers, or elect new, if there be any such need.

He that sitteth President in the councell generall, is called Bourgmaster, and is elected by the great and lesser councell. He is next in office to the *Maire*, & when they deliberate on affaires of the Common-wealth, and question is vrged concerning ciuil cases: the *Maire* and Officers to the Byshop depart, and leaue the Bourgmaster President. Next to him are the Treasurers, *Banderets*, *voyers*, or *Surueyers*, the Iudges of the Consistory, the Hospitaliers, and others elected in publike charges, by the great and lesser councell, who are not aduanced to such Degrees, but as they are knowne apt and able. The *Banderet* onely, is chosen by all the people. Hee hath charge not onely of bearing the Towns banner; but also (with the Bourgmaster) is protector of Schollers, taking care that they may haue diligent and faithfull Teachers and Ouerseers, and to take their accounts. The lesser councell assembleth three times euery weeke, to wit, on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday; but if any mandoe desire

to haue a cause extraordinarily decided, paying a Florin to the *Maire*, the councell shall be then assembled. *Bienna* hath no other particular Iurisdiction, but the Councell iudgeth all causes ciuill and criminal.

They of *Bienna*, are Lords of the Valley of *Saint Immer*, for so likewise is the Seigneury of *Ergua* called, and is diuided into many Comminalties, vvhich haue (each one) their *Maire* or *Amman* elected and confirmed euery yeare, in the moneths of May and September. But they of *Bienna* haue not any bayliffe, for the Comminalties haue their courtes of Iustice, and when the parties cannot bee agreed, the cause is sent to the council of the Towne, who send sometimes assistants to helpe in the country pleadings, and to end their suits: but appeale may be made from their sentences to the council of the Towne. The inhabitants of this valley, do march in warre vnder the Standardes of *Bienna*.

CHAP. XIII.

*The Common-wealthes of such people as are gouerned in common by the Cantones of Switzerland. And first of all, of stipendary Townes.*



IN our former booke, we haue distributed the people gouerned in common, by the Cantons of Switzerland, into fiue stipendary Townes, and nine bayliwickes or Gouernements. Those Townes haue their Magistrates & Councell by themselves, to wit, a lesser Councell composed of twelue, and a great, of forty Councillers, comprehending the twelue of the lesser in the number. The cheefe of the council is called *Schultheiss*, or *Auoyer*: hee is elected at *Bada*, by the lesser and great councell.

At *Bremgarten*, the sixe first Cantons establish one of the two *Auoyers*: who (notwithstanding) is in number of the Bourgeses, onely of whome the other is elected.

He

The priuiledges giuen by *Immer Ramstein*.

The gouernment of the Common-wealth of *Bienna*.

Bourgmaster President of the General Councell.

Other officers of the Commonwealth.

The office of the *Banderet*.

Care for schollers.

The valley of *S. Immer*, and Seigneury of *Ergua*.

*Bienna* hath no Bayliffe

The diuision of the stipendary Towne

Election made at *Bada*.

At *Bremgarten*

Hee of *Frawensfeld*, is elected by the Councell generall but in secret voyce. The Councell of these Townnes doe elect Treasurers, *Voyers*, and other Magistrats: for the Townnes haue priuiledges, to provide for publike charges, and haue likewise treasuries, and good round sums of ready gathered monies in them, for their condition and extendure, because the customes, tolles, and taxes do belong vnto them. Neuerthelesse, in the towne of *Bada*, which is the passage of Germany into France, the custome belongeth to the towne; but the tolle for Merchandizes transported that way, appertaineth to the Cantons. The lesser councell of these townnes, prouide not onely for the townnes affaires, but also do decide suites: for they haue no other Courts of iustice, except at *Frawensfeld*, & they haue likewise both ciuill and criminall iurisdiction.

*Bremgarten* commandeth ouer some Villages neighboring to the town, which they call the Bayliwicke of *Cella*. This country is in the gouernment of the free Prouince, appertaining to the Cantons: but it was engaged sometimes to them of *Bremgarten*. When the Emperour *Sigismond* did put them of *Zurich* in possession of the free Prouince, he gaue them priuiledge, to disengadge the country: but they of *Bremgarten* entreated them, that in regard of the amity, which had til then continued betweene the two townnes, they would leaue the country to them, which was easily granted them. Wherefore at that time, by the liberality of them of *Zurich*, who gaue it them by Letters: they of *Bremgarten* were put and confirmed in possession of the country, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and eighteene.

Neuerthelesse, they of *Zurich* reserued to themselues the souerainty, & the punishment of Malefactours deseruing death. The yeare one thousand, fife hundred, twenty eight, a difference happened betweene them of *Zurich* and *Bremgarten*; to wit, about the causes of appeale, and to whom it belonged. The seuen Cantons ordained thereupon, that the Bayliwicke of *Cella*, might appeale to the councell of *Bremgarten*, and from them to *Zurich*: but as concerning suites mooued at *Bremgarten*, the appeale was to bee brought before the eight Can-

tons.

The towne of *Frawensfeld*, beside the councell apart by it selfe, hath an assembly of twelue Iudges, who decide suites among the Bourgeses, and country people in the Villages, that are vnder the townes iurisdiction. But as for criminall causes, and variances touching inheritances, and such like things; the knowledge of them belongeth vnto the councell. These Iudges execute their arrests, in condemning of certaine fines, and making seizure on the goods of condemned persons. Appeale may bee made from them, to the seauen Cantons: but there is no appeale from the councils sentence.

For the present, by permission of the councell, the *Amman* of the country is cheefe of those Iudges; but anciently, and about an hundred yeares since, it was to the Apparatur of the towne, and afterward to the Agent or Prouost of the Empire.

When any Malefactor is to be condemned to death, the Iudges make choise (as pleaseth themselves) of twelue other men of the towne, or of the villages resorting thether; and then these foure and twenty men may condemne to death. *Frawensfeld* obtained this priuiledge of the Emperour *Sigismond*; and therefore they haue prisons purposely. From the time of the *Austrian* Princes, they hadde power to put criminall persons to death; now adayes the Cantons conferue and maintaine the rights to *Frawensfeld*: and although condemnation of death appertaineth to tenne Cantons, yet *Frawensfeld* stands excepted, which dependeth not, neither is subiect but to the seauen first Cantons, the priuiledges reserued.

Moreouer, this Towne hath some particular rights, touching testaments and inheritances, and the Bourgeses may exact their debtes thorough all the country of *Turgow* (annual reuennues excepted) according to the rights of Iustice of the Prouince, and may (without punishment) lodge such as haue bene banished by the lawes; but they cannot bee drawne into any strange iustice, but the demander must come and pleade at *Frawensfeld*.

The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, hath some

An assembly of xii. Iudges at *Frawensfeld*

No Appeale from the councils sentence.

When any one is sentenced to death

*Frawensfeld* subiect to the seuen first Cantons.

Particular rights belonging to *Frawensfeld*.

*Frawensfeld*.

The priuiledge of the Townes.

The custome at *Bada* is the Townes, but the Tolles

Concerning the Towne of *Bremgarten*.

Long amitie between *Zurich* & *Bremgarten*.

The reseruati- on of *Zurich*

The ordinati- on of the se- ven Cantons.

The Abbey of Auge the rich and priuiledges it hath at Frawensfeld.

some rightes at *Frawensfeld*, whereto the Bourgeses stand obliged, and (anciently) the most part of them wer subiects to the Abbey: but afterward, they enfranchised themselues from all charges of seruitude, and now adayes, before giuing any Oath vnto the Abbot, they receyue Letters from him, whereby hee promifeth them, not to sel, engage, nor alienate the rights which he hath at *Frawensfeld*, by reason of the Abbey; and besides, that hee will conferue and keepe all their ancient Priuiledges, Franchises, rights, and good customes.

The ancient power in time of warre.

Finally, in the times of war, anciently, the Seigneurie of *Frawensfeld* elected the Captaine, the Ambassador, the Ensigne, and other cheefe offices of warre: which all the countrey of *Turgow* followed, and tooke Oath to them. Also, the Standard of the Towne is adorned with Images of Saints, like to the Standardes of the Catholique Cantons, to wit, with a Crucifixe, and two crossed Keyes; and on the other side, is the picture of Iesus Christes face, as in a Linnen handkercher. But within some fewe yeares they of the Prouince of *Turgow* obtayned leaue, to haue their particular captaines and Standards. In meane while the Towne of *Frawensfeld*, and the places that are osher Iurisdiction, haue theyr Captaines, Ensigne-bearers, and their auncient Standards.

Turgow at liberty by it self

## CHAP. XV.

*Of the Baylywickes or Governments.*



WE haue already formerly set downe, how many Baylywickes or Gouvernements the Switzers haue, to what Cantons they appertaine, and how they becam Lords of them. The Cantons do send their Bayliffes turne by turne, and in the most part of the Cantons, the custome is; that the charge is giuen vnto one of the Councillers of the lesser councill. The Bayliffe continueth in his charge two yeares, and then giueth place to him that is sent by another Can-

The custome obserued in most part of the Cantons for their Baylywickes.

ton. They gouerne the Bayliwickes according vnto the Lawes and customes of the people: neuerthelesse, in the Baylywickes on this side the mountaines, the Bayliffe doth not iudge alone in criminal causes; but hath (as adiunctes or assistants) the Iudges of the Prouince; in regard whereof, they do call this course of Iustice, *Ein Landgricht*. They take knowledge of all suites of importance, and especially, those criminal, and giue sentence; Notwithstanding, the Bayliffe is soueraigne, for he sitteth President, and hath power to moderate the sentence.

The custome on this side the mountaine

But in the Bayliwickes of *Italy*, or beyond the Mountaines, the bayliffes onely condemne to death: they may vuell call some learned men for councill, but those Councillers haue no power in the sentence. Finally, euery yeare about midde-Iune, they render an account of theyr administration; they on this side the mountaines, at *Bada*, they beyond, at *Lugano*; before the Deputies, which the twelue Cantons then send thither, and then they iudge the subiects causes of Appeale. If some straunge enemy make warre on the Switzers: all the Bayliwickes send theyr people, who march vnder their particular Standards, and euery baylywicke ioyneth with the Canton, vnder whose power it is that yeare. As in the warre of *Bourgogne*, they of the baylywicke of *Turgow* serued the Canton of *Zurich*. But if ther e happen any ciuill warre in Switzerland, because the baylywickes do stand as much obliged to one Canton, as another: they are not bound to giue succor, if the most part of the Cantons do not commaund them.

The custome in the Baylywickes beyond the mountaine

When some strange enemy warres on the Switzer

In time of ciuill warre in Switzerland

## CHAP. XVI.

*Of Bada.*

THE Gouvernement or Baylywicke of *Bada*, is much more magnificent then the other, because the dayes meetings and assemblies of the Cantons are held there: for the bayliffe of *Bada* euermore helpeth there, demanding for the causes in order, and sea-

sealeth with his Signet, such things as are written in the name of all the Councill. Moreouer, if the voyces be equall vpon either side: hee maketh that auayleable, where he ranketh himselfe, and by that meanes endeth all variance. This Bayliffe hath no authorities ouer the Towne of *Bada*, but ouer the Countie, which is diuided into many Villages and small Iurisdiccions: where hee hath his Lieutenants and Officers, who hold their pleadings with Iudges of the Village in name of the Bayliffe, exact the Fines, and render him an account, and sometimes also himselfe is present in those Iurisdiccions. But when there is question of condemning a Malefactor vnto death, foure and twenty Iudges of the whole Countie of *Bada*, meete together, and the Bayliffe electeth them: but the custome is, that after they haue bene once thus elected, they continue all their life time afterward in that charge, if some lawfull impeachment doe not preuent it: and when any one of them dyeth, or is dismissed, then the Bayliffe putteth another in his place. These Iudges, giue sentence according to the Lawes: neuerthelesse, the Bayliffe (who hath the soueraignty in his hand) may mitigate their sentence. Next to this estate of the Bayliffe, is hee that is called Secretary of all the Prouince: for, beside the dignity, hee hath profite, because all the Cantons serue him, so long as the dayes are kept. Moreouer and beside, hee hath a Lieutenant, who is cheefe of al the Officers belonging to the Bayliffe.

The Bailywicke and Countie of *Bada*, hath two small Townes vnder it, the one named *Clingenow*, and the other, *Keyserstoull*; but the Byshop of *Constance* sendeth Bayliffes thether, and hee of *Bada* hath nothing to looke to there, saue onely, the acknowledgement of causes criminall appertaineth to him, and the people of those places, are comprehended with the rest of the County of *Bada*, when they goe to warre, with, or for the *Switzers*. Betweene these two little Townes, is a great Village, neere vnto the *Rheine*, named *Zurzach*, inhabited as if it were a good great Towne, subiect vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, and depending on the Baylywickes of *Clingenow*. I must needes say somewhat concerning the po-

licy thereof, because it is a place greatly renowned, in regard of two great Fayres very goodly and commendable, which are there kept euery yeare. Many Merchants, not only of *Switzerland* and *Germany*, but also of *France* and *Italy*, meete there, albeit each Fayre lasteth but one day.

Many do hold opinion, that this village is the place, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Forum Tiberij*; and that on this occasion, these Fayres are very ancient, as hauing bene ordained by *Tiberius*. It seemeth to haue taken this name of *M. Iunius Certius*, a famous Romane Souldier, buried in that place, as is testified by an ancient inscription. The Iurisdiction of this village is one of the dependances of *Clingenow*: the Bayliffe electeth an officer yearly, in the Moneth of Ianuarie, and eyght Senatours, foure whereof, are in seruice a whole yeare, and they are called sworne Senatours; and then the other foure doe succede them, hauing foure Iudges giuen them as assistants. These twelue, with the Bayliffe of *Clingenow*, who presideth, iudge the causes, and meete once in xv. dayes; but if any man requireth (in the meane time) that the Iudges should meet together, they doe; the party paying thirteene Shillings of the Money of *Lucerna*.

Moreouer, the Bayliffe to the byshop of *Constance*, cannot condemn any greater fine, then the summe of tenne pounds; but if the crime appeare to deserue more rigorous chastisements, to witte, corporally; then the Officer to the Bayliffe of *Bada*, executeth the sentence, and punisheth the faultie. But out of the Fayre times, Malefactors are examined, first, at *Clingenow*; after they haue confest theyr fault, and are conuincd of capital crime, they are deliuered into the handes of the Bayliffe of *Bada*. At the times of the Fayres, to witte, the first day of September, and the first Holyday of the Weeke, after Pentecost, the day before the Faire, all the Iurisdiction of the Byshoppe ceaseth, and belongeth vnto the bayliffe of *Bada*, who hath sole power and authority of commanding and forbidding, euen vntil the end of the Faire. For in regard that a great number of people doe assemble there, our Auncestors were desirous, that these Fayres might be in the safegard and

Two great Faires yearly at Zurzach,

Foru Tiberii.

Sworne Senators.

The Bayliffe of Clingenow

Power of condemning fines or otherwise.

Concerning the times wher the Faires are kept.

Any villages al Iurisdiction commanded by the Bayliffe.

Cases concerning life & death.

Secretary of the whole Prouince.

Two little Townes, belonging to Bada, Clingenow, and Keyserstoull.

Zurzach a great Village.

The governement of Zurzach.

protection of such as were soueraignes, and had meanes to bee strongest in these places then. In former times, the Princes of Austria, were Lords of the Countie of Bada; but now it belongeth to the eyght first Cantons. As for the government of Zurzach, it is managed by sixteene counsellors, to wit, the twelue before mentioned, and foure assistants. But if there be any businesse of importance, it is referred to the councill generall.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Turgow.



Among all the Bayliwicks of the Cantons, there is not any more plentifully peopled nor of larger extendure then Turgow, which hath more then fifty Parishes. The seuen most ancient Cantons send thither a Bayliffe, & to them appertaineth the Seigneury and ciuill Iurisdiction of the countrey. If Switzerland be assaulted by a stranger enemy, they of Turgow ranke themselves with the seauen Cantons: but the knowledge of criminall causes, and such as are capitall, belong to the tenne Cantons.

Beside, there are many Noblemen, & Ecclesiasticall persons, that haue meane courts of Iustice in diuers villages of Turgow, yet in such sort notwithstanding, that all the villages are subiects to the Bayliffe of the whole countrey. The inferior Seigneurs may condemne fines of twentie shillings, and sometimes so farre as tenne poundes: but the moiety of the fines belongeth to the Bayliffe, according to the ordinances well vnderstoode, and established among them.

All they that haue Iurisdctions, are called **Brichtsheren**. The Ecclesiasticke, are the byshop of *Constance*, who hath his Prouosts in Turgow, to witte, at *Arbonna*, *Tanneg*, *Guttingen*, and *Gottliebe*. The Chapter of *Constance* hath Iurisdiction within *Altnaw*. The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, nowe vnited and incorporated with the Byshoppricke of *Constance*, hath great reuennues, and many

Iurisdctions in the countrey of Turgow, to wit, *Stekbure*, *Bernange*, *Mannebach*, *Ermatingen*, *Tribeltingen*, &c. Many Gentlemen are vassalles to this Abbey. The Abbot of the Hermitage, is also Lord of *Eschentz*. In like manner, the Abbey of *S. Gall*, hath Iurisdiction in some Villages: as also the Abbeyes founded in the countrey of Turgow haue, as *Tobel*, the Comanderie of the Knightes of *Saint Iohn*, *Fischinge*, the Abbey of *Benedictines*, *Ittinge*, *Chartrouise*, *Munsterlinge* and *Tennikon*. The Abbey of the Monkes of the *Cisteaux* order. Also *Veldbach*. *Calchere* *Saint Katharine du Val*, nere to *Dissenbowz*, and some other Prouosts in one or two Villages, and sometimes in many, haue Iurisdiction.

There are great store of Castles, appertaining vnto diuers Gentlemen, who dwell there, and enioy their ancient Iurisdctions: the names of which Castles I will recite, together with the Lords vnto whom they belong. The Lords of *Vluse* dwell for the present time at *Wellenberg* and *Griesenberg*. *Herdere* and *Burgelle* are to the Lords of *Landberg*. *Wengie* belongeth to the Lords of *Giel*. *Spiegelberg*, to the Lordes of *Montprat*. *Vinsfeld* vnto the Lords of *Schelneberg*, and of *Gemminge*. Vpon the limites of the countrey, there is a Towne belonging to the Count of *Oberstein*. *Nuuenbourg* and *Mammer* appertaine to the Lords of *Tum*. *Salenstein* and *Blidec*, to the Lords of *Hanuille*. *Clingenberg*, to the Lordes of *Herdneheimer*. *Ottlishouise*, to the Lords of *Schenck*. *Epishouise*, to the Lords of *Hagenuille*. *Liebenfels*, to the Lords of *Lanz*. *Clinge*, to the Lords of *Brum*. *Neufere*, to the Lords of *Stocker*. *Sonnenberg*, to the Lords of *Gutenson*. There are many castles also ruined the most part of whose Iurisdctions, doe belong vnto Ecclesiasticall persons: but other some of them belong vnto Gentlemen dwelling in other castles, and also vnto some particular men of the Countrey.

Beside, the Abbey of *Rinow* hath iustice both ciuill and criminal in the towne of *Rinow*, which appeareth to be very ancient, although it hath no store of beautifull buildings. Some are of opinion, that the Romaines planted theyr campe there heeretofore, to encounter with the Germanes.

Turgow the greatest of all the Bayliwicks

Mean Courts of iustice in the villages of Turgow.

Condemnation of fines.

The Ecclesiasticall persons and what Iurisdctions they haue.

The Abbey of Auge.

The Abbey of Benedictine

Of Castles belonging to Gentlemen.

A Towne on the limites of the countrey.

Castles ruined and defaced.

The Abbey of Rinow.

In the Isle which is not within the *Rheine*, the Abbey of the *Benedictines* is to be seene, one of the most ancient in all *Switzerland*. The Abbot is Lord of the Towne; neuerthelesse, if any Malefactor be condemned to death: he is deliuered vnto the Prouost or *Amman* of the Prouince, and his goods remaine seized and confiscated to the seuen Cantons. They of *Rinow* haue their stander, vnder which they march in Warre for the Switzers. Moreouer, there are some Towns in *Turgow*, which continue in the Switzers protection, and haue their Franchises & priuiledges verie ample, & Iurisdiction particular.

There is another Towne, named *Bischoffzell*, at the meeting of two Riuer, called *Sittera* and *Tur*, which is well into the countrey of *Turgow*: and it hath his Standard, where vnder the souldiers goe to Warre for the Switzers. But the Governour of the countrey is onely but to bee seene there, and can commaund nothing of the inhabitants, who are subiect (in some things) vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, yet hee governeth according to their ordinances.

The Byshop hath a Bayliffe in the Castle of the Towne, to whom appertaineth the moitie of the Fines: but the Townesmen doe elect the Councel, and the two Presidents out of them, whom they call ancient Senatours, that gouerne the Common-wealth with the Councillers. One of the two, iudgeth in criminal causes, and there is no appeale from the sentence of the Senate: neither is it lawfull to draw a Bourgesse before any other Iustice then that of the Towne. The Impost of Wine, and other Reuenues belong to the common-wealth. When the Byshoppe taketh his Oathe of the Townesmen, hee promiseth first himselfe, neuer to diminish in any manner whatsoeuer, their auncient Priuiledges and Franchises.

*Arbonna* is an ancient Towne, on the Lake of *Constance*, whereof *Antoninus* maketh mention in his guide of the waies. It is vnder the dominion of the Byshop of *Constance*, who hath there a Bayliffe: but they of the Towne doe elect theyr *Amman* and Councell, who manage ciuil causes. The Switzers haue some Seigneuriall rights in that place: for the castle is

open to them in the times of warre, for best accommodating themselves, and the Inhabitants are theyr Souldiers for seruice.

*Dieffenhow*, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, betweene *Stein* and *Schaffouse*, as also of the countrey of *Turgow*, and besides the seauen Cantons, who are Lordes of this countrey: *Berne* and *Schaffouse* haue some right in the domination of *Dieffenhow*. Neuerthelesse, the Townesmen giue Oath onely to eight Cantons, and haue great store of priuiledges: their councel and *Auoyer* haue the Iurisdiction of some Townes about it. But all are esteemed to bee vnder the government of *Turgow*, and goe to warre with the other for the Switzers: but yet vnder the Standard of *Dieffenhow*.

But besides the Iuridictions of the Ecclesiastickes, and of the Gentlemen: there are many Villages, wherof the Cantons are entirely Lords, and they are called the Iuridictions of the county of *Turgow*, and the Officers of the Bayliffe, do holde the pleadings in these Villages. Heeretofore there were diuers formes of pleas, and manie customes: but the seauen Cantons (by aduice and consent of the Lords of the Iuridictions) ordained and established a common manner of pleading, thoroughout the whole countrey of *Turgow*. Beside, if a particular man haue a suite against the Lord of a Iurisdiction; he presents it to the Bayliffe or Governour of the country, and of him demandeth iustice.

There are two kindes of Law and Iustice (in the highest degree) in *Turgowe*: for they must pleade before the Iusticiary bench of the Prouince, or else before the Bayliffe and his assistants. The Law or Iustice Prouinciall, it appertaineth not onely vnto the seauen Cantons, who establish a Governour in the countrey: but likewise they of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue therein their part, whereof wee haue giuen a reason in our former booke.

Sometimes this court of Iustice was held at *Winterduer*, when as the countrey of *Kybourg* was ioyned to the countrey of *Turgow*; afterward, it was helde neere to *Constance*, when the Emp. *Sigismund* had engaged *Winterduer* to the Bourgesse of *Costance*, & somtimes in other places: but

Dieffenhow on the Riuer of Rheine.

Oath to eight Cantons only

The Iuridictions of the county of Turgow.

Order for the suits and pleas in Turgow.

Law or iustice termed Prouinciall.

To Isle within the Rheine.

To Standard of Rinow.

To Bischoffzell, or Sittera.

To Byshops Bayliffe in the Castle.

To Councillers and two Presidents.

To Byshop with oath of the townsmen.

To ancient Towne of Arbonna on the Lake of Constance.

it is fully resolved on at *Frawensfeld*, and the Cantons haue concluded, that it shal neuer bee transported any whether else heereafter.

Twelue Iudges are chosen by the Bayliffe, foure of *Frawensfeld*, and four of *Turgow*: the Bayliffe sits President in name of ten Cantons; or the *Amman* of y country, established by the Cantons; or the Lieutenant whom the Bailiffe substituteth in his place. The causes of appeale, concerning the whole countrey of *Turgow*, are decided in this Prouinciall Court of Iustice, together with the suits in matters of debt, the knowledge whereof may appertain to this court: also the causes of injuries, crimes, and other offences deseruing death. The Bayliffe and his assistants (who most often are the *Amman* of the country, the Secretary, and the cheefe Vsher) do censure also in the same suites: & it is at the discretion of the plaintiffe or demander, to make choise before which of the two courts he will pleade.

The Bayliffe causeth the sentences and ordinances to bee executed, with imposition of a fine of ten poundes, payable by him, that satisfieth not the sentence in ten dayes. The Prouinciall court of iustice, imposeth no fine of mony, but banisheth: onely reserued, that it condemneth him in a fine that pleadeth his owne cause in person (because the custom is, to take one of the Iudges to declare the fact) and enters it into the Court where the Iudges vse to sit. He that is accused to contemne the ordinances of the Bayliffe, is imprisoned.

A man may appeale to the Cantons, from the sentence giuen in either of the Courtes; and, according to the importance of the cause to the seuen Cantons, or to the ten in taking knowledge. Likewise al Fines (as the goods of persons put to death, confiscations, and fines imposed on such as are accessaries to crimes deseruing death) doe appertaine partly to the seauen, partly to the ten Cantons. Heere may be alledged (for example sake) mighty and horrid injuries, yet not meriting death: violence done by any man to him that is strictly commaunded to liue in peace with his aduersary, outragious acts committed to a man vpon the publique high way, by wounding, robbing, or offering him any such like violence. Also, if

any man vsurpe, encroach vpon, enclose, or appropriate to himselfe any part of the high-way, transpose or alter boundes, markes, and limits; or change any goods layed to him by way of pawning, or giuen him in trust to keepe; if he violate Fayth, or forswear himselfe openly; or if he carry himselfe insolently toward the Bailiffe or Iudges, &c.

Besides, all such as the Prouinciall court of Iustice declareth guilty of death: are sent vnto the other Iudges with their causes, to haue the sentence pronounced on them. These Iudges are in number foure and twenty, and heretofore the custom was, that the Bayliffe ioyned twelue Iudges, to the twelue of the Prouinciall Iustice, and chose them thoroughout the countrey, at his owne discretion: but now adayes (and oftner then any other) the Iudges of *Frawensfeld* doe pronounce the sentence of death. This is to cut off charges, which would be farre greater without comparison, if the Iudges should be called from diuers parts of the country, it being of so large extendure.

There is no appeale granted from this sentence: neuer thelesse it is permitted to the Bayliffe, to moderate the Iudges sentence, or to alter the manner of the punishment vpon the Offender; or else to saue the condemned mans life; but hee may not (by any meanes) aggrauate, or make heauyer the condemnation.

## CHAP. XVIII

### Of Sargans.

**T**HE Countrey of *Sargans*, hath heere tofore had Countes or Earles, that gaue it the name, and sold it vnto the Switzers Countrey. Those Counts were of the house of *Werdenberg*, by reason of the Counties thereunto belonging, and also of *Montfort*, being then diuided into many families: but the countrey standeth separated by a certain smal Riuer, named *Sar*. Part of it, aboue the Riuer, hath some villages; the cheefest whereof

The election of xii. Iudges, by the Bayliffe

Causes ended in the Prouinciall Court.

Power of the Plaintiffe in his plea.

Difference between the Bailiffes Court, & the Prouinciall Court.

Appeale from both the Courts to the Cantons.

Concerning sentences of death.

A custom v in former times, but otherwise provided, and on good reason.

A great power granted to Bayliffe.

Concerning the Origin of Sargans, king name the Riuer

whereof is called *Regatz*, where the law pleas are held: as also the Abbey of *Pfa-uertz*, the Abbot whereof hath iurisdiction in those quarters. It seemes that this part was heretofore diuided from the other, so as the name of *Sargans* belonged to them that dwelt beneath the Riuer, and whereof (vndoubtedly) they borrowed their name. For there is another *Sargans*, or of *Sarunets*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention, which at this day is called *Engadin*, and neere the fource or spring of *Rheine*: but they which dwell about the Riuer, may bee of the quarter of the *Rhe-gusces* and *Rhucans*, at this day termed *Rhinthall* and *Rhuchenberg*. They haue their court of iustice by themselves, and other weights and measures, then they beneath the Riuer.

The towne of *Sargans* is small, and hath a Castle, wherein the Bayliffe dwelleth, and it is the cheefest of all the Bayliwicke. There is a councill at *Sargans*, and an *Auoyer*, whom the *Switzers* (beeing Lords there) do establish: as also in another Towne of the same Bayliwick, named *Walhenstat*, on the Lake of *Riue*. But the lower court of iustice belongeth to them of *Sargans*, as likewise the principall Villages haue their Court. The last or latest appellations, for causes criminall and capitall, are held at *Sargans*; where Judges are chosen, both of the Towne, and from the whole Bayliwicke. Oftentimes, in stead of the Bayliffe, the *Amman* is President of the country. The Bayliffe himselfe pleadeth against the offender; and hath a Secretary and an Officer. If criminall persons are prisoners at *Walhenstat*; then iudgement and execution to death is done there: but the Bayliffe sitteth President, and not the *Auoyer* of *Walhenstat*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Rhinthall.

THE Bayliffe of this Valley (which taketh his name of *Rheine*, and is vpon the left bancke thereof, about his entrance into the Lake of *Constance*) maketh his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhinek*, somewhat below the Valley.

The whole Bayliwick is diuided into certaine portions or fee-farmes, which they tearme *Hoef*, and these are their names: *Alstett*, a little Towne, *Marpach*, *Bernange*, *Taall*, whereon *Rhinek* dependeth, and *Oberriede*. Each hath his iurisdiction by it selfe, and two *Ammans*; whereof the one is enstalled by the Bayliffe of the cantons, and the other by the Abbot of *S. Gall*. The moiety of the fines belongeth to the Abbot, and the other part to the Cantons. Neuerthelesse, at *Alstett* the fines are diuided into three parts, whereof the third appertaineth to the inhabitants. Some say, that the higher and lower iurisdiction of this place, belongeth to the Prince of *Austria*. The lower court of iustice of *Lustenow* (which is a Village in the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthall*) appertaineth to the Counts of *Amisa*. The acknowledgment of criminall causes, belongeth to the cantons: and their Bayliffe causeth the sentences to bee executed in those places where the delicts were committed, hauing *Ammans* for their Judges.

The inhabitants of this Valley doe principally imploy themselves in husbandry about their Vines, and spinning linnen yarne, which they sell at *S. Gall*, & liue very commodiously by these meanes. Also they of *S. Gall* haue store of lands, and many vineyards in this Valley, with plenty of Vine-dressers and Barne keepers: in regard whereof, they set a taxation on the wine with the inhabitants of *Rhinthall*, and set downe a price to be payed by the Masters and others, who buy it before vintage time at publike sale, and pay the mony to the Vine-dressers. This tax bindeth not them who haue not solde their wine before that time. When the vintage draweth neere, the Deputies of each Village do meere at *S. Gall*, and the Seigneury appointeth one or two of the councill to sit with them; and then they (altogether) set a price vpon the wines. If they cannot agree, but that there are as many on the one side, as on the other: then the Village, whose turne it is to bee Arbitrator, sets downe the determination. For euery Village (in his rancke and place) hath the right and priuiledge of arbitration, when as the taxers cannot, or will not agree together. The price agreed vpon, then they begin to cut and gather grapes for the vintage: but it is not lawfull

The Bayli-wicks diuision and their seuerall iurisdic-tions.

The diuision at *Alstet*.

Acknowledg-ing of criminal causes.

How the inhabitants of the Valley bestowed their time.

A taxe set vpon the wine to such as are buyers before the vintage.

In what manner they set a price vpon the wines, & how it is concluded by arbitration.

f them be-neath the Riuer Sar.

another Sar-gans or Sar-nettes.

f the Bay-licke & Coun-cill of Sar-gans & their ioyer.

r criminall and capitall causes.

the Amman uerneth sometimes in stead of the Bayliffe.

rhinthall taketh his name of the Riuer of Rheine.

full to begin before.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Barons of Altsax.

Betweene the Bayliwicke of Rhinthal, and the county of Werdenberg, you may see the Seignery belonging to the Barons of Altsax. Now, although the Barons are soueraigne Lords; yet notwithstanding, in regard of the scituation of Rhinthal, I was not willing to passe any further, without making some mention thereof.

The race of the Lords of Altsax is most ancient, and hee that hath written concerning Iustes and Tournaments, declareth, that the Emperour Henry, surnamed the Faulconer or Fowler, made choise among all the Gentlemen of Suaba, of Frederick, Baron of Altsax, to prescribe to others, the order to be obserued in those Royall pastimes. They of Misauk in the Grisons country (whom Pliny calleth \* Hirsaces, at the Trophee of Augustus) were sometimes subiects to the Barons of Monfax: to whom the Emperour Sigismond gaue the name and dignity of Counts, and Wolffe, Baron of Monfax was in the warre against the Obotrites, in the yeare nine hundred, thirty five. Some say, that those Counts descended of the house of Altsax, and that there are many Gentlemen (of very ancient race) in the country of the Grisons, descended of the first Rhatians, who were of Tuscaney, and vaunt themselues also to be issued of the Romanes.

In Antiquity, the Lords of Altsax dwelt in the Grisons country. For neere to the Valley of Lengs, where they inhabite, who (among all other) vaunt and glorifie themselues, to bee of most noble and ancient race; there is the Village of Obiersax, which retaineth yet the name of that Family, and it hath a Castle of the same name. I am of the minde then, that the house of Altsax is Grison by originall, and descended (with many other of the Grisons) of the Tuscanes, who were before the Romanes. Also the country, whereof they are Lords to this day, was heere-

tofore reputed to be of the Grisons: considering, that Strabo extendeth the Grisons limits, so farre as the Lake of Constance.

This Baronny hath had heeretofore two strong Castles, to wit, Sax (which was burnt before the warre of Appenzell) and Fortege, builded afterward, vpon the warranty of Vtrich of Altsax, Abbot of S. Gall, at such time as the Barons were in warre against the Counts of Montfort. There are many Villages in this Valley, subiect to the Barons of Altsax. If any warre threaten Switserland, they chuse their most valiant Soldiours, which they send to their succour. Also Huldreich, Father to Huldreich Phillip, now Baron of Altsax, fought valiantly for the Switzers, in the warre which they had against the Emperour Maximilian, and the league of Suaba: and as a recompence and acknowledgement of his valor, the Cantons gaue him diuers peeces of Artillery.

It is a long time since the Barons of Altsax haue bene Bourgessees of Zurich, the rest of the Cantons neuer had any dominion ouer the Barons of Altsax: but themselues were soueraigne Lords, and no man might appeale fro their sentence, to any other iustice. At this day, there is no more of this race of the Barons of Altsax left, but one, namely, the Lord Huldreich Phillip: but by the grace of God, it is now augmented, because this lord hath had (by two wiues) five sonnes, already of good stature, and which promise faire hope, namely, Albert Iohn, Thibault Iohn, Phillip Iohn, Iohn Christopher, and Iohn Huldreich.

CHAP. XXI.

The Bayliwicks or Gouvernements of Italy.

THE first and principall of the foure Bayliwicks of Italy, is called Lugano, and the Bayliffe is called a Captain, commaunding ouer all the foure, if any warre doth happen vnexpected.

The second is that of Locarna, almost of

The scituation of the Seignery of Altsax.

The Antiquities of the Barons of Altsax

\* So named of the Forest of Hircinia running thorough Germany.

Gentlemen descended of the first Rhatians.

The Valley of Lengs.

The originall of the house of Altsax of the Grisons.

Two ancient Castles belonging to the Baronny.

When war is menaced against Switserland.

The Barons of Altsax Bourgessees Zurich.

The now liuing issue of the present Baron of Altsax.

Lugano the first Bayliffe

Locarna the second

of as great and large extendure, as *Lugarno*. I will set downe in this Chapter, an exact description of the Bayliwicke and Towne of *Locarna*, made (at my request) by *M. Thaddeus Dun*, Physition, and a native of *Locarna*, my very good friend. For therby may be knowne, what the government of the other Bayliwicks is, which although they are not of the like extendure, neither haue the same policy, yet notwithstanding, they are governed in the same manner, in respect of the Bayliffe, and dominion of the *Switzers*.

The Towne of *Locarna*, is called *Lugari* by the *Germanes*, and *Locarno* by the *Italians*. Some do hold it to be so named, as being a place of flesh: because in al the country round about, there is no meane number of cattell. It is seated on a plaine, betweene the foote of an high Mountain, and the Banck of the Lake *Maïor*. Towards the East it hath the head and beginning of this Lake: to the South, the neck of the Lake, and the high Mountaines. It extendeth and shooteth it selfe out along the middle of the Lake, to his fall, and towards the North are also very high Mountaines. To the West, and against the lands belonging to the Bayliwicke of *Belizona*, is a plaine of great length, yeelding yearly a plentifull Hay-haruest, & thwart it passeth *Thefina*. Neere to the Towne, betweene this plaine, the Towne it selfe, the foote of the Mountains, and the Lake bancks, is a fruitfull parcell of Land for Corne and Wine; and a great goodly field, abounding with grasse; which heretofore hath beene much more spacious, but the neighbouring Riuer (by vndermining it) hath borne away a great part thereof. The Mountaines of long extendure, are very aptly husbanded, hauing goodly and faire vineyards in them.

Heereby we may coniecture, that *Locarna* is great, by reason of the Families therein, to the number of foure hundred, or thereabout: and there is not any greater Towne about the Lake *Maïor*, neyther are there more Gentlemen in any towne of that quarter, by which reason, it is the cheefe and principall Towne. This description doth demonstrate, how pleasant the place is, the ayre also is there temperate, sweete, and healthfull, euen as much as can bee desired. The windes of the South do blow there very little, and euen

as tired, broken, and spent, by reason of the Mountaines defencing before it. The North winde is there also sweet enough, because the high Mountaines doe couer the Towne. From the East to the West, the windes breathe at their ease: and there is not a Pond, or Marshy plot in this quarter, so that to say all in a word, the place is sufficiently pleasing.

Heeretofore, the towne of *Locarna* had a great & strong castle, of very goodly shew, in regard of the many Towers & Turrets, and well engirt with sightly Ditches. It was sometimes the principall dwelling of the Counts of *Rusque*: and the French were Masters there; the space of thirteene yeares, but yet could not expell the Counts. There is a Pallace within the saide Castle, which is the Bayliffes house: there also abideth the Trucheman or Interpreter, and the two *Switzer* Archers of his Guard, of whom wee shall make more ample mention heereafter: within the walles enclosure of this Castle, there was a goodly Hauen or Port, where the Ships for warre were kept.

The Castle was square and quadrangular, beautified with Towers at each corner, and had a very strong wall about it. At that time, the Lake *Maïor* washed the foote of the Castle, so that the Ships were easily sent forth vpon the Lake. But now, the Riuer of *Madia* hath gathered such abundance of sand and grauell, as the place is become farre enough off from the Lake. Since the yeare one thousand, five hundred, thirty one, the *Switzers* wholly ruined the Castle, except the Pallace; the foundations are yet to be seene, and the walles of many houses, for there was not any castle so strong in all the country. Also it was munited with Artillery of all sorts, and other furnishments for warre, in great plenty. *Frances Guicchiardine* maketh mention in the fift Booke of his Histories, that fiftene thousand *Switzers* got themselues together, to go and assault this castle; thereof he speaketh againe in the eleuenth Booke, and at the end of the twelfth.

Long since, in the times of the Dukes of *Millaine*, the whole country was commanded by the Bayliffe of *Locarna* (except the towne of *Brisag*) and it was a county, wherof the *Rusques* were Lords, they being Gentlemen of marke in the towne

As of great experience & knowledge.

The description of Locarna, and how it is situated by every way. The fleshy territory, or where flesh is great plenty.

Great Families in Locarna, and store of Gentlemen.

Locarna appeareth to be every healthfully seated.

The ancient goodly Castle of Locarna.

A Pallace in the old Castle and how it is employed.

The singularity of the ancient Castle.

This goodly Castle was quite decayed by the Switzers.

Guicchiard in Lib. 5. 11. 12.

The extendure of the Bayliwicke of Locarna.

The County of Locarna divided in twaine.

Of the fertility of the country, and encrease of their Vines.

Of the Fields and Meddow grounds about Locarna

Two harvests gathered in a yeare continually.

towne of *Coma*, whereof also they were Masters sometimes, but after they surrendered it to the Duke of *Millaine*, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred and sixteene. But afterward, this county was diuided in two parts, and the Vale *Madia* separated from the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*.

At that time also, the Vale of *Verzasche* and *Gambaron* (whereof shall be spoken heereafter) obtayned leaue, to elect their *Podestats*. The extendure of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, may bee knowne by the Parishes, whereof there are twenty and more.

The foote-ground of the Mountains of *Locarna*, and a great part of the Territory, yeeldeth plenty of very good wines. In the Hilles and Mountaines, the Vines are bound high, and store of good grasse groweth vnder them. On the plaines they shoote vp about Elmes and other Trees, as Hops do about Poles; also the twigs as being wouen together, and bound at the ends, are extended from one Tree to another. But if they stand too farre off, where the branches come too short, then they fixe poles in the midst, whereto they fasten the branches, for feare lest they should hinder the Cornes encrease, or the other sorts of pulse, which are also there sowne. The Vines are of great and incredible yeelding, the grapes huge, and very ripe, which causeth an extraordinary pléty of wine.

The fields cannot be very spacious, in regard of the so neere neighbouring Lake and Mountaines: yet notwithstanding, they are very fertile, by reason of the grounds goodnesse, which the husbandmen do fatten and labour very diligently. For because there are no great store of fields and meddowes, and the towne is sufficiently peopled; their paines are performed at the better leysures. Many times they render twenty graines for one, and they haue two Harvests in one yeare. In the Moneth of Iune, they reape and gather Wheat and Ric: In the Moneth of October, they haue the like of Millet, Panicke, and other Pulses sowed in Spring time.

The Mountaines and Vallies are furnished with cattell in great abundance, especially Goates. Also there is plenty of Partridges, Phezants, Larks, Hares, Co-

nies, Butter, Cheese, and admirable store of Chestnuts, for the nourishment of country people. At the beginning, they eate them rawe, then dryed, and afterward boyled, roasted, and fried. Also they make Meale of them for Bread, and that Meale serues thē to diuers vses: but Gentlemen eate chestnuts among their other delicates.

When therefore there is a good season of chestnuts, the dearth of other victuals is not great in that country: wher also is store of good Figs, variety of Apples, Peaches, Peares, Cheries, and other dainty fruites, as Plums of diuers kindes, Pomgranets, Citrons, Oliues, Oranges, and other fruites in great plenty. The Lake aboundeth with Fish, dainty and good; especially Trowts, whereof store are brought & sold in *Millaine*. In brieft, the country is enriched with all good things, for the maintenance of life; yet sometimes there is scarcify of Corne, by reason of the countries narrownesse, and Salt is brought thether from other places.

Euery Thursday there is a great Market at *Locarna*, where meete no meane store of people. You shall see many boats arriue there, from all the Townes of the Lake *Maioir*, from whence come diuers Merchants, rather to buy, then sell. They come thether also from sundry parts of the Dutchy of *Millaine*, from *Lugano* and *Bellizona*, neighbouring Bayliwicke: as also from *Misauk*, and the Valley of *Liunner*, not speaking of them about *Locarna*, and the vale *Madia*: It is one of the goodliest Markets in all those countries. There is a very spacious place neere to the Lake, where the Merchants set vp Tents, to defend them from raine, and such like accidents.

The people of *Locarna* are diuided into three degrees, to wit, Noblemen, ancient citzizens, whom they call Bourgeses, and the inhabitants, descended from diuers parts, and whose ancestors began to dwell at *Locarna*, more then an hundred yeares before.

There is a fourth race noble, as of the *Aurelles*, *Muraltes*, *Magorians*, and *Duns*. That of the *Duns* is the most auncient, and before the other: their houses and goods beeing partly at *Locarna*, partly at *Stone*, which is a Towne neere

What flesh, Fowles, and other helpfull food the country affordeth.

Variety of kindes of fruites, and dainty fish.

All blessings for the life of man.

A market at Locarna euery Thursday

Noblemen, Bourgeses, & Inhabitants, the three degrees of people in Locarna.

A fourth descent of Noblemen.

ncere to *Locarna*, but not so wel peopled, feated on a plaine neere to the Lake. At such time as the Counts of *Rusque* commanded, the *Duns* were fauoured and honoured, more then the other Nobles, and aduanced to great estates. And the Arms of the Counts of *Rusque*, magnificently illustrated, are yet to bee seene (outwardly) on the *Duns* Pallace at *Locarna*. Next, vnder name of the people, are reckoned all them that dwell in the Vallies and Villages, dependants on *Locarna*. The whole body of the Seignury or Bayliwicke, is called the *Comminalty*.

As for the Bayliffe, whom they call *Commissary*, hee is chosen by the twelue Cantons, and sent to *Locarna* every yeare, by one of the said cantons, as it is then in rancke, according to their lawes and alliances. This *commissary* is Soueraigne, and hath full power to chastise the faulty, yea, to condemne to death, if the case do so require. His custome is to take wise & vnderstanding men, expert in the lawes and manners of the country, to bee his counsellors. Hee is not receiued into his charge, til he haue first solemnly sworn and promised, to keepe the lawes and ordinances, which the inhabitants tearme *municipall* rights. Which being done, the people there present, do acknowledg him for their lawfull *Gouernor*; with solemnne and publike acclamations, & swearing faithfully to obey him.

Now, because the *commissary* speaketh the *Switzers* language, and the people *Italian*; the Lords of the Leagues do allow him a *Trucheman*, who vnderstands and speakes both the languages, to whom they pay wages. By entremise of the *Trucheman*, the *commissary*, the parties that plead as *Attornies* or *Adiucates*, do vnderstand each other, and so debate the causes: which the *Secretary* or *Prognatory* writeth downe in *Latine*. The *commissary* medleth not with the affaires of the common-wealth, because the people haue full power to elect *Magistrates* and *Officers*, to ordaine of all things concerning the publike estate.

Moreouer, they elect an ordinary *Attorney*, who pursueth criminall causes, & keepeth the fines adiudged to the common purse, which they call, *The fines Chamber*. The Lords of the leagues giue order for the election of this *Attorney*;

who is one of the *Bourgesies* of *Locarna*, and continueth as long time in that Office, as pleaseth the said Lords.

They establish also the *Receiuers* of the taxes. For every yeare, in Summer, when the twelue *Ambassadors* of the Cantons come thither: they giue the farming of the tax (mittigating a certain summe) to one, or to many *Bourgesies*, who then also receiue ample power, to exact the tax, and at the yeares end they pay it.

The *Commissary* chuseth (often times) a *Switzer* Officer, who walketh daily attending on him, with an *Halbert* and a *Sword*. He is the cheefest of the *Serieants*, that arresteth men, and guardeth offenders. When the *Ambassadors* come to *Locarna*, hee is their *Vsher*: also, they pay him his wages, as well as the *Trucheman*.

The same *Commissary* electeth his *Lieutenant*, some one of the *Bourgesies*, fitte to decide suites and criminall causes. This *Lieutenant* giues attendance in the *Commissaries* absence, or when hee is with-held by sicknesse, or any other hinderance: hauing (in those causes) the same power and authority, as the *Commissary* hath.

Moreouer, the councell (of whom we shall speake presently) makes choise of some *Serieants* among the people. Their charge is to serue the *Common-wealth*, and to execute the commands of the *commissary*.

The *Bourgesies* and inhabitants that are of this County and *Comminalty*, do meeete together according to their custome, which yearely is the first day of *Ianuary*, and then they elect the one and twenty counsellors of the *Common-wealth*. Twelue among them are of *Locarna*; three of the towne of *Scone*, which is neere: the other fixe are of the Vallies and Villages round about. As concerning the twelue of *Locarna*; fixe of them are *Noblemen*, foure *Bourgesies*, & two inhabitants; yet sometimes three, and fiue *Nobles*. The three of *Scone*, there is one of the family of *Gentlemen*, called *Duns*, and the two other are of the body of the people. The other fixe, whom I haue said to be of Villages and Vallies, are of such places, as acknowledge no other *Gouernour*; but the fore-mentioned *Commissary*.

Memory of former receiuer fauour.

The Commissary, and how he is selected.

The Commissary's power and authority.

Municipale in the principall law of every City.

A Trucheman allowed to the Commissary to be his Interpreter.

The people's power to elect Magistrates.

The election of the Attorney.

The Receiuers of the taxes & tolles

The Officer waiting on the Commissary.

The Lieutenant to the Commissary.

The Seriants and Officers.

Of the councell their manner of meeting, and orders obserued among them in their election of counsellors.

A contrary kinde of government & Officers.

What charge the councell do undertake

Of the seven Attornies, & what their office is,

The Secretary or Chancellor,

A Treasurer every yeare elected.

Consuls appointed, and their office.

The sum of one of the least assessments.

fary. This I speake in regard of the towne of *Brisag*, the Valley of *Verzasche*, & *Gâbaron*: which haue their *Podestats* or *Lieutenants*, and some rights apart by themselves, as we shall shew anon, and they do not elect any councellers.

The councell of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, hath charge to watch and waite on the affaires of the common-wealth: to conclude on needfull expences & wages: to dispose and set in order, whatsoever seemeth for the good of the weale publike fit and conuenient.

Seven Procurators or Attornies are added to the one and twenty councellers, who giue order, that the decrees of the council may be effectually executed, and that euery man do his duty thoroughly & faithfully. They stand also in stead of *Voyers* or *Suruayors*: because they take charge of publike buildings. In like manner, there is a Secretary whom they call Chancellor; and he setteth downe in writing, all things whatsoever that are concluded on by the councell.

And forasmuch as the Comminalty lockes not vp any of the publike monies, there is yearely a new Treasurer elected, who exacteth and collecteth of consuls and communities, such summes of money as are imposed by the councell. For euery community or parish hath his *Consull* (so called, because they councell and aduise that which is necessary for the communities welfare) and is in Office as a *Receiuer*. They leuie vpon euery Father of the Family, or on each house, the money whereat they are assessed by the council, and afterward bring all to the Treasurer. The manner of assessing these summes, is according to the estimation of goods, & the number of households in euery community.

There is not any Parish nor Family (how little soeuer it bee) but iustly knoweth, how much it is valued at in the assessment. One of their cottisations amounteth to an hundred pounds of the Empire: which make seven and twenty Florins of gold, or thereabout. The Consuls do first collect this summe of the Families, and then deliuer it into the Treasurers hands, and he afterward paies it to the Seigneurs of the annuall accounts. Then it is payed out in wages, to the Bayliffe, to the Physicians, to Masters of Schooles, Officers,

and other persons, who are al at wages of the common-wealth: And beside, it acquitteth all other publike charges. The yeare being expired, hee yeeldeth vp his account to the councell, or to the Procurators. If there be more omitted then receiued; his successour disburffeth it himselfe. Contrariwise, if the receipt doe surmount the ordinary charge, the remainder is deliuered ouer vnto his successour. Moreouer, the fore-named Magistrates make choise of two sufficient men, to haue a care of food and prouision. And other two are elected by the councell, to see the wayes and streetes duely and decently repaired and well kept.

Now in regard that the country is enuironed with Mountaines and Vallies, repleated with woods of extraordinary taul trees, exquisite for their beauty and braue branching (among others the Pine, which produceth very excellent Agaricke, and the Firre-tree, notable for building, and whereof they of *Locarna* make very great benefit) the Merchant dealing in wood, do elect a Iudge or Master of the Forests, who decideth all differences proceeding in such cases. When the taule trees are cut, they bring knowledge therof to him, and then he ordereth their lesser cutting, for more commodious conuaying them through the narrow passages and vallies, as also the Rocky crooked windings, to the Lake *Maïor*. When they are there shipt in apt Barques and Boats, they passe along the Lake, and then on the *Thesina* to *Millaine* and *Pauia*, in great Trunkes, Beames, Ioints, and long Planks; together with great quantities of wood-coales, and other brush-wood, for heating Ouens. Afterward, they descend with them from *Pauia*, by the Riuer *Po* (wherein *Thesina* dischargeth it selfe) so farre as *Cremona*, and *Plasentin*, and may goe also to *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Venice*, and to the Adriaticke Sea. The trunks of the trees haue their length and thickeffe iust, and the Merchants marks on them. The valley of *Verzasche*, the vale *Madia*, and other neighbouring places, doe also send away Trees very abundantly, when the Riuers swell higher then their vsuall wont.

The towne of *Brisag*, which is vpon the Lake *Maïor* towards the North, and at the end of the country which the *Switzers* hold, is of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, and

The Treasurers account to the Councell.

The government of the Forrest.

The Iudge Master of the Forest, & his authority.

The Merchants set their marks on the trunk

*Brisag* belonging to the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*.

and is but foure miles distant off from *Cannobio*. It hath also to the East, the Vallie of *Verzasche*, taking his name of a Riuer so called, and thence descending: Also *Gambaron* to the South, and on the Lake *Maior*. These places haue their *Podestats*, who iudge in ciuill causes: for as concerning them criminall, the knowledge of them appertaineth to the Commissary of *Locarna*. There is appeale granted from the sentence in ciuill causes, if it seeme good to the party condemned. They of the Valley of *Verzasche*, and of *Gambaron*, do chuse (among themselues) such persons as they please, to be their *Podestats*: but the people of *Brisag* haue not that authority, but yearly doe elect a Lieutenant, who is of the Family of the *Aurelles*. Gentlemen of *Locarna*. The Inhabitants of this place are not cottised or sessed, as the other Communities be: but onely pay their part of rentage due, to the Lords of the leagues, and of wages to the Commissary. Beside, they furnish towards the charges that are in their Villages and Communities.

Of this Towne of *Locarna* thus described, are descended the *Locarnians* dwelling at *Zurich*, and in other places. It is not about thirty yeares since, that some Citizens of *Locarna*, yet liuing, affected to the new Religion; tooke knowledge

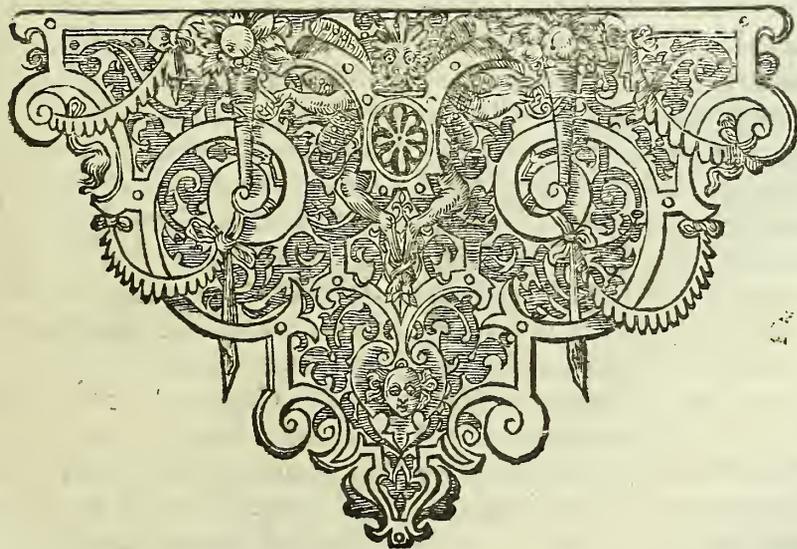
thereof, by the reading of certain books, and afterward enstructed it to many of their Townesmen. From the yeare one thousand, five hundred, fforty two, vntill the yeare one thousand, five hundred, fifty foure, the zeale and number of them began to encrease, and notwithstanding the persecutions, embraced it the more earnestly. The most part of the Seignours and people, not willing to suffer it, expelled (in the yeare following) about thirty Families: namely all such as would not forsake that new opinion, and returne againe to the Romane Church. There were people of all kindes in this troope, Nobles, Gentles, and Yeomen; learned and vnlearned; rich and poore; great and small; husbands without their wiues, and wiues without their husbands; fathers without their children, & children without their fathers. The men of *Zurich* receiued them very louingly, and did, and yet do many kinde courtesies to them: so that diuers of the are embraced as Bourgeses, and the rest maintained at the expences of the Seignoury. At the beginning, they receiued a good sum of monie, sent by them of *Berne*, and another collected at *Basile*, and in some other Townes of *Sauoye*, where-with the poore people haue bene long time maintained.

Religion the more it is persecuted, the more it prospereth.

Persecution is the true Christians touch-stone.

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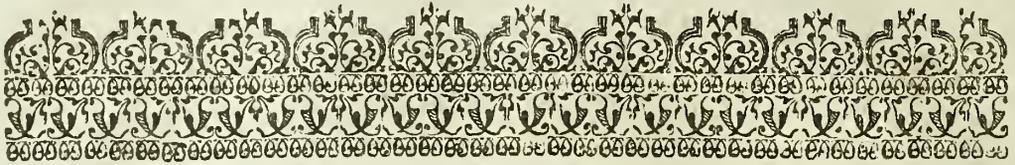
The End of the third Booke.



The government of Podestats.

Bring difference in authority from Gában.

The Locarnians inhabitants at Zurich



# THE FOUVRTH BOOKE.

## CHAP. I.

*Of the Kingdome and Court of Spaine; the Lawes, Customes, and manners of the people, as also the diuision and scituation of the Country.*

**S**paine, so tearmed of \* *Hispalis*, or of \* *Hesperia*, or *Hesperus*, by being a part of *Europe*, and neereſt to the *West*; hath her Confines in this manner. On the *East*, the *Mediterranean Sea*: On the *West*, the *Ocean*: On the *South*, the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*: And on the *North*, the *Pyrenean Mountains*, which make diuision of *France & Spaine*. The principall *Riuers* in this *Prouince*, are ſixe in number: *Myuo*, *Duria*, *Traia*, *Guadiana*, *Guadalquibir*, and *Iberus*. This *Kingdome* (by our *Auncients*) was diuided into three parts, to wit; *Batica*, *Lufitania*, and *Tarraconia*. At this day, *Batica* containeth three *Regions*, namely, *Granata*, with her *Citty Royall*, which is called *Granada*; *Andaluſia*, with the *City* of *Siuill*; and *Eſtramadura*, with the *City* of *Menda*. *Lufitania* hath two *Regions*, to wit, *Portugall*, with the *Citty Royall*, named *Lisborne*: and *Galicie*, with the *city* that is called *Compoſtella*, where the body of *S. James* is ſaide to be. *Tarraconia* hath nine *Regions*; as *Arragon*, with the *city* of \* *Sarragoſſa*; *Nauarre*, with the *city* of *Pampalona*; *Cathalonia*, with the *city* of *Barcellona*; *Biſcay*, with the *city* of *Vilucro*; \* *Caſtile* the elder, with the *city* of *Burgos* or *Braga*; *Caſtile* the newer, with the *city* of *Tolledo*; *Leuſuſca*, with the *city* of *S. Sebaſtiano*; *Valenza*, with the *city* of *Valencia*; *Murgia*, with the cit-

ty ſo called. In the *kingdome* of *Granada*, ther is an *Iſland* named *Caliz*, which hath a *citty* alſo called by the ſame name. In the *Ocean Sea*, and in the *Mediterranean*, there are three ſeuerall *Iſlands*, ſubieſted to the *gouernement* of *Valencia*, to wit, *Ieniza*, *Maiorica*, and *Minorica*. The *Portugals* uſe their *navigation* into the *East Indiaes*; and the *Spaniards* of *Siuill* and *Caliz*, into the *West*. The *circumference* of *Spaine*, is about 1893. *miles*. The *kingdom* of *Portugall*, frō the *South* part, beginneth at the *city* of *Leppe*, and on the *North* it extendeth to *Baiona* of *Galicie*. The moſt notable *Ports* or *Hauens* of *Spaine*, on the *North* part, are *S. Sebaſtiano*; the *Port Galette*; the *Port Andrea*; the *Port di S. Vincenzo*; the *Port* of *Ribadeo*; the *Port Ieroll*; and the *Port delle Grugne*, or of the *Groyne*. On the *West* part, are the *Port di Monuedra*; the *Port* of *Portugall*; the *Port* of *Lisborne*; & the *Port Secuball*. On the *South* part are the *Port di Siuſas*; the *Port* of *Siuill*; the *Port* of *Calix*; and the *Port* of *Caliz* in the *Iſland*; and the *Port Beger*; & the famous *Port Cartagenia*. On the *East* part is *Port Calibre*, now called *Porto venere*.

*Spaine* hath ſeuē *Arch-Biſhoppricks*, and the *reſidence* is made in *Tarraconia*, in *Sarragoſſa*, in *Tolledo*, in *Compoſtella*, in *Braga*, in *Lisbona*, and in *Granata*. Vnder the aboue-named *Arch-Biſhoppricks*, are many *Citties* and their *Biſhops*; as *Barcellona*, *Girona*, *Ierida*, *Tortoſa*, *Valenza*, *Maiorica*, *Oſtia*, *Monuedro*, *Burgos*, *Salamanca*, *Corduba*, *Legioſa*, *Tariſſa*, *Almaria*, *Siuglia*, and others.

This *Country* (in many places) is not reduced to *tillage & husbandry*, becauſe the *ground* conſiſts of a very *ſtony earth*, and is much *ſquallide* and *filthy* through *deſertneſſe*: notwithstanding, in reſpect of *Affrica*, it is very *fertile*, and this enſueth through the *ouer-great heate* which is

\* The *Citty Siuill* in *Batica*.  
\* The *West ſtar*, and ſuppoſed to be the *fartheſt Country* *Westward*.

*Riuers* in *Spaine*.

The *firſt three diuifions* of *Spaine*, and how ſince altered.  
*Batica*.  
*Andaluſia*.  
*Eſtramadura*.

\* Called alſo *Cæſar auguſta*.

\* Called alſo *Vterior* and *Citerior*.

Of *Iſlands* the *kingdome* of *Spaine*.

*Navigation*

The *cheefe Ports* and *Hauens* in *Spaine*.  
On the *North*

On the *West*

On the *South*

On the *East*

*Archbiſhoppricks*, & *Citties* & *Biſhops* vnder their *command*.

Not much *tillage* or *husbandry* in many places of the *Country*.

in

Things necessary for man.

So digged or of the earth.

Gold, Silver & Iron.

Gold in Rivers.

Springs of hot and cold water.

Swiftness of running waters.

Waters harmful to creatures.

How they are disposed in the River.

Gold in Mines of Galicia.

Spanish Language.

Commodities sent into other places yearly.

in *Affrica*. It aboundeth in all those things that are necessary for man : as in *VVine*, *Corne*, *Fruites*, *Oyle*, *Cattell*, *Line* for all garments, yron mettals, *VVaxe*, *Hony*, *VVaters* well stored with *Fish*, and such other like things. They make no *Salt* by boyling or seething, but dig it out of the earth. And they have not so many windes as *France*; neyther are they so stored with marish and fenny grounds, whereby the ayre is much corrupted. There is not found any *Gold*, *Siluer*, or *Yron*, so good and approued, or in such plenty, as in *Spaine*, and the gold is taken not only out of the *Mines*, but also out of the *Riuers*, which when they encrease by much plenty of raine; they doe produce sandes of gold, & especially the *Riuer Tagus*. There are found out in many places, diuers wels and springs of hot and cold water; maruailously good for the helpe of diuers & fundry infirmities, which happen to the bodies of men. There is likewise great abundance of *Beasts*, both wilde and tame; and especially of swit horses, which were supposed by our *Elders*, to bee conceiued by the windes. They haue no hurtful creatures in any great store, *Conies* onely excepted, who making their caues vnder the ground, doe much harme to the rootes growing in the earth. Their *Riuers* glide away very gently, for hardly can their motion be discerned; and therefore they do not ouer-fl ow, or drowne the fields, being also well stored with *Fish*, because the *Sea* (by helpe of the *Riuers*) doth not send any plenty on land. *Galicia* is much commended for the *Mines* there breeding, and sometime it hapneth in this *Region*, that by plowing vp the ground, the people finde little graynes of gold. The language of the *Spaniards*, is not much different from the *Italians*; from whom they receiued it, whē they were subiected to the *Romane Empire*. On the *Northerly* part, the *Prouince* is not so colde as in that climate of *France*: for it sendeth into *France*, *Oyle*, *Hony*, *Waxe*, *Saffron*, *Madder*, *Barly*, *dying-coulores*, *Chuchinelo*, *Snger*, *Oliues*, *Lemons*, *Dates*, *Cedar*, *Pomgranats*, and other things; but especially many thousand weights of *wool*, & much *wine*, *dried plums* or *pruins*, *rafines*, *almonds*, *chestruts*, *bay-berries*, *salted salmon*, and other things, which are sent into *Italy*, & frō thence transported to *France*.

The temperature and complexion of the *Spaniards*, is much more hot and dry, and their coullor more dun & foggy, thē that of the *French*: because they are more cold and moist, hauing their flesh more soft, and their coullor whiter, & the *French* women are more gentle, and apt to conceiue children, then the *Spanish* are. The *Spaniards* are more raw-boned, men of body, thē the *French*, and in war they feed with councell and arte, being silent by nature; as men that know most exquisitely, how to dissembles their owne intentions, walking very grauely, and vsing much ceremonious behauiour in their customs & qualities. They drinke wine temperately, liue with great respect, & are of acute vnderstanding & knowledge in their words. In *Spain* there are a great number of *Princes*, *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earles*, & *Barons*, and euery one of them hath the reuenues and profits, from 50. to 60. thousand *Ducates* yearly. The *Marquesses* are 20, beside the like reuennues. The *Earls* are 60. with reuenues from ten, to twenty thousand *Ducates*. Then there are *Viscounts*, *Governors*, and *Barons*, which are called *Adalantadoes*. There are great *Masters* of the *Orders* of knighthood; as of *S. James*, of *Alcantara*, of *Calatrana*, of *S. Iohn* of *Ierusalem*, of the *Rhodes*, of *Montese*, and others; who dispend (each one) about 50. thousand *Ducates* in reuennues yearly. The women go pompeously apparelled, wearing rich eare-rings of *Pearl* & *Gold*, hauing their garments plaited, after the manner of *Italy*. When they walk abroad out of their houses, the men-seruants goe before them, and the maids follow after. The most part of them do willingly drink water, and so paint their faces with white and red, that it is most lothsom to behold. They are discreet in speech, yet prettily wanton and lasciuious, & deliuered with effectual gestures, especially in amorous matters. It is not many yeares since, that the people of this *Prouince*, hath gotten a great name of military seruice, as men that are most patient in labors, suffering most valiantly both thirst and hunger, and being matchlesse for subtilties in *Soldierlike* affaires, quicke and nimble of body, both for pursuit & flight. They haue conquered many countries, bringing thence very honourable victories, especially vnder *Charles* the fifth, *Emperor*.

The temper and coullor of the Spaniards, compared with the French.

Their disposition of body and aptnesse to war.

The Princes and Nobility of Spaine, & their reuennues.

The Adalantadoes of Spaine. Great Masters of the Orders of knighthood.

The women of Spaine, their attire and behauiour.

The fame for Military seruices, of no long antiquity among the Spaniards.

Of the Maieſty Royall.

THE Kings of *Spaine*, as great in power, and valorous, in regard of Military prouision, were alwayes held in no meane reuerence among their people. For men bearing ordinarily affection to their Soueraigne, their beneuolence is so much the more encreased, by how much the King liueth vertuously and iustly, according to the ordination of his owne lawes, for so shall hee be both loued and serued. And in conclusion, the worthy deeds of his Lords, that are enriched with vnderstanding and iudgement, doe highly support him: euen as the wicked actions of such as know not how to rule and gouerne, doth ruinate & ouerthrow him. The Kings of *Spaine* haue possessed this Prouince many yeares peaceably, though it was (a long while) nested by the Moores; whom at length they expelled, and reduced the whole politicke body to a quiet condition, and greatly deuoted to the catholique church, where on the King attained to the title of Catholique King. The king then is the cheefe Ruler of the kingdome, and ordereth matters as best him pleaseth: but heere it shall not much differ from our purpose, to sette downe some other obseruations, concerning the originall & succession of this kingdome.

*Spaine* in her yonger daies was held by sundry petty Kings and Tetrarches, & afterward became diuided into many commonwealths, six in number, as some haue written. The *Carthagenians*, a people of *Affrica*, hazzarding their fortune thither: held one part therof, and possessed themselves of many Citties, Townes, and places; vntill they were expelled thence by the *Romanes*, in the time of the Punicke wars. Since when, it was continually subiect to the Roman common-wealth, & reduced into forme of a Prouince onely, in the reigne of the Emperour *Augustus*. So it remained till the Emperour *Honorius* in whose dayes, the *Vandales* (a people of the North parts) brought it vnder their command. But they (were soone after) chased thence by the *Gothes*, who established there the seate of their kingdome; which they maintained (in that kinde) for the space of aboute 200 yeares. Nor were they then called kings of *Spaine*, but kings of the *Gothes*. In the reigne of *Roderick*, king of the *Gothes*, the Moores entred

*Spaine*, in the year 715. they being brought thither by one named *Iulian*; in very despitefull indignation, and to shape out a way to his bloody reuenge, because king *Roderick* had dishonoured his Sister, or as others say) his Daughter, wherof heretofore we haue spoken more largely. And so did the Moores possesse themselves of all *Spaine*, seizing the city of *Tolledo*, which was then the capitall city. So ended the kingdome and name of the *Gothes* in *Spaine*. Nor rested they thus, but pursued on their conquest still, & there remained but *Gallicia*, the *Asturies* and *Leon*: which countries king *Pelagius*, Vnkle and Successor of *Rodericke*, had fled too for refuge, & there shut vp himselfe, in regard that those places were enuironed with Mountaines, and might well defend and shelter him for some time. But his Successors being hardly pressed by the *Sarrazins*, could no longer resist: wherefore, vnder the reigne of *Alphonsus* the second, they were forced to craue the helpe of *Charlemaigne*, king of France, by whose valour and vertue, the Moores were beaten thence a great way, and had bin quite cast out of the country, if the *Spaniards* mallice had bene no hinderance thereto. Afterward, the kings of *Leon* and *Gallicia* (for such were then their onely titles) being so formerly preferued, began somewhat to encrease in power. And in regard of this expeditio performed by the *French*, the strength of the *Moores* was so weakened & diminished, that many other kingdomes were established in *Spaine*, as that of *Navarre*, by *Enocho*, Count of *Bigorre*, in the year 950. which hee tooke away from the *Moores* and *Sarrazins*, by a very valiant conquest of them. And afterward, in the year 116. was *Arragon* reduced to a kingdome, by the will and testament of *Sanchio* the great, fourth king of *Navarre*; for loue to *Ramyrus* his naturall Sonne, who was the first king thereof. This was the same *Sanchio*, who being Earle of *Castile*, in the kingdome of *Leon*, tooke on him first the name of King of *Castile*, which he left vnto his Sonne *Ferdinand*.

The kingdome of *Portugall* was also conquered fro the same *Moores*, by Earle *Henry*, Sonne vnto the Duke of *Lorraine*; who held it first of all vnder tytle of an Earle, in the year 1110. but quickly after, he brought it to be a kingdome. *Spaine* did

The loue and beneuolence of Subiects is much encreased by the life of the Prince according to his lawes.

Spaine subiect to the Moores for many yeares

Spaine in the government of petty kings & Tetrarches.

- 1 Tarracon.
- 2 Carthage.
- 3 Lusitania.
- 4 Gallicia.
- 5 Bætica.
- 6 Tingitana.

The Vandales got the rule of Spaine.

No Kings of Spaine, but Kings of the Gothes.

The Moores in possession of all Spaine

Pelagius, Vnkle and Successor to King Rodericke.

Charlemaigne king of France against the Moores.

The strength of the Moores much weakened.

The kingdomes of Navarre and Arragon,

The first king of Castile

Portugall conquered from the Moores

did continue so (in this kinde of state) for a long time, diuided into many kingdoms: & the *Moore*s had also their abiding ther, possessing still a great part thereof; till such time as *Ferdinand*, the fift, king of *Arragon* (who was married to *Isabell*, the onely heire of *Castile*) wholly expelled the *Moore*s out of *Spain*, in the year 1492. In no great distance of time after, he possessed himselfe of *Sicily* and *Naples*, inuading also the *East Indiaes*. But fraudulently he vsurped the kingdom of *Nauarre*, against *John d' Albret*, who was (indeede) the lawfull King. And it is this *Ferdinand*, and *Isabell* his wife, in whom onely wee may truly say, that the kingdom of *Spain* had her first beginning. They left one only daughter, named *Ioane*, who was married to *Philip* the first, of *Austria*, Sonne vnto the Emperour *Maximillian*, and *Mary* of *Bourgundy*: he succeeded in this kingdom of *Spain*, and other countries beside. He was likewise Earle of *Bourgundy*; of *Flaunders*, and Lord of the *Low-countries*, in the right of his Mother. In this his marriage, was borne *Charles* the fift, who was afterward Emperour. He reigned nine & thirty yeares, preserving his Prouinces very happily: and hee left for succession (both in *Spain*, and the more part of his other countries) his Sonne *Philip* the second, who reigned three and forty yeares, hauing ioyned to his other estates, the kingdom of *Portugall*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1580. and so (consequently) al that which the *Portugals* held in the *East Indiaes*, and elsewhere; as in *Affrica* and *Brafile*, which came vnto him by the death of *Henry* the Cardinall. He died, aged seuenty yeares, the thirteenth day of September, 1598. No long time before his death, hee had made peace with the mighty and most christian King of France, *Henry* the fourth. *Philip* the third, his Sonne, succeeded him, and reigneth as yet to this day. He married *Margret*, daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, by whom he had a Sonne, in the Moneth of Aprill, 1606. Now let vs returne where we left before, concerning the king of *Spain*, who being a good king, and liuing orderly; therefore on him doe depend the following counsellors, who are speciall members of gouernement, both in the Court and elsewhere.

*Councillors of Estate Royall.*

**T**HE supreatne assembly of *Spain*, which is the very same, that (in effect) hath the gouernment of most important affayres in their power; is the Royall or Kingly Council, so tearmed of the vobable king; because they are (among all other counsellors) as the King himselfe among his greatest Lords. These counsellors doe provide for the peoples liuing, in all things that appertaine to a well ordered state: because from them do proceed all meanes and deliberations, concerning matters of Graine, taxations, customes, prouisions, and other substantiall occasions for safe being; but euermore assisted by the Princes authority. These counsellors are in number twelue, all principall men of the kingdom, & noble by blood, hauing a President as their cheefe. And from these Noble men, being assembled together, do come all orders, wherby the whole Realme of *Spain* is gouerned: and the appellation of three Audiencies, called the Chanceries of three kingdoms, do all resort to this councill.

*The Councill of Inquisition.*

**I**n regard of the conquests which the *Moore*s (in former times) made of this kingdom, reformation of the people was thought most conuenient, by bringing them to holy Baptisme, and procuring by all carefull meanes, that Religion might endure no danger throughout the country: this council was first created, and called, *The sacred Councill of Inquisition*. Whereof there is a President, and hee is alwayes an Ecclesiasticall person, as the Arch-Bishop of *Tolledo*, or the Arch-Bishop of *Siwill*. He is assisted by twelue others counsellors, who doe altogether deale in matters appertaining to religion. They giue chastisement to heretiques; haue care of catholique affayres; and peruse all Bookes before they be imprinted, to auoyd them of offence or corruptions. Other the like busineses are referred to their charge, for the better preservation of holy faith.

*The Councill of the Orders.*

**I**N *Spain* there are three seueral degrees of Knights, all honourable gentlemen, containing euery one by themselves, one proper & peculiar Order of knighthood, introduced in former times by diuers Kings of the Land. The first and principal among all the other, is that of the knights

The reason of the Kings Councelles name:

The care and prouidence of the Councill.

The President of the Councill.

The reason of first instituting the councell of Inquisition.

The Councill of Inquisition onely for Religious occasions.

Three seueral Orders of Knighthood in Spaine. Of S. James. Of Calatrava. Of Alcantara.

The Moores whly beaten out of Spaine.

The beginning of the kinde of Spain and descent of their kings

The birth of Charles the 5th Emperor.

Portugall added to the dominion of Spaine.

Philip the 3rd King of Spain living.

The reason  
for this coun-  
cels first ordi-  
nation.

The great  
Master of  
these Orders.

Their Office  
& authority.

Columbus the  
first reuealer  
of the Indiaes.

Twelue coun-  
cellers of the  
Indiaes, and  
one President

The reason of  
this Councils  
negotiation.

of *S. James*: the second, the Knights of *Calatraua*: and the third, the Knights of *Alcantara*. These three Orders haue (each one to it selfe) many Citties and Castles vnder their gouernment, gotten and obtained in diuers times: and because their managing is great, and as if it were a kingdome within it selfe, therefore this Council of these Orders was ordained. Whereof there is a President, with foure Councillers, and these meeting all together, do prouide Magistrates of the Orders, of Lawes, and of all other things that appertaine to the foresaid Orders. The King is the great Master of these Orders, & when any expedition is to be performed by the Order of *S. James*, the King in his Letter, next vnto the ordinary stile or title that is vsually giuen him, writeth; *And perpetual Administrator of S. James, &c.* Next vnto the King, followeth the great Commendator of *Leon*, as being Commendator of the Order of *S. James*; and after him, the Commendator of *Castile*. These altogether with the King, do dispente the commendums of spirituall liuings: but for that, looke in our Booke of the originall of Knights.

*The Councell of the Indiaes.*

When it pleased God, by the means of *Don Christophero Colombo*, to open (in our time) that part of the world, which formerly was shut vp from all of vs now here dwelling, and whereof the kings of *Spaine* haue (in part) bin Patrones: for gouernment of that part (as necessity required) a Councell of the *Indiaes* was created, consisting of twelue Councillers, with one President. These then do attend vpon all such matters, as appertaine to the gouerning of *India*. And therefore they haue their full power, sending thether Gouernors, Officers, and all kinde of prouision, as is fit for those kingdomes, which are vnder the Crowne of *Castile*.

*The Councell of Warre.*

When it so falleth out, that any matter of action is to be vndertaken, eyther for defence of themselues, or any new acquisition, the Councell of Warre do meete together: among whom are the Lords of the Councell Royall, the great Commendator of *Leon*, the Commendator of *Castile*, with other cheefe

Rulers.

*The secretes Councell.*

Last of all is the Councell for matters of secrecy, wherein the King is present, the great Chancellor, the great Commendator of *Leon*, and the third part of the Councell Royall, with the President. Being set together, they giue dispatch to matters of greatest secrecy, and which do most import the King, as appertaining properly to the State.

*Three Iudges, and the Reſtor.*

For causes incident to ciuill and criminall iudgement, three Iudges are ordayned in criminall occasions, who, as being Tribunes of the common people, do dispatch all criminall occurrences. And when the ordinary *Podesta*, or cheefe Officers are there present; the they attend on ciuill affaires: but if it fall out, that hee cannot be there in person, the three Iudges doe then take order in ciuill matters. These are alwayes in those Citties, where the appointed Courts are kept.

*The three Chanceries.*

Over and beside the fore-named Councels and Offices, the King hath three Courts of audience, called three Chanceries, placed in three kingdomes, diuided the one from the other. One is in *Valladolid*, consisting of twelue Councillers, and with one President. These do sit euery morning separately in foure Halles, three in each Hall. The second is in *Granada*, the principall city of the kingdome of *Granada*, as being the first and cheefe. The third and last is in *Galitia*, being neyther more or lesse in power, then the two former. To this Court of audience go all the causes of *Spaine*, and they may each of them (by themselues) expedite their causes, without any interuention one of another. The appeales and chalendges of the *Reſtor* of *Granada*, doe passe to the audience of *Granada*; and those of *Castile*, to *Valladolid*, and so from hand to hand. But in regard that they haue superiours, and for better satisfaction of the people, such as finde themselues greued in the fore-named Audiencies or Chanceries, may appeale from them to the Councell Royall. Moreouer, each of these fore-named Chanceries haue *Reſtors* or Commanders,

They haue  
the charge  
priuate and  
secret occas-  
ions.

After the ar-  
cient maner  
of the Rom  
Tribunes.

Three seuer  
Courts of  
audience, in  
Valladolid,  
Granada, &  
Galitia.

The Appea-  
les and Chale-  
ndges of each  
Court.

Appeales to  
the Royall  
Councell.

ders, with criminall iurisdiction.

*Vice-Royes, or Kings Deputies.*

BECAUSE *Spaine* (as formerly hath bene said) is diuided into diuers kingdoms, the cheefe or principall whereof is *Arragon*: the King hath and doth vsually send into those kingdomes, Deputies, or Vice-Royes, to gouern there in his name. They are elected and made choise of by him, beeing first affirmed by the councell Royall, to be Princes of the country, men of vertue and valor, and deseruing advancement to so high degree. *Valencia* hath her Vice-Roy, who gouerneth the kingdom of *Valencia*, by the same authority as was receiued from the former Kings of *Arragon*, and by the ancient lawes and orders of the kingdom. In *Barcellona* likewise, the principall city of \* *Catalogna*, ruleth another Vice-Roy, making vse of the lawes, customes, and ordinances of the kingdom of *Barcellona*. In *Arragon*, also is another Vice-Roy, who maketh his residence in \* *Sarragossa*. This Vice-Roy gouerneth by the ancient lawes of *Arragon* (as other Vice-Royes do by the *Castillian* lawes) because it is the head of the other kingdomes. The kingdom of *Nauarre* hath also her Vice-Roy, abiding in *Pampalona*, who ruleth this kingdom according to the lawes thereof, and those of the crowne of *Castile*, because it was last of all conquered by *Don Ferdinando*, the catholike King. All the fore-named Vice-Royes, doe acknowledge the King of *Spaine*, and his councell Royall, in all their causes.

*The Treasurer of Castile.*

LAST of all, there liueth in Court the Treasurer, a most honourable degree, and of great importance, who receyueth the monies of all the kingdomes reuenues. Hee hath foure Contadories or Auditors vnder his command, who doe gather and collect the monies from the people, and bringing them vnto the Treasurer, payments are continually made forth, as command is giuen by the King to the Treasurer.

CHAP. II.

*Of the Kingdome of Portugall; the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Customes, Lawes, and administration of Iustice therein obserued.*



THE kingdom of *Portugall* began in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, five hundred and ten, and after this manner. *Henry* Earle of *Lorraine* comming thither, performed many valiant deeds against the *Sarrazins*, and his high deseruings mooued *Alphonsus* the sixt king of *Castile*, to giue him a Bastard daughter of his in marriage, named *Tiresia*. And in way of dowry, he assigned also vnto him that part of *Galicia*, which was then contained in \* *Lusitania*.

Of this marriage was *Alphonsus* borne, who was the first that euer stiled himselfe king of *Portugall*: and hee was the first also, that tooke the city of *Lisbone* from the *Sarrazins*. For he hauing conquered five of their Kings in seuerall battailes; caused his Armes to bee adorned with five seuerall Crownes & Coat-Armors, which euer after continued the Ensigne of the kings of *Portugall*, in perpetuall memory of his valour. But he quickly stayned this faire fame, with cruelty vsed by him to his owne Mother. For after her second marriage, he caused her to be imprisoned, and albeit the Pope laboured the matter greatly, by the meanes of his Legate; yet could he neuer compasse his grace and fauour for her deliuerance. Which sinne was seuerely punished on him afterward by his enemies, who tooke him in battaile. And then his Sonne *Sanctio* succeeded him, and after *Sanctio*, diuers other, to *Iohn*, who was the tenth king in direct and naturall line.

This *Iohn* was (at the first) expelled from his kingdom, and made a Knight of *S. Iohn* of *Ierusalem*: but at length hee was re-called to his kingdom, where hee made very honourable prooffe of his valour, and (among diuers famous deeds) he tooke from the *Sarrazins* the city of *Septia*. Hee had seuen Sonnes, among which, *Ferdinand* (for integrity of life)

was

How the kingdome had her first beginning.

\*The third part of *Spaine* now called *Portugall*, parted on the North from *Tarracon*, by the Riuer *Durius*, on the South, from *Bætica*, by the Riuer *Anas*.

The succession in the kingdome after *Alphonus* the first.

The King of *Portugall* a knight of *S. Iohn* of *Ierusalem*.

Arragon the principall kingdom of Spaine.

The manner and order of the Vice-royes gouerning in their severall char- ges.

*Hispania* Citerior.

*Cæsar* augmented *Tarracon* in *Spaine*.

*Empalona* conquered by *King Ferdinando*.

These Auditors of collections and counts.

was termed a Saint.

Henry another of his sonnes, was the first that found *Noua Insula*, in the *Atlanticke* Sea. Hee being very skilfull in the *Mathematickes*, liued continually without a wife, and made his dayly abiding in a Promontorie, which was called the Cape of Saint \* *Vincent*, and there he died, in the yeare, 1460. But *Edward*, who was the eldest Brother, was made King; and he added to the kingdome of *Portugall*, by meanes of his warres, *Zelia*, *Teggea*, and *Alcazar* in *Affrica*. Hee had two daughters, or sisters (as some say) named *Ioane* and *Leonora*; the first was marryed to the King of *Castile*, and the other vnto *Frederick* the third, Emperour, of whome was borne *Maximillian* the first, who was afterward Emperour, and Grandfather to *Charles* the fift. He had also a son, named *Alphonfus*, who succeeded him in the kingdome, and begate *John* and *Emanuel*, that was the fourteenth King of *Portugall*. *Emanuel* had *John*, who tooke to wife the sister of the fore-named *Charles* the fift, Emperour, called *Katherine*, and begate *Lodwicke*, that dyed an infant, and *Isabell* who was wife to the said *Charles*, and had another daughter also, which was married to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. After these succeeded *Sebastian*, who (in our time) fighting against the *Moore*s, was slain, & the King of *Morocco* with him, besides diuers other great Lords of the *Moore*s.

*Henrie*, Vnckle to the deceased King, followed him in succession, he being then a Cardinall, and very aged, holding the kingdome some few months. But he dying, *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, entred on the kingdome; withstanding the claime and title of *Don Anthonio*, beeing a Brothers sonne to the dead King *Henrie*, & so outwearied him with troubles, that he could neuer attaine thereto in full possession, and so it remaineth still in the *Spaniards* power.

Concerning the gouernement of this kingdome, it hath the very same forme & obseruation as all the rest of *Spaine* hath, as being a part of that Prouince. For, there is a high Constable, and a Lorde Great Steward, with all other dignities elsewhere related. By the Title and name of great Lords, there is the Duke of *Braganzia*, the Duke of *Colimbra*, the Duke of *Visco*, the Duke of *Trascossa*, the Duke

of *Barcella* and the Duke of *Awaria*. There is also the Marquesse of *Villa Reale*, the Marquesse of *Torra Nuova*, the Marques of *Monte Maggiore*, and the Marquesse of *Ferrira*, with an infinite number of Earles. There is likewise the Order of Knight-hood, called the *Knights of Christ*, honoured and esteemed much aboue all other, and whereof the King is the Great Maister.

Among these honourable persons in this Order, as an approoued man of valour, most signale for many vertues, liberrall minde and courtesie, beside speedyest intelligence in matters of Military discipline; is the Lorde *Flaminio Zambeccaro*, Lord of *Castella* in *Campagna*, who liueth at this day in *Florence*, and highly affected of the Duke.

CHAP. III.

*Of the Antiquity, Originall, Customs, Lawes and administration of Justice, obserued in the kingdome of Naples.*

**T**HE Cittie of *Naples*, beeing most ancient and Noble in all respectes, giueth the Title of kingdome vnto all the Prouinces which it holdeth and possesseth, euen by hir owne proper name. Therefore wee may thence frame our argument, what the greatnesse of that Citty hath formerly beene, in regard that all the parts by it possessed, deriueth from thence the Title of a Kingdome; which I do not holde to be of any great antiquitie, because the *Normanes* tooke it from the *Græcians*, who possessed the Prouince in diuers partes thereof, and then it vvas termed the County or Earledome of \* *Puglia*, or *Apulia*, as some do yet call it.

*Robert Guiscard*, a verie valiant and worthy man, hauing expulsed (in a manner) all the *Græcians* thence, & taken *Sicily* also from the *Sarrazins*; would needes style himselfe Duke of *Apulia* and of *Calabria*, and Earle of *Sicily*. In no long time after this, his Nephewve *Ruggiero* or *Roger*, hauing conquered the Cittie

\*A high meaine in Portugal, called *Satrum Promontorium*.

The succession of the Kings of Portugal, in their right line and order.

Sebastian K. of Portugal, slaine in the battel of Alcazar.

Philip the first King of Spain

Of the orders and gouernement of the kingdome.

Dukes.

Marquesses.

Earles.

Order of Knight hood

How the kingdome claymeth that title by the Cittie name.

\*A part of Italy, bordering vpon the Adriaticke sea.

Robert Guiscard the valiant Normann.

of Naples, which till that time had beene in the Grecians government) obtayned the title of King of both the Sicillies, by *Anacletus* the Anti-Pope, in the yeare 1130. which afterward was confirmed to him in good and lawfull manner. And from that time, it was called the kingdom of Sicily, on this side<sup>a</sup> *Pharos*; vntill the reigne of *Charles* the first, when it becam diuided from Sicily, by occasion of that famous accident, called *Vespro Siciliano*, the Sicilian Euening, wherein so manie of the French were slaine. I finde moreouer in many good Historians, that this kingdome hath had 3. severall Names, to wit; the kingdome of Naples, the Kingdome of *Apulia*, and the kingdom of Sicily, on this side *Pharos*, the bounds or circumference whereof, at this day is thus described.

First of all, by Land-way, measure of the Line, and the Confines of the whole Kingdom, with the Sea-shores & stronds; as also *Campagna di Roma*, (sometimes called *Latium*, which (at this day) terminateth the riuer of *Offento* on this side *Terracina*, and from the mouth of the sayde Riuer, where it entereth into the *Terrene* Sea, proceeding on still towards the *Apennines*, with *Latium*, and part of *Sabina*: then passing the *Apennines*, with part of *Vmbria* and of *Picenam*, now called *Marca d'Ancona*, vnto the Confines thereof, is the Riuer *Truentus* or *Tronto*, where it entereth into the bosom of the *Adriaticke* maine. Which Scale or Lone, because it doth not directly extend it selfe forth, but passeth on by turnings and windings, euermore from one of the forenamed Riuer to another, by the terminations of those Regions, it containeth about an hundred and fifty miles in length. Passing on thence from<sup>c</sup> *Terracina*; by the confines of the kingdome, to *Porto Corino*, and *Ceperano*, and by the confines of *Rieti*, thorow the country of *Tayliacozzo*, to *Interdoco*, and *Ciuita Reale*, then to *Matrice*, and thence (by the riuer) to *Ascoli*, till we come to the mouth of *Tronto*, the Line heere being directly extended, will containe about an hundred thirty miles in length, or little lesse. By the sea-coasts along the banke and shore, the whole kingdome windeth about, like vnto an Island almost round engirt with water, as towards the middest of the *Terrene* Sea,

and so on to the *Sicilian* sea. On the East side, from the *Adriaticke* sea, and so vnto the North, part of the *Ionian* sea, so farre as<sup>d</sup> *Monte Gargano*, or *Santo Angelo*, and part of the *Adriaticke* bosome, from *Gargano* to *Tronto*, the Kingdome extendeth it selfe, and imparteth her boundes with the saide sea: all which circumference, from *Offento* to *Tronto*, and in length by the sea-shores, containeth in all 1418. miles, in this manner.

From *Terracina* to *Naples*, are eighty two miles. From *Naples*, to the heade of the gulfe of *Policraſto*, an hundred fortie seven miles. From the head of *Policraſto* to *Rhegium* in *Calabria*, an hundred eighty three miles. From *Rhegium* to the head of *Spartimentò*, so to *Capo delle Colonne*, now called<sup>e</sup> *Lacinium*, an hundred and ninety miles. From *Capo delle Colonne*, to *Taranto*, two hundred miles. From *Taranto*, to *Capo di Leuca*, now called *Salento*, thirtie miles. From *Capo di Leuca*, to *Capo d'Otranto*, sixe and twenty miles. From *Capo d'Otranto*, to *Capo S. Angelo*, now called *Gargano*, two hundred two and twentie miles. From *Capo S. Angelo*, to the vttermost confines, which is the riuer of *Tronto*, two hundred miles. All which sums in this roundure (by the sea boundes) do make one thousand, foure hundred, and eightene miles. Whereunto adioyning the foresaid hundred & fiftie miles, which is the space of the Land by measured line, wherewith if wee ioynè to the other part of *Italy*, from *Offento* to *Tronto*, it summeth vp, one thousand five hundred sixty eight miles. And this is now (at this day) the dimension or measure of the kingdomes circuit.

These following Regions and Prouinces, are contained and embraced within the whole bodie. *Latio Nouo*, that is one part, so much as is from the Riuer of *Terracina*, reaching to *Garigliano*. For, one part of the true *Latio*, which anciently extended it selfe so farre as the Riuer<sup>f</sup> *Liris*, that now adayes is called *Garigliano*, beginneth from *Offento* vpon the *Terrene* sea. And although in these times, there are three partitions made of all the Regions which lye betweene *Teuere*, *Sabina*, the *Apennines*, and *Terracina*, and termed by three severall names, to witte, *Latio*, *Compagna di Roma*, and<sup>g</sup> *Maremma*: yet notwithstanding, in elder dayes (so farre

d A hil in *Apulia*, now called *Mons S. Angeli*.

The iust account or numbering of the miles from one place to another thorough the kingdome.

e A Promontorie in the furthest part of *Italy*, deuiding the *Ionian* and *Adriaticke* Seas, where *Hercules* built a Temple to *Iuno*, and cald it *Lacinia*.

Regions and Prouinces contained in this kingdome.

f A Riuer in *Campania*, running by the town *Minturnæ*.

g The sea betwene *Tuſcia* or *Hertruria*, called also *Mare inferum*.

a little Isle against the south of *Nyssa*, ioyning to *Alexandria*.

b The Sicilian evening.

c description of the whole kingdome in length and breadth.

d That part of Italy which is betweene the mouths of *Tiber* and the *Arceians*: so called of *Latium*. In it standeth the *Citie* of *Rome*, whereof this is called *Campagna di Roma*.

e Or *Trineus* is, a Towne in the *Brucias* the vttermost borders of *Italy*, neere the *Lucania*.

farre as *Garigliano*) was called all by one name, to wit, *Latio Nuouo*, or new *Latinum*. And in this Region the chiefe landes and Citties, are *Formella*, *Fonds*, and *Gaeta*.

Olde *Campania*, which stretcheth from *Garigliano*, so farre as the riuer<sup>h</sup> *Sarnus*: therein is *Naples* and *Capua*, a most noble City, as well in auncient as moderne times.

*Picenum*, or where the *Picentines* inhabite, holdeth on from *Sarnus*, to the Riuer<sup>i</sup> *Silarus*, and the most famous Cities therein, are *Sorrento*, *Nocera de Pagani*, & *Salernum*.

*Lucania*, called somtimes *Sao*, containes it self betweene the riuer *Silarus*, and that called<sup>k</sup> *Saprio*. And therein the Cities of most note are *Pontecastro* & *Saleorin* elder times also there were *Pestum* and *Buxentum*, and among the mountaines are many Castles.

Where the<sup>l</sup> *Brutij* do liue, it confineth with *Lucania*, and runneth along the riuer *Saprio* vpon the *Terrhene* sea, so farre as the Promontory of *Lencopetra*, at this day called<sup>m</sup> *Capo dell' arme* in the *Sicilian* Sea, where the *Apennine* Mountaines do end, which beginning at the *Alpes*, run all along through the midst of *Italy*, and the verie toppe ouer the saide *Cape*, is now adayes called by Marriners, *Punta di Tarlo*, the point of *Tarlo*. In this part, the most principall places are *Cosenza*, and *Rhegium* on the Sea, otherwise tearmed *Iunio*, as a difference and distinction from that *Rhegium* which is in *Lombardi*, so named by *Lepidus*.

<sup>n</sup> *Magna Grecia*, or *Great Grecia*, runneth along from *Capo dell' arme*, turning Northerly towards the Promontorie of *Capo di Spartimento*, now called<sup>o</sup> *Herculanium*, by the Seacoast so farre as *Taranto*, where it entreth into the *Adriaticke* sea. In it, are *Squillace*, *Taranto*, and *Cotroni*.

The country of the<sup>p</sup> *Salentines*, is on the breast of *Taranto*, so farre as *Capo di Leuca*, now called the *Salentine* Promontorie. In it are scituated *Callipolis* and *Vgento*.

*Calabria* it selfe, which hath so continued, turneth vnto *Capo di Leuca* Northward, so farre as<sup>q</sup> *Brundusium* in the *Ionian* sea. The famous Citties therein, are *Lecci*, *Brundusium*, or *Brandisium*, and

*Hydruntum*, now called *Otronto*. These two Regions (I meane *Salentinum* & *Calabria*, which is that part of Land which extendeth towards the East, between the Gulffe of *Taranto* and the *Ionian* sea;) being ioyned together with one name, now adayes termed *Terra d'Otronto*, was called by our forefathers) *Lapigia* and<sup>r</sup> *Messapea*. And it is an Island round engirte with waters; for from *Taranto* to *Brundusium*, which are vpon the two seas, there is not in firme land aboue 35 miles,

*Apulia*<sup>c</sup> *Pucetia*, betweene *Brundusium* & *Offento*, vpon the *Ionian* Gulffe, is now adayes (along the sea-coast) called *Terra di Bari*, and *Louenazzo*, & lyeth betweene the sandy countries.

*Capitanato*, of plain *Apulia*, with his extendure betweene *Offento* and the Riuer called *Fortore*, passeth on, on the *Ionian* Gulffe, so far as *Capo S. Angelo*, & thence vpon the *Adriaticke* bosome to *Fortore*. The places of most note, are *Salupis*,<sup>u</sup> *Siponto*, and *Manfredonia*, a new city builte by King *Maufred*. It is also between *Terra Luceria*, or *Nocera de Saracini*, and *Canoza*.

*Frentani* are a people living from *Fortore* to the Riuer<sup>x</sup> *Sagrus*, or *Sagra*, now called the bloody riuer, on the *Adriaticke* Gulffe. Chiefe cities therein, are *Estonni*, somtime caid *Istonium*, *Larino*, & *Lariano*.

The *Peligni* dwell betweene the Riuer *Sagra*, and that called<sup>y</sup> *Pescara*, sometime *Aternus*. The fairest city, between *Terra*<sup>z</sup> *Sulmona*, and *Pentina* on the seacoast, is *Ortano*.

The<sup>a</sup> *Marucini* do inhabite from the riuer of *Pescara*, so farre as *Tronto*, the vtmost ending of the kingdome, along the sea-shore on the *Adriaticke* gulfe. There is a Sea-Cittie, which is called *Francauilla* or<sup>b</sup> *Frentana*, and a Land-city called *Chieti*.

About the *Marucini*, between the land of the *Apennines*, and where they do take best rooting, beginning at the confines of the<sup>c</sup> *Peligni*, so now called, and turning towards *Marca d'Ancona*, are three other people in order, to witte, the *Vestini*, whose City was named *Pinna*, and now called the city of *Penna*; the *Antitermi* and *Furroni*, of whose ruines the citie of<sup>d</sup> *Aquila* was buildd, some smal distance off.

The *Vestini*, neighbor with the *Precentij*, of whom

h A Riuer of *Campania*, rising out of *Sarnus*, a hill in *Picenum*.

i A Riuer of *Lucania*, diuiding it from *Picenum*.

k Taking nam of *Leda* a City in *Italie*.

l People dwelling aboute the *Lucani*.

m A promontory of *Rhegium* in *Italy* against *Sicily*.

n That part of *Italy*, from *Laurentum* to *Cumz*.

o A Towne in *Campania*.

p People almost enuironed with the sea, nere to *Apulia*.

q A city of *Calabria* by the *Adriaticke* sea, it hath a goodly Hauen.

r The Land of the *Salentine*.

s Where *Iupiter* was worshipped in *Liconia*.

t Anlle whose narrow entrance is a whole dayes journey.

u Called also *Sepius* or *Sepinum* among the *Samnites* in *Italy*.

x A riuer in *Italy*, parting the *Peligni* from the *Frentani*.

y A riuer parting by *Frentum* in *Italy*.  
z Where *Oricus* was borne.

a A people in *Italy*.

b Next to the *Dauni* and *Picentes*.

c People of *Italy*, next to the *Marfi*.

d A Citie in *Campania*.

called for  
the Coward  
and base  
maners.  
bordering  
the Sam-  
nites & Ae-  
gulani.

deere lieue  
the mountain  
people, be-  
tween the Sa-  
bines and the  
Atrii.

deere the  
the Aufidius  
in Apulia ri-  
le.

called also  
Vernum.

Seen princi-  
pals parts or  
divisions, after  
made 12

Campania,  
counted the  
most fertile &  
pleasant in all  
the world.

whom it is verily credited, that the name of the *Brutij*, now tearmed<sup>a</sup> *Abruzzesi*, was first deriued.

The<sup>b</sup> *Marsi* dwell more inward to the Mountaines, whose most famous place is *Celena*, with her Lake *Lucina*, now tearmed of the *Marsi* and *Albi*. These sixe forenamed people, are all called by one name, *Abruzzesi*; but oftentimes by writers they are vnderstood vnder the nomination of the *Samnites*.

\* *Samnio*, from the point of Land, and almost to the middest of the Kingdome, hath *Latium* and *Campania* in length, both on this side, and beyond the *Apennines*. At this day it is called *Valle Beneuentana*, the valley of *Beneuentum*, which extendeth it selfe in length, so farre as the Riuer *Silarus*, eighty miles. Places of greatest name heretofore, were *Esernia*, *Sepino*, *Telatio*, *Beneuentum* and *Bouiano*.

The<sup>d</sup> *Hirpini*, otherwise called *Samnites*, do confine with the *Picentines*, *Lucanes* and *Apulians*, partaking at this day with *Principato* and *Basilicata*. The most noted Cities, are now<sup>e</sup> *Auellino* and *Agnone*.

I finde that all these Regions haue (by our Moderne writers) beene diuided into seuen seuerall principall partes or Prouinces, if we may so tearme them, to wit, *Terra di Lauoro*, *Principato*, *Basilicata*, *Calabria*, *Terra di Otranto*, *Apulia* & *Abruzzo*. Which Prouinces haue (since then) according to order of later diuision, bene parted into twelue Regions, as I finde them in the Registers of *Naples*, in this manner.

<sup>f</sup> *Terra di Lauoro*, which hath in lands, Citties, and Castelles, to the number of 198.

- Contado di Montisio*, hath 108.
- Abruzzo* the neereft, hath 155.
- Abruzzo* the furthest, hath 288.
- Capitanata*, hath 96.
- Terra di Bari*, hath 50.
- Basilicata*, hath 103.
- Terra d'Otranto*, hath 172.
- Principato* the neereft, hath 129.
- Principato* the furthest, hath 164.
- Calabria* the neereft, hath 162.
- Calabria* the furthest, hath 147.

All which beeing fully summed toge-

ther, in Citties, Lands, and Castles, as hath formerly beene sayde, and all inhabited with plenty of people, and furnished with all thinges commodious for the life of man, do amount to one thousand seuen hundred, seuentie foure.

There are certaine Islands also in the bodie of this kingdome, which circle, neighbour, or are opposite: as on the *Terrhene* sea, directly facing *Terracina* & *Gaeta*, are the Isles of *Ponza*, and of *Palmarola*. And ouer-against<sup>g</sup> *Mola*, is the Ile of *Desente*. At the encountering of<sup>h</sup> *Pozzuolo*, is that of *Ischia*; neere to which is *Procida*, or *Prochyta*, made famous by those yong Gallants that deuised & performed the *Sicilian* Euening beside *Nisari* and<sup>i</sup> *Capraa*, so highly beloued of the Emperor *Tiberius*, opposite to *Capo della Minerua*.

The three<sup>k</sup> *Sirenussa* do front *Passitano*; one of them being called *Gale*, another *Mona*, and the third *S. Pietro*. There is likewise the Isle of<sup>l</sup> *Lipara*, which circleth about ten miles, wherein are some Citties. On the *Adriaticke* maine, right against *Varano*, are those of *Rafata* & *Gargano*; and the foure other called<sup>m</sup> *Diomeda*, now adayes called *Tremito*, but they are very little; and the two greater thereof are called, the one *S. Maria*, the other *S. Doimo*, and the two lesser are, the one *Gatizzo*, and the other *Caprara*. These are Islands of some note and name, omitting other places, which bee comprehended within the confines of the kingdome of *Naples*.

With them might bee ranked that of<sup>n</sup> *Sicily*, an Italian Island, great & wealthy: but that it is an Isle of it self, & at this day deuided from the kingdome. Notwithstanding, it did sometime partake in name with the kingdome of *Naples*. For some Kings, as *Fredericke* the eleuenth, *Maufrid* his sonne, *Charles* the first of *Aniou*, and *Alphonsus* the first of *Arragon*, possessing both the one and other, wrote their titles both on this side, and beyond<sup>o</sup> *Pharos*. Whereuppon, when we find it written simply the kingdome of *Sicily*: it is meant of this Isle, & not of *Sicily* on this side *Pharos* in *Italy*.

In this Kingdome are twenty Archbyshoppricks, to wit, of *Naples*: which hath siue Byshoppes vnder it: Of *Capua*, which hath ten. Of *Salernum*, which hath ten.

The general  
tum collect  
together

Islands in the  
Kingdome.

g The Cittie  
Nola in Cam-  
pania.  
h Puteoli, 8.  
miles from  
Naples

i Beyond Sur-  
rentum in  
Campania.

k Three Isles  
before Luca-  
nia.

l Containing  
seuen Isles  
betwene Italy  
and Sicily.

m Isles oppo-  
site to Garga-  
nus.

n A famous  
Isle in the Ter-  
rhene sea, 618  
miles about,  
sometime per-  
taining to the  
Kingdome of  
Naples.

o A Gulfe of  
the sea by Si-  
cily, cald also  
Charybdis,  
dangerous to  
passe.

How manie  
Archbyshop-  
pricks are in  
the kingdome  
and Byshops  
vnder them.

ten. Of *Amalfi* foure. Of *Sorrenzo* three. Of *Conza* six. Of *Cilienza* six. Of *Taranto* two. Of *Brundisium* one, and hath conioyned with it the Arch-byshoppricke of *Oria*. Of *Otranto* six. Of *Bari* twelue. Of *Trani* six. Of *Hiponte* one, and hath vnited with it the Archbyshoppricke of *Monte de S. Angelo*. Of *Beneuentum* twenty three. Of *Ciuita di Chieti* three. Of *Sanciano* four. Of *Rhegium* eleuen. Of *Cosenza* one. Of *Rossano*, which hath no Byshops See vnder it. Of *Saint Seuerina* ten. And there is the Archbifshoppricke of *Matera* beside.

There are also an hundred twenty four Byshops, which are vnder the aboue named Archbyshoppricks; only the byshop of *Bisignano* excepted, who is not subiect to any one.

It is also to bee noted, that the Title of Prince is greater in this kingdome, then that of Duke. And the Principalities there are ten in number, to wit, of *Ascoli*, of *Bisignano*, of *Euoli*, of *Melfi*, of *Molfetta*, of *Monchercole*, of *Squillati*, of *Siegliano*, of *Sulmona*, and of *Venosa*.

There are likewise three and twentie Dukedomes. As of *Andri*, of *Amalfi*, of *Ariano*, of *Asu*, of *Boiano*, of *Castronillari*, of *Noceri*, of *Popala*, of *Rocca di Mondragone*, of *S. Pietro in Galatina*, of *Seminara*, of *Sessa*, of *Somma*, of *Sora*, of *Tagliacozzo*, of *Termoli*, of *Terra nouo*, and of *Traieto*, together with those of *Gravina di Martina*, of *Montalto*, of *Montelione*, and of *Nardo*.

The Marquesates are 29. of *Anna*, of *Arienza*, of *Bellate*, of *Bucchianico*, of *Campania*, of *Capo Vrso*, of *Castel Vetere*, of *Chierchiato*, of *Ciuita S. Angelo*, of *Corigliano*, of *Lama*, of *Lauro*, of *Sicito*, of *Misuraca*, of *Oria*, of *Oriolo*, of *Padula Beruentana*, of *Pulignano*, of *Quarata*, of *Santo Lucito*, of *Terza*, of *Torre di Francolise*, of *Torre Maggiore*, of *Trinico*, of *Turso*, of *Valle Siciliana*, of *Vasto*, and of *Vico*.

There are in like manner, 54. Earles of State, 15. Lords, and 443. entituled Barons. And it is verily supposed, that in any kingdome of the world, there are not so many great Princes and Lordes, as in this, because they are (by nature) of high and lofty courage. And nowe I call to minde, in this matter, that I haue read in some Registers, bearing date of the yeare 1521. that the Emperor *Charles* the fift,

fold many Titles and Lordshippes in the kingdom, & that many Gentlemen sold their goodes at ten in the hundred, and bought these Lordships at three in the hundred.

This kingdome so highly ennobled, full of worthy Princes, most rich and fertile, as more cannot bee wished; was for long time gouerned by diuers kings. For beside the Normans, who helde it manie yeares, and (as hath beene sayde) wonne it the title of a Realme; it fell at length to *Fredericke* the second, Emperour, who had it of *Henry* the sixte his Father: after whom succeeded *Corrado* Emperour, son to *Fredericke*; and after him it came (by reason) to *Corradino*, Nephew to *Corrado*. But *Maufredo* the bastard son to *Fredericke*, feigning that *Corrodina* was dead vsurped the State, and made himself king. But Pope *Vrbane* the fourth (beeing enemy to *Maufredo*) excommunicated him, and deprived him of the kingdome: inuefing therein in Anno 1266. *Charles* the 1. of *Aniou*, Brother to *Lewes* the eight, K. of *France*; who (first of all) slewe *Maufredo*, and afterwarde causing *Corradino* to be beheaded, tooke it in full possession.

*Charles* the second, Sonne to *Charles* Prince of *Salerne* had it next; and then succeeded him, *Robert* the excellent Philosopher; who was a very louing friend to *Petrach*. After him, the succession fel to *Ioane*, the Neece of *Robert* by *Charls*; and next succeeded *Charles* the third, K. of<sup>b</sup> *Durazzo*.

After his death there happened contention for the kingdome, betweene *Ladislaus* sonne to *Charles* the third, and *Lewes* of *Aniou*: but *Ladislaus* remaining sul Patron, held it till the yeare one thousand foure hundred and foureteene: and then succeeded *Ioane* the second, his sister; in whose place (making himselfe King by force of armes) rose *Alphonso* of *Arragon* the sonne to *Ferdinando*, who left it vnto *Ferdinando* his bastard son. Next to him succeeded *Alphonso* the second, who troubled himselfe not long in the Kingdome, by the comming of *Charles* the eight, K. of *France* into *Italy*, for recouerie of the kingdome, and then renounced it to *Ferdinando* the second, his son; from whom it came to *Frederigo*, Vnckle to the sayde *Ferdinando*.

Afterward it fell to *Charles* the fift, Em-

124. Byshops vnder the 20. Archbyshops.

Of the Principalities in the kingdome

Of the feuerall dukedoms being 23. in number.

Of the Marquesats, to the number of 29

Of Earles, Lords, and Barons in their feuerall numbers.

The Emperor *Charles* the 5

The Normans gouerned Naples many yeares

The success of the Kings of Naples after the Normans.

<sup>b</sup> Epidamnus called also Durace, in that part of Macedon lying on the Adriaticke Sea

Emperor, who had the inuestiture from Pope *Leo* the tenth. For there was such a constitution betweene the Popes, Emperors, and Kings of *Naples*, that whosoever was Emperor, he could not bee King of *Naples*: and therefore he gaue it ouer to *Philip* the first, King of *Spain*, whose sonne *Philip* the second, now holdeth it, keeping there a Vice-roy, with most ample authority, and representeth there the Kings owne person. Whereby he is very much honoured and reuerenced of all his subordinate Governours, according as he causeth himselfe to be esteemed, both by his valour and authority.

*The High Constable.*

The Officers or Magistrates of the Kingdome, are seauen in theyr severall degrees; but he whom they terme *Sindico*, that representeth the whole City, and speaketh for all as chiefe Aduocate, is the Constable, or rather high Marshall. He is the first man of the kingdome, and Captaine generall for all ordinances of warre. He (as Lieutenant to the king) ordaineth and provideth all such things, as appertaine to the preparation for warre: hauing charge of the Sentinelles, encamping men, providing tents and lodgings, appointing the Ensignes Royall, and (in breefe) hee hath the care for all matters that concerne Armes. In which place, he hath authority to chastise, and to put to death such persons as commit Theft, Rapine, Homicides, and other misdemeanors in the Campe. And this Office continueth so long as warres lasteth. When the King createth him in this dignity, deliuering a Truncheon to him, he useth these words: *Take this holy Weapon, wherewith thou shalt expell the aduersaries of my people.*

*The Great Iusticer.*

The second Office, is that of Great Iusticer, or Lord chiefe Iustice, who hath iurisdiction as well in ciuil causes, as those that be criminall; and vnder his authority are all the Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Lords, and Barons of the Kingdome; for to him belongeth care of offences against the Maiesty Royall. His Vicar or Lieutenant, is called Regent of the *Vicaria*: who hath his Iudges both ciuill and cri-

minall, and his Tribunall is in the Court of the *Vicaria*, hauing allowed him for his yearely prouision, sixe hundred Ducates.

*The High Admirall.*

The thirde Office, is that of Great or High Admirall, who hath the charge of Sea causes, and such things as appertaine to Nauall Art and profession. Hee looketh to the making, repairing, building, and appointing of all Shippes for Royall seruice, and keeping of all such vessels as come into the kingdome, from what parts soeuer. VVhen occasion so requireth, and that it is imposed on him by the King, he setteth forth the Nauall Army in order. He appointeth both reall & corporeall punishments for delinquents, and hath ciuill and criminall iurisdiction ouer the Officers and others, that attend on Sea affayres.

*The Great Chamberlaine.*

The fourth Office, is, that of Great Chamberlaine, or the Chamberlaine of State, choose yee whether: whose Deputie or Lieutenant hath his iudgement Seate, in the Chamber called *Sommaria*. His charge is to haue care of the Kinges person, to prepare and adorne his bedde; as also his Garments, and to take order for all his vnder Chamberlaines, Guardians, and Treasurers. Hee keepeth all the customes of the kingdome, and taketh cognition of the matters belonging vnto the Royall Exchequer, the tenths, tolles, fines, reuennues, and other things appertaining to the Kinges person.

*The Protonotary.*

The fift Office is the Lieutenant, or rather Protonotarie. Hee standeth obliged to reade before the King, and to conserue the writings and registers. He hath authority to create Notaries, Iudges, and to Legittimate Bastards. But the Catholike King hath (since then) transferred the Office of writings, and of the Registers, to the Kinges Chancery.

*The Great Steward.*

The sixte Office, is that of Great  
Ii  
Senel-

The L. High Admirall, the third Officer, & his authority.

The fourth officer, Lord Great Chamberlaine, and his authority.

The Protonotary or chiefe Secretary, and his office

Constitution concerning the Kingdome of Naples

Seven severall Offices of Authority appertaining to the Kingdome.

The Office of the high Constable or Marshall.

The manner of the Constables creation.

The Lord chiefe Iustice, the second Officer of the Kingdome, and his authority.

Seneschall or Steward, termed the *Maiordomo* or Master of the household. This man hath the government of the household Royal, and to provide all things necessary for life, as also garments for the Servants in the Kings Court; having likewise absolute power, to correct & punish all the familiars of the Kings house.

Great Chancellor.

The seventh and last Office (of most importance in the kingdome) is that of Great Chancellor; who writeth the kings Letters of secrecie, and sealeth al the priviledges (graunted by the King) to any person. He hath also command over the walkers of Stations, the Beadles, the Studies, and such like things. It is also to be remembred, that the high Constable, the Admirall, and the Protonotary, do sit on the Kings right hand. And the Lord chief Justice, the Great Chamberlain, and the Great Chancellor, on the left hand. But the Great Steward, he sitteth on a stoole at the Kings feete.

Lord Chiefe  
Chancellor,  
the last office,  
& his charge.

Their order of  
sitting with  
the King.

CHAP. III.

*Of a Law observed amongst the Rhodians, which enjoyned and commanded Fathers (setting aside all other businesse and affayres) to marry their daughters with all possible speed.*



Here are very fewe people, (in mine opinion) that are ignorant of the Romaine Lawes, which came first forth of Greece, and are continued to this day: surpassing al other nations whatsoever, in the actions of Justice and Policy, and among them haue many Common-weales flourished, not onely in Military and warlike affaires, but also in good manners and policies. Among the rest, that of the *Rhodians* is to be esteemed; which not onely established great store of Lawes, to render euerie man what belonged to him, & preserve the weaker sort from oppression; but also concerning the marriage of their daughters, because no inconuenience should

Greece the  
Mother of an-  
cient Lawes.

The Rhodi-  
ans establish  
manie good  
Lawes.

ensue to them, as to too many elsewhere happened. The Law then made for marriage of their daughters, was breecely set downe in these words.

**W**E command, that a Father doe not torment himselfe one onely day, for the marriage of ten sonnes, if hee should haue so many: but rather to labour and traunayle tenne yeares, for the marriage of one onely daughter, being vertuous. That hee stand in water up to the mouth; That he sweat great drops of blood, and labor in the ground, drawing like a Horssse; That he do rather disinherit all his Male-children, leaue all his welth and riches to utter abandoning, yea, and his owne proper life; onely to provide safetie for his daughters chastity.

This Law had bene worthy of obseruation in the countries heereabout, where if it had liued in the like force and vertue; so many famous Families had neuer bin dishonoured, by the shamelesse immodesties of ouer-many maidens, as haue remained to very wofull example. For, it hath bin noted, that Fathers (oftentimes thorow greedy couetousnesse) would not allow Dowries to their daughters, answerable to their meanes and qualitie: in regard whereof, they haue caused them to be forsaken, and not sought vnto by any person. Sometimes also they haue giuen them greater estates then either was conuenient, or stood with their owne power, to the ruine and ouerthrow both of the one and other. Wee haue obserued likewise, some ill aduised fathers, who haue neglected their daughters marriages, being ouer-swayed with affection to theyr sonnes, and bearing no respect at all to their daughters; eyther suffering them to enter too farre into yeares, or else to bee shut vp in Religious houses (by not affording them money meete for Marriage) where all their time they haue liued miserably, and (many times) as vnchastly, and with much lesse honour then they could haue done, if they had remained at liberty.

The common Prouerb is, that ther are three things, which if men do them not, they will be done of themselues: And the third of them is, that if men do not marry their daughters, then they wil marry themselves, and oftentimes, to such as are of bad life, or poore, or not agreeing with their owne quality, to the great dishonor

The words of  
the Rhodian  
written Law  
for the marr-  
age of Maide

A verie gre-  
ator and in-  
iurie in Fa-  
thers toward  
their daugh-  
ters.

Fathers that  
loue their  
sonnes more  
then their  
daughters.

A great fault  
committed by  
ouer-many  
Maidens.

of themselves and their parents. When this doth happen in any Commonwealth, alliances loose themselves, and there is nothing but reproch on the one side and other; whereby (too often) great quarrels do arise, suites in law, and other desperate inconueniences.

To auoyd all which dangers, Fathers ought to be aduertised, that it is not good to keep their daughters too long vnmarried; For as one saith very well; *It is a merchandise, which being kept, there is nothing gotten by it.* Prouision therefore (in this case) should be made, when their daughters begin to enter into their puberty, which is, at 13. yeares of age, or (at the vttermost) at 16. or 18. and to make no longer delaying, if possibly it may be done: for then they are ripe, and ready to yeeld fruite. If they be kept any longer time, for the most part they lose their beautie, and fairest graces. They affoord (according to common naturall instinct, as well in beasts, as in men, throwing all reason and respect behinde them) their affection to some such, whom their Parents doe not thinke meete and conuenient, and (in the end) worke some taint or blemish vnto their owne modesty. Or if they doe not; by reason of their frequent familiaritie with men, they shall be sure talked of verie strangely, which now adaiies is grown so common and reproachfull, that euen the verie chastest that liue, haue worke enough to doe, to exempt and cleare themselves, from badde fame and ill reports.

Moreouer we daily behold, that when Parents doe prouide for their daughters, such as are somewhat entred into yeares, they will refuse the men that are thought meete for them, and made offer of to them in good discretion. Alledging that they haue already giuen their liking vnto another, and (as many times it comes to passe) to such a one as is vtter enemy to their house; compelling their parents either to forsake them, without any choise at all, or else (with much sorrow) to consent thereto, onely to auoide the woorst, whereby both Fathers and mothers remaine discontented so long as they liue. These warnings do speake themselves, as well vnto great persons, such as are not onely Emperours, Kings, Princes, and other illustrious bloodes, but also to Ple-

beians, and men of vsuall ranke, who do stand no more exempt from ill husbanding their children, then the other do, but are euen as ready to faile therein, yea, and many times soonest. Which I will approoue by some Histories, deriued from *Bandello* the Italian, and the *Annalles of France.*

*Adelasia*, daughter to one of the greatest and most vertuous Emperours, named *Otho*, third of that name, that reigned after *Charlemaigne*, vntill his time, hauing listened vnto many Kings and Princes, who sought his Daughter *Adelasia* in Marriage, as well for her extraordinarie beautie, as her other excellent Graces, and Royall extraction: yet hee aspiring (as it should seeme) at some greater and more nobler match, or a party of more worth (in his opinion) for his daughter, by means of these delayes, broght incomparable misfortune to his Imperial house which else had flourished in no meane happinesse. *Adelasia* grew enamored of a young youth, a Sonne to the house of *Saxony*, and both of them being secretly married, furnished with some small store of money, beside a few Jewels and precious stones; betooke themselves to trauaile, attired and disguised like Pilgrims, *Adelasia* in the habite of a youth, with full deliberation, to make their abyding in some strange cuntry, far enough from *Allemaigne.*

Thus wandering as fugitiues, to satisfie their owne voluptuous desires: at the length, they were robbed on the Highway, and so by that meanes, were constrained (after long and importunate begging, trauerfing manie Countreyes) to retire into a great Forrest, scituated betweene *Ast* and \* *Sawona*, in *Italy*; where (thorough great necessity) they began to exercise the labour of Colliars, enduring many stormes and hard afflictions, for the space of eighteen years together. In the end, it pleased God to be satisfied with their humility & repentance, and to make them better knowne, by the meanes of one of their sons, named *William*, who following the nature of his extraction, betooke himselfe to make one in the Imperiall Armies in *Italy*, & greatly resembling in fauour the Emperour *Otho*, whereby he was imagined to be issued of *Adelasia*: which being found to fall

The History of Adelasia, daughter to the Emperour Otho the 3.

Alerane, one of the youngest sons to the Duke of Saxony.

\* Called also Sabatia in Liguria, a hilly country, reaching from Apeninus to the Tuscan Sea, one way, and from the Riuer Macra, to Varus, another way.

Naturall Nobility can neuer be concealed from manifest appearance.

Are able to any Commonwealth.

Let them be heard gathered.

Time of marriage Maids

Manie times that ensue, by deferring marrying widens.

To folly of the daughter in dislike; the Election of their parents.

A sacrifice as el vnto great men, as the of meanes legrec.

Example of  
great Charle-  
mains daugh-  
ter.

The history of  
Iudith, daugh-  
ter to Charles  
the Bald, king  
of France.

Baldwin, Earl  
of Flanders,  
who had se-  
cretly promi-  
sed marriage  
to Iudith, be-  
fore her going  
to England.

Charles the  
Bald, molest-  
ed with many  
warres, dyed.

out true, and the poore retreat of the Colliers (his parents) made knowne, the Emperour pardoned them; & calling them home into *Allemaigne*, gaue them great and liberall meanes; but much blamed himselfe, that he hadde not married his daughter in such time as was fittest for her. The like happened to that far more puissant and great Emperour (his predecessor) *Charlemaigne*; whose eldest daughter was found paillardising with one named *Eginhard*, his Secretary, or (as some say) Chauncellour vnto the saide *Charlemaigne*.

Some Kings of France haue also bene payed with coine of the same stampe, as well as these fore-named Emperours; witnesse *Iudith*, daughter to *Charles* the Bald, second of that name. Her Father refused to giue her in marriage to diuerse young *Allemaigne* Princes, of great extraction, as Dukes, Marquesses, and others: affecting (much rather) to giue her in wedlocke to a King of England, who had formerly bene an Archbysshop, a man aged sickly, and impotent, with whome she remained eight months only, and without any hope of yssue. Repassing the sea, to returne home into France, she sent vnto *Baldwine*, Gouvernor of the colliers countrey, then termed *Pais Charbomieres*, but now adayes called the countrey of *Flanders*, a poore Prouince, wherto no other Lieutenants or Gouvernours were giuen by the King, but such as were of smal and slender renoune. This *Baldwine* had clandestinely promised marriage to Lady *Iudith*, before shee was sent into England, he being a goodly person, faire and of absolute forme, as many of that country oftentimes are, yet of no great discent, a Gentleman in the midst of many necessities, who surprized her on the seas (she being willing enough to be so taken) & carried her home with him into his gouernment. The King was so displeas'd heere-with, & that iustly, that he appointed diuers forces to goe punish the rauisher of his daughter, being his owne disloyal subiect. But he was round engirt with so many Wars, as well against his Nephewes, as his Brothers, and the Danes, that he was sodainely enforced to defer his intention for that time, dying not long after, bearing no meane greefe for this rape (with him) to his graue. By means wherof

*Baldwine* & she liued a long while as private persons, not having any great store of meanes for their maintenance.

*Lewes* the stammerer, successor & brother to *Charles* the Bald, as much offended as the father of *Iudith*, persisted in resolution to punish these two louers. Neuertheless, by the humble entreaties made vnto him by diuers worthy Church-men, of holy life & vnstain'd fame, beside diuers other great personages of his kingdome, (who deliuered liuely representation to him of the yong yeares wherin they then were, subiect to the prouocations of nature, who hath not alwayes reason for her guide, and laying the blame on hir deceased father, that would not admit her to marry, when she was so sought and sued vnto:) he pardoned them, giuing vnto his Neece *Iudith* and her heires, the country and Forrest of the Colliers, wherof *Baldwine* had formerly bin Gouvernor; yet afterward depriv'd, & thus restored. And albeit it was a matter of small moment in these times; yet he reserued the homage thereof to the crowne of France, which homage the kings of France successiue-ly enioyed, vntil the taking of king *Frances*, first of that name, who quitted the soueraignty therof to *Charles* the first, and Emperour. At this day it is a goodly & wealthy country, populous; hauing great store of faire Cities and Towns, and greatly merchandized; in regard of the sea, and diuers faire riuers which adorne the Prouince. But let vs nowe see, if Gentlemen haue stoode free from this disaster, more then Emperours and Kings haue done; it shall not be amisse therefore to alledge some, as well of *Italy*, as of *France*.

In *Verona*, a famous City of *Italy*, liued a yong Gentlewoman, named *Iulietta*, of the noble house of the *Montesches*, or *Montacutes*. Her father being not willing that she should marry, when both the decency of time, and aptnesse of her yeares made tender of themselues: therefore (in her fairest flower) shee espoused her selfe, vnknown to her parents, to a gentlemans son of another house and family, call'd, the *Capelets*, whose name was *Romeo*, and the *Capelets* were mortall enemies vnto the *Montesches* or *Montacutes*. This marriage sort'd vnto the lamentable death of both the louers, as you shall briefly hear in this manner. They being secretly married, and

Lewes the  
Stammerer,  
purposed re-  
uenge vpon  
Baldwine at  
Iudith.

At what tin-  
the ceuntry  
of Flanders  
was brought  
to yeelde  
homage vnto  
France.

The great  
ference bet-  
former tin-  
in the con-  
tion of Fla-  
dors.

The memo-  
ble historie  
faire Iulie-  
of Verona  
Montacut  
Romeo th  
Capelet.

by the hand of a Cordelier or Franciscan Friar, a man most expert in the secrets of nature, who tooke great compassion on their earnest reciprocal affection & dayly torments between them indured: it happened on a certain day, that an vnckle to *Iulietta*, in regard of the inuetered hatred between both the families, drew vpon *Romeo*, who (defending his owne body) slew the said Vnckle, whereupon he was banished, or inforced (at the least) to be absent from *Verona*. The wofull Gentlewoman hauing made her moane vnto the honest minded Friar, vnder the shaddow of confession, concerning the irksom absence of her best esteemed friend; he gaue her aduice to receiue a little potion when shee went to bed, which should cause her to sleep for more then 30. houres, so that she should be verily supposed to be dead. She boldly aduentured on his counsel, & her parents imagining her to be dead indeed caused her to be buried in the Tombe or vault belonging to the house of her predecessors. From thence the Friar purposed to fetch her, at a certaine houre of the night, & to conduct her (in the habit of a Nouice) to banished *Romeo*, who liued in the land of another iurisdiction, yet no far distance from the city. All this was possible & easy to be performed, for it was and is a common custome there, not to burie deceased bodies in graues, as it is obserued among vs, but in Grottes or vaulted caues. While these things were framing themselves according to premeditated purpose; it fortuned that a seruant belonging to *Romeo* came to *Verona*, to bring Letters of recommendation to *Iulietta*, & being returned back to his master, reported the certaine tidings of her death, and that himselfe was present at her interring. *Romeo*, confounded with greefe & extremity of passions, found the meanes (in a disguised habit) before the shutting vp of *Verona* gates, to enter the city. In the dead time of night also hee compassed his intent, entering the Church with a lighted Torch in his hand, hauing opened the doores by the help of his seruant, and also the tombe wherein she lay inclosed. Hauing commanded the absence of his seruant, he entred into the vault, & after kisses infinitely bestowed by him on *Iulietta*, whom he verily conceited to be dead, he dranke a most deadly poyson, which hee

had formerly bought of a very needie Apothecary, and which immediately sel to operation, so slept hee (for euer) by the body of *Iulietta*. After her drinke hadde wrought his full power, shee awaked; and by meanes of the burning Torch perceyued her *Romeo* to bee quite dead: whereat enraged with grief, and snatching a ponyard that hung at his girdle, she presently there slewe her selfe. The honest Fryar came, and (as he thought) at such a conuenient houre, when *Iulietta* should awake from her artificiall sleepe, that truly represented the shape of death: but when he beheld that tragicke wofull spectacle, let his sorrow be censured by them of best iudgement. On the morrow after, the death of these two Louers was discouered, and all matters rehearsed by Fryar *Laurence*, for so was the Cordelier nam'd. All which mournfull disaster happened, because *Iuliettaes* father would not suffer her to marry when reason required. Now I will declare another French Historie, which happened within the compasse of mine owne memory.

*Darriouelle Genesiefue*, Daughter vnto *Monsieur Megrelin*, a Gentleman in ordinary in the Court of King *Frances* the 2. espoused her selfe by word onely, & without knowledge of any in hir fathers house, to one that was Schoolemaster vnto her brethren, named *Medard*, a *Piccard* by nation, borne in *Laon*, a yong man of passable handsomnes, and of indifferent knowledge for his time, being about 23. yeares old. She found her selfe to be conceived with child, and fearing the displeasure of her mother more then the frowns of her father, because she was a very seuerer woman, forooke her Fathers house, and the goodly city of *Paris*, accompanied vith none but her troth-plighted husband the schoolemaster. Trauailing thorow the countrey, they made their stay in a great Borrough town of *Champaign*, where likewise he became schoolemaster, taking great paines to supply their necessities. Within som few months after their residing ther, *Medard* dyed; and shee five dayes after the death of her husband, one Euening after supper, in a publike place, declared to all such as gaue fauour to heare her, the whole Historie of their fore-passed Loue; her marriage by promise; her extraction; want of gouernement; and the iniurie

The death of Iulietta, after she found Romeo dead.

Friar Laurence related the whole manner of the tragedy

The history of a yong Gentlewoman of Paris.

The Gentlewomans departure from her Fathers house.

The death of Medard the schoolemaster

conference  
betweene the  
Friar &  
Iulietta, what  
was to be don  
in such an v  
of necessity

In coming  
of seruant of  
Romeo to  
Verona, in the  
time of  
the serious  
a ires.

Romeo com  
with himselfe  
to Verona, &  
did in the  
case of Iuli  
et.

The desperate death of Damoille Ge-niesue.

The death of her Father.

The history of Paulo and Lucrecia, two Roman Iouers

Another marriage purposed for Paulo by his Father.

Affection is too full of too light credulity

Lucrecia, a Daughter of Rome, slew both her husband and her selfe.

done by her to her seruants, desiring (very heartily) pardon both of God and the. So, feigning as if she intended to goe to bed with her young infant, which was about six weekes old; shee went and hanged her selfe that night, on a beame end of a poore Cottage, which they had taken vpon hire; of which mishap, the people of the Towne soon aduertised her parents. For mine owne part, in the same manner as I haue set it downe, it was reported to me by the forenamed *Monsieur Megrelin*, who made no small account of my friendship, and dyed with verie great greefe; often saying vnto many, that this misfortune thus fell vnto him, by refusing his daughters marriage with a yong Ad-uocate, one of sufficient wealth, and that had requested her many times to bee his wife, which still hee denied, intending to bestow her on a Gentleman.

In the City of *Rome*, no long vvhile since, there was a young maiden (named *Lucrecia*, daughter to a rich Marchant) secretly espoused to a yong man, called *Paulo*, sonne also to another Merchant, the two fathers beeing vowed enemies, and both alike enuious of each others Fortune. The father of *Paulo* perceiuing how fast aged yeares came stealing on him, determined a marriage for his son, acquainting him therewith, that he hadde made choise of one meete for him, commaunding him also to fashion himself to good liking thereof, because hee would haue it accomplished within very few dayes. The sonne deferred it off so long as vvell hee could; yet to declare some obedience to his father, hee craued respite to consider thereof: but in the mean while, it was generally noised thorow the City of *Rome*, that *Paulo* must be married vnto another. These newes comming vnto the eares of *Lucrecia*, she dissembled her inward conceyued displeasure, verily imagining the matter to bee already done. *Paulo* comming, as oftentimes he did when fit time fauoured him, to visit his *Lucrecia* in the night time, so iocond and merry as at no time more; after accustomed kindnesse passed betweene them, *Paulo* fell into a very sound sleep. *Lucrecia* beholding him in that fearlessse estate, with a great Knife she gaue him so many stabbes and deepe wounds, both in the brest and belly, that he fell downe starke dead, and afterward

committed the like violence on her selfe. This act, so full of sorrow and sadde mischance, came to the care of Pope *Paulus* the fourth, who would not allow them to haue Christian burial. But a learned diuine, a *Jacobine* by Religion, made so excellent an Oration to the Pope, agaynst the vnkinde parents of the deceased Louers; that Obsequies were granted, & buriall giuen them. And an aged woman, a seruant to *Lucrecia*, who had beene the meanes of their priuate marriage, was (by authority of Iustice) burned aliue, because she had not aduertised the parents thereof.

If these Emperors, Kings, Gentlemen and those of meaner condition, had obserued the Law of the Rhodians, which I haue alledged in the beginning of this chapter; they neuer had falne into those dreadfull mischeefes, which they owne wilfull folly brought vpon them. They may also serue as a good warning to Fathers at this instant, and such as shall bee heereafter, how to auoyde so enorme an error. I will giue aduice likewise to such Maidens, as hauing past the age of fiue and twenty yeares, if either auarice, or any other bad humor in their parents doe make them negligent of their marriages, when men of meet match and quality are offered to them, to be bold of their owne liking and choise in marriage; provided, that they first make it knowne vnto their parents. And then if they will not yeeld consent, they may proceed on further: alwayes provided, that they are equall in quality, and no way infamous. And least their Fathers should disinherit them, the Emperor ordained thus in the authenticall rule; *Sed si post. C. de inofficiosa testa*. The like ordinance is to bee found in the French Code, in the chapter of clandestine Marriages, made by king *Henry* the second. And there may bee noted another inconuenience, which vnaduised fathers do incurre themselues, that in due time, and vpon iust reason, will not yeelde to theyr daughters marriages.

CHAP.

How all the dangers might haue bin prevented in all the alledged histories.

Aduice giue to maidens these times

A law again disinheriting maidens, that make theyr owne choyce when their parents will not.

CHAP. V.

*That Tyrants do liue continually in feares: and that their ends are most miserable.*

**T**HE life of a Tyrant is full of hatred; euery man detesteth him; all are offended at him, and he is subiect to infinite perils. What was the life of *Aristippus*, to whom the very walles were dreadfull? What that of *Alexander Phareus*, who liued in an houely suspicion of his owne wife? What that of *Dyonisius the Syracusane*, who neuer durst trust his Barber, for feare least in trimming his beard, hee should cutte his throat. Hee had the carnall knowledge but of two women onely, *Aristomada* and *Dorida*, and yet he would neuer let them come neere him, vntill they had put off all their garments. The Chamber wherein he vsed to sleepe, was round engirt with a wide deepe ditch, and there was no entrance to it, but onely by a draw-bridge.

All things whatsoeuer, are continually suspected so much by Tyrants, that it was not spoken without good aduice; *That Tyranny is the Nurffe of feare.* For it commonly cometh so to passe, that such as liue till men feare them, doe also feare them by whom they are feared. This kinde of life, so full of care and dread, *Dyonisius* the Tyrant discovered to his Orator *Damocles*, of whom the History followeth in this manner.

*Damocles* defending in an Oration, which hee deliuered in the presence of king *Dyonisius*; that neuer was any man more happy then he, for his innumerable wealth & treasures, beside the abundance of all things in his kingdome. *O Damocles* (instantly said the Tyrant) *seeing my life is so well liked by thee, I desire that thou woldst presently but taste and experiment my fortune.* Whereunto *Damocles* consenting, the *Syracusane* king caused him to sitte vpon a stately & sumptuous bed, richly embroydered with gold: and before him stood Tables and Stooles in magnificent manner, all covered with vessels of Gold and Siluer. He was serued by many young children, endued with singular beauty, &

the seruice was extraordinarily magnificent, with all kindes of delicious and exquisite viands. The golden Hall, which glistered round about him, was perfumed with vnguents of excellent odors, beside Flowers, Chaplets, and curious Note-gayes. To be short, in this so triumphant and royall furnishment, *Damocles* helde such a proud, enflated, and swolne vp countenance, euen as if in Maiesty Royall. King *Dyonisius* called to him, and bad him lift vp his head, to behold what was instantly ouer it. There he shewed him a fayre bright Sword, which he had caused to be fastened to the plancher, directly ouer the head of *Damocles*. He seeing the naked Sword, which hung but by one haire of a horses mane, ready to fall on the least occasion; considering thereon with deliberation, and perceiuing that death was his present companion; he began to dispraise the royalty and riches of the King, desiring to bee deliuered from that kinde of felicity.

Heereupon *Dyonisius* said vnto him, *Doeft thou not see, O Damocles, how greatly thou art deceiued in thine owne opinion? Such is our life, which (not long since) thou heldst to be so happy: but now thou plainly perceiuest, that eminent death is alwayes attending.* By which example we may easily iudge, that he can neuer be happy, that is daily afflicted with feare. To this purpose *Horace* writ these verses.

*Not the fine fare of Sicily,  
Will saour sweet and daintily,  
Nor the rare sound of the Lyre,  
Nor the sweet Birdes in their quire:  
All these affoord no pleasure can,  
To that wofull wretched man,  
That beholds aboue his head,  
A naked Sword to strike him dead.*

And as *Iob* saith, *The sound of feare and dreadful affrights is alwayes in his eares:* and although peace be certaine, yet is hee daily doubtfull of close ambushes. Tyrants loue not any body, and therefore (vpon iust occasion) learned men rearmed them to be cruell beasts, and plagues to mankind. In the human figure of whio is so much sauage cruelty, that *Salomon* saide directly; *A wicked Prince is a roaring Lyon, and an hunger-starued Beare ouer poore people.*

*Damocles* in all his pompe and pride was disarmed with a sword's sight.

*Dyonisius* his words to *Damocles*.

Verses translated out of *Horace*.

*Iob* 19, 14.

*Prouer.* 17, 12

And

Tyrants at all times and in all places are full of feares.

Tyranny is the Nurffe of feares. *See in Tuf. lib. 5.*

The History of *Dyonisius* the Tyrant, & of *Damocles*.

Malach. 3, 9.  
Iob 22, 8.  
Hosea 6, 10.  
Esay 50, 7.

Miserable &  
violent deeth  
of Tyrants.

And yet God hath and sometimes doth permit, that Tyrants shall reigne; for the chastisement of wicked men, saying; *I will take vengeance on mine enemies by mine enemies. God (saith Iob) maketh the hypocriticall man to reigne, in regard of the peoples finnes.* And in *Hosea* God speaketh thus: *I will give thee a king in my fury.* And in *Esay*; *Assur is the rod and staffe of my fury, I will send thee to a deceitfull people.* Neuertheless, they are not acceptable to God, who throwes them at length into the fire, as a father doth the rod, when he hath therewith beaten his childe. And it hath alwaies so false out, that all these Tyrants, or the most part of the, haue ended their liues miserably; & oftentimes by violent death, caused by their owne friends; and approoued by consent of all the people. But because the examples of tragicall endes in such Tyrants, are handled in a number of other Treatises, & experience hath made it daily manifest vnto vs; I may the sooner conclude this Chapter.

## CHAP. VI.

*A most horrible cruelty vsed by the Numantines against the Romanes; and in the end vpon themselves.*

Extremities  
are the occa-  
sion of despe-  
rate vowes &  
promises.

**S**cipio hauing continued sledge before the City of *Numantia* in *Spaine*, the space of a yeare and seuen Moneths, and neuer ceassing: munition and victuals began to fayle among the besiedged, so that very many died with famine. Whereupon they made a vow to the Gods, that the first morsell they would eate euery day, should be the flesh of some Romane: and that they would drinke neyther wine nor water, till they had swallowed the blood of such as they slew.

Extremity  
still waiteth  
vpon extre-  
mity, and be-  
getteth daily  
worse and  
worse courses.

The *Numantines* hauing all sworne to this vow, they issued foorth of the City, and like men; more then desperate, chased the *Romanes*, euen as if they had beene brute beasts: and such as they slew or surprized, immediately they killed and broyled inhumanely, or being sliced in peeces, they solde the by weight in the Shambles or Butchery. So that a Romane taken by

them, or slaine, was of farre greater price and estimation, then to line and pay his ransome. Finally, the *Numantines* perceiuing, that they had no more meanes of supportation, beeing oppressed with famine, and enclosed on euery side: they consulted among themselues to kill all their aged people; yea, all the women & children in the City; which (without any feare or respect at all) they put in execution.

When they had done thus, all the wealth and moouables of the City, the Jewels & Treasures of the Temples, were broght together in spacious places, & there consumed with fire, yea, and all parts & quarters of the City, without leauing a house standing, suffered the very same consummation; and euery man tooke a sudden & speedy dispatching poyson, whereby they might the soonest dye. Thus the Temples, houses, goods, and persons of the *Numantines*, which had continued in prosperity foure hundred, sixty & sixe yeares, had finall conclusion all in one day. A sight most horrible it was to behold, that the *Numantines* did those things liuing, so full of gastly terror, and not be remoued from them at their houre of death. For they left not to *Scipio*, any goods as booty or pillage, nor so much as a man liuing, for a Trophee or Triumph.

*Scipio* seeing *Numantia* flaming, and afterward entring thereinto, beheld all the buildings demolished, and turned one vpon another, all the Inhabitants burned; he grieued very greatly, and being vnable to containe himselfe from teares, cryed out thus: *O most happy Numantia, to whom the Gods appointed, that thou shouldst rather remaine destroyed, then conquered! Numa Pompilius, king of the Romanes, caused this City of Numantia to be builded, & Scipio the Romane, being aged then but two and twenty yeares, saw the ruine of it.*

The prosperi-  
ty of 466  
yeares consu-  
med all in  
one day.

The words  
Scipio on  
ruined Nu-  
mantia.

## CHAP. VII.

*That a valiant Generall or Captaine, ought first to embrace wisedome & providence, before he do make experiment of his fortune: and also that after victory, he should be milde and pittifull.*

**T**O be a Captain or Generall, is an Office very honorable, but yet attended by

by many dangers. For notwithstanding he shall performe but what hee may and ought, yet if misfortune be present in giuing the battaile, and returne him off with out victory; hee shall neuer satisfie the vulgar, but the people will hold him in bad reputation, although it value his life in the aduenture. Let euery man bee of what quality and wisdom hee may, or would wish to be, & vse the best carriage he can possibly deuise; yet we shall neuer heare a conquered Captaine called wise, or him temerarious, that gets the victory. It is a good thing that Captaines should be wise, but yet much better to be fortunate.

*Scipio Africanus* vsed to say; That all things ought to be essayed in warre, before they lay any hand to weapons. And (in truth) he saide well, because there is no greater victory in the world, then that which is wonne without effusion of blood. *Cicero* writing to *Attica*, saith; That the Captaine which conquers his enemies by counsell, ought to be no lesse esteemed, then hee that did it by the sword. *Silla*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Nero*, they neuer knew any other course, but to command, and kill: whereas contrariwise, *Augustus*, *Titus*, and *Traiane* knew no better way, then to entreat fairely and pardon, so that by pardoning, they conquered more, then the other could do by bloody fighting. If Captaines would but consider these things, perhaps they wold not be so ready, in opposing their Armies to such multiplicity of dangers: whence oftentimes ensueth, that in thinking to be reuenged on their enemies, they (in the ende) become vanquished themselves.

*Theodosius* the Emperour, when hee besieged any City, he would not suffer his Souldiers to erect any scaling Engines, or make any battery, vntill ten daies were fully past: during which time, hee offered no offence to the Cittizens, but daily admonished them, saying. *I grant ye the tearme of ten daies, wherein yee may preuaile with mee by fauour and mildnesse, rather then hazard the triall of my power.* When great *Alexander* saw the dead body of *Darius*: *Iulius Caesar* the head of *Pöpey*; when *Marcellus* burned *Siracusa*, and *Scipio* beheld *Numantia* flaming; and in our later times, when that heroycall *Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, & Prince

of *Piedmont*, beheld the illustrious & magnanimous Prince *Frances* of *Burbon*; Duke of *Anguien*, lying dead vpon the ground at the taking of *S. Quintins*: All these great persons could not refraine from teares, although the other were their deadly enemies. For albeit their generous soules were well satisfied with obtrayning victory, yet notwithstanding, such great and weighty losses did much discontent them, considering their cases might haue beene the like.

Pitty and clemency neuer lost the victory in warre; but on the contrary, the Captaine bloodily minded, cruell, and reuendgefull, hath eyther beene slaine by the enemy, or betrayed by his owne followers. Therefore it was not without great reason, that *Iulius Caesar* carried immortall renowne among all Princes and Captaines of the world, not for being more faire, more strong, more courageous, and fortunate; but onely because far greater was the number of enemies, to whom he frankly afforded pardon, then those that hee had vanquished and slew with the sword. The famous Captaine *Narses*, who subdued the *Gothes*, vanquished the *Bactrians*, and domineered ouer the *Allemaignes*, neuer vnderooke a daies fight against an enemy, but the night before, hee kneeled and wept to himselfe in the Temple. *Trogus Pompeius* recordeth, that the most signale victories of the Romanes, were not wonne in regard that their Armies were mighty and strong; but because their Captaines were dexterious, actiue, and gallant, in all seruices they vnderooke.

It is expedient also, that the Generall or Captaine (about all other things) should be vigilant, & procure, that among the Captaines of his Army; affaires (concerning warre) should be kept secret: because the highest enterprizes neuer can haue good successe, when they are discovered before they can be effected. *Suetonius* declareth, that it was neuer heard said to *Iulius Caesar*; Must wee do this to day, or shall we do that to morrow? Only he would answer; *Doe this instantly, & to morrow wee shall see what is then to be done.* *Plutarch* writeth in his *Morales*, that *Lucius Metellus* beeing requested by one of his Captaines, to know on what day he would giue the battaile; made him this

A signe of a most honorable disposition in such Generalls.

The reason why *Iulius Caesar* was so highly renowned.

He was Generall to the Emperour *Iustinian*.

Secrecy is most necessary in martiall affaires.

*Sueton. in vit. Iul. Caesar.*

*Plut. in Moral.*

the danger of the Office of Captaine or Generall.

the saying of *Scipio Africanus*.

*Cicero ad Attic.*

great difference in mens courses.

A noble mind in the Emperour *Theodosius*.

Few counsellors in occasions of warre are fittest, and what men are to be shunned

A worthie saying of Alcibiades, and not vnmete to be obserued.

How to make vse of a victorie.

See a Tract written by Iohn Ferald, and I.C. thereon.

this answer. *If I wist that my shirt knew the least thought of the things my hart intendeth, I would immediately burne it.* It is wel done to consult on matters of war with many: but the resolution of them is not, neyther ought to bee imparted but to very few; otherwise, they may bee published before they are fully concluded. And especiall care is to be taken, that no consultation be had with such men, as are eyther obstinate in their counsels, or rash and headstrong in their actions: for in cases which happen sometime in war, it is lesse harme to retire, then run wilfully on losse.

*Alcibiades*, a valiant Captaine among the Grecians, vsed to say: *Men of magnanimity and courage, should sometimes rather flye then tarry; because honour commands attendance, and wisdome wils flight.* For in greatest perils, it is better that men should submit themselues to reason; then that they should be commanded by fortune. A Captaine ought to be counselled in all things, except when he meetes with a danger not foreseene. For many Captaines at diuers times in warre, haue lost themselues by no other occasion: but because at such time as they should haue brought to effect some notable deed, which admitted not the least minutes trifling; they stood then musing, & idely called a counsell to no purpose. It is necessary also, that a wise Captaine, after he hath obtained a victory, should vnderstand how to vse and enioy it. For if *Hanniball*, on the day at *Cannas*, could haue told how to haue vsed his fortune, *Scipio the Affricane* had neuer conquered him.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of the Salique Law the originall thereof, and who were the first Authors and Inuenters of it.*



IN the time of Pope *Boniface*, the first of that name, and of the Emperor *Honorius*, in An. 420. the *Franconians* hauing forsaken their Country, came to inhabite along the River of *Rheine*, which hauing passed, they remained for some time at *Treues*. Now as these people were of bar-

barous manners, liuing vnciuilly & without law; *Pharamond* their first king, Son vnto their Duke *Marcomir*, chose foure cheefe and principal men of the *Sicambrians*, who by their counsell and determination, might giue a law to the people. The names of those foure men, were *Vzucast*, *Lozocast*, *Salgast*, and *Visogast*, who by authority of the king and people, set downe a Law in writing, which *Pharamond* approoued and published, causing it to be called *Salique*; eyther by the name of the place *Salethani*, wher it was made, as some say, or else by the name of the said *Salgast*, who was Chauncellor to *Pharamond*, and cheefe of the foure.

This Law contained the forme of succeeding in the kingdome of *France*, & the manner of reigning; and it hath cuer since bin obserued by the kings of *France*, and their people vntill this present. Among other articles therein contained, women are declared vnable to rule the kingdome, and deprived of succession to the crowne, although they are the sole & only daughters to the King: nor can they haue any portion of inheritance in the *Gallician* Lands, but onely vse and profites by the owners consent, implying necessarily, that after their deaths, those allowances returne to the Crowne againe. And this Law is conformable to the Roman Law, cald *Voconia*, which was made at the time betweene the second & last war of the *Romanes* with the *Carthagenians*, and which was pronounced by *Vocorinus*, Tribune of the people. And *Aulus Gellius* saith, that there is nothing more profitable to the common-wealth, then the said law, which deboueth women from succession; which *Tit. Liuius* saith, *Marcus Cato* (a graue mā) perswaded in an Oration made by him.

And although it may be said concerning this Law, that it containeth no equity, because it toucheth the succession of priuate persons: yet on the behalfe of the kingdome, for which it was ordayned, it is iust and reasonable, and by disposition of womens right, they ought not there to succeed in the kingdome, nor rights of the crowne, except there be some priuiledge or custome to the contrary. So noteth *Iohn de Imola*, on the Chapter *Grandi. tit. de simplici neglegen. prela.* to the sixt. And for this was made the tenth chapter, *Qui feoda poss. ff. hoc autem. C. dilecti, de arb. Baldus*

How the Law came to be called Salique.

The nature and condition of the Salique Law.

The Law Voconia among the Romanes.

*Aul. Gel. in Not. Attic.*

*Titus. Liuius. Dec. 2. cap.*

This Law containeth no equitie women.

*Iohn de Imola in cap. Grandi.*

*Baldus* is of the same opinion, speaking expressly concerning the kingdome of *France*, and saying, that the king of *England*, Sonne to one of the daughters of *France*, in regard of this law, might not pretend any right to the Crowne, and saith, it is cleare and certaine, as hee quoteth on the first law. *ff. de Sena*. And as I haue formerly saide, it hath euermore bin so obserued and held in *France*.

For example, when *Lewes Hutin* deceased, he left one daughter, wife to the Count *d' Eureux*: *Philip le long*, his Brother, succeeded him, (neuerthelesse) as well in the Crowne, as in all the Landes thereto belonging. And after the death of *Philip le long*, although hee left foure daughters; yet *Charles le Bel* (his brother) succeeded him, as well in the Crowne, as other inheritances. And after the decease of *Charles le Bel*, notwithstanding hee left one daughter, named *Blanche*, wife to *Philip*, Duke of *Orleance*, his cousin: yet *Philip de Valois* succeeded him. In like maner, after the death of king *Charles* the eight, *Lewes* Duke of *Orleance*, his cousin succeeded him, before Madame *Anne* of *France*, his Sister, wife vnto the Duke of *Bourbon*, and this was king *Lewes* the 12. who although (by his decease) he left two daughters, *Claude* and *Renee*: yet neuerthelesse, *Frances* Duke of *Valois* and of *Angoulesme*, the very neereft in the line collaterall and masculine, succeeded him as well in the Crowne, as also in the Dukedome of *Orleance*, albeit the saide *Lewes* the twelfth, *Charles* his Father, and *Lewes* Duke of *Orleance* his Grandfather, had held the Dukedome of *Orleance*, by the gift and inheritance which *Charles* the 5. had made to the saide *Lewes*, Duke of *Orleance* his Sonne.

For right and iustice requireth, that all Lands which are once vnited and incorporated to the Crowne of *France*, shall be of the proper nature, quality and condition as the same Crowne is; as well in regard of successions and acquisitions, as other causes. For at all times, and as often as a Land is vnited to the Crowne, it taketh the nature of the kingdome, and must be gouerned in all things, according to the conditions thereof. For the kingdome is an vniuersall thing, which comprehendeth many other in particular: as it is said in the Law *Peculium. ff. de Lega ij.*

And not onely the Salique Law is kept in *France*, but also it is found in many statutes in *Italy*, and elsewhere, prohibiting women to succeed, which is done, saith the Text of the Law, \* *Fauore agnationis conseruanda, vt dignitas familiarum salua sit*. And *Baldus* saith, that a woman is not the head or Prince of the Family, but the ende thereof.

*Paulus de Castro*, on the Law *Maritus. C. de procur.* saith, that the linage and family beginneth in the males, and is conserued by the males. And so it seemeth, that the Etimologie of the word *Soror* declareth, which *Labeo Antistius* giueth in *Aulus Gellius*. *Soror appellata est quod quasi soror sum nascitur separatique ab ea domo in qua nata est, & in aliam familiam transgreditur*. That is to say. *A sister is so called, as she that is borne almost apart by herselfe, and is separated from the house wherein shee was borne, and changing the place, goeth to dwell in another family.*

CHAP. IX.

Examples of some Letters containyng Secrecie, and sent in such manner, as they might not be knowne, but onely to such whom they especially concerned.



*Arpagus* writing to *Cyrus*, concerning the treason of King *Astages*, hauing cunningly vnbowelled a Hare, put his Letter therein, and after hee had ingeniously sowed it vp againe, deliuered it (with the Hayes or Nets) to one of his Huntsmen, the faithfullest of all his household, and hee carried it to king *Cyrus*.

*Hystyus*, desirous to write to *Aristagoras*, did shaue the head of one that was his trustiest seruant, and wrote vpon the skull-skinne what hee would, containing three or foure Characters, and afterward kept him in his house, vntill the haire was growne ouer as thicke as before, and then he sent him to *Aristagoras*, willing that he should cause him to be shauen againe, so soone as he was come vnto him, and so he vnderstood the others minde.

*Aulus Gellius* reporteth, that *Iulius Caesar*

\* Lib. 1. ff. vi public. ff. de ventre i spic.

Paul. de Cast. in lib. 9.

Aul. Gellius in lib. 13. cap. 10.

A Letter sent in the belly of a Hare.

Writing on the skull-skin of the head.

*Baldus* in Leg. de Sena.

he successi- n in the town of rance, after the death of ewes Hutin, a continu- descent.

cerning h lands as e once vni- land in e Crowne France.

How Julius  
Cæsar wrote  
his Letters of  
especiall in-  
telligence.

Frontinus in  
lib. 3. cap. 13.

Small Tablets  
of wood cou-  
ered with  
Waxe.

The cunning  
of Hirtius in  
conueighing  
his Letters.

A Letter sent  
into the ene-  
mies Campe  
by an arrow.

Frontinus in  
lib. 3. cap. 13.

*Cæsar* sometimes sent him *Missiues*, when he had any vrgent occasion, and to some peculiar places: and in them were letters formed onely, without any sillables annexed to them. So that when they were lookt on and questioned, no word could be collected to any purpose, but by himselfe, and him to whom they were intended, being a mute and secret inuention, yet familiar to such as vnderstood them.

Many (saith *Frontinus*) being desirous in actions of warre, to send their letters *missiue* secretly, to haue their inuentions known, and yet to auoide all meanes of discovery, haue written within the Scabbards of their Swords, and sent them as acceptable presents whereby they haue cleanly escaped.

*Demaratus* desiring to make knowne to the *Lacedemonians*, how king *Xerxes* was armed and prepared for his iourney against *Greece*; did write the councill of the king in small Tablets of wood, which he couered ouer with waxe, and in that manner sent them to the *Lacedemonians*, who taking off the waxe, read all the contents there written.

*Hirtius* the Consull sent letters written vpon Lead (but not knowne how to be read, being intercepted) to *Marke Anthony*, besieged at *Modena*; they were carried by an honest Soldiour, who wore them as bracelets about his wrists, & with them swom ouer the Riuer *Scultena*. The same *Hirtius* likewise tyed letters about the necks of certaine Doues, which hee kept close lockt vp in a conuenient place, where no light was to bee seene, neyther did he give them any food; that when he should let them loose neere to the walles of the Citty (as easily he could doe) they being greedy of light and food, might mount aloft vpon the houses, where being taken by *Brutus*, and by the meanes of food, purposely appointed there for the, he vnderstood what he desired.

*Paradine*, in his history of our times, writeth, that when as *Rhodes* was besieged by the Turke, a traytour named Friar *Andrew de Merail*, a knight of *Portugall*, making a shew of carefull looking to the Watch; shot a letter (bound about an Arrow) into the enemies Campe, whereby he gaue them aduertisement, in what estate the Citty stood.

*Frontinus* hath many other examples of secret Letters, in matters of loue, of

which I will relate two only, remembered by *Aeneas Sylvius Picholini* Pope *Pius* the second. *Pachorus* a young man (saith he) sent a loue-letter in a Nofegay of Violets to *Lucretia*, whom hee dearely affected. And finding no successe, wrapt another in a pellet of waxe, which he couered as a snow-ball, and so threw it in at his Mistresses Window.

## CHAP. X.

A Discourse concerning the originall of the Normanes, what valiant actes haue bin performed by them: and of Robert Guiscard.



THE Normanes are anciently descended of the *Gothes*, and vsurped that great half-Island, sometimes called *Dacia*, and since *Dacia*: whereby the kings of that Prouince, were named kings of the *Danes*, and of the *Gothes*. They had a custome, that the kingdome came to the eldest Sonne, and therefore sent the other Sonnes to seeke their fortune. It came so to passe, that *Lutrocius* their king (who was not a Christian) hauing two Sonnes; according to the precedent custome, sent the youngest named *Biergostus*, out of the kingdome, albeit he loued him very dearely, and therefore committed the care of him to a Gentleman of his Court, named *Astengus*, to whom he gaue in charge, that he should furnish him with a troope of valiant men.

An indifferent Army beeing giuen him, they came vpon the confines of *France*, and entring *Picardy*, possessed the felues of most of the Townes and Bourroughs, burnt Saint *Quintins* and *Noyon*, and for the space of forty yeares, did infinite harmes to the Realme of *France*. For after that *Biergostus* was dead, they elected (as their cheefe Commander & Captaine) a very valiant and gallant Knight, called *Rollo*, who made three Campes, which entered *France* on three seuerall sides: the one mounted vp the Riuer of *Seyne*; the other along the Riuer of *Loyre*; and the third by the Riuer of *Gerunda*, sometime called *Garona* at *Bourdeaux*, and

Vide Sabellius  
Ennead. 9.  
cap. 2.

Biergostus  
sent to seeke  
his fortunes  
abroad.

The death  
Biergostus,  
the election  
of Rollo.

so scattered themselves throughout *France*, ravaing and burning wheresoever they came. Which being perceived by *Charles* the third of that name, and called the simple king of *France*, and knowing also, that he had no means to resist them; he treated a peace betweene *Rollo* and him, by the Arch-Bishop of *Roane*, named *Franguon*, which was concluded neere to the Riuer of *Epta*, the King being on the one side of the Riuer, and *Rollo* on the other. Therein was an appointment made, that *Charles* should giue his Daughter, named *Giletta*, in mariage to *Rollo*, to whom he assigned as her Dowry, and an inheritance for the children borne in this mariage, and not otherwise, the Prouince of *Neustria*, which *Rollo* caused afterward to be called *Nortemania*, which signifieth a Northerne people. For *Nort* (in the *Dacian* tongue) is as much to say as *North*, and man implieth *Homo*, so interpreted of it selfe, from whence, by a corrupt kinde of speech afterward, it was called *Nortmandie*.

The king created that Country to be a Dukedome, and gaue his Daughter in mariage to the said *Rollo*, as formerly it was concluded, yet with this condition, that *Rollo* should become a Christian: whereto he condescending, he was baptized in the yeare 900 and 12. & by *Franguon*, Arch-Bishop of *Roane*, being then named *Robert*, by *Robert*, Count of *Poictiers*, who was Godfather to him at the Font. And by the example of *Rollo*, all the *Normans* that were *Pagans*, caused themselves to be baptized; which caused Duke *Robert* to do homage to king *Charles*, for the Country of *Neustria*, then conuerted to be *Normandy*.

Historians doe report a pleasant and ridiculous acte, which *Rollo* did on the day when hee came to performe his homage to the king, for some aduised him to kisse the feete of his Maiesty, according to a custome in that case obserued. But hee disdainyng to fall on his knees, tooke the kings foot, lifting it vp to reach his mouth, and so ouer-high, that the king fell backward from off his seate. VVherat the *Normanes* fell into a great laughter; but the *French* were offended and vexed, taking this behaiour in very ill manner. Neuerthelesse, this deed was imputed to simplicity, because *Rollo*, in making his ex-

cuse, auouched; that such kinde of kissing the foote, had beene an ancient custome in his Country. About a yeare after, *Rollo* seeing himselfe peaceably possessed of all *Normandy*, repudiated his wife *Giletta*, & put her to a pittifull kinde of death, not hauing any childe by her; in which respect as well by right of forfeiture, as by other conditions contracted in the mariage, without all question, the Country and Dukedome should haue returned to the Crowne of *France* again, as at the first.

Long time before *Rollo* became a Christian, hee had carnall knowledge of the Daughter to *Berengarius*, Earle of *Beauuais*, she being named *Pompeia*, by whom he had a Sonne called *William*, that afterward was reamed *Long-Sword*. Hee being borne in vnlawfull and sinfull copulation, out of mariage, and the acte committed by a Christian with a *Pagane*, was consequently disabled from succeeding in the Dukedome. But howsoeuer it came to passe, the *Normanes* finding themselves so strong and dreadfull; possessed this *William* of the Dukedome, and the kings of *France* were enforced (by reason of hauing so slender means in those times) to endure and suffer all. So that the Successors of *Rollo* or *Robert*, enioyed still that Country, though by corruption of faith, and no true tytle thereunto.

Of this *William* came *Richard*, surnamed *Long-shankes*; and of that *Richard* a second *Richard*; and of this second *Richard* a third *Richard*; who was Father to *Robert*, that was Father to *William* the Bastard, which conquered England. Whereby it very plainly appeareth, that of the fore-named *Rollo* or *Robert*, the Dukes of *Normandy*, and three Kings of England receiued originall.

Now concerning *Richard*, the Sonne to *William*, Sonne to *Rollo* or *Robert*, hee had two Sonnes, the one named *Robert*, and the other *Richard* also, who being desirous of glory and fame, went into *Sicily* with great troopes of men, and there they made war successfullly many yeares together. These two brethren being dead, the *Normanes* being then in pay to the Duke of *Salerne*; made choise of a new cheefe Commaunder or Captaine named *Tristram Cistello*, who hauing slaine a Serpent, and being in-

The Duke divorced his Wife, and put her to death.

William Long-sword the bastard sonne to *Rollo*, became his successour in his Dukedome.

The line and succession from *William* Long-sword.

Three English Kings of the Normans race.

Tristram Cistello Captaine of the Normans.

peace made betweene *Rollo* and *Charles* the Simple.

That which now called *ormandie*.

*Rollo* is baptized and named *Robert*, marrying with the daughter King *Charles*.

Duke *Robert* performed his homage in a very manner.

Tancred and his 12 sonnes, all worthy Warriors.

fected with her poyson, dyed thereof. After him succeeded *Raymond*, and some other (afterward) elected for their Captaine, *William Ferrabach*, Sonne to *Tancred*, *Conte de haute ville*, who had twelue Sonnes, to wit, *Sarno*, *Godfrey*, *Drogon*, *Tancred*, *William*, called *Ferrabach*, that is to say, *Armestrong*, *Haufrey*, *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, *Roger*, *Piccard*, *Godfrey* the second, or younger, *Fru mentino*, and *Maloger*.

*Tancred* with his twelue Sonnes, continued among the *Normanes* in the exercise of Armes, and *Michael Catalaicus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, held then by vsurpation *Pouilla* and *Calabria*, vnder the government of *Malocco*, one of his Captaines, and Lieutenant for him in those Countries. Some other places also were inuaded by the *Sarrazins*, who possessed *Sicily*, continually molesting the saide kingdome. The valiant and generous *William*, being created Captaine of the *Normanes*, made a league with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerne*, and also with *Malocco*, Lieutenant to the Emperour. All these passed together (with their Armies) into *Sicily* against the *Sarrazins*, and hauing vanquished and expelled them thence, diuided the prize equally among them. But *Malocco* surrendered the lands of that Isle to those Gouvernors which the Emperour had sent thither before the warre. Whereat *William* being offended, yet dissembling his anger and intentions, marched with his Army towards *Pouilla*, where hee possessed himselfe of many places, and entring *Melphes*, there strongly fortified himselfe.

When *Malocco* heard these newes, he departed from *Sicily*, and suddenly went with his Army to *Melphes*; but *William* being come forth of the Towne, gaue such a valiant assault vpon *Malocco*, that killing the better part of his followers, & chasing him from the greatest iurisdiccions of *Pouilla*; hee fully enjoyed it, and made himselfe Earle thereof. After the death of *William*, *Drogon* his Brother obtained the Seignery of *Pauilla*, and being a man of great valiancy, as also very well experienced in Arms, fought three times in one day against the *Grecians*, and overcame them, encreasing his Countries daily more and more.

About seuen yeares after, *Drogon* died,

and *Haufrey* or *Hunfroy* his Brother succeeded; and after him, *Godfrey*, who left *Balegard* his Sonne successor in the Earldome. But *Robert* being a most valiant young man, displeased that his Brother *Godfrey* had not left the place to him after his death; expelled his Nephew by force of Armes, and so helde the Counties of *Pauilla* and *Calabria*; annexing also *Troy* thereto, which (till that time) had continued subiect to the *Romanes*. This is that *Robert*, who for his excellent spirit & wity prouidence, was surnamed *Guiscard*, which in the *Norman* Language, signifieth ingenious and cunning: although some others say, that such a surname signifieth errant and wandering, because the *Normanes* went wandering thorough many Countries. Afterward in the time of Pope *Nicholas*, second of that name, hee was created the first Duke of *Calabria*, & of *Pouilla*, in the yeare one thousand and sixty.

In the ende, *Robert* hauing by his prowesse, and with his Brethrens helpe, wonne (in eigheteene yeares) the whole Isle of *Sicily*, and many other Regions in *Italy*; fought moreouer to make himselfe Emperour of *Constantinople*, for which he leued a mighty Army, and fought with the *Venetian* and Imperiall Armies twice, and vanquished them. But being retired to *Cassiopolis*, a Promontory in the Isle of *Corfue*, and there surprized with a most violent Feauer, hee finished his dayes in that place, in the Moneth of Iuly, in the yeare one thousand, eighty two, hauing liued gloriously (and won many victories) for the space of threescore yeares.

This most noble Family of the *Normane Guiscardoes*, had a lamentable ending, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, ninety five, in *William*, whom the Emperour *Henry* the sixt caused to be guedled, to the ende hee should haue no ability of producing any more issue by him. And moreouer, he made him to lose the sight of his eyes, by Basons extremely heated, which hee constrained him to looke vpon so long, vntill the reuerberation of the heat, had vtterly deprived him of sight. This impiety, and more then barbarous cruelty, did the Emperour vse vnto him; because none of that race (afterward) should hinder his enjoying the kingdome of *Sicily*.

Robert expelled his Nephew *Balegard*.

The valiant *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard* Duke of *Pouilla* and *Calabria*.

*Robert* sought to make himselfe Emperour of *Constantinople*.

The final conclusion of the *Norman Guiscardoe*.

The *Sarrazins* conquered & expelled out of *Sicily*.

*Melphes* surprized by *William*.

The succession of *William* in the County of *Pouilla*.

CHAP. XI.

Of two young youthes of Paris, that traui-  
led to the Indiaes, to cure themselues of  
the Neapolitane disease, or French Pox.



*Anthony du Verdi-  
er*, Lord of *Vaupri-  
uaz*, in his  
Booke of diuers  
Readings, hath  
well described  
the originall of  
the *Neapolitane*

disease, otherwise called the great pox; & how it was brought from the Countries of the new found world, discovered first by *Columbus*, in those Islands which the *Indians* call *Haity*, and *Quisqueia*. And as this disease is very familiar in those lands; so is the remedy therof also found there, by the meanes of a wood, called *Guyaicu*, whereof there are diuers Forests, and by the vse thereof it is easily healed. Many people in these parts, who haue read the fore-named Chapter, haue highly contraried it: especially such as haue had, and yet at this present, do finde no ease thereby, albeit they haue drunk euery morning and euening of that decoction, hauing afterward soundly sweated twice a yeare, in those two temperate seasons, the Spring time, and fall of the leafe; nay moreouer, haue drunke no other drinke (with their meate, and without) for a whole yeare together.

For mine owne part, I dare maintaine, that the said Lord of *Vaupriuaz*, hath said nothing but the truth, and if the greater part of sicke persons, infected with that disease, haue found no remedy by the wood; the fault is in such as sell it, & haue not wel ordered it, not hauing knowledge what kinde of *Guyaicum* should be vsed, nor the place, nor the climate, nor by whom it is brought thence, being ignorantly perswaded, that there is but one kinde thereof onely, against the opinion of some that will meddle with prescriptions, not hauing bin in the country where this wood naturally groweth. Wherefore I purpose to make good what I write, by a history of two *Parisian* youthes,

who were healed by the vse of *Guyaicum*; not such as is brought hither to vs, and how it hapned, I will set downe the whole discourse.

I being at *Paris*, in the yeare 1563. I had great familiarity with the two youthes, being both borne in the Citty, of good and worthy houses; but I concale their names, by reason of their infection with that veneriall contagion, it beeing most commonly taken by dishonest dealing with leud women, and so by consequent, carrieth shame with it. This sicknes they concaled so long as they could, but in the end, it made it selfe to be knowne, by losse of their haire, by red pusshes appearing in the fore-head, by aches in the bones, both of their armes, legs, thighes, and shoulders, as also in the former part of their heads, from the beginning of night, till break of day the next morning, with other such like signes; as paine in the throate, being scarcely able to swallow any food. Now, albeit that all these euidences are not seene, in all such persons as are touched with that disease: yet it plainly appeared, that in both these young bodies, all the fore-named testimonies, and many more beside (which I let sleepe in silence) were apparantly noted.

In regard of these rehearsed accidents, which were so manifest, the Parents to them both had intelligence, that they were touched with this disease; and yet for more certaine assurance therein, they caused them to bee visited by very skilfull Physitions and Chyrurgions, who performed all that which arte could permit, and yet they were not able, neither could they cure them. A second time, other Physitions were called to this businesse, who applyed likewise the vitermost of their knowledge; but all in vaine, and the disease it selfe grew worse and worse, rising into knots and tophies in the foremost part of the head, and in the bones of the armes, thighes, and legs, they procured insupportable nightly paines. For when night drew neere, and all the time while it continued, they cried and complained incessantly, so that the neighbors (on all sides) heard their pittifull lamentations, by meanes whereof, their bodies became wholly dried vp.

The Physitions alleadged, that there was some great extraordinary matter in

The Author speaketh this History of his owne knowledge.

Outward apparances of that wicked disease, whereby best note of the sicknes is obserued.

Helpe sought for to skilfull Physitions & Chyrurgions.

A second attempt by physicke, but preuailling like the first.

Night time a great enemy to the disease.

be Chapter ere menti- ned, is infer- d hereafter.

om whence it came the Neapolitane case.

Contradi- made a- nst that Chapter.

The authors iustification of Verdier.

My haue beene deceiued in the Guyai- ca heere soe.

Parties of diuers complexions may haue all one disease.

The iudgement of the Physicians concerning their disease.

The young men giuen ouer, as no way to be cured.

When the hope of man is at the weakest, Gods helpe is then strongest

The Lord of Chantonay heareth one of the young mens hoarely complaining

the disease. For these two young men came nothing neere to one another in consanguinity, but were of diuers temperatures and complexions. For the one was delicate, soft, merry, whitish, and of tender disposition: but the other was of blackish color, strong, hardy, and many times addicted to pensiuensse. Neuertheless, contrary to the common order of nature, and all the Apomes in the arte of Physicke; their diseases seemed conformable, which neuer hapneth to other persons, offended with the same contagion, because some haue accidents farre different and contrary to other. Heereupon the Physicians referred the cause of this disease (simpathizing so directly, yet in such different bodies) to the venome of some paillardizing women, that had infected them.

But to make short, after these youthes had endured much extremity of paines & anguish, as well by Physicians and Chirurgions, as Empericks that had charge of them: the harme had extended so farre in expences, and no meane heart-greeuing of the Parents, al which notwithstanding, they were giuen ouer as incurable, & because there was no likely-hood of their healths recouery, they daily desired the seizure of death. Matters standing in this lamentable estate, God tooke compassion on them and their Parents, because they were deuout persons, & gaue almes very liberally to the poore daily, presenting them remedy in this manner. The Lord of *Chantonay*, a Gentleman of *Burgundy*, and of the *Franche Comte*, was sent (by the King of *Spaine*) Ambassadour to *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, who ordinarily made his residing at *Paris*. This Ambassadour was lodged directly ouer against the house, to one of the Fathers of the sicke yong men, and both their chambers being outward, on the streetes side; it caused the said Lord Ambassadour (who was none of the sleepest men) to heare the greeuous moanings, which the poore sickly *Neapolitan* continually made, whereupon hee entreated his Hoste to informe him, whence proceeded those wofull lamentations, thus nightly made by the sick young man. His Hoste hauing tolde him nothing but the truth, the Ambassadour wrought so by his Hoste, that hee might come to see the sickly youth; which ac-

cordingly he did, in the company of his Mother.

The Lord of *Chantonay*, well vnderstanding whence the disease proceeded, & those nocturnall heauy greouings, said, that he had seen many in diuers Provinces, as in *Bourgundy*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, & *Spaine*, afflicted with the selfesame sickness; and notwithstanding all curious and carefull attending, yet they could not any way be cured, but onely by going to the *Indiaes*. For instance hereof, he called for his Secretary, who presently came thither, and had (as wel as his Lord) passed the voyage, therefore hee was the better able to confirme his speeches, and related at large, how euery thing happened.

The Mother to the sicke youth, after she had thanked the Lord Ambassadour for his aduice, withdrew herselfe, and acquainted her husband (who was Master of the \* Chamber of Accounts) with all that the Lord of *Chantonay* had said vnto her. He being a very learned and wise Gentleman, conferred further (concerning this matter) with the Secretary to the said Lord Ambassadour; whom hee found to be a man of good iudgement, & one that had past through the Pikes, as we vse to tearne it.

The Sonne to the Master of the Accounts, imparted this matter vnto his sickly Companion, who aduertised his Mother also therof, and she her husband, who was a Merchant trading in silkes, and furnished the house of the Queene, *Catherine de Medicis*, then Regent in *France*; and heereupon both the Fathers conferred together. In breesfe, they concluded to hazard their Sons in the performance of this voyage, perswading themselues, that seeing they reputed to bee incurable; it might so fall out, that changing the ayre of the climate, and by their passage vnder the \* Equator, vnder which, such as sayle, doe oftentimes become sicke, and dye in the voyage, making the Sea their graue, as the most part doe, of them that aduenture to the *Indiaes*, to which fortune they freely committed their Sons. But if it came to passe, that they might there be cured, as diuers others formerly had beene; they stood bound in the greater thankfulnessse to God. For they being daily in their sight so diseased, to their

The Ambassador goeth to visite the sicke young man.

Cure obtained by going to the Indiaes

\* The Exquer or Chamber.

The matter fully related and acquainted to both sides.

\* Or equatoriall Circle, equally distant from the 2 Poles

no little discontentment and shame, beside the charges attending thereon; they could not determine on any estate for them, neyther make mention for their marriage, the reason of their sicknesse being so noysed quite through the City of Paris. Thus these two Fathers resolved to send their Sonnes to the *Indiæes*, eyther for their vtter losse, or healthfull recovery.

Now because it was not lawfull for any to passe thither, without permission from the King of *Spaine*; Queene Mother, vnderstanding by her Mercer (Father to one of the sicke youthes) the purposed voyage of his Sonne; wrote vnto her Daughter, then Queene of *Spaine*, for her assistance to the poore passengers, to fauour them with Passe-ports, and recommendations vnto the Kings Lieutenants in the *Indian* Countries, to such as were Captaines of the Seas, and other. Being assisted by two men, who had formerly voyaged both by Land and Sea, and peace being accorded with the Protestants and Catholiques, they traualled to *Spaine*, and there presented their Letters.

The Queene immediately sollicitated their licence and dispatch: but first they were visited, to know whether they were Spyes or no. For it was no long time before, that the *Spaniards* had slaine all the *French*, which were to be found in that part of *Bresile*, called by the *Tououenambouts*, saying, that all the *Indiæes* appertained to them, by due right granted to them by the Pope. When they were found to bee diseased persons, they were discharged, and going on to the Port of *Siuill*; fortune was so fauourable to them, that there they found a Fleet of Shippes, ready charged with men of warre & Merchandizes, bound also for that part of the *Indiæes*, whereto these sicke men intended to go; which was the Islands of *Haity* and of *Quisquicia*, named by *Columbus*, *Hispaniola*, and afterward the Isle of *Saint Dominico*.

They went aboard a Merchants Ship, hauing agreed for threescore Ducates, both for their passage thither, and their returne backe againe. The voyage succeeded so well, that although it contayned aboute eighteene hundred leagues by land; yet within two Moneths, they arri-

ued there, landing in the Isle of *S. Dominico*, where the Vice-Roy lay. To him they presented their Letters of fauour and recommendations, who gaue charge to a Gentleman of his Court, to see that the young men and their company should be kindly entreated, sending them vnto Physitions, that remained there in the Country at the Kings pay. But they thought it more conuenient for them to passe thence to another Island, which was called *Saint Iohn de Porterico*; where the women there dwelling, were very skilfull in curing that malady, and when they were come thither, thus it succeeded to them,

First, the Governour of the Island, by commaundement giuen him from the Vice-Roy of the *Indiæes*, lodged the young men so well as hee could in that sauage Country: which was in a Lodging made with palisadoes, or a wall of Pales, which beeing but badly ioyned together, was filled vp with bundles of leaues.

The Roofe consisted of leaues of Trees, so were their Beds also, and in stead of Feathers, they were filled with Cotten: their Sheetes being of plaine Fustian, and all their vtensilles of wood, or of earth.

Their ordinary feeding was on Cow-flesh somewhat tender, of great Serpents roasted, which serued highly to their healing, and also on strong Tortuises, as great as an indifferent Porket.

Their bread was Biscuit, and is much better in that Country, then elsewhere; for within the space of foure and twenty houres, it will grow mouldy, and if it be eaten hot, it is indigestible. But howsoeuer it were, the *Spaniards* gaue them courage, not to greeue themselues, and brought a Musitian vnto them to delight them, whose Instrument was made of the bone of a mans thigh. They likewise sent a woman to attend them, that made little or no account of them; but tolde them, so soone as they were cured, she did assure herselfe, that they would very well content her.

This Woman so affrighted our young *Parisians*, that they could very willingly there haue dyed, as neuer hoping of any helpe by her meanes. For she went starke naked, her skin being of an

Strange reduction in to Fathers.

to passage to the Indiæes, without the King of Spains permission.

The arriuall of the young men in Spain

the Frêch in Bresile were slaine by the Spaniards.

good fortune to the young men of great necessity.

The arriuall of the two young men in India, and their courteous entertainment.

Their removing to the Isle of S. Iohn de Porterico.

The manner of their lodging in S. Iohn de Porterico.

Their ordinary viands in the Isle of S. Iohn.

The kindness of the Spaniards to them.

The description of the beauty of a sauaige womā.

Such a sight could be scārlily pleasing to sicknesse, and in a place so desert and vn-couth.

A drinke made of Guyaicum, or Pockwood, by the sauaige woman.

\* The Parisian halfe pint almost as big as our whole pint.

Their manner of giuing Phisicke in the Indiaes.

Custom brought them to the Countrey dyet.

Oliue-coulour; flat nosed, like to a little dog: her breasts hung dangling downe, like to the dugs of an olde Sow. Her head was shorne close before, but behinde, the hayre hanged so low as her heeles, all frised, and like to the tayle of some ill-fauoured Cow. The nayles of her hands and feete, exceeded halfe a fingers length, and were bowing crooked. She had no haire where nature commonly affordeth, neyther in her arme-pits; and her teeth looked of a hew betweene red & yellow, long, cleare, and wide enough asunder. At each of her eares hung a Stone of violet coulour, the least of them weighing aboue two ounces: her vpper lip was slit in the midst, in the top whereof stood another stone of grayish coulour, and thence passed her spettle continually. All the other parts of her body were round & fat, and in indifferent fashon, swete, faire, & affable enough for a sauaige creature.

This woman prepared a drinke, which she made of the little loppings of a yong Guyaicum tree, hauing first bruised them betweene her goodly teeth, thē afterward she boyled thē in an earthen vessell, without any thing to couer it, and contrary to all courses obserued in our Countries. This drinke she caused them euery morning to take, each of them to the quantity of a \* *Paris Chopine*, at two or three draughts. Then they must walke a while, exercise Fencing, or some other cheerefull stirring of their bodies; or else trauell to a Mine of gold, which was not far off frō the Village, so to weare out the space of two houres. Then returning backe againe to the house, all sweaty, they would change onely their shirts; and going to dinner, they must drinke of no other water, but of a much-troubled standing Poole, wherein was nothing but rainewater. The *Spaniards* would offer them *Gallypands* or *Cocks of india*, which they did eate sodden for the most part. But after they had bene vsed to it eight or ten dayes; they could eate Toads, Serpents, and Lizards euen as well as other, and found them very sauaige meate; beside diuers kindes of fruites, the like whereof hath neuer bene seene in these parts. About three houres in the euening, they must drinke as much of the Guyaicum, as they did in the morning, and vse the same exercises. And without any other cere-

mony, remedy, or deuises vsed to them, they found themselues to bee thoroughly healed, iust within the space of six weeks: onely their gums excepted, which were become swolne and enflamed. But they were made sound, with a sharpe-pointed bone of a Fish, by pricking and piercing them therewith in many places, and they thus healed, were perfectly recouered. The knots and bumps on their bones, vanished away, all their nightly afflictions ceased wholly within fifteene daies: appetite came afresh to them both, and their haire being lost, was restored againe in more firmer manner then before. And now there remained, not so much as the print of any push or blaine, eyther in their fore-heads, or on their breasts, likewise all vlcers which they had in their secret parts, dried vp and were gone.

They perceiuing themselues to be thoroughly cured, were willing to content the woman with golden coyne, as hoping they did well therein: and this they did, by the aduice of a cunning crafty *Spaniard*, relegated to that place, and to worke in the Mines. He very well knew, that the *Indians*, making no account of Gold or Monie; purposed to begge it of her, not doubting but easily she wold giue it him. But it fell out farre otherwise, for shee refused the Gold, and would by no meanes touch it, but ran into the house, and took a Bow and Arrowes, intending to kill them, but that they fledde away from her. Perceiuing this, they called another *Spaniard*, who had alwayes made signes of amity towards them, and caused him to speake to the woman, because they vnderstood not her language. Conference by signes hauing past betweene them, the *Spaniard* learned of her, that shee would be payed in some small wares or trifles. They not knowing where they should so prouide themselues, the *Spaniard* tolde them, that there dwelt a man in the Village, who made profession of selling such things; and of him, for the value of two Ducates (which amount heere but to twenty Solz) they bought these following trinkets. Six very bigge Combes, six little kniues, sold for a Sol a peece in *Paris*, with their sheathes, six small looking-glasses, a dozen of points, six needles, a glasse spoone, & a dozen of Ballads. Wherwith she was extraordinarily pleased, & tooke her-

The young men were cured in the space of six weekes, and their former strength perfectly recouered.

Their gratefull intention towards the sauaige woman.

The danger of the cure young men by the treachery of a *Spaniard*.

Trifles and matters of small value yet pleasing to the eie, best welcome to the *Indians*.

her selfe highly beholding to them. She presently sung a Song, after her countrey manner, made them a Feast, wherein were serued foure small *Gainny* hennes boyled, two Toads very fat, vnbowelled and roasted. They dranke a Beuerage, made of Turkey wheate, passable enough. And afterward, she gaue them halfe a dozen of Bowes, and some store of Arrowes, to beare away with them homeward; beside she gaue to each of them, fūie Handkerchers of Cotton, properly made.

They returned thence to the Island of *Saint Dominico*, where they presented themselues vnto the Vice-roy, who was most ioyfull to see them recovered; and there they remained one moneth more, not feeling any sicknesse by the change of ayre, or of the climate, whereat each one greatly meruailed. In this time, the Merchants made them ready for their return, and some bands of soldiers, who went to refresh themselues in *Spaine*. Being entered their ship, within two other months they arriued happily in the Port of *Siuill*. Thence they went to *Madrielle*, humbly to thanke the Queene, who gaue them Letters and *Passes-portes*, for their more secure arriuing in *France*. Being come to *Paris*, they were most louingly entertayned by their parents and friends, who did conceale their voyage and sicknesse, so much as in them lay.

It was my hap to finde them there, and to me they reuealed the whol aduenture, euen in such maner as I haue set it down; to the end, that such as fall into the like inconuenience, & being forsaken of Physitians heere, may trauaile for their recovery, as these two yong men did. At this day they are prouided of great and honorable Offices, the one being officer for the Finances, and the other a worthie Commander in Armes, hauing performed many signal seruices, in the last wars of the vnion to his Maiesty. And because this Chapter should not seeme ouerlong: I will heereunto adde another Discourse, concerning the Tree of *Guyaicum*, which healed these two young *Parisians*.

CHAP. XII.

*Why there is not found so much vertue in the Guyaicum that is brought hither, as in that whereof the Indians themselues do make vse, against the Neapolitane disease, and the description thereof.*



AS God hath bene, is, and euer more declareth himselfe to be good & mercifull, knowing the inhabitantes of the whole Countrey of *India* fore-named, to be naturally subiect to this infection of the Pox; so hath he giuen them the Tree of *Guyaicum*, by the meanes whereof they can cure themselues, which they attayned vnto, onely by experience; for they haue not anie knowledge of Letters. The Spaniardes which had conquered those countreyes, hauing co-habited carnally with the naturall Women there abiding; receyued from them this disease. For at certaine seasons, this malady possesseth the Indians; as Fellons or *VWhiclawes*, and *Feauers* do seize on vs. And hauing perceyued that they recovered themselues by *Guyaicum*, our Merchants brought some of it hither; which in the beginning, rotted of it selfe, by reason they brought thence the very youngest: which to preuent, they brought then of the oldest that in regard of his solidity could not rotte or perish. And our Physitians (by their own report) appointed the receipt of that, to such as (in these parts) were so infected; but to little effect; for beside the breuage or drinke made thereof, they sayled in annointing (oftentimes) the diseased body, with hotte Oyntments, compounded with Quick-siluer, wherby some of good habitude, perceiued themselues to be cured, and others not.

Now, by that which I coulde gather, from the discourse of these two young *Parisians*, the olde *Guyaicum*, which is broght hither to vs, is of the grosse trunk and strong bodie of the Tree, that hath no vertue against the disease, neyther doe the Indians any way vse it. And our deceiued Physitians, appoint the receipt of this

The great mercy of God to the naturally infected Indian people

Spaniardes were the first that took the pox of the Indian women.

The want of knowledge in some Physitians

The Authors obseruation by report of the two *Parisians*.

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countrey.

There is but one kinde of Guyaicum onely.

Trial of Guyaicum by the Parisians experience both heere, and in India.

Some vertue in the olde Guyaicum, & how it is to be applied in that ill disease.

Some forsaken, yet foundly cured by the olde Guyaicum.

this blacke *Guyaicum*, which is of those great trunkes, and call it, the heart of *Guyaicum*. They also perswade theselues that there are two kindes of *Guyaicum*, to wit, one that is wholly blacke, and the other nothing blacke at all. Neuerthelesse, they are both of one tree, insomuch as that which hath no blacknesse, is of the branches, and euermore the oldest, albeit they take it for the yongest. These young *Parisians*, beeing of good and apprehensive spirits, did well perceyue, that that which men brought hither to vs, had very little power or efficacy: for they had made many diets, without receyuing the least ease thereby.

But the other of *India*, which was yong, somewhat tender, hauing hardly attained to two yeares growing, and no higher the stature of a man, did heale very easily. For in the making thereof, there would bee felte and perceiued, a very delicate and Grape-like gumme, pleasing vnto the heart, which is not to bee found in that made heere among vs. And they concluded, that the drinesse and coldnesse of the trunkes of the trees, then which there is no other brought to vs, is the only cause, why such an irkesome disease cannot bee cured.

Yet do I not inferre heereby, but that the aged *Guyaicum* brought hither to vs, hath some power and vertue: as in preparing the bodie (to receiue the vnguent fit for the disease) that is of a cold or melancholly nature, and hauing made vse thereof eight or ten dayes, then to take the Vnguent. Or else, when one is supposed to haue that sicknesse, and there remaineth paines or aches in some parts of the body, or some Vlcer is feared: some haue bene obserued, that by the vse of this old *Guyaicum*, within three weekes they haue appeared to be found. Some also haue bene fore afflicted, yea, diuers times left in deplorable condition; yet hauing made vse hereof for a year or two, as in their ordinary drink, and their bread commixed with a decoction of *Guyaicum*, and their meate boyled in like manner, they haue bene cured, and (among other) an Attourney of the Parliament at *Rouen*: but this is very rare and extremly painfull.

The voyage to the *Indiæ* seemeth not so dolorous, nor yet so greatly chargea-

ble: for thesetwo young *Parisians*, of whome wee made mention in our precedent Chapter, it cost but three hundred Crownes betweene them, yet each had a man of honor with him, and a groomer or seruant to attend them both.

The decoction of the *Guyaicum* which is heere among vs, doth not serue onely for the Pox, or those offended therewith; but likewise for all persons ouer-abounding in moysture, or that haue diseases caused by some cold humors. Also for such as haue opilations in the Liuer, Splene, and other of the bowels, causing them to sweate after the receite. Many haue found great comfort and ease also thereby; as some touched with palsies; others that haue had swolne legs; others with vlcers subiect to certaine times; and defluxions, deaffenes, catarrhes, rheumes, and other imbecillities, they haue found themselues thereby to be released. But people offended with heeticque Feauers, must keepe themselues from any way vsing it. I will now describe the forme of this Tree.

The Tree of *Guyaicum* is great and grosse, as are the Oakes in these our countries, hauing the Barke or Rinde of blackish coullor, thicke, gummy, and fat. The wood thereof is much harder then Ibonny, and the rinde separateth it selfe very easily from the trunk, when it is dry. The Leaues doe appeare like those of Plantaine, but they are much lesse, and more hard. It beareth a yellow flower, and the fruite is as big as a Nut, hauing within it stones, like to those of a Medlar: no vse hath bene made of the fruite, so farre as I can learne, and yet there must needs be some vertue in them. Thus you perceiue what I know, and haue vnderstood, concerning the Wood called *Guyaicum*, in the vertue whereof, many heere among vs haue found themselues to be deceiud; by thinking that it had the selfe-same faculties, as that which is young and tender, and found in the *Indiæ*.

CHAP.

The Parisian charges in their voyage.

Concerning the decoction of *Guyaicum* and how it is vnaileth for diuers other diseases beside the pox

A Description of the tree called *Guyaicum* according to the diligent paines of the Author

CHAP. XIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that Graine or Corne is not so long time preferued in our Countreies, as it hath bene, and still is in Egypt. Also in what maner our Lands and Vines should be corrected and qualified, without dunging. With many remedies, for the preferuing of our Corn from corruption, and being eaten with diuers kinds of Vermines.

Some haue supposed, that such seuerall kinds of corn as were kept for the space of fiftene daies, or thereabout (safe and soundly) in the ro all Granaries of Egypt, by the aduice of Joseph, to provide agaynst the dearth of Graine, which should for seuen yeares after follow, according as he Prophetically foretold; came to passe as by matter of miracle, and extraordinarily. I must needs confesse, that there was there both great abundance, and as great sterility of Corne, in the seuen consecutine yeares, and all thorow the extraordinary power of God. But for the conseruation of them, it is a matter ordinary to Egypt, that Corne should be kept there five and twenty yeares in pure goodnes, yea much longer time. Alwayes provided, that it bee not transported from place to place, and be not made subiect to any heating; neither that it should bee eaten by anie Vermines, as many times our Corne is heere in our Countreies, and the cause thereof I will declare vnto ye.

The reason for it, is, that the Egyptians neuer vsed to fatten their groundes, but contented themselues with such manurage, as the soyle it selfe, and Nylus ouerflowing them, onely affoorded: neuer vsing any dung, as heere we do, neyther Vrines, Leystals, and other excrements of beasts, which is the onely cause, vvhy our Graine cannot be preferued; but is subiect to Wormes, Vveeuilles, Mites, and other small creatures, that doe great harme thereto, whereby it yeeldeth no sauoury taste, neither can bee kepte in

goodnesse for any long time. Hippocrates seemeth to be of the same opinion, affirming, that such as vse breade made of Corne, which any dinged ground hath yeilded, they cannot liue so healthfully, neither so long a tiime, as others, feeding on the contrary.

Some one may say vnto me, the what shall we do in these countreies, where if our fildes be not manured and dinged, the Land will yeelde nothing, or (at the best) very little? Is it not apparant eury where amongst vs? That there are verie good meanes whereby to franke and fatten groundes, with other things then dung and filth, Hesiodus plainly enstructeth vs; for in his Booke of Husbandry, he sayth: There is nothing better, to cherish & fatten a leane and meager Land, then the strong straw of \*Lapines, the chaffe of Chiches, of Beanes, of Tares, Lentilles, and other such like, vtterly reiecting all vse of dung, which many haue charged with blamefull imputations.

Of this opinion also, Lieband appeareth to bee, in his Booke called *Maison Rustique*, or the Countrey Farme. where he saith; *Insted of dung, they may vse the straw of Lupines, hacket or cut small. Or else to sowe the ground with Lupines, and other Pulses, and after ward when they beginne to grow, to labour then the land ouer and ouer, and this will serue for dung, much better then that of any beast.*

There is mention also made, of another kind of manuring the ground, which is not so good as the precedent, alledged by *Hesiodus*; but approaching somewhat neere it, as thus. To cut some store of Heath, Broome, Briars, and Thorns, and all other kinds of shrubbes that haue bushy stalkes, or vnder-woods, and then to couer all those Lands therewith, which are intended to be sowen: there let these seuerall matters ly drying about the space of ten or twelue dayes, or longer time if neede require it. Then in the night time, let them bee set on fire, and so carefully tended, that they may bee altogether reduced into ashes, by kindling the fire still where it would not fasten. Afterward, let those groundes be Tilled after one maner onely, and then sowed and couered. This kinde of Husbandry wil cause great quantity of Corne, which the poore make vse of in many places, where they haue no Cattle:

Hip in l. 7. c. 17

Lands that are dinged, doe not yeeld such plenty of Corne, nor so sauoury, as others.

Hesiod. in lib de Agricult. cap. 5.

\* A kinde of Pul. s. called

Lieband in 1. lib de Maison Rustique, cap. 10

Another maner of manuring ground, by Heath, Broome, Bryars, &c.

Coniures concerning the long Keeping of Corn in Egypt.

Joseph

The Grain or Corne of Egypt may be kept longer time, if it be not transported from place to place, and be not made subiect to any heating, and be not eaten by any Vermine.

The reason why our Corn cannot be kept for any long time.

Cattle: and it causeth the earth to yeeld a great moyst graine, which is not subiect to corruption.

Here it is to be remembred, that where I say in Egypt, the grounds are not manured: I meane none but those that lye along the current of *Nylus*, on eyther side three or foure Leagues in largeness, or little lesse on either side. But in other parts, as in the mountaine countreyes, they manure their Lands, though they be greatly fruitfull: yet not with dung, but with straw of diuers Pulses, according as I haue formerly sayd. Howbeit they haue great Heards of Oxen, and Flockes of Sheepe, also their fields are almost couered with flights of Pigeons, which after their owne manner) manure the grounds, and it is verie excellent good in that Nature.

As for the dungs heere in our Countreyes, they are very laborious to bee made: for some dung must lye rotting a whole yeare together, before it can bee well imployed. And then it is (oftentimes) full of seedes of wilde or sauage Hearbes, which fall into the Hay, that beasts of labour eat, and so passe thorow in their excrements vndigested, or else are found among the strawe, whereof they make their litter. Whereby ensueth, that the earth (oftentimes) produceth more store of bad Hearbes and VVeeds, then of good Corne; because they take away his true vertue of nouriture, and do meerey smother it.

Beside all these things fore-named, especiall care is to be hadde, in knowing what dungs are good or bad; and for certaine groundes, and for some peculiar feeds. For Horffe dung will serue well in one place; that of Oxen and Kine in another; and likewise those of other Cattle, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Pigeons, and others beside. It may not be forgotten also that some groundes are to bee fattened in certaine quarters of the Moone, and others in other seasons: which is not any way to be obserued, in those other kindes of manuring, whereof I haue formerly written.

Heere I must not ouer-passe, to write somewhat concerning the husbanding of Vines, which some vse to dung, albeit to much lesse purpose, then groundes bearing Corne. As about *Paris*, in the lower *Ly-*

*mosine*; about *Lymoges*, and else-where.

The dooing heereof is a great deale lesse tollerable, because it is a matter very difficult, that a ground nourished and made fat with dung; should not still retaine in it, the saueur of the sayde Dung, and so (in the end) impart it to the wine. For, our people are verie ill aduised, to charge their Vines euery yeare: by reason it is the cause, that their wines (for the most part) haue an vnpleasing tast, and becoming fat and Oily, are easie to turne of themselues. Moreouer, dung maketh our Vines to waxe aged immediately, and soone to grow barren; because they are too liberall of their goodnesse in the first yeares.

*Seruius* hath lesse written vnto vs, in those Commentaries which he made on the ninth Booke of the *Aeneides*, that the man was named *Pituuinus*, who inuented this manner of manuring groundes by dung. And therefore he was called *Sterquilinum*, that is to say, a dung-hill carrier. It is to be presumed, that he was bred in the Latines countrey, in some place that was neuer fertile. These few notes I haue selected out of verie good Authors that did well vnderstand themselues in Husbandry, concerning the manuring of groundes & Vines, but they neuer approoued the vse of dung.

Now, because I know verie well, that whatsoeuer *Hesiodus*, those other authors and my selfe also haue written, that our groundes and Vines should no longer bee manured in such stinking, soule, and grosse manner, but to follow those other instructions, most sweete and wholesome: in excuse of their neglecting so good aduice I will say with them, that that which hath taken roote for so many thousandes of yeares, can hardly be taken away vpon the sodaine.

Therefore, I wil now set downe vnto you some certaine receipts and aduices, for the long conseruation of our Cornes safe and soundly, and that they may not bee any wayes bitten or eaten with Vermine, because it will bring exceeding great healthfulnesse vnto the people. For, without all doubt, when Corne and other nourishments of life haue any corruption whatsoeuer, they doe dailie encrease and augment diseases amongst the people.

First

How the Egyptians doe manure their grounds that are not neere to *Nylus*.

Dungs doe engender many wilde and vnwholsome hearbes by smothering the earth, rather then nourishing it.

Knowledge in the diuersitie of dungs, for their goodnesse or badnesse.

Concerning the husbandrie fit for Vines.

Dung is verie hurtfull for Vides.

*Seruius* in *sup. Aeneid. ca.*

The Author excuse on their behalf that despise his Councell

First of all then, men ought to be very circumspect, that before they bring their Corne in sheaues into the Barne, the said sheaues be very dry, and free from all moisture. Next, not to lay them on the earthen floore, without there bee some dry boords betweene the Corne and it. Then that there bee no muck-hill, or Iakes, eyther in the Barne, or nere it: for ill fauor will soone communicate it selfe to the Corne; and aboue all, let the Barne bee very well ayred. If it be in such a place, where they haue no vse of Barnes, as in the most part of *Languedocke*; then order must be taken, that the Stacke of Corne be (at least) so wel couered and enclosed, that no raine may get power of entrance, for otherwise, the Corne will sproute it selfe, and afterward rot, corrupt, and putrifie.

After that the Corne is threshed, and meete to bee laide vp in the Garner or Corne-loste, choise must be made of one that receiveth the bright splendour of the East, breathed also moderately with the North and West windes: but the Southerne blasts, and those leaning that way, by no meanes to enter it. The couerture ouer head, need no great costlinesse, because of the ayres easier entrance thorow the Tyles, or other sheltring, that the Corne may not be heated or chafed. The floote may bee of earth, or pauing tyles; and the walles of whited mortar. You must bee respectiue, that your Corne-heapes bee not great or thicke, to auoyde ouer-heating; remoouing and changing them from place to place, at two Months and two Moneths. The Garner must be farre enough from moist places; especially from houses of office, which yeeld a noysome fauour, or any such vnfit being; from Stables of Oxen, Horses, Swine, & such like.

The planchers and walles of the Garner, wherein you purpose to house your Corne, must be washed with vineger, or such water, wherein hearbes, or some bitter drugs haue benee boiled: as Wormewood, Southernwood, the leaues of wilde Cowcumbers, the pithe or graine of Colloquintida, or of Lupines, or Oxe gaules; without all question to the contrary, these haue bene truely tried, that no Weeuils, Mites, or Wormes can bite or touch the Corne, where they haue bene vsed. And

they that scorne to take this paines, may lay some wormwood vnderneath, aloft, and about their Corne-heapes, or Southernwood, or dried wilde Marierome. Or else annoint the walles and planchers of the Garner, with Lye made of the oyle of Oliues; or if it may not be had, with Sheeps vrine. To salt-powder the ground vnderneath the Corne, with ashes made of Oaken wood, it is the present killing of all Mites and VVeuiuils.

Now to keepe the Corne from heating or warming, ouer and beside our forenamed remouing, let there bee layde vnder euery ten Bushels of Corne, one of Millet; or if it be mingled therewith, it is easly separated afterward with a raunging Siue. Salt-Niter and the scum thereof, is very good for Corne-heapes, and preferueth them wonderfully, as also frō sprouting: many Sea-Merchants haue made vse thereof, to their no meane profite. In breefe, a good and charitable man shall neuer stand in need of so many remedies, if he keepe his Corne with intention, to helpe and lend to the poore, and without interest. For God saith by his Prophet *Ezechiell*, That hee will preferue the goods of them that keepe them to helpe the poore. And contrariwise; That he will suffer them to rot, and their Corne shall bee eaten with vermine, that hoorde them vp, to get great gaine by them; and hurt the people vexed with famine.

CHAP. XNII.

*Of the great difference, which both Ancient and Moderne Writers haue obserued to be, betweene the Royall title of a King, and the disgracefull name of a Tyrant.*



Before I begin to describe the difference, that is betweene a King and a Tyrant; I hold it to bee a matter most convenient, to set downe a definition both of the one and other, to the ende, that the deportments of them both, may the better be knowne.

A King is such a man, that yeeldeth himselfe as obedient to the lawes of Nature,

An easier way for such as can take no paines.

How to preferue the Corne from heating and chafing,

Ezek. 37, 10.

A necessary obseruation in the Author.

bringing Corne in sheaues into the Barne.

places where no Mites are found.

what care is to be vsed for choosing a good Garner, or Corne-lost.

of the roofe.

of the floore and walles.

Corne-heapes

Situation of the Garner.

how to auoyde vermine that do great harme to Corne.

The definition of a King, or him that holdeth the estate and dignity Royall.

The note or marke of royalty.

What things are possible in a King.

The definition of a Tyrant, & what the signification of the word Tyrant implyeth.

Who were called tyrants in elder times

ture, as he desireth his Subiects to bee towards him: forsaking naturall liberty, & a propriety in the goods of any man. I obserue in this definition, that Subiects ought to bee obedient to the Royall Monarch, to declare thereby, that in him consisteth Soueraigne Maiesty. The King also ought to bee obedient to the Lawes of nature, that is to say; to gouerne his Subiects, and to guide his owne actions by naturall iustice, which maketh it selfe to be seene as cleare and brightly, as the splendour of the Sunne. It is likewise a Royall marke or note, when the Prince sheweth himselfe as milde and plyable to the lawes of nature; as hee wisheth his Subiects to be obeysant to him. Which he may easily do, if he feare God about all things, be pittifull to the afflicted, prouident in his enterprizes, hardy in exploits, modest in prosperity, constant in aduersity, firme in his word, wise in his counsell, carefull of his subiects, succourable to friends, terrible to enemies, courteous to good men, dreadfull to wicked persons, and iust to all.

A Tyrant is such a man, as defileth the lawes of nature with his feete, abuseth the liberties of free-borne Subiects, euen as if they were his slaues, and maketh the goods of other men to be his owne. The name or word Tyrant, is Greeke in his owne propriety, and was honourable, signifying nothing else in times of antiquity, but a Prince that had possessed himselfe of the State, without the consent of his Citizens and Subiects, and of a companion, had made him his Master. Such a man was called a Tyrant, although he were a most wise and iust Prince. In like manner, *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the Tyrant, gaue him this quality as his honour: *Plato* to *Dionysius* the tyrant, health. The returne and answer was: *Dionysius* the tyrant, to *Plato*. greeting. And to declare that the word tyrant, was as well attributed to iust & good Princes, as them that were wicked, it evidently appeareth heerein: because *Pittacus* and *Periander*, two of the seven Sages of *Greece*, were called tyrants, for hauing seized the Estates of their Countries.

But such, as eyther by power, or else by cunning had inuaded and obtained the Soueraignty, perceiuing that their liues were exposed to the mercy of their ene-

mies; were constrained (for the better security of their liues and goods) to haue Guards of strangers about their persons, & strong Garrisons in Castles, for whose payment of wages and maintenance, great tributes & impositions were leued. And when they saw, that their liues could not be secured, hauing but poore friends, and potent enemies; they did eyther put to death, or banished some, to please and enrich others: and they that stood in desperate condition, they made rape both of their goods and wiues. And this was the reason, that tyrants were extremely hated and malliced. For wee reade, that *Dionysius* the elder tyrant, of one part of *Sicily*, had daily ten thousand Soldiers for his Guard, and ten thousand horsemen, and foure hundred Gallies, readily hyred and armed. And when he could not make vp this account among so few Subiects as were vnder his seruice; he wrang & griped his people in so small an Island, whereof hee gouerned but in part onely, and contained no more then six hundred and sixtene Italian miles in all.

Now because euery one hath not the iudgement to distinguish a good King from a Tyrant, calling him a Tyrant, that (for great store of good reasons) maketh himselfe formidable, and stood in awe of, beside that which I haue already sette downe, I will make him some-what more easily to be knowne.

The most notable difference betweene a King and a Tyrant, is; that the King conformeth himselfe to the lawes of nature, and a tyrant trampleth on them with his feete, that one maintaineth piety, iustice, and faith, the other hath neyther God, Law, nor Faith. The one maketh whatsoever he doth, serue for the weale publike, & tuition of his Subiects: the other doth not any thing, but for his owne particular profite, reuenge, or pleasure. The one enforceth himselfe to enrich his Subiects by all the best meanes he can deuise: the other will not build his owne house, but with the ruines of theirs. The one reuengeth the iniuries of the publike Estate, and pardoneth his owne: but the other reuengeth cruelly his owne iniuries, and pardoneth them that are done to others. The one spareth the honour of modest women: & the other triumpheth in their shame. The one taketh pleasure

Gripping and insultring Tyrants were compelled to entertaine Guards for their owne safety.

The cause why Tyrants were mortally hated.

Weaknesse some iudgements betweene a good King & a Tyrant.

The apparant and best noted difference betweene a Royall King & a Tyrant in very sign obseruation.

Of publike benefit.

Pardoning iniuries.

Of womens honour.

to be aduised in all freedome and liberty, and will be wisely reprehended when hee faileth; but nothing is more irkesome to the other, then the counsell of a graue and vertuous man.

The one striueth to maintaine his Subiectes in peace and vnitie; but the other mooueth dayly diuisions, to make the one part ruinate the other, and then to fatten himselfe with their Confiscations. The one, delighteth to see sometimes seene, and heard of his Subiectes; but the other euer more hydeth himselfe from them, as from his enemies. The one, maketh reckoning of his Subiectes Loue, but the other of their Feare. The one, neuer feareth, but for the wel-fare of his people; but the other dreadeth nothing more then them.

The one, will not charge his subiects more then needes must, remembering alwayes the publique necessity; but the other drinketh their blood, gnaweth their bones, and sucketh the verie Marrowe of his people, onely to weaken them. The one searcheth out men of best condition, to imploy in publike Offices; but the other imployeth none but Theeues, and most wicked persons in his seruice, like to Spunges. The one maketh free gifte of estates and offices, to auoide concussions, and crowdes of people; but the other selleth them at as deare rates as hee can, for their better meanes of enfeebling the people by Thefts; and then (afterward) cuttes the Theeues throates for theyr vvealth, because he would be reputed a good Iusticer.

A King measureth his actions and manners, by the foote of the Law: but the tyrant maketh the Law to serue his manners. The one is beloued and reuerenced of his people; and the other generally hated of them all. The one hath no other recourse in war, but to his subiects: but the other, will make no warre but with them. The one, hath no Guards or Garrisons but of his owne people: but the others defence is onely in strangers. The one delighteth in an assured repose and tranquility; but the other languisheth in perpetuall feare. The hope & expectation of the one, is euerlasting life in blessednes: but the other cannot auoid eternall punishment. The one is honored in this life, & desired again after death: the other is infamous in this

life, and torne in peeces with shame after death. But because the continuation of this chapter might seeme ouer-tedious to the Reader, if I should verify al these relations by historicall examples, I wil referre such as are willing to take the paynes, to reade the histories themselues, both in Greeke, Latine, & other languages, wher they shal find that to be most true, which hath bin spoken of Kings and Tyrants.

The Conclu-  
sion.

CHAP. XV.

*In what high account and esteeme, Philosophers, & other men of knowledge (in what Sciences soeuer) were held in elder times, by Emperors and Kings.*



NE need not now complaine, that in these dayes of ours, there is such want of excellent spirits, in all kinde of Arts and Sciences: but if we suruey with more wary iudgment, we shal plainly perceiue, that there are learned men enow, who may iustly find fault, that neither they are in such esteeme, or any way so well recompenced of Princes in these times, as many worthie men vvere heretofore, by Emperors, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, in those famous daies of reuerend antiquity. Insted of concluding, and acquainting yee with the iustice of their reason, I will lightly passe ouer; & insted of long speaking, onely remember ye with some histories and examples of Famous Potentates in former ages, who wer Friends, and Nursing fathers to Philosophers and Schollers; to the end that their actions beeing compared with those of these dayes, it may bee knowne, whether they haue cause to complaine, or no, in a case so highly importing.

And first of all, I will beginne with the excellent and renowned Captain Pompey, who (as we read) after he had vanquished the puissant king *Mithridates*, & obtained many other victories and aduentures in war, coming to *Athens* with al his warlike furnishment, such as the *Roman* Consuls and Captaines vsed to haue borne before thē: he was aduertised that *Possidomus* the

A great cause  
of discouragement to learned men.

Potentates &  
Princes of elder times.

Pompey, his  
victory against Mithridates.

General  
ty.  
Affability.  
Loue.  
Feare.  
Taxations  
Honest  
 Offices.  
Free-gi-  
u; Offices.  
Law.  
Peoples  
Warre.  
Guardes.  
Peace.  
happy life  
a happy  
cuth.

Philosopher lay sicke in his bed. Being desirous to go and see him, he would not onely honor him with his personall Visitation; but when he came neere the door of the house, he caused his Standards and Imperial Ensigns to march in before him. For it was euermore his saying; *That Kingdomes and Empires ought to obey vertue and Learning.* Thus he behaued himselfe to this poore learned man, which hee would not haue done to the greatest Potentate then liuing.

*Dionysius* the Tyrant, king of *Syracusa*, hauing obtained of *Plato* the excellent diuine Philosopher, that he would come & see him in *Sicily*; when hee heard of his neere approaching, he went to meete him on the way, causing him to sit with him in his owne Chariot, drawne with white Horsses. Such was the reputation which wise and learned men had in those times. When *Alexander* the Great, had determined the vtter ruine & subuersion of the *Thebans*, he gaue especiall charge first of all, that no man should touch the house of the Poet *Pindarus*, but to leaue it wholly standing. If I should tell yee, how highly *Virgill* was honored and esteemed by *Octavianus*, it is a matter so perfectly known, that it needeth no report of mine. According to *Pliny* in his seuenth Booke, when soeuer he entred into the Theater, there to deliuer some of his Verses, all the people would stand vp on their feet, and offer as great reuerence to him, as if it had bin to the Emperor. And that which is much more, *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet, did yearly solemnize the day of his Natiuity, and with farre greater deuotion, then hee did his owne. The gifts and presents daily giuen him by *Octavian*, *Mecenas*, and many more, were so great, that *Seruius* (who writeth of him) saith, that his goods (in very short time) amounted to the value of sixe thousand *Sestertiaes*, which arise vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes. He had in *Rome* a very honorable Palace; in regard whereof, *Iuuenall* in his 7. Satyre saith, *That he was one of the richest men in those dayes.*

Vpon a day, in the presence of *Octavian*, and *Liuis* his wife, the mother vnto *Marcellus*, *Virgill* vttered certaine Verses of his bookes *Aeneidos*, and comming to the end of the sixt Booke, where hee discourseth most elegantly of *Marcellus*, late-

ly dead before; the hart of the mother became so strangely and passionately moued thereat, that she fell into a swoound, not hauing any power to heare the rest. But being reuiued to her selfe againe, she commaunded, that for each of those whereof shee had lost the hearing, *Virgill* shoulde haue ten *Sestertiaes* giuen him. The remainder (which she heard not) being one and twenty verses in number; the valeuation of his reward, contained the summe of 5,000. Ducates, of our instant money.

It is found faithfully recorded, that the *Syracusanes* had some *Athenian* prisoners, that could rehearse (by heart) certayne verses of *Euripides* the Greeke Poet, and dayly pronounced them; by which occasion only, and in honor of the Poet, they were deliuered, & permitted freely to go home to their owne countrey. *Scipio* the *African*, during his life time, had alwayes with him (in his wars) the Statue of *Æn-nius*; and when he died, he tooke especiall order, that it might be buried in his owne Sepulcher with him. The Emperor *Domitian*, caused *Silius Italicus* (an excellent Poet, and borne in *Spaine*) to bee made three times Consull of *Rome*, as *Martiall* witnesseth in one of his Epigrams, beginning, *Augusto Piathura.*

But I know not what to say, of our moderne and later times; or what our late liuing Princes haue done, either to *Politian*, *Pontanus*, or *Sannazar*; and to speak of our Modern Frenchmen, as *Ronsard*, *Bellay*, and other excellent Poets. But perhaps you will answer me, their hopes may bee to come heereafter, because some of them are yet liuing, young in yeares, but old in wisdom and vnderstanding, and worthy to bee equalled with many of former times. But because I see so little respect, let vs goe backe againe to those renowned Ancients. King *Mithridates* held *Plato* and his learning in so high reputation, & being desirous to haue his statue; sent to find out *Syllanion* to performe it, because he was a most excellent workeman. For in those dayes, the greatest honour that could be, was (in publike places) to erect Figures & Statues: yet none might be permitted, except it were of some worthy man, made famous, and knowne by some vertuous deeds, or for his dignity in learning. For this cause the men of *Athens* made one of *Demosthenes*, with a title of the

Dionysius the Tyrant, king of Syracusa.

Alexander the Great.

A famous poet of Thebes

Plin. lib. 7. Virgill was the most excellent of all Latine Poets, sonne to Maro and Maia, and borne in Mantua.

Seruius in lib. 6 cap. 4.

Iuuen. in Sat. 7

Not he who had bene five times Consul, but young Marcellus, that should haue bin heyr of Octavian.

An excellent Tragical poet in the time of Archelaus of Macedonia

An old time poet, borne at Trentum, and brought vnto Rome by the Emperor Augustus

A woorthie poet, borne in Italica in Spaine. Mart. in Epig.

Poet of a demerit & in times, which are yet liuing, or very lately

The loue of King Mithridates to Plato his learning

A famous Caruer.

The honor done to learned men in elder times

the very greatest honor that euer had bin giuen vnto any other; and these were the words of the inscription. *If the power and strength of Demosthenes had bin equal to his spirit, wisdom, and learning: the King of Macedon could neuer haue surmounted the Greekes.*

*Iosephus* the Jew, being one in number amongst the captiues of *Ierusalem*, was brought prisoner to *Rome*; & yet notwithstanding, in regard of the Bookes hee had made of the Jewes Antiquities, they reputed him worthy to haue a Statue. The *Athenians* considering the wisdom of *Demetrius Phalereus*, scholler vnto *Theophrastus*, caused his statue to be erected in thirty places of this City. Now if men of merit were so highly honoured, doubtles they were as well rewarded. For *Atheneus* writeth in the 9. book of his *Gymnosophists* that *Aristotle* for his Booke *de Animalium* receiued of *Alexander* 800. talents: which of the currant money now in *France*, valeweth foure hundred & fourescore thousand Crownes, which is verified by *Pliny* in his eight book. There he declareth, that *Alexanders* desire was so great to haue this book performed by *Aristotle*, that he sent many thousands of men thoroughout all *Greece* and *Asia*, with letters and expresse commandement, that they should be obedient to whatsoever hee required, touching the manner of hunting and flying of Fowles, Fishes, and all the like exercises, because they should know & vnderstand, the nature and properties of all kinde of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, & then to aduertise *Aristotle* thereof. Vndoubtedly if *Homer*, the very best of Greek Poets, had liued in the time of *Alexander*, it is to be presumed that he wold haue bin as bountifull and beneficiall to him, as hee was to *Aristotle*. Because when a chest or Casket was presented vnto him, wherein *K. Darius* kept his most precious Vnguents, the Chest being very pleasing to him, he said; *I will make this Chest the keeper of far richer treasure*: and presently hee did put thereinto the Workes of *Homer*, which he euermore tooke great delight to reade in continually.

The Emperor *Traiane*, in regard of his learning onely, did so especially honour the Philosopher *Dyon*, that when he rode abroad in the fields to take the Ayre; hee would haue him to sit neere vnto him in

his owne Chariot, and so ride on along with him thorough *Rome*, making it as his triumphall entrance.

In the warre which the Emperor *Octavius* made in *Egypt*, against *Mark Anthony*, hee sayde; *That hee did forbear to destroy Alexandria, for the respect hee bare to Alexander, that builded it; but much more for his loue to the Philosopher<sup>a</sup> Arius*. The same Emperor also, made *Cornelius Gallus* Tribune of the people; onely because hee was a most elegant Poet.

*Suetonius* in the life of *Vespasian*, sheweth, what rewardes were anciently giuen to the Learned. For he sayth, *Although Vespasian was taxed with conetousnesse: yet notwithstanding, he greatly fauoured exercises and Artes, and gaue as pensions to each Master of them, such quantity of golden peeces, as becing reduced to the summes of our moneyes (according to Beroaldus and Budaeus) their stipends valewed two thousand and five hundred Ducates, but as some say Crownes.*

By the Testimony of *Pliny*, in his seventh Booke, and the ninth Chapter, writing of *Isocrates* the Greeke Orator, a man may very easily perceyue, in what account and estimation the learned were then. For hee sayeth, that this *Isocrates*, hauing made an Oration for a certayne man; hee rewarded him with twelue Talents, which valew (according vnto our present computation) twelue thousand Crownes.

Wee finde it likewise written, in the life of the Emperour *Antoninus*, Sonne vnto *Seuerus*, that hee gaue to *Appian*, so many Ducates of Gold, as there were number of Verses in a great worke which hee had (at that time) made, concerning the Nature and property of all kindes of Fishes.

The Emperour *Gratian*, knowing that *Ausonius* composed well in Verse: gaue him (onely for his desert that way) the Consulshippe, which was the verie greatest dignity, nay euen next to that of Emperour.

*Domitian*, albeit hee was a most wicked man, yet he gaue great honors & gifts to the Poet *Eustathius*. And in a solemn Feast, hee caused him to sit at his Table, Crowned with a Gariand of Lawrell; where-with all our graue Elders vsed to Crowne theyr Poets. *Seleus Bassus*, a Lyricke

The inscription on the Statue of Demosthenes.

Iosephus was bought prisoner to Rome.

Notable Philosopher, that for his virtues gouerned the Athenians 40 years.

Athenus in Gymnosoph. lib. 9.

Rewardes giuen to learned men.

Plin. lib. 8. ca. 3

Alexanders greatest desire was Aristotlees booke of creatures.

Homer the best of all the Grecian Poets.

The words of great Alexander, of Homers Iliads.

A famous Philosopher Prusa, a Towne of Bithynia by Olympus.

<sup>a</sup> Whose birth place was in Alexandria.

<sup>b</sup> Sueton. in Vit. Vespas. Of the Emperour Vespasians rewardes to Learning.

<sup>c</sup> Plin. in l. 7. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> A famous Oratour of Greece, Scholler to Plato.

<sup>c</sup> Sueton. in vit. Imp. Antonin.

<sup>c</sup> Not the son of Vlysses and Calippo, but an Italian Poet borne.

<sup>d</sup> Hee wrote the Historie from Eneas, to Anastasius the Emperour.

He is said to be very familiar with Cicero.

Honour not onely during life, but after death also done to learned men.

An obiection and answer concerning learned Seneca.

A true proverbe.

Learned men living in ancient times.

Those of more moderne dayes.

rick Poet, was much commended by *Vespasian*, with no lesse honourable wordes then others, and also had in giftes great summes of money. <sup>h</sup> *Arrianus* for the historie which hee wrote in Greeke, of the actes of *Alexander* the Great, but more especially, because he was a very Learned man; was made Consull of Rome by *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. Nor were these learned men thus honoured during their life time, but also after their death. As may bee noted by *Ptolomy*, who was King of Egypt, who made a Temple and Statue to *Homer*, as he did to his other Goddes. For *Virgil* likewise, there was a Statue erected in *Mantua*, long time after he was dead. The excellent Poet *Horace*, although we are not certaine how wealthy he was; yet notwithstanding, he had great dignities of *Octavius* in *Rome*.

I could produce many examples vnto this purpose, which I forbear, onely to avoide prolixity. But heere, if any man shall obiection vnto me, that wise and Learned *Seneca* dyed by the command of *Nero*; I answer, it was most bloodye *Nero* that did it, not any defect in his learning, and before his death, he attained to great dignities and honours in *Rome*, onely by the meanes of his Learning. It is an olde, but a true Proverbe; *That Honors and giftes, are both the makers and maintainers of Arts.* Therefore wee finde, that in those times when Emperors and Kings favoured studies and learning; there wanted then no store of Learned men. As in the daies of *Octavius*, *Claudius*, *Adrian*, *Vespasian*, and *Antoninus*. For our modern times, when the Emperor *Sigismund* lived; *Robert* king of *Sicily*, Pope *Nicholas* the fift, King *Alphonfus* of *Naples*, and *Matthias* King of *Hungarie*, beside those of the house of *Medicis* in *Florence*. The flower of vvhich Stemme, yet liueth at this day crowned in *France*, imitating the most gracefull steps of his euer-famous foregoers: but especially of good King *Frances*, in whose most happy time, *France* reached vnto such a height for Learning, that it might meritoriously haue bene styled, another *Greece* or *Athens*.

## CHAP. XVI.

That Learning is not onely necessary in Kings and Princes: but also for Generalles, Captaines, and Commanders, that follow the Exercise and Art Military.



Could alledge manifold Histories, besides true, good, and sufficient Reasons, that Princes (in ancient times) found no better forme, or directe rule for their orderly government, then Learning, and Knowledge. And because the euidence heereof remaineth so plaine and pregnant vnto vs, I will obserue some fewe examples, tending to this purpose. When King *Phillip* vnderstood the birth of his sonne *Alexander*, and knowing *Aristotle* to liue then in *Athens*, he sent a very notable Letter vnto him (recorded by *Plutarke*, and *Aulus Gellius*) wherein hee thanked the Goddes, not so much for the safe birth of his sonne, but because hee was borne in the life time of *Aristotle*. By which few words, may be apparantly discerned, how much the King thought learning and knowledge fitte for his sonne, to the end, he might proue to be such a King and Captaine, as hee was indeede afterward. Whereupon, when hee grew vnto yeares meete for the embracing of studie; he made *Aristotle* his Mayster, sent him great giftes, and (in meere loue to his son) builded a Cittie, which he had formerly destroyed, and erected also a Schoole (admired for cost and curious workmanship, such as no time before had afforded) wherein his sonne might receiue instruction.

*Antigonus*, King of *Macedon*, knowing how needfull a thing Learning was, for his owne good government: and being mightily prouoked by the continuall renowne of *Zeno*, a singular Philosopher, and Prince of the Stoickes; desired earnestly to enioy his company, which hee further laboured by Letters, and manie Embassies. Of which Letters, *Diogenes Laertijs* reciteth one, in this manner following.

The manner of Princes government in old times.

Plutarke in *Alexand.* *Aulus Gellius* in lib. 13. cap.

Some doe pte this to be *Alexandria*, so called after the name of *Alexander*.

A man of great account in *Athens*, Author of the *Stoicke* sect.

The Letter of King Antigonus, to Zeno the Philosopher.

Antigonus a King, sendeth greeting to Zeno the Philosopher. I know very well, that in worldly goodes, fauours of Fortune, and the reputation of such things, I doe farre exceede thee. Neuerthelesse, I know withall, that in true felicitie, knowledge, discipline, studies and liberall Artes, thou reachest a higher pitch then I can doe. In regard whereof I desire, that thou wouldest come and liue with me, which I pray thee to yeelde vnto; that I may enioy thy company and conuersation. In the doing whereof, be well assured, that thou not onely shalt be maister of me, but shalt also be a teacher to all my Macedonians. For he that instructeth the King, making him to become vertuous and good: teacheth those vertues likewise to all his Subiects. To prooue the truth heereof, it is commonly seene, that such as the King is, such are his vassales, and such as the Captaine, such his Souldiours. Farewell.

These Letters being receiued by the venerable Philosopher; in regard of his deepe steppe into age, it was not possible for him to condescend thereto, or (in person) to satisfie the Kings earnest request. But he sent him two of his Schollers, excelling the rest in knowledge & learning, by whom he was worthily taught and instructed.

The learning of Aristotle, vnder whom Alexander was tutourd sine whole yeares together, tooke such roote and efficacie in the Scholler; that he became so excellent a King, as no one in the world was able to compare with him. Being in the midst of his Armies, he would not giue ouer study, but euermore layd (with his Sword) on the pillow of his bed, the Iliades of Homer, and other bookes. And it appeared, that such was his loue to Learning, that he could as easily apprehend it, as he conquered kingdoms by force of Armes. Plutarke, Aulus Gellius, and Theophrastus doe affirme, that Alexander had published certayne bookes of naturall Philosophy, whereof he had been an Auditor vnder Aristotle, in regard whereof, he wrote a Letter vnto him.

The Letter of great Alexander, to his Maister Aristotle.

Truly Aristotle, thou hast done well, in publishing those Bookes of speculatiue Philosophie by thee composed. For, in thine owne iudgement, wherein can I possibly excell other men, when the Science wherein thou hast instructed me, commeth to be common to all men? I would haue thee to know, that I more couet to preceed all men in Learning and Knowledge, then in riches, pompe, power and dominion.

Farewell.

When this was vnderstoode by Aristotle, to comfort and please so puissant a Prince, he commanded that his Bookes (formerly common) should be so obscured, that it was not possible to vnderstand them, but by his owne interpretation. Pirrhus that excellent Captaine, and king of the Epirotes, who maintained great warres against the Romanes, and diuerse times ouercame them; did exercise himselfe, not onely in the reading of the Sciences: but also composed sundry bookes, among which was his precepts of warre. As the like hath beene done lately in our time, by that famous man, Guillaume du Bellay, Lord of Langey.

What shall we say of Iulius Caesar, the first Emperour, and (without all comparison) the very best Captaine of all them that had the managing of war? We may truly say of him, that he was no lesse inclined to Learning, then to Armes. For he made himselfe a Scholler, before hee was a Souldier; and afterward as often as he had any leysure, he frequented the Academies of the Poets, and in walking, he would both reade and write. Vppon a time, being at Alexandria in Egypt, to saue himselfe from an imminent perill, he aduentured swimming, bearing the bookes which he had written in one of his hands; declaring thereby, that he affected them as dearly, as his owne life; hauing as much care to saue the one, as the other; and what his learning was, his Commentaries (yet remaining with vs) can sufficiently witnesse.

A louing reprehension of his Maister, and declaring his affection to Learning.

Pirrhus king of the Epirotes, an excellent louer of learning, and a publisher of Bookes.

Iulius Caesar the first Emperour, as famous for learning, as for armes.

Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.

Caesar loued learning as dearly as his life.

notable testimonie, of use to learning, in so high a point.

Words beseeching a vertuous King.

That the philosopher himselfe could not do, he did by his Schollers.

Alexander a Scholler of Aristotle by yeares together, and led Learning earnestly.

Plutarke in vita. Gellius in lib. 3. cap. 3. Misian Alex.

The care of  
the Romanes  
for their chil-  
drens learning

Cato Censorius

Cato Vlicensis.

A Philoso-  
pher and Po-  
et of Sidon, a  
City of Phæ-  
nicia, by the  
sea side, not  
farre from  
Tyre.  
Cicero in Lib.  
de Finib.

Examples of  
soldiers affec-  
ting learning.  
Scipio Affrica-  
nus.

Hanniball.

Plato schoole  
master to Di-  
onysius the  
Tyrant.

A notable an-  
swer.

Not onely *Casar*, but all the *Romanes* also, do beare witnesse of that which wee say, who (in my poore opinion) were reputed and knowne to be good Captaines and Governours. For, the first thing which they vndertook for their children in their infancie, was to haue them well instructed, and therefore provided good schoolmasters for them, which they chargeably sent for out of Greece. Both the *Catoes* were knowne to be excellent schollers, & soldiers. The great *Censor* was wonderfully addicted to learning, as the Bookes writen by him do plainly testifye: hee was a worthy Orator, Historian, and endued with many vertues, and euen toward the ending of his dayes, hee learned the Greeke tongue. The other *Cato*, styled of *Vtica*, though he was not of such a sharpe and ingenious spirite in apprehension of Sciences; yet notwithstanding, hee kept company with most excellent Schoolemasters; among whom was the Philosopher \* *Antipater*. And he gaue his minde so much to studie, that *Cicero* sayth, in his Booke *De Finibus*, he did nothing else but reade; yea, whensoever he sate in the Senate house, hee alwayes had some Booke or other about him, to reade at all times when he pleased.

*Scipio Africanus*, the victorious triumphour ouer *Hanniball*, was extremely addicted to Learning, and euermore had the Poet *Ennius* with him. After all his Victories, he gaue himselfe againe afresh to Learning and reading. *Hanniball* his Competitor, although he was of *Affrica*, had alwayes bookes with him in his Tents and Paullions: in the time of warre, hee would not giue ouer reading, but in one place or other (howsoever it were) hee would haue *Sitanus* and *Sasylas* (two learned *Lacedemonians*) with him, by whome he was well instructed in the Greek Language. We haue formerly read, that *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, had *Plato* to be his Schoolemaster, and kept company also with many other learned men. Afterward, when hee was expulsed out of his kingdome, one (in mocking manner) demanded of him, whereto now serued the Philosophy which he had learned of *Plato*, to whom hee returned this answer, *It serueth mee to support my present necessitie with patience.* *Themistocles*, a most excellent Captaine, declared himselfe to be no

lesse diligent in learning, when hee was in Armes: his Master was *Anaxagoras*, the *Milesian*. *Epaminondas*, and the other Captaines of Greece, were all studious and worthy Orators. *Mithridates*, in the warres which he had against the *Romanes*, for the space of forty years together, notwithstanding all the furious assaults, desisted not from his studying, hauing euermore diuers schoolemasters and Philosophers with him.

*Octavius Augustus*, limited to himselfe certaine houres in the day, onely for study; and when he was in warre, yet he kept his times of studying still: hauing therefore diuers worthy Masters with him, as *Apollodorus* of *Pergama*, the Philosopher, *Asperarius*, *Asinius Pollio*, *Valerius Messala*, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and many other. And before this Emperour, there was a famous Captaine, named *Lucius Lucullus*, who during the wars, gaue himself to study; & when the wars ceased, hee applyed all his diligence, in cherishing and maintaining learned men. *Paulus Emilius*, victorious ouer the king of *Persia*, ouer & beside his beeing a very learned man, endeaoured also that his children might bee the like; so that at his instant request, the *Athenians* gaue him *Metrodorus* to be their Schoole-master. But wherefore do I take so much paines, in naming so many one after another? *Pompey*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, *Marcus Brutus*, *Traiane*, *Adrian*, and *Marke Anthonie*, were all learned men, and compiled Bookes, Orations, and Letters of great learning, and memorable example.

In briefe, if I erre not greatly in my iudgement, it may plainly appeare, that few Captaines are found of ancient times who were excellent in nothing so much as by their learning. There are two only, of whom wee finde nothing remayning written, expressing whether they were learned, or no: the one being named *Caius Marius*, and the other *Marcus Marcellus*. And yet I reade, that *Marcellus* highlied and fauoured men of knowledge: whereby it is to bee credited, that surely himselfe was learned, though nothing (to that effect) bee written of him. And it may the more manifestly appeare, by the prohibition he made (as we haue formerly alledged) at the surprizall of *Syracusa*, that *Archimedes* should not bee slayne.

And

a A Philosopher of noble blood, but more noble in vertue and wisdom.

The loue of *Octavius Augustus* to learning.

b A Noble of Rome, famous for learning, martial prowesse, & exceeding great riches.

c A Philosopher, Schoolmaster to Epicurus.

No Captaine in elder times but they were famous for Learning.

*Caius Marius* and *Marcus Marcellus*.

And although he miscaried, notwithstanding his strict command to the contrary: yet it was not without great greefe of the said *Marcellus*.

Let then the Captaines of these our dayes, say what they list, that learning is not so expedient for them (I meane such as thrust the stile of Captaines on themselves) coucting with their owne opinion, or rather obstinacy, to cloud and couer their dulnesse and ignorance: It is sufficient for vs, that wee see how highly our graue Predecessors esteemed Bookes and Learning, equall with the courage and manhood of infinite Captaines, worthily affected and addicted to learning; as we finde it vnpartially set downe, in that iudicious Booke of warre, written by *Robertus Valturinus*.

CHAP. XVII.

*Of diuers secret naturall properties, being in the Viper: and how he may be fed on, and eaten, without any danger.*

**T**HE Viper is a kinde of Serpent, sufficiently knowne to many: and although it bee little, yet notwithstanding it is very venomous, for with a little pricking, it can kill a man. But as our Lord God made not any thing but to profitable vse: euen so this creature, with al his venome, serueth man for diuers medicines and maladies, especially for any paine in the throate. It is a thing very excellently good (by a secret property in nature) to beare the head of a Viper about a man: for luing, it killeth, and dead, it healeth. Tiriacle, or Treacle, as we vse to terme it, is properly good against venom: but in the making thereof, and in the confection, there is necessarily required some part of this beast, to the end it may be the more perfect, and of the greater efficacy. And it was named Tiriacle, because that the worde *Thirion* in Greeke, signifieth a Viper, or venomous Beast. Some (and not vnfittingly) doe giue another etymologie, and reason for this name. But before we report the benefits ensuing by the Viper, me thinks, it were not amisse, to remember what is said by *Pliny*, *Isidorus*,

and *Aelianus*. They report, that when this Serpent conceiueth, the Male puttech his head in at the mouth of the Female, whereby shee receiueth such immeasurable delectation; that with her ouer-sharp teeth, she byteth off the head of the Male, becoming thereby widdowed, yet violent in assaulting. The matter conceiued by her, groweth to bee Egges, which forme themselves within her body, according as the spawne of fishes doth: and of those Egges do Vipers ensue, at such time as she is to deliuer her young ones, yeelding euery day, one, till they amount to twenty. Now because they are so many in number, they which remaine behinde, hauing no power to attend their fit time, do reare the belly of their Damme, so that by her death, they enter into the world, and liue. If it be so, surely it is a matter very maruailous: for it should seeme thereby, that (euen naturally) the children do reuenge the death of their father.

With this opinion of *Pliny*, do many other Authors consent; as *Plutarch* in his Treatise against Scoffers. Neuertheless, there are a great many other, who do contrary it, denying that the Viper dyeth in her teining: with which opinion, I also rest resolved, because the other seemeth to me not naturall; neyther haue I seene the experience thereof, or know any person that hath seene it. In like manner, *Philostratus* is flatly against it, in the life of *Apollo Thyaneus*, introducing *Apollo* himselfe, who reporteth, that hee had seene a Viper, that after she had fully yeelded all her young ones; licked them very louingly, and lined healthfully. As much may be gathered from the words of *Aristotle*, who setteth them downe thus. *The Viper onely (among all other Serpents) deliuereth her young ones, because she first formeth them in her body of Egges; as the spawne of Fishes is. Afterward, when they are formed, they remaine three daies wrapped up in a tender thinne skin; which breaketh at the limited time, and so affordeth the young ones liberty (in regard whereof, Apuleius, in his Apologic, calleth them Oviperes, and not Vipers, as much to say, as engendered of Egges) and very often it happeneth, that that wrapper breaking (of it selfe) in the Dammes belly; they issue forth euery day one, to the number of twenty and more: these are the very words of Aristotle.* In another

*Plin. in l. 9. c. 62. Isidor. in lib. 11. de Etimolog. Aelianus in lib. de Animal.*

The conception of the Female Viper and deliuey of her blood.

*Plut. in Treat. cont. Illustor.*

*Philostratus in vit. apol. Thya.*

*Arist. in lib. 9. de animal. c. 9.*

His words concerning the Vipers deliuey of her young ones.

*Apuleius in apolog.*

The Authors diuersifemēt o the Capains of these layes.

God made all things for the profitable vse of man.

Of the vertue of Tiriacle or Treacle, and how at first it took name.

Of the vertue of Tiriacle or Treacle, and how at first it took name.

ther place, I meane in his third Booke of Beasts, speaking of the teeming of Serpents, he saith: *Before the Viper yeeldeth her young ones, she formeth them within her body of Egges.* And I am perswaded, that hence ensueth those speeches, of the young ones tearing the belly of their Damme. For it seemeth to them that stand in defence thereof, that when *Aristotle* speaketh of this first fawning or teeming: hee purposed to say, that they did then breake or teare the belly of their damme.

But leauing these circumstances, I say that the viper, how dangerous soeuer it be, yeeldeth great helpe and succour to man. *Dioscorides* saith, that the flesh of a viper; being boyled or soddin, may safely be eaten: being very medicinable for the nerues, and for the sight. But in preparation to the eating thereof, the head and taile must be taken away: then being steaed and well dressed, it is to be tempered with strong Annise-seedes. He saith also, that there is made of this flesh, a certaine kinde of Salt, or salt-powder, excellently auailing to procure a good appetite, being prepared in this manner. You must take a new earthen por, and put the viper therinto, w<sup>ch</sup> as formerly hath bene declared, then put Salt and stamped figges to it, with a competent quantity of hony, and the pot being well couered, let it boyle and bake along while in an Ouen. Which being done, beate and reduce it into a powder: and whoeuer afterward will make vse thereof with his other meate, shall finde it very pleasant and profitable for the stomacke.

*Paulus Aeginetus* saith also, that the flesh of a viper is singularly good against leaprousie and meazeldnesse; making therefore great esteeme of the Salt-powder fore-mentioned, and affirming with *Plinius*, that a certaine nation in India, eateth the flesh of the viper. *Dioscorides* auoucheth, that whoeuer will eate the flesh of the viper, shall liue long time, and very healthfully. Against the byting of this Serpent, there are store of remedies, whereof *Theophrastus* maintaineth one, saying, *Whosoeuer is bitten thereby, mello-dians sounds and songs doe greatly benefite him*, because Musique is very medicinable, as we haue already, and shall prooue heereafter. *Galen* saith, that this beast ea-

terh not any thing all the time of winter; but hideth her selfe (as dead) in the earth; and whoeuer then findeth, toucheth, and handleth her, she cannot bite him: but when summer cometh, she then resumeth all her forces. The like affirmeth *Plinie*, of Lizards, Snakes, and all other kinde of creeping creatures.

*Aristotle* saith, that they containe themselves three or foure moneths, without feeding on any thing. *Aelianus* auoucheth, that those vipers which breed in the Prouinces of *Arabia*, although they doe bite, yet their biting is not venomous; because they doe feede on the Baulme tree, and sleepe vnder the shadow thereof. *Aristotle* further saith, that they are very desirous to drinke wine; and many people doe take them, by setting vessells of wine in the places where they resort. for they will become drunk by drinking, and after they take them sleeping. There are many things more to be spoken, concerning the qualities and properties of the viper, which I doe purposely omit for breuities sake.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the admirable property of a little creature, the biting whereof is healed by the sound of Musique: likewise of many other infirmities, which are onely holpen by the same Medicine.*

**H**at which we haue sayd in our precedent chapter, vnder the authority of *Theophrastus*, concerning the biting of the viper, and that it may be cured by *Musique*; will make our present report to be the better credited, because it tendeth to the same purpose. *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, in his book of Veniall dayes, and *Petrus Gellius*, a moderne Authour, doe affirme and say, that in *Apulia*, a Countrey of *Italic*, there is a kinde of Spider; which the Inhabitantes doe rearme *Tarantula*. *P. C. Rodianus* calleth it *Phalangium*, which at the beginning of summer is so venomous, that whoeuer is bitten or stung thereby, except he be very suddenly succoured, he looseth all

*Arist. in lib. 7. de Animal. c. 12.*

The Authors coniecture of this controuerfed point.

*Dioscor. in lib. 2. cap. 2.*  
How the flesh of the viper may be safely eaten.

A Salt or powder made of the viper to procure a good appetite

*Paulus Aeginet. in lib. 1. cap. 34.*

*Plin. lib. 7. ca. 2.*

*Dioscor. in lib. 2. cap. 2.*

*Theophrast. in lib. de reb. ca. 9.*

*Galen in lib. de Simpt. cap. 4.*

*Plin. in li. 2. c. 38.*

*Aristot. in lib. 8. de Animal. ca. 5.*

*Aelianus in lib. de Animal. ca. 10. cap. 4.*

*Aristot. in lib. ubi supra.*

*Alexander Alexand. in lib. 1. de Vi. Gen. c. 11.*  
*Petrus Gellius in lib. de Rebus 9. cap. 5.*

*P. C. Rodianus in lib. 4. cap. 7.*  
\* A kinde of Spider that hath three ioyns or knots, whose sting is perilous & deadly

all sense and vnderstanding, and dyeth instantly. But if any one (being so bitten) chance to escape death: yet he remaineth insensible, and wholly voyd of any capacity; for which dangerous inconuenience, experience found out a remedy, and that is *Musique*.

The iudgement of Authours hereon, speaking as eye-witnesses, and having seene the prooffe thereof, is thus. So soone (say they) as any one is bitten or enuened, the best helpe is, to bring instantly before him, such as vse to play on Vialles, Flutes, and other Instruments, to play diuers Lessons, & sing many Songs: which Musique being heard by the party wounded, he will presently begin to daunce, deliuering variety of gestures and motions with his body, euen as if all his life time he had well inured himselfe to dancing, in which fury and power of dancing, he continueth, vntill such time as the venome be dissipated. *Alexander Alexandrinus* proceedeth farther, affirming, that he beheld one wounded by this Spider, to dance & leape about incessantly, and the Musicians (finding themselves wearied) gaue ouer playing: whereupon, the poore offended dancer, hauing vtterly lost all his forces, fell downe on the ground, as if he had bene dead. The Musicians no sooner began to play againe, but hee returned to himselfe, and mounting vp vpon his feet, danced againe as lustily as formerly hee had done, and so continued dancing still, till he found the harme asswaged, and himselfe entirely recouered. Heereunto he addeth, that when it hath happened, that a man hath not bene thorowly cured by Musique in this manner; within some short while after, hearing the sound of Instruments, hee hath recouered footing againe, and bene enforced to hold on dancing, and neuer to cease, till his perfect & absolute healing, which (questionlesse) is admirable in nature.

*Asclepiades* writeth, that the sound of Instruments, and voyces sweetly singing to them, hath wrought extraordinary cures on Lunaticks and mad men. We reade also, that *Esmeas* the *Thebane*, healed many diseases and infirmities, only by his sweete and melodious playing on Flutes. *Theophrastus* and *Aulus Gellius* say; that Musique appeaseth the paine of the *Sciatica*, and of the *Gout*. We like-

wise finde it recorded in the sacred Scripture, that *Dauid* (by Musique) eased *Saul* of the passiō, which the euill spirit wrought in him: so great is this property, proceeding from the entire amity, which the nature of man beareth to Musique. And if good consideration be made heereof, wee shall not account it strange, that infinite infirmities have bene cured by the means of Musique. For it hath evidently bene seene, that there are diuers beasts and other creatures, that kill by laughing, others by weeping, and others in sleeping; according as *Plutarch* writeth of *Cleopatra*, and as diuers other good Historians haue faithfully affirmed.

1 Sam. 16, 23.

Many infirmities cured by the means of Musique.

CHAP. XIX.

*Of a strange medicine, whereby Faustine of Rome, wife vnto the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, was cured of an infirmity of dishonest loue: and of many other remedies against that powerfull passion.*



Concerning that affection, or imprisonment of the will, as we may iustly terme it, which ordinarily is stiled by the name of *Loue*; whether it be a powerfull passion, working wonderfull effects in the soule or no: there need no further question to bee made, but examination of such mens iudgements, as (by good experience) haue knowne it, and whose examples remaine notorious to vs. More especially, of very worthy and excellent persons, who haue suffered their wils to be so strangely transported thereby, that extremity of death hath ensued thereon. *Julius Capitolinus*, among diuers other examples, reporteth what happened to *Faustine*, Daughter to *Antonius*, and VVife to the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, who became so excessiue enamoored on a Fencer or Sword-player; that by ouer-abounding in desire to enioy his company, shee fell into such a consumption, as very greatly endangered her life.

Loue is the thraldome of the will.

*Julius Capitolinus* in lib. 4. de *Mcm.* cap. 3.

The Emperesse extreme in affection to a Fencer.

This being vnderstood by *Marcus Aurelius*, immediately hee assembled a great number of Astrologers and Physicians, to finde some aduice and remedy for

The affirmati- of good hours as witnesses.

*Alexander A-* and in lib. 1. Die. in cap. 17.

A strange and vnderfull working in nature, by the power of Musique.

An excellent Physicion Prusa in Ithynia.

A Musitian of Thebes.

*Theophrastus* in lib. 9. c. 7. *Aulus Gellius* in lib. 4. cap.

Councell giuen by Astrologers and Physitions for a strange remedy.

The conception of the bloody Emperour Antoninus Commodus.

Eutropius in vit. Commod.

\* A worthy Writer of Miletum. Suidas in lib. 3. de Collect. cap. 8. Ouid in Remed. Amor.

Remedies aduised against fond and foolish Loue.

Plin. in lib. 10. cap. 34.

Cardanus in lib. 3. de nat. sub.

for this extraordinary folly. In the end, it was concluded, that the Fencer should be put to death, and some of his blood be secretly giuen to *Faustine* to drinke, and after she had thus ignorantly drunke thereof, the Emperour her husband should company with her in bed. This remedy wrought very wonderfully, for it quite tooke from her that fantastick affection, so that (neuer after) shee did so much as once remember him. And the History saith, that of this her companying with the Emperour, *Antoninus Commodus* was begotten, who became so cruell & bloody, that he resembled rather the Fencer, of whose blood his Mother had drunke before his conception; then any iote of *Marcus Aurelius*, to whom he was Sonne indeed; in regard wherof, *Commodus* was a daily companion with the *Gladiatores* or Fencers, as *Eutropius* witnesseth, in the life of the said *Commodus*.

Physitions among the *Greekes* and *Arabes*, do reckon this disease of Loue with the most greuous infirmities of the body, and thereupon haue disputed many remedies. \* *Cdamus* the *Milesian* (according as *Suidas* reporteth, in his Booke of Collections) wrote a Booke discoursing on perticular remedy, whereby vtterly to expell this dangerous sicknesse of loue: as *Ouid* also hath saide sufficiently, in his remedies against loue. Wherefore among all other remedies, which Physitions haue aduised against this infirmity, this is one; that the patient endangered, should vndertake some great affaires, importing highly his owne honour and profite, onely to this end, that his spirit being busie about diuersity of things; hee may the better retire his imagination, from the party by whom he is offended. They do moreover wish him, to shun and forsake all embracings, or ouer-kinde conuersation with other women. *Pliny* saith, that against this enflaming heate, it is very good to obserue where a Mule hath tumbled or wallowed, and to gather the dust of that ground, which must be cast vpon the amorous party, and powder his garments therewith, or else with the sweate of a well heated Mule, as *Cardanus* also auoucheth, in his Booke of Subtilties.

Physitions likewise haue taught the means, whereby may be obserued, which

person is beloued of the amorous party. And that is the selfe-same rule, whereby \* *Erasistratus*, Physition to king *Selenschus*, vnderstoode the loue that *Antiochus* did beare to *Queene Stratonica*, his step-mother. For hee being sicke, euen to the vtmost extremity, and affecting much rather to dye, then any way to discover the cause of this disease, and that it proceeded from the loue he bare vnto his Fathers wife: Vpon a sudden shee entred into the Chamber, euen as the Physition was the feeling the pulse of his patient, which mooued so strongly vpon the *Queenes* entrance; that *Erasistratus* evidently gathered thereby, that not onely he was enamored of her, but also, that it was the maine cause of his desperate disease. Heereupon, he practised how to acquaint the King therewith: which at length (by good and acceptable means) he did, that would require too long time heere to relate, because the History is sufficiently knowne.

The case being likewise experimented by the Father himselfe, and he perceiuing the danger wherein his Son was, thought good (although it went quite against his Sonnes intention, who desired death, rather then to be recovered by his Fathers losse) to depriue himselfe of his *Queene*, and giue her vnto his sickly Sonne. And to speake vprightly, the age, beauty of the Lady, and equality for marriage, agreed much more conformably with the youthful Sonne, then the ouer-aged Father. And this was the cause, that *Antiochus* liued healthfully and pleasantly (for many yeares after) with his best beloued *Stratonica*; as the History more at large declareth, being recorded by *Plutarch*, in the life of *Demetrius*. And this is the reason, why Physitions do aduise to taste the pulse of any amorous person, and to recount diuers names to him or her, among which, may be the name of the party affected: for so soone as that is once vnderstood, the pulse wil beate apace & strongly, by which meanes, the party beloued is knowne. By diuers other signes, it may be perceiued, when any one is in loue, and to whom the affection tendeth: which signs I ceasse to speake of, because they are knowne to too many.

\* An excellent Physition of the stocke Aristotle.

The extreme loue of Antiochus to Stratonica his stepmother

The king himselfe made triall of the Physitions iudgement.

Plut. in vit. Demetr.

Why Physitions haue thought me to feele the Pulse.

CHAP. XX.

*Of the strange and furious loue of a young Athenian: and of the ridiculous loue of King Xerxes: and how Beasts haue many times affected both men and women.*



OR a man to loue a woman, and a woman a man, it is a matter conformable to nature, and worthy to be beleued and embraced: but whē blinde-fold folly attaineth to such a head, as those things wherof I am instantly to speake; it may well appeare to be impossible, and no way deseruing any credite. Very learned and good Historiographers, haue written and recorded for truth, that in the City of *Athens* there liued a young man, descended of an honest parentage, of competent wealth, and sufficiently knowne; who hauing oftentimes earnestly obserued a Marble Statue, most curiously and ingeniously wrought, and erected in a publike place of *Athens*; became so extremely enamored thereof, as he had no power to absent himselfe frō the place where it was fixed, but would hugge and embrace it very affectionately, & alwayes when he was not by it, hee found himselfe very ill and sickly disposed. At length, this passion grew to such extremity, as hee ran to the Senate house, and there before the reuerend Senatours, he made very liberall offers of money, humbly entreating thē so much to fauour him, that hee might haue the Statue in his owne possession. This seemed no way pleasing to the Senate, neyther could their authority stretch so farre, as eyther to giue or sell a publike Statue. VVhen he perceiued his request to be denied, hee became much afflicted with greefe and anguish of minde, & repaying to the Statue, enriched the head thereof with a Crowne of gold, and the body with garments and iewels of vnualueable price. This being done, hee would stand amorously beholding it, and many times fall on his knees before it, offering all worship and adoration thereto: and so long he continued in this vnreprouable folly, till (being strictly commanded the

contrary by the Senate) he slew himselfe before it with rage and anger.

Doubtlesse, this was a case very admirable, and yet I must acquaint yee with another, much more strange & ridiculous, yet credibly auouched by so many good Authors, concerning the loue of King *Xerxes*; as it may well be said, that hee exceeded all men of the world in folly. He grew enamored of a Platane, or Plane-tree a Tree sufficiently knowne, except in some few parts; and he would kisse & embrace it with like affection, as if it had bin a beautifull woman.

If these acciidents haue happened among men endued with reason; what shall we say then of brute Beasts, that haue affected both men and women, and the same confirmed by great and famous Historians? As of *Glauce* so extremely affected by a Ramme, that it would neuer bee from her: and *Dolphines* also haue bene very admirably affectionate towards mē. *Ælianus* reciteth in his Booke of Beasts, a matter well deseruing to be related. He saith, a *Dolphine* espying young children playing on the Sea-shore; one among all the rest, which seemed to him the most louely and beautifull, hee became so enamored of, that at euery time when the *Dolphine* saw him, hee would draw neere to the Banck, and shew himselfe vnto the childe, who (at the first) was much affrighted, and fled away from him. But afterward, by the perseuerance which the *Dolphine* vsed from day to day, expressing manifest signes of entire loue to the child; he grew the lesse timorous, and by the pastimes which the *Dolphine* continually made before him, hee waxed bold and hardy, and would venter into the water to him, not fearing to mount vpon his back, making a signe, and commanding (as it were) the *Dolphine*, to swim a great way into the Sea with him, and then (vpon a contrary signe or command, and when he was weary) to returne backe againe with him to land. In this pleasure and pastime, diuers dayes were spent, for the *Dolphin* euermore would be ready at the Bancke, when as the childe came to make vse of this delight.

But one time, the most vnhappy of all other, the childe would needs put off his cloathes (as formerly hee had not done; because he purposed to swimme farre in-

The ridiculous loue of King Xerxes to a Tree.

Of brute Beasts enamored of men and women.

*Ælianus in lib. 4. de animal. cap. 10.*

The strange affection of a *Dolphin* to a childe.

The childe seemed to haue power & command ouer the *Dolphin*.

There is seldome any delight; but it hath some danger attending on it.

Natural loue is not allowed.

The History of the young Athenian.

A strange kind of double loue, yet agreeing to an intolence, which came from the Senate.

Fly exceeding all common sense.

A desperate conclusion of a rain-sicke.

The childe  
slaine most  
vnhappily.

The death of  
the Dolphine.

Plin in lib. 12.  
cap. 14.

Another Hi-  
story of a  
Dolphines  
loue to a  
childe.

Plin second in  
9. Lib. de Epist.

to the Sea, and being not carefull in seating himselfe on the Dolphines backe, or how to sit for his safest holding on; it chanced, that one of the sharp-pointed finnes, which riseth out of Dolphines wings (for so are they tearmed by *Pliny*, and others) ran so far into the childes belly, & wounded him in such sort, that instantly he fell downe dead in the water. Which when the Dolphine perceiued, and the blood of the dead childe trickling downe his sides; he tooke vp his deare lou'd childe so well as he could, and returning backe to land suddenly, euen as if hee intended to reuenge this offence vpon himselfe; hee swam furiously on land out of the water, and presently dyed by the childe.

This Historie is also recorded by *Pliny*, with many other examples of Dolphines, that haue declared great loue and kindnesse to men. Particularly hee reporteth one, in the time of the Emperour *Octavius*, that a Dolphine (in the very like manner) tooke delight in an infant, on the Sea-coast, neere to *Puteoli*, and whensoever this childe, being named *Simon* (for it is said, that Dolphines will suddenly runne to the very sound of that name) came to the shoare; the childe would mount vpon his backe, and be carried into the Sea, passing and returning alwaies safely to land. He saith moreouer, that the childe dying by sicknesse, & the Dolphine often comming to the vsuall meeting place, & not finding the childe there, dyed with greefe and sorrow. The younger *Pliny*, Nephew to great *Pliny*, declareth many meruailes of a Dolphine, in the 9. Booke of his Epistles: especially in that Epistle which beginneth, *Indici in materia veram.*

## CHAP. XXI.

*Of a man, that by receiuing a wound at his enemies hand, was deliuered from a deadly danger, wherein he had long time lined: With sundry other examples to the same purpose.*

**W**Ee haue formerly related, that Musique hath bene the meanes

of curing some diseases, and no way to be reputed incredible: considering, that wee finde by other stranger meanes, very great infirmities haue likewise bene holpen. *Plutarch*, in a notable Treatise by him composed, declaring how men may deriue profite or benefite from their enemies, reporteth; that a man had a certaine enemy, named *Prometheus*, who hated him extremely, and sought all the meanes he could deuise to kill him. It fortun'd, that meeting with him on a day, hee gaue him diuers hurts, and among the rest, hee chanced to wound an olde vlcer, that had long lyen in the flesh, couered ouer with skinne, a matter of great danger to his life, and (for which) all helpe was vtterly denied him. Neuerthelesse, this wound prooued the onely meanes of his helpe, and safe deliuerance from the former danger: for in thinking to kill him, and so to quench his malice, hee gaue him life and soundnesse of health. *Valerius* reciteth the very same history (among other noteworthy matters) in his Booke of miracles: but he affirmeth the mans name that was healed by this wound, to bee *Iason Phercus*.

*Pliny* writeth of another man, named *Phalerus*, who had an incurable disease, in regard of a fluxe of blood, continually flowing out at his mouth, caused by breaking a veine within his body. And finding himselfe in desperate condition of any curing; he entred suddenly into an Army, without any Armes for his defence, that being there slaine among the enemies, his hope and helpe might both finish together. It came to passe, that receiuing a dangerous wound vpon the breast, there issued forth such an abundance of blood from that hurt; that the fluxe (hauing formerly his vent at the mouth only) ceased, and Chyrurgions afterward, with the aduice of skilfull Physitions, consolidating the broken veine, hee remained soundly healed of all harmes.

I finde it also recorded of *Quintus Fabius*, that he hauing had a Feauer quartane for many yeares together; giuing battaile one day to the \* *Allobroges*, now named *Sauoyans*, the extreme heate in desire which he had then to fight; quite expelled the Feauer, and it neuer toucht him afterward.

I my selfe can testifie, that I both saw, and

Plus in trad.  
benific. aduer.  
cap. 7.

An enemy  
may somtimes  
do a man  
good again  
his will.

Valer. Max. 1.  
lib. de Mirac.

Plin. in lib. 1.  
cap. 11.

Where he  
is least ex-  
pected, there  
soonest hap-  
peneth.

Macrobius  
2. cap. 5.

\* People of  
Sauoye in  
Dauphin.

Another testified on the Authors know ledge.

King of Mysia Hercules by Auge.

and well knew the man, who had received a wound in his thigh, whereof he became starke lame, and voyde of all hope of any remedy, happening afterward into an unexpected quarrell, he received an other wound vpon the same thigh, and iust in the place where the former chaunced. The Chirurgions in dressing this latter harme, did very well perceiue that the nerues which had beene cut before, beganne to stretch and restore themselues in such sort, that being cured of this second hurt, his thigh was soundly recovered, and hee went as vpright as euer hee did, and without the least limping. So did it happen to *Telephus*, one of the sonnes to *Hercules*, and King of *Mysia*, who being wounded in his owne Countrey by *Achilles*, could not any way be cured, till eight yeres after, he was wounded agayne by the same *Achilles*, and in the selfe same part of his body, before *Troy*, then besieged, and the rust of the same Speare that formerly had hurt him, prooued to be his onely help.

CHAP. XXII.

*Who was the first that planted the Vine: And who beganne to put water into wine. To whom, and in what maner the Romaines did prohibite Wine: With many other notable things tending to the same purpose.*



Of all the fruites which the earth yeeldeth (I mean those wherof liquor is made) there is none (in my iudgement) more profitable then good wine; provided, that it be temperately taken. For this cause was it that *Anacharsis* sayd, *The Vine produceth three Grapes: The first of Pleasure: The second of Drunkenesse: And the third of Teares and Sadnesse.* So that hee which passeth the first Cuppe, that is to say, a little, and moderately receiued; proceedeth on to shame and danger.

Prophane Authours, that neuer had any vnderstanding of the sacred Scriptures, doe name vs diuerse inuenters of

wine. *Diodorus Siculus*, in his fourth book attributeth the inuention of wine, and first planting of the Vine, to *Dionysius* the sonne of *Jupiter*, named *Bacchus*, and *Liber pater*, so styled, for the liberty of wine. For this inuention a Temple was erected to him, vnderneath the Capitoll at *Rome*: where they celebrated his Feastes, which were called *Dionysians*, or *Bacchanalians*, very dishonest, and full of great lubricity. That the inuention came from these *Dionysians*, *Virgill* giueth assurance, at the entrance into his second booke of *Georgickes*. Howbeit, *Marcianus Capellus* saith, that *Dionysius* only instructed the *Greeks*, in the manner of making wine. Others say, that *Icarius* father to *Erigone*, first taught the industry of making wine to the *Athenians*: and becomming afterwards drunke thereby, the people slew him. In *Italie*, they say, that *Saturne* did first plant the Vine there, and brought the yoong suckers and plants from the Isle of *Candic* thither. And *Plutarke* writeth, that *Arurus Hetruscus* brought Vines first into *France*. But the trueth of historie, is, that the first inuenter of wine, was *Noah*, and the first that made himselfe drunke therewith: whereof are Authours (besides that which is recorded in the ninth chapter of *Genesis*) *Lactantius*, *Firmitianus*, and *Iosephus*. *Noah*, at his comming forth of the Arke, planted the Vine with his owne proper hand, and drunke the iuyce of the raisin, whereby he became drunke: and discovering his nakednesse in sleeping, it happened to him by his sonnes, according as we reade in the same chapter of *Genesis*.

Afterwards, men attayning to know the saour of wine, did drinke it, at the first, wholly pure of it selfe, and without the commixtion of any water: for, as *Pliny* auoucheth, one named *Stafius* was the first that did put water into wine, to temperate and quallifie it. By the meanes of which aduice, great good and healthfulness ensued to the world: because, wine being so made moderate, procured verie good and excellent effects. In like manner *Plato*, alleadged by *Macrobius*, in his second booke, sayth: *Wine moderately taken, strengtheneth the vnderstanding of a man, augmenteth his force and vigour, maketh the heart chearefull and deliberate, and taketh away irkesome thoughts, and all offen-*

*Diodorus Siculus in lib. 4. c. 7. Of the first inueter of wine.*

*Vir. in Geor. l. 2. Marcian. Capel. in libr 4. Translated by the Gods into the figre in heauen, called Virgo.*

*Plutarke, in Moral lib. 3. cap. 7*

*Gene. 9. 21. 22. Lactant. Firmian in 2. lib. de Insit diuin. Iosephus in 1. libr. de Antiq.*

*Wine drunke at the first pure of it self. Pl. in l. 7. ca. 56. Who first mingled water with wine.*

*Macrobius in libr. 2. cap. 16.*

One the prophet of all our liquors.

notable philosopher in Seyd. who found the first Pot. wheel.

Plin.lib.23.c.1.

fine perturbations. Plinie sayth, The use of Wine, receiving it temperately, multiplieth our forces, encreaseth bloud and colour in the face: The nerues are fortified by wine, sight strengthened, the stomacke made vigorous, and appetite awaked: It prouoketh urine, impeacheth vomiting, expelleth melancholie, maketh the heart sprightly, and serueth for many other good things. Asclepiades the Physition, wrote a booke by it selfe, wholly concerning the vertues of wine. And faint Paul writing to Timothy? counelleth him to drinke a little wine tempered, to strengthen his stomacke.

He of Prusa.

1:Tim.5.23.

The vse of wine by Physitions in many medicines.

Plato in Socrat.

The odour of wine commended by naturall philosophers.

Wine denied to women and children.

Valer. Maxim. in lib. 2.

Plin. li. 14. ca. 8.

Fabius Pictor in lib. 3. cap. 9.

The causing of parents kissing their childrens mouths.

Physitions do make vse of wine in many medicines, because wine restoreth all the humours, re-enforceth blood where it fayleth, gladdeth a melancholy disposition, dissipateth and dryeth vp flegme, humecteth and helpeth to purge choller. Plato, introducing Socrates, sayth thus in commending wine; Like as moderate rains doe encrease our hearbs, and tempests and inundations of waters doe rent them up and destroy them: Euen so, wine temperately taken, cheareth the spirites, and fortifieth the vertues of the body; whereas contrariwise, ouer-much, and intemperately receiued, destroyeth all. Not so much as the very odour and smell of wine, but it is highly commended (beyond all other odours) by our naturall Philosophers: because it is very comfortatiue, giueth great vigour to the spirites, and is exceeding liuely and piercing. But yet wee must consider withall, that the chiefe vertue of wine is euermore vnderstood, when it is qualified and made temperate.

The ancient Romanes did wholly take away the vse of wine from women and children: as Valerius sayth, speaking of the customes and lawes of the Romanes. So that, as Plinie affirmeth, at such time as Romulus reigned in Rome, a husband slew his wife, because shee had drunke wine; and in regard that the murder followed vpon this occasion, Romulus pardoned it. The vice of drinking wine, was held to be so odious in women, that Fabius Pictor reporteth, because a Romane woman had deceiued the Clarke of a celler, onely to drinke wine which was kept therein; her parents caused her to be starued to death. And heereupon grew the custome of fathers and mothers kissing their children on the mouthes; onely to

perceiue therby, whether they had drunke wine or no. We finde it in good record, that N. Domitius being Iudge of Rome, he depriued a woman of her Dowry, because shee had drunke more wine, then was allowed her for her health. Salomon in his Prouerbs sayth, It is not for Kings to drinke wine, or Princes strong drinke, lest he drinke and forget the Decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction. And yet we reade, that the Kings of Ægypt were permitted to drinke wine, so it were moderately, and in a certayne measure.

Vpon a time, Romulus beeing then King of Rome, and invited to a bountifull banquet; he would drinke but very little wine, saying; To morrow I am to determine a matter of great importance. Auicen saith; In giuing children wine to drinke, it is an addition of fire to fire. Aristotle expressly forbade the giuing of wine to children, and likewise to the Nursses that gaue them sucke. Plato by the laws which he made in his Booke, for the common-wealth, although he seemes in the first booke, to admit a tolleration of wines, yet in the second he sayth; A man ought to drink a litle, and well qualified. This allowance stretcht not to any one, till he had attained to 18. yeares of age, and so to continue till hee were forty: but it must be alwayes doone in the presence of olde men, to the end that he might be reprooued, when in the least manner hee exceeded. From forty yeares vpward, hee permitted that a little more then hee had formerly demaunded, should be giuen him; to make the colde and melancholy disposition (of that age) the more temperate; and yet it must be doone in a certayne measure too. It was his charge also, that seruants should drink no wine, neyther Iudges, Magistrates, or any that held any publique iurisdiction: and as for yong men that studied, he aduised them, not to drinke any. Auicen alloweth Platoes law, in this poynt, as a rule for Phisicke: And thereto likewise Galen consenteth. Alexander Aphrodisseus sayth in his Problemes; Hee which drinketh nothing but water onely, hath his sight and other senses more liuely; then he that drinketh wine.

Now, as concerning in what fashion and maner, wine should be tempered and qualified; there are many rules, and diuersities

Prou. 31. 4.

The word Romulus of Rome.

Auic. in lib.

Aristot. in lib. Legibus. Platoes allowance for king wine according to yeares of man.

Iudges and Magistrates forbidder wine.

Auicen vbi.

Gal. in tra.

Alexan. in Problem.

sities of opinions. *Hesiodus* the Greek Poet saith, That in one quart of wine there should be three quarts of water mingled. *Athenus* sayth, that the auncient *Greekes* vsed to put five partes of water into two partes of wine, and most times three partes of water into one of wine, which is the rule of *Hesiodus*. Heere also is to be obserued, that the *Greekes* did not put water into their wine, but wine into water, and *Theophrastus* assureth vs, that by this way, both the one and the other are much the better mingled. Moreover, auncient men did not onely moderate wine in this manner, but albeit it was thus tempered, they would drinke very little thereof. *Eubulus* the *Greece* Poet doth affirme, introducing *Bacchus*, to speake thus vnto the Sages: *I will neuer make more then three giftes of wine: The first, for health: The second, for taste: And the third, for sleepe; the rest saoureth of disorder and drunkenesse.* *Apuleius Pannias*, who wrote of meates, deliuereth the like Iudgement, attributing this manner to three seuerall daughters. *The first, to the Graces: The second, to Venus: And the third, to shame and danger.* *Iulius Caesar* was very temperate in drinking wine: as *Suetonius* witnesseth by the testimonie of *Cato*, who was vtter enimie to *Cesar*. *Demosthenes*, the excellēt Oratour, was the like. And *Apollonius Thyaneus* of whom so many famous things are writen, did neuer drinke any Wine, or feede vpon flesh.

In our Christian Religion, temperance (in drinking) is much commended. *Saint James* the lesser, did neuer drinke wine, or strong drinke, nor did euer eate any flesh; immitating *Laint Iohn* the Baptist. Wee finde the like affirmed of *Saint Stephen*, King of *Portuzall*. *Iosephus* in his Antiquities commending the holinesse of the *Esseans*, (who helde one of the three Sects amongst the *Iewes*, whereof the other two were *Pharises* and *Saduces*) sayth: That the *Esseans* did neuer drinke wine. In an Epistle *Saint Hierome* reprooued Priestes, that addicted themselves to drinke wine, telling them, That *Saint Paul* the Apostle did forbid it, and that in the ancient Law, such as serued in the Temple, did not drinke wine, or any other drinke that might procure drunkenesse.

Such as are reamed good drinkers, vse to say, that good wine ought to haue foure properties, to answere foure senses or vnderstandings of the body: To the taste, by saour: To the smell, by a perfect odour: To the sight, by a neat and cleare colour: And to the eare, by a good report of the Countrey where it was made. Of this good wine men vse to make vineger, which hath many good properties and inconueniences likewise: wherein I will be silent, because they are matters too vulgar and common.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Of many dammages and daungers, which ensue by the immoderate drinking of wine. And how it hath beene held as a healthfull thing (by some Phisitions) to be drunke sometimes.*



Although the liquor called Wine, be apt and whole some for diuers infirmities: yet notwithstanding, so many harmes and annoyances do arise, from the excessiue immoderate taking thereof, that the euills doe superabound all the goods ensuing thereby. So that it appeareth, that it were better not to know it, but rather to content our selues with water, which God hath giuen vs for our drinke; because hee thought nothing meete for vs, and all other creatures doe well content themselves therewith. Heereto also may be added, that wine hath beene the onely occasion, by which many haue become distracted in their senses; some haue lost their liues, and others not meanely endangered the saluation of their soules.

Now, although the harmes ensuing to men (by Wine) are too apparently knowne: yet notwithstanding, they are so far from shunning & auoyding them, that they daily seeke after new occasions, and strange deuised appetites for drinking. And in our best *French* language, these new appetites are titled by some;

Four seuerall properties necessarily required to be in good wine.

All creatures but man onlie doe well satisfie themselves with the drinking of water.

New deuises daily inuented to procure appetites for drinking.

Concerning mingling water with wine. *Hesiodus* in li. 3. *Athenus* in li. 7.

*Theophrastus* in li. 9. cap. 5.

Wine giuen to three seuerall purposes.

*Apuleius Pannias*.

*Suetonius* in li. 6. ca. 3.

Temperance commended in Christian Religion.

*Iosephus* in li. 8. Antiquit.

*Hierome* in epi. 9.

A spur or prouocation to a cup of wine; by others, A shooping horne, to draw on a quart or two of good wine, so that a slice of a Gambone of Bacon, is held (in this case) for a precious relique, and few hours in the day or night doth passe ouer them; but the cup is kist with sound deuotion in drinking; sometimes taking five or six cups more then are necessary. *Pliny* saith, there are some men, who will drinke before they be thirsty, and wine onely (among all other drinckes) hath this property, to cause it selfe to be drunke, before a man haue any need of it. He saith moreover, that some do drinke in such sort as they iustly deserue; for it giues them (immediately) the due punishment to such sinne: for the vapour mounting vp into the braine, bereaueth them of all vnderstanding, so that they remaine as mē senselesse. And hauing plaid it off lustily (as they vse to tearme it) for some quantity of time: it plaieth with them as the Cat doth with the Mouſe, either kills them outright, or (at least) engendereth so many harmes and infirmities, as are much worse then death it selfe; as Gouts, Palsies in the head, hands and feete, imbrodering the eyes with a scarlet color, burning vp the Luer, and fiering the face, beside diuers other such vndecent and scarce-grace-full qualities, no way fit to be vsed among mē indeed.

*Cato* said, *Drunkenesse is a voluntary folly.* And *Pliny* saith, *It confoundeth the memory, and procureth dreadfull dreames.* *Seneca*, writing to *Lucullus*, saith: *Wine maketh the legges and armes impotent, and causeth men to become luxurious.* *Dionysius Areopagita*, alleading *Plato* to haue spoken the words, saith: *Drunkenesse is a liuely and merry Minstrill, and yet it makes our legges to faile vnder vs, giuing (as wee vse to say in France) a trip to our heeles, and laying vs along on the ground.* *Saint Paul* writing vnto the *Ephesians*, aduised them to shunne wine, because therein is luxury. And *Salomon* in his *Prouerbs*, among the imperfections of wine, saith; *It is a deceiver, and whoſoever drinketh excessiuely thereof, cannot conceale a secret faithfully.* Heereupon then arose the ancient *Prouerbe*; *That wine walketh without any shooes*; that is to say, It treadeth secretly, softly, and without any noyse, because no one should perceine the power thereof,

nor how it discouereth our secret and vicious qualities. To this purpose the Poet *Aeschylus* saide: *A Glasse or Mirroure maketh knowne the gestures of the body, and wine serueth as a Glasse to the soule & heart of a man.* *Plato* likewise said: *Wine principally laieth open the manner and conditions of eueryman.* We haue example thereof in *Noah* and *Lot*, for *Noah* being drunk with wine, discovered his parts of shame, whereby he became mocked and scorned. And against *Lot*, *Sodome* could haue no power; but wine ouercame him, & made him to lye with his owne Daughters: these are the benefits ensuing by wine.

Among the Lawes which *Solon* (one of the seuen graue Sages of *Greece*) gaue to the *Athenians*; it was especially ordayned, that the Prince, when hee became drunke, should be slaine. *Pittacus*, another of those wise men, ordayned, that a drunken man committing any delict or great offence, should bee doubly punished: once for the facte it selfe, and next for drunkenesse, which caused him to do it.

*Aristotle* in his *Problems*, yeeldeth a reason, why such men as are ouer-much addicted to wine, are greatly disabled in the begetting of children; and likewise, why some drunkards are very pleasant in their drinke; and others terrible, some sad and weeping, others iocund and dancing.

Neuerthelesse, some Physitions (among whō are *Auicene* and *Rasis*) haue helde opinion, that it is a wholesome thing to be drunke sometimes: but the reasons which they giue in this case, doth not content me any way, neyther doe I allow of their opinion. And yet I must needs confesse, that very great personages haue bene subiected to wine: whereas on the contrary, if they had stood cleare and free from it, their glory and renoune had bin farre greater.

*Alexander* the Great, was as greatly taxed with this vice, so that (as diuers good Historians do affirme) being overcome with this fury; he slew one of his most intimate friends; and comming (afterward) to acknowledgement of his fault, he would haue slaine himselfe. Beside, it is further alledged, that the cheefest cause of his murders and slaughters, was onely this poysen to all goodnesse.

Marke

*Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 13.*

The property of wine among all other drinckes. *Plin. in lib. ubi supra.*

The benefit of immoderate drinking

The words of *Cato.* *Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 13. Seneca in epist. ad Lucul.*

*Dionysius Areopagita. in lib. 5. cap. 9.*

*Ephes. 5, 18.*

*Prou. 20, 1, 10*

The words of the Poet *Aeschylus.*

*Plato in lib. de Legib.*

*Gen. 9, 22.*

*Gen. 19, 33, 34.*

*Solons law the Athenians.*

The law of *Pittacus* against drunkenesse.

*Arist. in Pro.*

*Alexander* being overcome with wine, slew dearest friend.

*Marke Anthony*, who was one of the three cheefe Commanders in Rome, and married with the Sister to *Octavius* the Emperour: being addicted to wine, and (consequently) to lasciuiousnesse, with *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt; lost at length both his state and life, and was vanquished by *Octavius*, because hee suffered himselfe to be conquered by wine. The Emperour *Tiberius* was defectiue in many things; but in regard hee was a great drinker, it was the sole cause of all his other imperfections: and whereas his name was *Tiberius*, as a nick-name, they would often call him *Biberius*, and his ende was miserable.

*Dionysius* the younger, a Tyrant of *Sicily*, was so extremely affected to wine; that it did eate his eyes, and made him to become starke blinde. *Clomedes*, King of the *Spartanes*, would needs pursue and imitate the *Scythians*, in excessiue drinking of wine: but in the end, he became a foole, quite insensd, and without iudgement. It is saide, that the Philosopher *Archefilaus* died in notorious drunkennesse.

The Poet *Anacreon* was a very great drinker, and as he was drinking, he strangled or choaked himselfe, with the stone of a Grape or Raisin, which entred into his throate vnaduisedly.

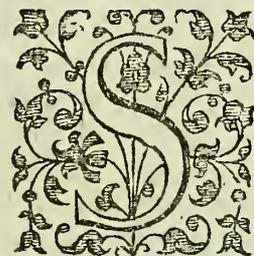
*Flavius* the Bishop, an Historian of worthy credite, writeth, that the Emperour *Bonofus* was so addicted to wine, that *Aurelianus* said of him: *Hee was not borne to liue, but to drinke*. And heerein hee had an admirable quality, for notwithstanding the immeasurable quantity of wine, which he dranke daily, yet hee was neuer drunke. I guesse that this ensued, by his continuall auoydance of vrine, which went from him as fast, as hee tooke in his wine. Neuerthelesse, his ende was answerable to his deseruing, for being vanquished by the Emperour *Probus*, he was hanged or strangled. It is recorded, that King *Antiochus*, who was conquered by the Romanes, vsed to drink so much wine, that he slept the most part of his time. In regard whereof, he gaue the cheefest authority of his kingdomes gouernment, to two of his choyfest fauourites, and because himselfe was addicted to banquets, and the amorous embracings of a young Gentlewoman: when he came to fight a-

gainst the Romanes, his Army became broken, and vtterly vanquished. *Athenens* writeth, that *Aeschylus* the Greeke Poet, would diuers times be drunk, wherevpon *Sophocles* said vnto him. *Aeschilus, those things which thou diuineest or writest, are done by chance, or at aduventure: and not by any knowledge remaining in thee, or that thou dost rightly vnderstand them.*

The prooffe of Sophocles to Aeschylus the Greeke Poet.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Certaine aduises and enstruitions, against such forward affection to Wine. And some reasons deliuered, why two things doe appeare to bee three, to such as bee drunke.*



Some haue said (how certainly I know not) that there are diuers receipts, whereby Wine, in how great a quantity soeuer it be taken and drunke, shall not procure those yrkesome effects, which are related in the former Chapter.

*Pliny* and *Solinus* do both of them affirme, that there is a blacke Stone, hauing Vermillion coullored veynes in it, and named *Dionise*, which hath such a property, as if it bee layde in water, it yeeldeth the perfect saour and rellish of wine; and who soeuer drinketh of that water, euen so much as himselfe pleaseth, shall neuer be drunke therewith. Physitions say, that if a man will preuent drunkennesse; he must first eate Honye, or some other sweete things: And hee that is drunke, must be vrged to vomite, and then giue him a morsell of bread steeped in Honye, which will immediately recouer him, because Honye hindereth all vapours from ascending vppe into the Head.

*Plin in lib. 9. cap. 11. Iul. Solinus in lib. 5 cap. 7.*

The iudgement of Physitions for the preuention of drunkennesse.

*Drusus*, Sonne to the Emperour *Tiberius*, had a Physition, who gaue him very

Marke Anthony one of the Romanes Tumuri.

Tiberius the great drinker called also Biberius.

Dionysius the younger.

Clomedes King of Sparta.

Aeschylus the Philosopher.

Anacreon the Poet.

Flavius the Bishop, a great drinker, neuer drunke.

Antiochus the great drinker and drunke.

Drusus, his  
Physition,  
whose physick  
kept him frō  
drunkenesse

Bitter Al-  
monds an e-  
speciall helpe  
against drun-  
kenesse.

Plin. in lib. 12.  
cap. 14.  
The Raddish  
roote.

Saffron.

Plin. in lib. vbi  
supra. cap. eod.

Arist. in Pro-  
blem. part. 3.  
Auicene in lib.  
Animal. 5.  
cap. 9.

\*The sinewes  
which con-  
duct the ver-  
tue of seeing  
to the eyes.

admirable physick, to preferue him from being drunke, albeit he daily drank more wine then any other one man of his time: for he could out-drinke all commers, yet neuer be drunke, or bereft of his iudgement. But in the ende it was knowne, that (vsually) before hee entred drinking, he would eate siue or sixe bitter almonds, whose power and naturall property was such, as it impeached the wine from alienating his spirits. And experience thereof was afterward made, for when they abridged him from the meanes of eating bitter Almonds, and he vsing to drinke as formerly he did; he became as soon drunk as any other man. That these Almonds haue this peculiar property, *Pliny* affirmeth it, adding further; that eating a Raddish roote before hard drinking, auoideth drunkenesse. He saith also, that Colewortes eaten before hand, keepeth a man from being distempered with wine: and being eaten after drunkenesse, they remoue instantly the distemperature, as Saffron also hath the selfe-same power. There are many other remedies for this imperfection, wherein I will be silent; speaking onely of one, recited by *Pliny*. He saith, that taking a quantity of wine, mingled with the egges of a Chough, and, beeing drunke two or three mornings together, he that drinketh it, will hate wine in such sort, as he will neuer after drinke thereof. Heere to he addeth, that a Swallow being taken and burned to ashes, then beaten into powder and mingled with a little Myrrhe in the wine; whosoeuer receyueh a draught of this potion, shall neuer be drunke, for this was experimented by *Horus*, King of *Assyria*.

*Aristotle*, in the third part of his Problems, and *Auicenne*, in his sixt Booke of Beasts, do yeeld a reason, why in drunkenesse, when a man looketh vpon any one thing, it appeares to him as if it were two, and albeit they doe both produce diuers reasons, yet will I alledge but one from each of them. The first shall be *Aristotles*, who saith, that thorow excesssiue heat of vapours in the wine, ascending vp into the braine; the lirtle neraes, called \**Opticinerui*, which go on directly to the eyes, do worke and mooue with such power, that the visiall vertue, and the spirits of sight (altering in their motion) do cause whatsoeuer drunken men gaze on, to stirre ve-

ry strongly and quicke; because the Organe of sight moueth it selfe in that manner, and maketh the common sense to receiue the Images of things, in a multiplied quality to the eye. For such kinde of motion, maketh single things to seeme double, and because this motion is so sudden and insensible, it causeth two things to seeme as one to the sight. As any man may easily make tryall of, by laying his finger vpon his eye-lid, and then remouing it thence, it will appeare to him, that it is the thing remoueth it selfe, which he beholdeth. *Auicenne* deliuereth another reason, saying: *The vapours of wine, which ascend vp into the head of him that is drunke, are moist, and because the little nerues and muscles which reach to the eyes, doe engrosse or swell themselues by this humidity; so much more the one (then the other) doe thereby mount themselues, the one higher, and the other lower. From hence ensueth, that the visible rayes do not equally diuide themselues foorth-right from both the eyes, neither by a direct or right line: which is the cause, that the Images of things visible, doe extend to eyther eye by themselues. In this respect only, things simple and single, appeare to be double, the commō sense receyuing & apprehending two images for one: and for the maintenance of this opinion, Auicenne yeeldeth the selfesame example, as Aristotle did.*

A prooffe ea-  
sie to be ma-  
de by any one

*Auicenne* in li-  
br. Animal. cap.  
Of the vap-  
ours of wine m-  
ounting vp into  
the head of  
drunken men

## CHAP. XXV.

*In what manner a man may know and measure, the rotundity or round compassse of the whole earth: and how much it is reputed to containe, in the circumference or circkling round about.*



Well I know, that the subiect of this Chapter, will hardly seeme pleasing vnto all Readers; in regarde, that for the better vnderstanding thereof, som of the principles of the Mathematicks, are necessarily requi-

Principles of  
the Mathema-  
tic Sciences

The chiefe E-  
lements of the  
Arithmetiks

Genesis 1,9.

Things attri-  
buted to the  
earth.

Eclipses,  
heights, and  
breadths,  
mountaines,  
hilles,  
woods, and  
forests.

How the rou-  
ndness of Land  
and sea is sea-  
led.

The Starrie  
heaven or firm-  
ament.

Use of a  
quadrant or  
astrolabe to  
measure in this  
use.

required to be well apprehended. Neuerthelesse, I am the more willing to speake somewhat of the argument, onely for the delight and contentment of such mindes, as are enclined to the Science whereof it discourseth. Wherefore concearning our present purpose, it is needfull to presuppose, the first and cheefe Elements of such a Science: which because they are common, shal require the lesse labor to proue them. The first is that whereof wee are now treating, the greatnesse of the earth, carrying with it both Land and Sea: because God did dispose them in such manner, when he said; *Let the dry land appeare*, for they both being vnited together, made one body perfectly round. So likewise is it to bee vnderstoode in all those actions which are giuen to the earth, the Sea is also therein comprized: For, when a man sayth, the earth hath so many degrees in roundnesse, or it containeth so many degrees from one place to another; the sea is therein as well vnderstood as the land. So in like manner are considered the Eclipses, heights and breadths, to hold one and the same certitude: and yet notwithstanding, Mountaines, and Valleys are not comprehended in this roundure, nor Woodes or Forrests likewise, which the earth containeth in it selfe; because such things are not woorthie of any account, with the greatnesse of this wonderful bodie.

This rotundity of Land and Water, is seated in the midst of the circuite of Heauen, in such manner, as the point & center of that round body, composed of Sea and Land, is likewise the center and number of the whole world, as well of heauen, as of the Elements.ouer and beside this definition, there is another, true and absolute, to wit, that the land and water (in regard of the starry heauen, which we call the Firmament) are so little; that all these two Elements serue thereto but for a center, and is euen but as a small point, in respect of his circumference. So that in whatsoever part thereof a man best liketh to helpe himselfe, by meanes of a Quadrant or an Astrolabe; his labour forteth to the like effect, as if hee made the same for the center of the earth. For in whatsoever place of the earth we are (prouided that it be not in any deepe or hollow botome) we shall discover the moiety of hea-

uen; which proceedeth by reason of the incomprehensible distance, that is from hence beneath vp to the Firmament, with his incompareable greatnesse. That this must needs be true, it is most euident, that the verie least Starre which we discern in heauen, is much more greater then the whole earth; and yet neuerthelesse, it appeareth to vs but as a small point, in regard of the heauens large spaciousnesse; by the least of which things, a man may make prooffe in sufficient demonstration, but it suffiseth that experience hath apparently shewne the same.

*Ptolomy* approueth it, in the 10. chapter of his first booke of Geography; *Alphraganus*, in his fourth Difference, *Cleomedes*, in his first Booke; *Geber*, in his second Book; and *John de Sacrobosco*, as the like do all other that haue written on the Spheare.

This then being thus presupposed, let vs imagine in our mindes, that the vwater and Land do make one round circle, and that heauen is another, but much more great, as indeede it is; and that these two circles haue no other, but one common center within them. Which being so imagined, let vs lay two lines of equall greatnesse, which may extend themselues (in common) to the circumferences of al the two circles, according as *Euclides* enstructeth, cutting and diuiding the two Circles by equall portions, each portion being iustly equalled, in regard of each one of them: that is to say, that if those two lines passe on right in such manner, they will make eight parts of a great circle, and so shall make as much of the lesser, I vnderstand and meane each eight part, in respect of each ones greatnesse.

Our elders in former times, in theyr manner of measuring the world, gaue aduice to diuide the heauen into three hundred and threescore equall partes, which we do now cal degrees, & by consequent, the roundnesse of the earth into as manie parts, by imaginations of lines, parting from the center, and making the diuision in such manner, that the like quantitie which each one of the degrees hath, in respect of the whole heauen; the verie like shal be that of each one of the degrees for the earth, hauing regard to the roundure and circuite thereof. And as these portions or degrees, if you please so to terme them,

The least Star  
is greater the  
all the earth,  
by euident  
prooffe.

*Ptolom* in lib. 1  
de Geograph.  
cap. 10.  
*Alphra*. Diff. 4.  
*Cleomed*. in li. 1  
*Geber* in lib. 2.  
*Io. de Sacrobosco* in li. 1

How this mat-  
ter may bee  
easily imagi-  
ned in the  
minde of man

*Euclides* in lib.  
4. de Element.

The aduice  
of our Fore-  
fathers, for  
measuring of  
the world, by  
diuision of  
heauen.

Concerning the nature of a degree, and how our Elders obserued the knowledg thereof, according vnto the height of the Pole.

A measure of ground containing 127 paces, al after five feete to the pace.

An infallible rule for measuring by degrees.

The greatnes of each degree within it self, how much it containeth.

then, are equal among themselves, so that some one may appeare to containe the scope of miles; the like may be easily gathered, by multiplying what distance is contained in all the rest. To know then the nature of a degree, they made this obseruation. The Pole is a fixed point in heauen, whereon the whole heauen maketh his mouing, yet it remaineth firme & stable. Therefore with an Astrolabe, or any other instrument proper therto, being in some apt vncouered place, they would take the height which the Pole contained about the Horizon, within the limite of the selfesame sight, and noting the place which appeared conuenable to the eleuation or height of the foresaide Pole: they went directly on thereto, without wandering to the Meridian, vntill such time (as with the selfesame instrument) they found it in one degree more higher, then in the first place, and therby they knew, that they had gone one degree of the earth frō that place whence they first parted, iust to that ground where they were arriued, considering, that they had paced by the respect of heauen, in regarde of the fore-named rules of both the circles. Then they would measure that which this degree contained, either by Stades, or thousands of paces; and this being thus knowne by them, they would make their account after this manner. If one degree contained so many miles, the whole roundnes of the earth did containe as many: considering, that therein was to be obserued three hundred and threescore degrees, such and as great as the same were. This was the forme and manner by them obserued, and it may wel bee continued to these times, for measuring of the whole earth, as being the most certaine and infallible.

And yet neuerthelesse we are to know, what greatnesse each degree of the earth containeth in it selfe, and so (by consequent) how much it tendeth to in the roundity, measuring it according vnto the whole greatnesse, answerable to the experience of both ancient and modern men, skilfull, and well studied therein. The most common opinion of all other, is; that each degree or portion of three hundred and threescore, containeth five hundred Stades of ground, and euery Stade is valewed to six score and five paces by our Geometricians, and according to theyr

Geometrical paces, each pace containing as much as two of our common paces. So that the degree containes sixty two thousand and an halfe, which amount to sixtie two thousand Geometricall paces. *Ptolomy* auoucheth the same; as the like doeth *Martianus Capellus*, and the most part of the wisest ancient Cosmographers: beside, this is the opinion in common, of the greater part of our moderne men.

*Orontius Phineus* holdeth the same iudgment, and sayeth, that this may easily bee experimented by traouiling from *Paris* to *Tholouse*. *Glareanus*, & *Anthony de Lebriz*, being both of them learned men, and diligent searchers into these matters: they do both affirme, that they haue made the like experience, holding the same for most certaine. Albeit *Eratoſthenes*, and some other *Gracians* hold opinion, that all degrees had seauen hundred Stades: wheerein (it may seeme) they were abused, by measuring their places ouershort. I say then, that each of their degrees, consisting of three hundred and sixty, far off from five hundred Stades: the whol three hundred and sixty, wil containe together, twenty two thousand, and five hundred thousand paces, which do make an hundred and eighty thousand Stades. By the which account, the round compas of the whole earth, comprehending therein the whole machine of water, beeing reduced to a thousand paces, will containe twentie two millions, and five hundred thousand paces. And if you would know how many French leagues or miles the whole Earth containeth, we must then allow vnto each League, the length of two Italian miles. Then, if we diuide twenty two thousand, five hundred paces in twaine, we shal find that the circuite of the earth, containeth eleuen thousand, two hundred and fiftie Leagues of *France*. And if we diuide the by foure; all the enuironing of the Earth, will containe five thousand, sixe hundred, and twentie five miles of *Germanie*; for four Italian miles, do make but one *Germane* mile. Thus haue we discoursed on the earths dimension, according vnto the most common opinion receiued among men.

The knowledg of a Stade by Geometrical paces.

*Ptolom. in lib. de Geograph. Mar. Capell. in lib. 1. cap. 1.*

*Oront. Phin. lib. 2. de Ge.*

*Glaz. in lib. 2. c.*

The opinion of some Gracians concerning degree

An estimate of the whole compasse of the earth by paces, and French mil

Diuisiō according to Germane miles.

CHAP. XXVI.

*Of the reason, why Snow (being covered with straw) doth preserve it selfe in his entire coldnesse, and warme water in his heate: considering, that two contrary effects are wrought by one and the selfesame thing: with some other secrets beside.*

**T**O men of spirite, such as affect the contemplation of Natures workes, nothing can so lightly present it self, or appeare to bee of so slender esteeme; but some one notable matter or other may be found therein, to yeild contentment to their mindes, after they haue attained to the knowledge thereof. No doubt but there are many men, of whom if it were demanded, vpon what occasion, Snow (beeing covered with straw) conserueth it selfe (for long time) in his true coldnesse; and without melting, they hardly knew how to make anie answer. Whereunto *Alexander Aphrodisseus*, that excellent Peripatetian, maketh this reply. *Straw hath no manifest or known quality at all, for it is neither hot nor colde; therefore diuers haue reputed and termed it, to be a thing without any quality.* For this cause, beeing a matter so singularly temperate and delicate, euen as reaching to such a degree, that it may well be saide to be neither hot nor colde; it easily conuerteth it selfe into the quality of anie such thing, as is thereto annexed. So that couering or laying Snow therein, which is colde, the straw apprehendeth the colde quality thereof, and by that means is holpen and assisted, in the true coldnesse of Snow: euen as a thing of one qualitie aydeth another, without yeelding any heate thereto, because it is not in it selfe. Therefore, snow being accompanied vwith his owne coldnesse, & defended against heat, which straw preserueth against the lest entrance; it is thus conserued in his entyre condition for long time, euen as if it were not covered with straw at all.

By the selfesame reason, a contrarie effect happeneth in warme or hotte water; defending the ayre that it cannot coole it,

for it being likewise couered with Strawe, the strawe immediately entertaineth the quality of the warme water; and being so sodainly heated, it helpeth & conserueth the water in his warmth, and keepeth the ayre off, that else would coole it. The same reason guides vs to vnderstand other doubts and difficulties, which some curious questionists may impose vpon vs, like vnto those before alledged. I am sure wee are not to learn, that ouer and beside our inward naturall heate, that which occasioneth our warmnesse in Summer time, is the ayre onely, which (in that season) is much more hot then in any other time of the yeare; so that the warmer the ayre is, so much the more are we sensible of heat. If it be so then, how commeth it to passe, that we feele more freshnesse and coolenesse, and lesse heate, when wee take the ayre in Sommer, and in mouing and walking to receiue it; considering, that (according to *Aristotle*) *Motion, or moouing, causeth our heate to be the greater?* For the ayre, by reason of this agitation, must needs cause the more warmnesse both in it selfe and vs, then if wee rested and sate in quiet.

The reason ensueth thus: VVee haue then more warmth in our bodyes, then there is in the ayre: as wel in regard of our owne naturall heat, as also that which the ayre worketh in vs. For the ayre coming with a fresh and coole gale (I speake this because it is more temperate then we are) it maketh vs some-what the more temperate: but being still and neere vs, it warmeth it selfe in our heate. Euen in the like manner as we haue spoken of straw; for so it conserueth (yea augmenteth) our heate in vs; albeit, when it is stirred, and freshly mooued, in coming more temperately vpon vs, then we our selues are; that temperature and difference which wee then feele of lesser heate, doth in the like manner qualifie and moderate ours in vs. This is the answer of the fore-named *Alexander*, but especially of *Aristotle*, vnto this question.

Neuerthelesse, it is to bee noted, that if we find an ayre more hot then that wherein we dwell; agitation or stirring in such an ayre will not prooue so good as our owne, because wee shall there feele farre greater heate, as in diuers places oftentimes we do. An argument in this case, may

The Ayre is more hote in Sommer, than all the yeare else beside.

*Aristot. in lib. 2. de Anim. cap. 7.*

More heat in our bodyes in Sommer time then is in the Ayre.

How the quality in straw is alluded to our bodies.

Difference of the Ayre in heat, & harme thereby ensuing.

the works of nature yeeld great benefite to their knowledge.

how couered with Strawe, keepeth his naturall coldnesse.

*Alex. Aphrodis. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

how a thing without any quality at all, is apprehended with the quality of any thing therewith conioyned.

A contrary effect wrought by the same means to hot water, keeping it in his entire heate.

Example of a mans hand in hot water, for heate or temperature.

Of heate in the months of Iune and Iuly

Aristot. in lib. 2. de Meteor. ca. 9

may bee framed by hotte water, that if a man put his hand rashly thereinto, he can hardly suffer or endure it. Notwithstanding, let him hold it firmly therein, and it yeeldeth then lesse cause of passion then if he mooued it vp and downe. In regard, that the lesser part of the water enuironeth the coole hand, whereby it causeth some small temperature round about it: but being plunged and mooued about the water, it reneweth fresh heate, and at each time appropriateth new power to it selfe; for the more potent, must needs worke nouelty vppon that which is much weaker.

It may be likewise demanded, for what cause it is more hot at the end of Iune, & all along the moneth of Iuly, the Sun being then the furthest off from vs, then it is at the beginning of Iune; considering we are then in the Solstice of the Sunne, and more directly smitten with his beames? Heereunto answereth *Aristotle*, in his second Booke of Meteors, and the ninth Chapter, that the heate of the Sunne is not the cause thereof, neyther is there any more heate felt by the Sunnes being neerest to vs, then when hee hath longest time to abide ouer vs. For in the months of Iune and Iuly, hee hath a great length of time in approaching towards vs; as also in declining, hee causeth the greater heate. because (in descending) he re-heateeth that part and tract of the ayre, which hee formerly had well warmed in mounting aloft.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Of sodaine death hapning vnto diuers great Persons, that haue thereto bene wished or threatned, by such as they haue vniustlie put to death before, and their deaths haue ensued to them in such manner, & at such times, as haue bene assigned vnto them: With the notable history of an Archbysshop of Mentz or Magonce.*

God neuer failed in the iust cause of wronged innocents, to lend his help, when al power in man hath fayled.



When all helpe in man hath ceased, concerning such to whom great wrongs and injuries haue bene done; yet the powerfull arme of God

hath neuer failed them. And albeit it hath not ensued so speedily, or else so visibly as they could haue wished; yet GOD, who knoweth both how and when to be auenged on them that are the oppressors of innocents, hath wrought so gracioullie for his own glory; that trecheries haue come to light in due and meete times, & mens false iudgements haue felt his seuerer condemnation, and publikely enough for other mens forewarning. In this case wee could alleadge many memorable examples; but beeing loth to trouble you with ouer many, these few commendable Collections shall serue for this time.

I read of a Knight amongst the *Templers* (of whome wee haue spoken in our former Volume) who beeing (in the opinion of many) sentenced to death verie vniustly; as the Officers led him towards the place of execution, hee espyed Pope *Clement*, the fift of that name (by vvhose meanes he was condemned to death) looking out at a window; and by him stode *Phillip le Bel*, then King of France. The Knight being an *italian*, borne at *Naples*, beholding the Pope with an vndaunted countenance, with a lowde voyce spake thus vnto him.

*Most cruell Clement, seeing that there is no Iudge in this world, before whome a poore innocent man may call in question the vniust sentence which thou hast giuen against mee. I appeale from thee, a most vniust Iudge, to the vprightest Iudge of all other, Iesus Christ himselfe, before whom I giue thee warning, and likewise King Phillip there by thee, to make your appearance, to answer the false iudgement of death which you haue giuen against me. This appearance of yours before the Tribunall seate of God, I do assigne to be made within lesse then a yeare, to do me right there, where I may safely haue my cause determined, without any auarice or passion at all, as here you both haue dealt with me.* The poore Knights desire sorted with his wordes, for about the same limited time, the Pope being pained with a great greefe in his stomach, died; so did *K. Phillip*: but howsoeuer it hapned, it was thought to proceed from the iust iudgement of God.

The very like fortune hapned to *Ferdinand* the fourth, King of *Castile*, who hauing caused two worthy Knightes to be executed, more by his owne wrathfull & angry spleen, then any warrant of iustice, being

The history of a Knight Templer, put to death vniustly.

The Knight latest word to the Pope and King of France, as was ledde to death.

The iudgement of God on the K. at Pope.

The history of Ferdinar the 4. King Castile, & his cruelty to tv Knightis.

being no way to bee dissuaded from this violent cruelty, either by teares, intreats, or earnest solicitations; they (in very like manner) cited the King before the Tribunal of Iesus Christ, and to make his appearance within thirty dayes. And it is credibly auouched, that on the last of those thirty dayes, the King dyed.

The like lot also befell to a Captaine of the Gallies, which belonged to the inhabitants of *Geneway*, whereof *Baptista Fulgoso* maketh this report. This Captaine making a sally forth vpon the Sea, tooke a Foyst or smal Gally appertaining to them of *Cathelogna*; wherein there was another Captaine that neuer had done any iniurie to the *Genewayes*. Notwithstanding, in regard of the malice which the *Genewayes* bare to the *Cathelognians*, hee gaue command, that this Captaine thus taken prisoner, should forthwith be hanged. The Captaine, shedding many teares, humbly requested, that he might not so shamefully be put to death, considering that he had neuer offended him, or his Nation. But in the end, finding no fauour or mercy in him, he made his recourse to the Diuine Judge of al men, speaking thus to the cruel Captaine; *Seeing thou wilt needes execute on me this most vniust sentence, I haue no other friend but God to appeale vnto, who is the iust auenger of iniuried innocents. And therefore I humbly desire, that (this instant day) thy soule may appeare with mine. before him, to yeeld an account for the wrong thou hast done me.* Not many houres, after the *Geneway* Captaine also dyed, and doubtlesse went to render a reason for his most extreme cruelty.

I could alledge many examples more, aptly suted to this purpose; but for the strangest of all, I will relate what hapned at *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, which generally cost most deare vnto the whole Citty, according as it is briefly reported by *Gontier*, that renowned Poet, who wrot the life and actions of the Emperour *Fredericke*, first of that name. *Conradus* also the Byshop, declareth the same in his history, among many things hapning in the time of that *Fredericke*, and of *Henrie* the sixt his sonne; the History ensueth in this manner.

In the Citty of *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, in the yeare one thousand, five hundred and fifty, little more or lesse, ther

liued an Arch Byshop, named *Henrie*, a man singular in all vertues. This Archbyshop, according to the duty and office of a faithfull Pastor, as indeed hee was, did feuerely chastise publike sinnes and offences, because he was very iealous of Gods honour, and loue of one neighbour vnto another, the which made him to haue the greater care of his flocke. Heereuppon wicked and dissolute persons grewe hateful against him, deuising many false and slanderous accusations, where-with the Pope was plentifully informed, imposing so many crimes and delicts vpon him, that he was reputed vnmeete for such a dignity.

These matters thus vnderstoode by the Pope, who alwayes thought him to bee a iust and holy man; being no way able to deny audience to such a crowde of accusers as desired iustice; at last he aduertised the Arch-byshop of these foule accusations. The good reuerend man, to make cleare his innocence, elected (among all his other friends) a man whom hee most affected, and on whom hee had bestowed more especiall fauours, then on any man else beside. Hee was a Priest by profession, named *Arnolde*, aduanced vnto many great dignities; as being a man of rich spirit, eloquence; and abounding in the wealth of the world beside.

*Arnolde* comming to *Rome*, beeing entrusted and pressed on by the diuell; concluded in his priuate thoughts, to deprive his Lord of so high a dignitie, and make application thereof to himselfe. Which that he might the better compass, hauing brought great summes of money thether with him, he suborned two wicked Cardinals, who, in sted of speaking in his Lords fauour, should enforce all matters more against him. For they affirmed, that they stood more obliged to God and trueth, then to worldly respects or fauours of men: and therefore maintained, that the Archbyshop was apparantly culpable of all the crimes inferred against him, and thereby iustly deserued deprivation. The Pope being thus abusiuely perswaded by theyr report, thought to haue sent two Priestes thether, to acquaint him with this information confirmed against him: but (indeede) he sent the two Cardinals confederated with *Arnolde*, to perfect the Proesse, by them concluded for present execution. They

Vertue neuer wanted malicious enemies

The Pope acquainted the Archoyshop with his accusations.

The arriuall of *Arnolde* at *Rome*, and his wicked dealing against his Master.

The wickednesse of two corrupted Cardinalles.

B. 11. Fulgof. in b. 2. cap. 9. The historie of Captaine belonging to Genewes, who cruelly put to death another innocent Captaine.

The wronged Captaine speaks before his death.

The sodaine death of the Geneway Captaine the day.

Contra in lib. 2. de Reb. di. 11.

The history of Henry archhoppe of Mentz in Germanie.

The persecu-  
tion of the  
Cardinales  
with Arnold,  
against the  
Arch. byshop.

The words of  
the Archbysh.  
at his depri-  
uation, before  
Arnolde and  
the Cardinals

The scornfull  
answer of the  
offenders.

The death of  
the wronged  
Henry.

Scoffing iests  
by the two  
Cardinals, at  
deceat  
Henry.

The iustice of  
God on the  
two wicked  
Cardinals.

They were no sooner arriued in *Germany*, but they summoned the Arch-Byshop to come before them, wher his hearing was admitted in such sort, that sentence was giuen against him, whereby he was depriued of his See and dignitie, and *Arnolde* aduanced into his place, who had sold his Master, euen as *Iudas* did our blessed Sauour. In pronouncing the iudgement, the Arch-Byshop *Henry* then present, deliuered these wordes. *God knoweth, that I am most vniustly condemned: neuerthelesse, I care not for making any appeale to the further ceasure of men: because I am assured, that lyes shall bee better beleued among you, then truth can be in mee. Therefore I receiue this sentence, as some iust punishment for my sinnes, and yet doe appeale from your indirect doome, to the eternall iust Iudge Iesus Christ: before whom I adiourne you three to appeare.*

These words were no sooner heard by the Iudges, but they fell into extremity of laughter, saying; That if he pleased to go on thither before, they would follow him at their leysure. This sentence was giuen in the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, fifty six, which the depriued Archbyshop endured with admirable patience; & being retired into his Monastery, he ther remained the rest of his life, yet without acception of the habite. To conclude, God would not permit this wickednes to passe vnpunished, to the end, that innocence might the better bee knowne: but about a yeare and an halfe after, this *Henrie* dyed in his Monastery in great holinesse, and doubtlesse attained the glorie long time desired.

Newes of his death being brought to *Rome*, the two Cardinals being very merrily met together, one of them, said: The Arch-Byshoppe *Henry* is gone, and must not we in hast follow him? Indeed (quoth the other) so wee made him promise; but let him tarry (wheresoeuer he is) till wee come to him. Not many dayes after, one of them, being sodainly smitten by one of his seruants vpon the shoulder, fel downe so greuously afflicted with paine, that his bowels and entrailes issued out at his fundament, and instantly died. The other falling into phrensie and madnesse, did eate off his owne hands, and dyed very strangely. Now as concerning false *Arnolde*, hee exercised such cruelties and seditions a-

mong the people, that he became so hated and despised of them all, as being one day besiedged in a Monastery, hee vvas there slayne, and afterward left lying naked in the common ditch of the Cittie; where all the people, both men, women, and children, performed all cruelties vpon his body, that possibly could be deuifed by them.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ Of the cruelty which *Albouine*, King of *Lombardie*, vsed to his Queene & wife *Rosamond*: And by what meanes she reuenged her selfe on him at length.



Among those warlike people, which yssued out of *Germany*, and the Northerne partes, to descend into *Italy*; the *Lombards* are named, who for the space of two hundred yeares & more, seized all those Lands, which (til this day) is called *Lombardie*, and vtill such time as *Charlemaigne* expelled them thence, according as in the History is amply related, written by *Paulus Diaconus*, in the particular Booke which he made for that purpose. He saith, that when they left *Hungary* (where they had for sometime dwelt) to passe into *Italy*, they had one named *Albouine* their King: a man of great spirit, and verie valiant in actions of warre. For he conquered in battayle *Cunimond*, King of the *Girpides*, and afterwarde, causing his head to bee smitten off, made a drinking Cuppe thereof, wherein hee vsed to drinke, and in triumph of his conquest and victorie. At which time, he detained (as his prisoner) a verie beautifull daughter to the fore-named King, called *Rosamond*, whom he made his wife, and then afterwards hee went to subdue *Italy*, carrying his Queene along with him, in the yeare, eight hundred, sixty two.

When he had conquered many towns and Cities, he came (at length) to the City of *Paui*a: where (since that time) the succeeding Kinges vsed to keepe their seate and continuall residing, as the very principall City of their Kingdome. Hauing reig-

The Lombards  
named  
Lombards.

*Paulus Diaconus*  
in lib. de Hist.  
Mund. cap.

*Cunimond*  
of the *Girpides*  
conquered by  
*Albouine*, and his  
head made  
drinking c.

*Paui*a the  
ancient seate  
King.

reigned three yeares and three moneths, and being then at *Verona*; he appoynted a solemne feast; where hee drunke to his Queene in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, and forced her to pledge him: whereat shee conceived such griefe and displeasure; that the intire loue which shee had formerly borne him, was conuerted into deadly hatred, with an absolute resolue and conclusion to kill him, in iust reuenge of her fathers death, & cruelty extended to her. And to assist her in this determination, she conferred with a gentleman named *Hermigilde*: who presently tolde her, that to the execution of such an important busines, she should require the ayde of a valiant knight in the Court, called *Paradine*. Which instantly shee did, but he would not yeeld there to, because hee tooke it to be too horride a treason: Finding her hope frustrated, and fearing lest his intent would be discovered, yet desiring nothing more in the world, then to compasse the height and pitch of her enterprise: shee set aside all care of honour and honesty, & being aduertised by *Hermigilde*, that *Paradine* earnestly affected one of her attending Ladies, she deuised therby to effect her purpose: Being acquainted with the secret resort where *Paradine* & his louer alwaies met together; shee found some other employment for the Lady, & made vse of her place for the time, *Paradine* keeping her there company a long time, imagining no other, but that it was the mistresse of his affections.

The Queene, who had spent all this while in soft whispers and dalliance, not vsing any one word whereby shee might be discovered; perceiuing opportunity so aptly to fit her, spake thus vnto him. Knowest thou *Paradine*, who it is that keepeth thee company? Full well (quoth he) with my Mistresse, and then named her. Thou lyest (false traytour,) replied the Queene, I am *Rosamond* thy Soueraignes wife, whom thou hast dared to abuse in this manner, and dye thou must by the iust wrath of *Albouine*, except thou saue thy life by killing him: aduise thee therefore, whether his life or thine owne is dearest to thee. When *Paradine* considered his dangerous estate, without any meanes of helpe or escape; hee resolued to kill the King: and for his better furthe-

rance therein, both hee, the Queene, and *Hermigilde* tooke counsell together, plotting the proiect in this manner.

The King vsed to sleepe in the heate of the day, and all else auoyded the chamber, the Queene onely excepted, and he being a king of courage and high resolue, euer slept like a Souldier, with his Sword girded about him: which at this intended time of treason, the Queene had tyed so fast in the scabbard, as hee could by no meanes helpe himselfe therewith. *Paradine* and *Hermigilde* waiting the houre, which was vppon the Queenes issuing forth: they entred, and for all their soft treading, the King heard them, and started from his bed. VWhen he beheld two men armed with weapons, and at such a time of no suspicion: fury, not feare made him take no knowlege of them, but fought to defend himselfe with his weapon. VWhich failing him, by the meanes of so false a Queene, and they with their weapons euery where wounding him: hee caught vp a stoole, and therewith made his defence so long as he could, till in the end they depriued him of life, yet neither noise heard, or any suspicion of murder.

The king being thus dead, and all well carried with a smoothe countenance: *Hermigilde* possessed himselfe of the Pallace, intending to make the Queene his wife, as immediately hee did. But notwithstanding all their close packing; the *Lombardes* (not long after) came to the knowledge of their Kings death, and in what manner hee was murdered, which they purposed to reuenge with all possible speed. Wherein they were prevented, for *Rosamond* and her complices having packed vp most of her Jewells & treasure Royall, fled away thence, carrying with them *Aluisinda* Daughter to King *Albouine*, by his first wife. And for their safer security, they went to *Rauenna*, where then gouerned a Lieutenant of the Empire, named *Longinus*, who kept that place for *Tiberius*, Sonne to the Emperour *Constantine* of *Constantinople*, by whom they were curteously entertained.

Not long after, *Longinus* becomming enamored of *Rosamond*, & desirous to enjoy her in marriage, whereto hee found her very tractable; counselled her to procure the death of *Hermigilde*, & then he would marry her. She that had lost all loue and

The maner of the Kings death determined by the Queene, *Paradine* and *Hermigilde*.

The valour of *Albouine* against his murderers, euen in his death.

*Hermigilde* marrieth with *Rosamond* the Queene.

The flight of *Rosamond* & the murderers to *Rauenna*.

*Rosamond* desirous to aduance herselfe by marrying with the Lieutenant, concludeth the death of *Hermigilde*.

The Queene for to drinke in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, which concludes the Kings death.

Being can compared to inward conceiued malice of a woman, when shee will needs passe her will.

The Queene ifuereth herself to *Paradine*, and is able to kill the King.

And choise in such an ex-temperitic.

fear of God, respect of womanhood, and dreadlesse of the shame of men, coueting withal, to aduance her downefalne estate, by marrying with the Emperours Lieutenant; gaue to *Hermigilde* an impoysoned potion at his comming forth of his Bath, perswading him, that it was most soueraigne for his health; by which perswasion he dranke a good part thereof. But when hee found it afterward to afflict his body, so as he plainly perceiued himselfe to be poysoned; drawing forth his sword in extremity of rage, he compelled *Rosamond* to drinke vp all the rest that remained in the Cup, so that at one instant time they both were iustly required for the death of *Albionine*. Tydings hereof being brought to the Lieutenant *Longinus*, he caused the young Lady *Alwisinda* to be seized on, and sent her (with all her iewels and treasure) to the Emperour *Tiberius*, at *Constantinople*, with *Paradine* also as a prisoner: where hauing his eyes pulled forth, he liued a while, and then died most miserably.

A treacherous womans wickednesse met withal, by her owne deuise against her husband.

### CHAP. XXIX.

*Of a pleasant, witty, and honest deceit, which a famous and vertuous Queene vsed to her owne husband; whereby Iames, King of Arragon was begotten, with other remembrances both of his birth and death.*



**M**Well remember, that in reading the Chronicle of the Kings of *Arragon*; I finde, that *Don Peter*, Count of *Barcellona*, who was the seauenth King of *Arragon*, had Madam *Mary* in marriage, daughter to the Earle of *Mount Pefulin*, Nephew to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, she being a very beautifull and vertuous Lady. All which notwithstanding, the King was much addicted vnto other women, and vsed such slender testimony of loue towards his Queene, that hee refused to keepe her company, as (in the duty of an husband) he stood obliged to doe. This strange

The Authors induction to the ensuing History.

behaviour in the King, did much afflict and greene the Queene, because they had no childe to succeed in the Kingdome, the greatest misery (of all other) that can happen to a well settled Estate. Heere vpon, by aduice of one of the Kings Pages of his Chamber, who (it may be) had formerly done seruice in the like affaires; shee compassed the meanes (vnder title of some one of the Kings cheefest fauourites) to bee brought that night to lodge with the King. Such familiar entercourses hauing passed betweene them, as in such wanton seasons are commonly required; the King perceiuing the day-light neere approching, in regard both of his owne honours safety and hers; made meanes to her for her speedy departure, but she taking hold of so good an occasion, spake thus vnto him.

My gracious Lord and husband, I am none such as (perhaps) you take mee to be, but be well assured, that this night you haue slept with your true Queene and Wife. Use what violence you shall please to mee, for I purpose not to leave your bed, vntill some man, well deseruing faith and credite, may be witnesse of my this nights keeping you company. To the ende, that if the fauour of heauen hath bin so gracious to me, that fruite (long desired) may ensue by this aduenture; the world shal take true notice, that it is your owne. The King perceiuing this honest deceit of his Queene, appeared to bee well pleased therewith; and called two Gentlemen of his Chamber, to testifie the truth, according to her desire, and as (indeed) stood best with his honour. It so pleased God, that at fit and conuenient time, the Queene hauing at that instant time conceiued with childe; at such due season as the custome of women alloweth them for trauaile, shee was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, euen on the first day of February, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, ninety sixe. Soone after it was borne, the Mother caused it to bee carried to the Church; and (which is a thing deseruing memory) as they which carried the childe entred into the Church, the Priests began to sing, *Te Deum laudamus*, Wee praise thee O God. Passing from thence vnto another Church, as they were entring likewise thereinto, the Priests began to sing the Psalme

Want of lafull issue is the greatest misery of a Kingdome.

Shame darerildome be seen in bright day-light.

The words the Queene to the King before she would dep from his bed.

The conceition & birth of Iames, King of Arragon.

The carrying of the childe to two seuerall Churches.

Psalme of *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which gaue a great prognosticating & vndoubted hope, of some excellent vertues to succeed in the childe.

The Father and Mother, not knowing what name to giue him, caused twelue Torches (of equall length and making) to be all lighted in one instant, the twelue Torches bearing the seueral names of the twelue Apostles. With this conclusion, that the name of the Torch which first fayled, or became extinguished; the selfe same name should bee giuen to the childe, which happened to be that of *S. James*. Heereupon he was named *James*, because it was the name, which the men of *Arragon* gaue to that Apostle. Hee proued to be an excellent Prince, and of admirable gouernement, both in peace and warre, for hee made a cruell inuasion vpon the *Moores*, being euermore very liberall to his Souldiers. Among other most notable matters, hee leuied a great Army, which he conducted into the Isle of *Maiorica*, that then was in the *Moores* possession, where hee fought many stout battailes. But after he had a long while besiedged the City, he won it in the ende, and likewise other neighbouring Islands beside. Then comming into hiskingdome of the *Moores*, especially to the City of *Carthage*, hee proued still the Conqueror, and neuer fayled in any of his attempts.

He had many children, as well sonnes as daughters, on whom (during his life time) he bestowed great gifts and goodly estates. *Don Peter*, that afterwad was King of *Arragon*, was his Sonne. Likewise *Don James*, King of *Maiorica* and *Minorica*. He had another that was Archbishop of *Tolledo*. Madame *Tollant*, who was Queene of *Castile*; and Madame *Isabell*, that was Queene of *France*; and Madame *Vrragua*, who was married to *Don Emanuell*, Prince of *Castile*; and *Don Peter*, who espoused the daughter vnto the King of *Navarre*. He liued seuentie and two yeares, and dyed religiously, taking on him (before his death) the habite of a Monke. For he had a greuous disease, which made him renounce his royall Scepter, with deliberate purpose, that if he might recouer his health againe, hee would imploy the rest of his dayes in the

seruice of God. But weaknesse encreasing more and more vpon him, he dyed in the City of *Valencia*, Anno 1266. and at the beginning of the Moneth of August.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*Of an ancient and memorable Custome, obserued by the Inhabitants of the Prouince of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince: and how cruell their punishment is to Theeues.*



*D*ope *Pius* the second of that name, who was a man of great learning, & a diligent inquisition for the truth of Histories, as wee haue in many places formerly

alleged, saith in his description of the world; that the Prouince of *Carinthia*, is enclosed within the territory, and vnder the government of *Austria*. Hee likewise relateth a custome, which the Inhabitants of that Prouince haue anciently obserued, at the election and Coronation of their Princes; appearing somewhat strange, yet honest and very commendable. VVhich custome is also confirmed by *A. Sabellicus*, in his tenth Decade: and by *Sebastian Munster*, in his composed *Cosmography*, which is after this manner.

In this Prouince of *Carinthia*, there is a very great and spacious plaine of olde ruined buildings, which seeme to bee the foundation of some former auncient City.

In which place also there is a great stone, and when obeysance is to be giuen at the new creation of a Prince; there is a day appointed, and a country labourer, or meane husbandman (allowed to this preheminance in regard of his lineage) hath order to seate himselfe vpon that same stone. On his right hand

strange manner of lighting the childe, by lighting of twelue Torches, tearmed the twelue apostles.

the vertuous qualities remaining in the Prince.

winning the Isle of Maiorica and the City of Carthage.

the issue depending from the King of Arragon, & his gracious good fortune.

King James became a Monke before his death

*Aeneas Sylvius in Cosmograph Mund lib. 3. cap. 7.*

*A. Sabellicus in Deca. Hist. Sebast. Munst. in Cosmogra.*

Preparation to the Princes election.

standeth a poore Cow, that hath lately calued, which hee holdeth fastened by a corde, and on his left hand standeth a very leane and wretched Mare, tyed in like manner, and round about him is no meane crowd of labourers and country Boores. In this place, and at this Stone, the Prince that is to be enstalled, must make his apparance, attended with a great number of men on horse-backe, ryding in very formall order, with twelue Banners borne before him: among which there is one more large and sightly then all the rest, carried by an Earle, thereto admitted by especiall priuiledge.

The Arch-Duke, Prince or great Lord howsoeuer ye meane to tearme him, clothed in a Shepheards habite, commeth to the Stone wheron the poore man sitteth, & as he perceiueth him to approach somewhat neere, hee demandeth with a loud voyce, what he is, that commeth towards him with such glory and felicity? Answer is instantly made him, that it is the man, who commeth to bee created Prince of the Country. Then as it were with a voyce like thunder, the labourer cryeth out. Is he a iust Iudge? Will he wel maintaine iustice? Will hee preserue the defence and safety of this Country? Is hee a man franke, and free-borne? Is he valiant, vertuous, and worthy of honour and reuerence? Is he a Christian? Is hee a Defender of the faith of Iesus Christ? And all the company maketh answer, that he is such a man, and will so continue. Then he beginneth againe, and maketh another demand. By what right or reason cometh he to dispossesse me of this place, which belongeth onely to me? To which question, the Earle that beareth the cheefest Standard, replyeth thus. If thou wilt quit and forsake this place, threescore Ducates of gold shall be frankly giuen thee, & this Cow, as also this Mare shall both be thine owne, beside the rich Robe, which our King did last of all put off, shall also be thine: moreouer, thou and thy family shall bee free, from paying any manner of tribute. After these words, the Prince approacheth neere to the Stone, & the poore man giueth him a gentle blow on the cheeke, commanding him (in any case) to be a good Iusticer: & so descending from the Stone, he leadeth along with him the Cow and Mare, and departeth.

Then the Prince dismounting from his horse, ascendeth vp, and sitteth vpon the stone, where drawing forth his Sword, and turning to each side of the stone, still flourishig the weapon round about him; hee maketh a solemne promise before all the people, vttering the words as loud as he can speake, that he will be a iust Iudge, and a good Prince. This done, one bringeth him (in a Shepheards bonnet) a small quantity of water to drinke: and so descending from the stone, hee re-mounteth on horsebacke, and rydeth on to a Church with all his company, there to heare Masse. Which being finished, hee changeth his former plaine and rurall garments, to very Royall and Princely habites: and after a pompeous Dinner with his whole train, he returneth againe into the open felde, where hee heareth all the Officers of Iustice speake vnto him, to enstruct him in the lawes of the Country: and these are the vsuall ceremonies, obserued at the creation of euery Prince.

There is another custome in vse among these people, for the punishment of thefts and robberies; which I hold to be vniust, and ouer-cruell, especially to bee vsed among Christians. For hauing but some note or apprehension onely, that such a man standeth in repute to be a theefe; they forthwith send him to execution, without any other proceeding against him. Then three dayes after his death, they examine the witnessses with all care and diligence; when if it shall appeare by solemne inquisition, that he proueth to be guilty of the crimes alledged; they suffer him to hang vpon the Gibbet, vntill his limbes fall peecemeale from him. But if he be found to be innocent, they take him thence, and giue him honourable obsequies and funerall, with many prayers and almes-deeds, for the saluation of his soule.

With this seuerity doe they chastise theeues and robbers, neuertheless. I read of some other Nations, that greatly haue supported and countenanced them therein. As the *Egyptians*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* writeth in his *Attick nights*. And the *Lacedomians* likewise, who permitted their children to bee theeues, and learne climbing in at windowes, and wandring abroad in the night season, that they might be the more bolde and hardy for warre. Notwithstanding, *Draco*, hee that gaue

Lawes

The manner of the Princes comming to his election.

The Princes being at the Stone before him that must elect him.

The severall questions of the poore husbandman.

The Earle that carrieth the cheefest Standard, his answer to the poore man.

The Prince created with a boxe on the eare.

The Prince mounteth on the Stone.

The Princes promise before all the people.

The Prince changeth his humble garments.

A cruell custome, for punishment of theeues robbers, too barbarous among Christians.

A poore recompence the losse of mans life reputation

*Aul. Gellius. No. 11. Attic*

Deo his se-  
uc: Law a-  
gast all mā-  
n of thefts,  
at Solons  
mitigation  
th cof.

A what time  
of hanging  
oneeues  
w first or-  
ded.

Man are na-  
tally defi-  
ro to know  
things  
wilocuer.

The benefi-  
of contempla-  
ce and study  
high and  
dicule mar-  
ce.

Lawes vnto the *Athenians*, made one among the rest; wherein he commanded, that euery kinde of theft should bee punished with the penalty of death. In regard whereof, *Solon* saide, that hee had written that Law with blood, which made him (afterward) to allay and mitigate it. The custome which yet to this day is obserued for hanging of theeues, was first of all appointed by the Emperour *Fredericke*, the third of that name; according as *Lodowicus Viues*, that learned man in all Artes and Sciences, writeth in the third Booke of his Disciplines.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*In what part of the Zodiaque the Sunne and Moone, and likewise the other Planets were, at their first creating. Also of the beginning of yeares, and the course of times.*



HE learned Philosophers say, that men are naturally curious & couetous of knowledge. Moreouer, such is the zeale of their affection in this case, and

the bent of humane vnderstanding so full of strange questionings, as they cannot content themselves to know such things as they may with some ease comprehend onely: but ouer and beside, they are scrutinous and searching (through bold presumption) to know such causes as are very hard, and almost impossible. Nor hath this painefull desire beene altogether fruitlesse and vaine, though many times it fayled, and came farre short of expectation: because by contemplation and continuall study, they haue found out such matters, as seemed before vtterly impossible and supernaturall, or that they should any way be attained vnto by the capacity of men. As namely, the motions of the Heauens; the course of the Planets and other Starres, with their seuerall influences and power, and the like things beside: a-

mong which is comprized my present intended argument, and what in this Chapter I purposed to discourse on, to wit, how to know the beginning of times & yeares; and on what day the world began, or to speake better; when, or in what season God created the world; when began the yeare and times; and where was the Sun; or where God placed it at first, when hee began his course; & likewise the Moone, with the other Starres and Planets.

*Aristotle* did little care for these questions, and infinite other Philosophers beside, who thorow defect of the light of faith, did verily beleue, that the world was eternall, without any beginning or ending. But such as haue declared themselves not to be ignorant in these things, but verily beleued the beginning of times, seeme to stand diuided betweene two opinions. There are some among them, who say, that in the instant when the world was created, the Sunne was found to be in the first point of *Aries*, or the Ramme, which is in the Equinoctiall of Summer, the time comming then to the eleuenth day of March. Others say, that the world began, the Sunne then being in the first point of *Libra*, or the Balances, which is the other Equinoctiall of Winter, commonly happening in these our dayes, on the thirteenth or foureteenth day of September. Of this opinion were diuers *Egyptians*, *Arabes*, and *Greekes* likewise; according as *Lincolmensis* reporteth, in a Treatise of the world, which he wrote to Pope *Clement*; & *Vincencius* in his historicall Mirrour.

Such as haue followed this opinion, alledge a reason for it, which (in my iudgment) is very weake, and of no force. For they say, that then the principall fruites of the earth were fully ripe, and in the very best of their saour; because it was most requisite, that (at the beginning) the earth should present it selfe in the height of perfection. To this purpose, they produce authority out of Deuteronomy, where it is said; *That God made all things perfect and compleate*. There are some others, who affirme, that the entrance of times, and of yeares, was on the very greatest day of all other; which was then, when the Sunne entred into the signe of *Cancer*, as now it is the eleuenth or twelfth day of Iune. *Iulius Firmicus*, an

The Authors purpose in his Chapter.

Curious questions, yet couetued to be knowne.

Aristotle and the other Philosophers opinion of the world.

Two opinions concerning the Sun and Moone at the worlds creation. Equinoctium vernale.

Equinoctium Autumnale.

Lincoln, in Tract. Mund. Vincent, in Mir. Historiale.

A reason alledged for the earths perfection at the beginning.

Deut. 32. 3.

The entrance of times and yeares.

*Iul. Firmicus  
in lib. 3. de  
creat. Mund.*

The signe Leo  
the house of  
the Sunne.

The most pro-  
bable opinion  
of all other.

*S. Hierome.  
S. Ambrose.  
S. Basile.*

The full agree-  
ment of all  
together.

On what day  
was the passi-  
on of our ble-  
ssed Sauour.

Concerning  
the first Mo-  
neth of the  
yeare.

\* Containing  
part of March  
and part of  
Aprill.

*Vincent. in  
Mir. Hist. cap. 1.*

*Elpac. in Tract.  
Astrol.*

ancient Author, and of great authority in Astrologye, in the beginning of his third Booke, which he wrote of the worlds creation, saith: *That when the world began, the Sunne was in the first degree of the signe Leo;* which is the signe wherein hee hath most dominion, because it is called the house of the Sunne: the like he saith, in discouering the other Planets, by their order and degrees.

But that which rellisheth of most reason in all these opinions, and appeareth most conformable to truth, is; that when both time and the heauens began to be mooued; the Sun was in the first point of Aries, which is (with vs) in March, and at which time is the entrance of Summer. This is affirmed (beside all other reasons that we can alledge) by the greater part of Historians, as well Christians as Heathens; among whom are *S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, S. Basile,* and others, who doe all maintaine, that the beginning of the world, and likewise of the yeare, was in the Equinoctiall of our Summer. And although there may appeare some difference among them, because some will haue the worlds begining to be in March, and others in Aprill: it may well be endured, for they all agree together, that it was in the Equinoctiall, which now is in March. Notwithstanding, as we haue formerly affirmed, the Equinoctiall is not alwaies firme or constant: for Iesus Christ suffered his passion on the siue and twentieth day of March, which was then the Equinoctiall, and now it is the eleuenth day of the same Moneth, whereby may well be presumed, that heeretofore it was in Aprill.

For this cause, some would haue Aprill to be the first Moneth, and others March; yet notwithstanding, they all say, that whē the Sun enters into the first point or degree of Aries, then is the Equinoctiall. This opinion is grounded on the Scripture, especially on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, where it is said: *The Moneth \* Nisan* (which is March with vs) *is the entrance to your yeare.* *Vincentius*, in the beginning of his historicall Mirrour, saith: *The Hebrewes began their yeare in March, because in the like Moneth was the Equinoctiall, when as the world began.* This opinion was likewise helde by some of the Gentiles; as *Elpacus* in his Astrologall

Treatise, where he saith: *The Chaldeans being very great Astrologers, beleened likewise, that on the first day when the world was made, the Sunne entred into the first point or degree of Aries:* and this is also confidently maintained, by the most part of Astrologers, both ancient and moderne. Therefore when the Sunne came in his course thither, or to that Signe; then was the beginning of the yeare, and thence ensued the principall or beginning day. For it is a matter most manifest, that the first day wherein the world began to be made, was also made the first day of the yeare: considering, that till then, there was neyther time nor yeare. And therefore the signe of Aries is reckoned (aboue all the rest) to be the first in order among the twelue signes.

Now, as when we come to iudge of the reuolution of yeares, and things to happē therein, as of necessity we must equal the figures, by the beginning of the world; euen so it is as easie to prooue, that God placed the Sunne in the first degree of this signe, at the beginning and creation of the world. And this may be coniectured without any great labor, by our profe made in the sixth Chapter of the seventh Book, in our first Volume, where discoursing on the time and day, when as our blessed Lord and Sauour suffered; it is affirmed, that the Sunne was in the selfsame at the creation, as it was when the great Sunne of righteousnesse made the regeneration of the world, suffering death and passion in humane flesh, and that happened (as is formerly saide) in the Equinoctiall of Summer, which is an argument and presupposition, that euen so hee placed it, when as he created it.

Moreouer, it appeareth very credible, that it was so made, because such as know any thing in Astrologye, and in the Sphere, do well perceiue, that the Sunne entring into the degree of this signe, and making his reuolution by the space of a whole day: there is not any part of the world, which he leaueth vnlookt on with his bright splendour. And this he doth not in any other place of the Zodiaque, because in what place else soeuer hee is; there are some parts of the earth where he is not scene that day; but beeing in this first degree, as we haue saide, there is no place where he is vnscene, as hee walketh along

Concerning  
the beginning  
of the year.  
what Moneth  
and on what  
day.

Aries the first  
in order a-  
mong the  
signes.

Of the time  
and day when  
as Christ  
suffered his  
passion, compar-  
ed with the  
day of the  
worlds crea-  
tion.

At what  
time the Sunne  
luminate the  
world  
together, with  
the clear  
diance of  
beames.

Reason al-  
lged of  
God conse-  
quence for  
the Sunnes  
appea-  
re.

gainst such  
maintaine  
the worlds  
beginning in  
the Equino-  
ctiall of winter

what time  
the begin-  
ning of the  
Spring.

the Ro-  
me yeare,  
beginning the  
first day of  
Iuany.

Ar. Varro in  
lib.  
Macrob. in lib.  
in Fast.

The first sea-  
son that Adā  
saw  
the world  
the  
Spring time.

along in his diurnal course, or dayes iour-  
ney. And it standeth with good reason  
and conueniency, that the first day of the  
Sunnes setting foorth on prograce, hee  
should begin in such a place, where hee  
may best visite the whole world with his  
beames. And that it should bee in the  
signe Aries, rather then in that of Libra,  
appeareth plainly by our former relation,  
that on the day of our Lords passion, the  
Sunne was in the selfe-same place, there-  
fore there is some particular power in  
this signe.

Holding this opinion then for the  
most certaine, I say, that the reason alled-  
ged, by such as would haue the beginning  
of the world, to bee in the Equinoctiall of  
September, is very weake. For it is not  
sufficient to say, that all the fruites were  
ripe and mellow; in regard it is no vni-  
uersall rule: for when the fruites are ripe-  
ned towards the Northerne latitude, they  
are not so in the South, but wholly quite  
contrary. And therefore I craue no helpe  
of their reason, who say, that the Equino-  
ctiall of March (already prooued) is the  
beginning of the Spring-time, & of flower-  
s ouer all the earth, all things beeing the  
in procreation; for if with vs it be the be-  
ginning of Spring-time, it is then winter  
in the Southerne parts. Let our reasons  
then suffice, & the authority of such wor-  
thy men, to cleare all other doubt or scrup-  
le; although the Romane yeare, now in  
vse, seemeth to begin the first day of Ia-  
nuary: for this matter came so to passe,  
onely through the superstitious deuotion,  
which the Gentiles had to their God *Ia-  
nuus*, coueting to haue their yeare beginne  
with his name, as the Christians began  
theirs with the Natiuity of Iesus Christ,  
albeit the yeare doth not then begin.

The Romanes (in like manner) be-  
gan their yeare in March, according as  
*Marcus Varro* writeth, and *Macrobius* in  
his first Booke, *Quid* in his *Fasts*, and ma-  
ny more beside. Also God shewed his  
immense goodnesse, in placing our first  
Parents *Adam* and *Eue*, in the Northerne  
parts of the earth, when he banished them  
out of the terrestriall Paradise; & that the  
first season which they saw in this world,  
was the Spring-time, finding the earth to  
be greene & flowry, with the ayre milde,  
sweete and temperate, which was done  
for the consolation of their misery and

nakednesse, and so they could not haue  
found it, if it had not beene Spring-time.

This matter being sufficiently proou-  
ed, wee must know that there are other  
Planets, and especially the Moone, as be-  
ing one of the principall, whom some do  
maintaine, to be set by God in coniuncti-  
on with the Sunne, on the first day of her  
creation. Others say, that she was in op-  
position, and at the full. *Saint Augustine*  
reporteth these two opinions, in his booke  
vpon Genesis, the fift Chapter, saying fur-  
ther, that such as maintaine her to bee in  
opposition, and at the full; do alledge for  
their reason; that it was very inconueni-  
ent, that at her beginning, God should  
create her any way defectuous. Others  
vrdege the contrary, and say it is more cre-  
dible; that she began her first day in con-  
iunction, encreasing in her age answerable  
to our account. But to quiet this  
controuerfie, I say (in mine opinion) that  
God at such time as he created her, made  
her at full, and in opposition of the Sun.  
And it seemeth, that this iudgement is  
the most receiued, as of *S. Augustine*, in  
the place before alledged, and *Rabanus*  
on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, saith  
the very same. This appeareth conformable  
to holy Scripture, where it is saide:  
*God made two great lights, the greater light  
to gouerne the day, and the lesser light to illu-  
minate the night.* Now in the very same  
instant as the Sunne began his light, hee  
gaue splendour to the moiety of the world,  
because in that moiety or halfe part, hee  
made day. But the other moiety could  
haue no light of the Sunne, by reason of  
the earths shadow; therefore it seemeth  
consonant to reason, that in the other  
moiety of the earth, where it was night, the  
Moone should extend her office of shin-  
ing. For like as they were both created  
at one instant; so should they both fulfill  
their offices in one and the same instant,  
and the one to gouerne the day, as the o-  
ther the night, according to the words of  
the Text, veriefied apparantly, that the  
world was wholly lightened at one & the  
same time.

Contrariwise, if the Moone had bene  
in conjunction, the light common and v-  
niuersall could not haue come till fiftene  
dayes after; and beside, three or foure  
dayes must needs haue passed, before she  
could lend any light to the earth, and that  
must

Of the Moon  
said to be in  
coniunction  
with the Sun  
at her creati-  
on.

Aug. in Gen.  
cap. 5.

Others hold  
her to be in  
opposition.

The Authors  
iudgement in  
this case.

Rabanus in Ex-  
od. cap. 12.

Gen. 1. 16.

The seuerall  
Offices of the  
Sunne and  
Moone for  
night & day,  
to be both  
done at one  
instant.

Against the  
coniunction  
of the Moone  
with the Sun  
at that time.

Of her then being in opposition with the Sunne.

Macrob. in lib. x de Somn. Scip.

Inl. Firmic. in lib. 2. de creat. Mund.

Elpacus in Tract. Astrolog. Ioan. Agrican. in Sum. Agric. Macrob. in lib. de Som. Scip.

Gault. in lib. de Mund. cap. 5.

The Planets not then in conjunction with the Sun.

must be but very little too, euen as when we see her to be but four or five daies old. Therefore it was very conuenable, that these two famous lights should illuminate the earth at one instant. I say moreover, that the Moone then being in opposition with the Sunne, shee must needs haue her being on the other side of the signe *Libra*, for in her so being, she performd the same day the effects as the Sunne did, illuminating all the world, by her measurable pace of that dayes iourney; which else she could not haue done, if she had bin in any other place of the Zodiaque. Heereby it appeareth, that this opinion is the most likely; although *Iulius Firmicus* will needs say, that the Moone (at the time of her creation) had her first seating in the fifteenth degree of the signe *Cancer*, where shee affecteth most to be; & of this opiniõ is *Macrobius*, in his first Booke of *Scipios* dreame. As for the other Planets, it is very difficult to certifie them, and lesse profitable to know them: in which respect, I am willing to bestow the lesse paines on them. Neuerthelesse, *Iulius Firmicus*, in his second Booke before alledged, is so bold as to name the places where each of them is seated, saying: *Saturne* should be in the signe *Capricorne*; *Iupiter* in *Sagittarius*; *Mars* in *Scorpio*; *Venus* in *Libra*; & *Mars* in *Virgo*; which are the signes wherein they haue most power, and being signes likewise appointed to these Planets. *Elpacus* himselfe maintayneth as much, according as *Ioannes Agricanus* declareth in his Summary, entituled *Agricano*; with *Macrobius* in his fore-named Booke of *Somno Scipionis*, and thereunto consenteth *Iulius Firmicus*, naming expressly the same signs, yet there are others, who haue thought, that in the recited instant, all the Planets were found to be in conjunction with the Sunne. *Gaultierus* the Monke, in his booke of the Ages of the world, saith, that the ancient *Indians* held firmly this opinion. As for my selfe, I am of the minde, that God did then set the Planets in such distant places, one from another, especially from the Sunne; that on such a chosen day, each one of them might illuminate the earth with his beames. VVhich could not be, they beeing in conjunction with the Sunne, because his presence, within any certaine space or proportion, so hindereth the greatest luster of their light, that

they cannot be discerned on the earth. Notwithstanding, beeing created according to the will of God; *It sufficeth* (saith *Augustine*) *that they were made, in being perfected by the hand of God, whose workes (in what kinde soeuer they be) are perfect.*

Aug. in Gen. cap. 6.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*That men may learne examples by Birdes, Flyes, Wormes, and other Creatures, to leade the course of a vertuous life.*

WE haue already declared in our first Volume, how Beasts & Birds haue instructed men in a great part of the properties appertaining to Physicke, by purging and preseruing themselves from harmes: now I am briefly to entreate, how their example may be profitable to vs, both in body and soule. And vndoubtedly, whosoever wil consider & contemplate, on the nature & properties abiding in beasts; shall not onely thence deriue good instructions for life and safety of our humane bodies; but rules and examples beside, of good, commendable, and vertuous manners. VVhy do not men strue to purchase peace with their neighbours; seeing what concord and amity is among Beasts of all kindes, and how they keepe company, vnite themselves together in each kinde, and stand defensiu one for another? VVhy shame they not to be slothfull and negligent, perceiuing & obseruing the care and sollicitude of the Ant, and after what manner shee maketh her prouision in Summer for VVinter? VVhat vassals and subiects are they, that will not serue and honor their good Princes; noting with what loue and obedience poore little Bees serue and honour their King, and that which they doe for him beside? In which respect, such Commonweales as haue no Prince, but enioy all things in common; may not they learne an example of liuing in peace and concord, by imitation of the poore Ants, who are so great in multitude, and yet preserue an order of peace & iustice among themselves? And why do not great Lords and Princes consider, what manufacture and clemency all of them are obliged vnto; when

In the fifth Chapter of the 7. Booke

Concord and amity among brute beasts exemplified in men.

Slothfull and negligent reproved by the Ant.

Loue & duty to Princes taught by Bees.

Against common weales that haue no Prince.

Of clemency and manufacture.

when they but behold the King of Bees, who doth no offence, neyther worketh any displeasure to the very meanest and silliest of his Subjects?

Our great Seigniors and high-minded men, may learne humility of the Camell, who fallerth on his knees, to accept a heavy and ouer-chargeable burden. True and loyall married couples, may take example by the good custome among some Birds: especially Pigeons and Turtle-Doues, noting both in the Male and Female, that nothing but death can impeach their continuall companying, or hinder eyther from their first choysle. I finde written moreouer, concerning Turtle-Doues, that the one dying, the other remaineth in the condition of a widdow, & finisheth the remainder of her life in widdowhood. Saint *Ambrose* writeth, that widdowed women may learne chastity of the Turtle-Doue. As touching continency, all beasts (well neere) do lesion vs therein: for after the Female hath conceiued, she neuer seeketh, or hath any appetite to the Male, till her full time be determined. They are likewise examples of temprance in all vices; because they eat no more then sufficeth to maintaine life, neyther sleepe they any more then necessity requireth.

To keepe our selues well and discreetly gouerned, the Peacoke may be our direction. For defence and maintenance of our houses, as also to liue liberally among our people; what better enstrueter can we haue then the Cock? For he will part with the food out of his owne Beake, to giue it to his Hens, and when need requireth, he will expose himselfe to all perils in their defence. The great obligation, wherein children standeth bound to their Parents, and how they ought to serue and assift them, the Storke plainly witnesseth; by nourishing their aged Parents in their owne nests, as they fedde and maintayned them in their youth. Why should not men blush and be ashamed, to commit frailty and sinne through feare, knowing the inuincible courage of the Lyon? Faithfulnessse, friendship, and acknowledgement of receiued benefits, wee are notably taught by the meere behauiour of Dogs; that neuer forget the Masters they haue serued, but continually loue them, neuer ceasing to bee thankfull for

the poorest bread they eat. If a man would benefit himselfe by the vse of another mans goods, yet without any harme or iniury done him; let him so carry himself in that case, as doth the little laboring Bee, who draweth hony out of the fairest flowers, and yet no wrong at all done to them.

What meanes and order we should daily obserue, for healthfull conseruation of our liues, we are not to learne it of any one beast onely, but of many, that know what food doth soonest offend them, as also in with-drawing from one place to another, according to the mutation of times. Moreouer, they will liue in such soyles, as are answerable to their complexions and natures: excelling men herein as well as in all other things beside. Why should not men be absolutely learned, and ignorance in any thing quite removed from them, being endued with hearing and vnderstanding: considering that an Elephant learneth whatsoever is shewne and taught him; a Dog attaineth to many familiar qualities; and Birds can speake, being thereto enstrueted? He that heareth the Nightingales sweet Songs, and some other mellodious Birds; how can he but desire to sing musically? Why couet not men to be excellent builders, beholding the Swallows skilfull enstru-ction; what arte shee declareth for her owne dwelling, and with what diuersity of matter it is composed? What better Geometry, then that of the Spider? What better Astrologye, then that of the Ante, & likewise of a Fish (according to *Galen*) called \**Vranoscopus*, that hauing but one eye, yet lookes continually vp to heauen? Haue men reason and iudgement, and yet are meere ignorant in these Artes?

How many other industrious and excellent perfections are in brute Beasts, which men either haue, or else may learne of them? Passages vnder ground, making of Caues in the earth, and knowledge how to dwell in them; came they not first from the Mole and Fox? There are certaine little VVormes, in Latine called *Seres*, that enstrueted the meanes and manner to spin and make Silke. Next, the Spider taught how to spin thred for cloth, & so to make Nets, whereby to catch Birds. Men learned of Beasts to swim in the water, for there is no one of them but can do

Benefit receiued without preiudice.

Healthfull preferuation of life.

Absolute learning and vnderstanding.

Skill in Musique.

Arte in building.

Geometry.

Astrologye.

*Galen in lib. 4*

\* A Fish whose eye is alwayes directed vpward.

Dwelling vnder ground.

Making of Silke.

Making of cloth. Catching of Birds. Swimming in the water.

Humility and vlinesse of kinde.

Healthfull loue marriage, instructed by Bees and Turtle-Doues

*Ambrosius in de Nupt.*

Continency ought (al-though) by all kinde of Beasts.

Examples of Temperance.

Good order in behauiour. Good and liberal house keeping.

Duty in children towards their parents.

One committed through feare and cowardly.

Healthfulnessse, friendship, & good turnes receiued.

Rules for phisick, & knowledge in weather.

Our wearing garments and food.

The chiefest support of our liues.

Examples concerning the soule.

All moral Parables grounded on beasts.

Beasts commended to vs in holy Scripture, for our imitation.

Reasonable men instructed by example of brute beasts.

August. in lib. sup. Ioan. cap. 2.

it; yet men cannot attaine thereto, but by practise and learning. What Physicall rules they haue taught men, and knowledge in the changes of weather, hath else where bene handled; and yet notwithstanding we make such prouision of them; for supply of hunger and other necessities, as I know not how wee could liue without their helpe. Our garments are made of theirs, and their flesh is our best Foode: both being brought home to vs from far remote countreyes, and whatsoever is needfull for vs, or else we send abroad to seeke after them. They labour, and make the earth plyable for our vse; whence we get our bread; and the best fruites of sustentation, so that they are the principall maintenance of our liues. And although they are sore laboured, pursued, and euill entreated by the spleenes of men: yet are they still obedient, both knowing, following, and euermore dooing them seruice.

Come wee now to examples concerning the soule, as a matter of higher Argument, and much greater importance. Whence can a man deriue more worthie examples, both for vertues and good manners meete to bee in men, then from beasts? All those Vertues which naturall Philosophers hath perswaded vnto vs, are grounded on the similitudes and parables of Beasts: Oratours serued their turnes with them; and all that haue spoken or written elegantly.

God and his Saints haue oftentimes in sacred Scripture, instructed and perswaded vs, by the properties & conditions of beasts, for the perfection of our liues: And the rules of vertue and ciuil manners do tell vs, that we should be wise like Serpents, and simple as Doves; milde, like Lambes, and strong and constant as Lyons. In like sort, by the example of brute beasts, and voide of reason; we are taught to become men reasonable, and spiritually affected. We finde many Offices & estates in the Church, applyed and figured by beastes, and according vnto their properties. By Oxen (according to S. Augustine, writing on the second Chapter of S. Iohn) such men are signified, as doe publish and preach the holye Scriptures: for they till and plough vpp the knotted furrowes of our soules, sowing therein the seedes of Gods most glorious

word.

Saint Paule, and Salomon in his Proverbes doeth say; *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Oxe that laboureth*, Rom. 9. verse 7. Prouerb. 12. chap. 14. The holy Doctors and Preachers of the Church, that with Doctrine and good Lawes doe gouerne and defend it, are termed Dogs. Saint Gregorie speaks it on the wordes of *Job: Quorum non dignabar patres ponere cum canibus gregis mei.* The same Saint Gregorie, inuitheth men vnto a contemplatiue kinde of life, by the imitation of Goates, that alwayes climbe vp to high places, spending there their time in contemplation as it were: the wordes in *Leuiticus* seem his motiue thereto, *Leuitic. chapt. 14. verse 12. Out of the Herd let the Goate be offered.*

Moreouer hee sayth, that Preachers should immitate the Cocke; as grounding on the words of *Job*, who sayde; *Who hath giuen vnderstanding to the Cock?* Adding withall, that (like vnto the Cocke) they proclaime (in the dimme darkenesse of this life) the glorious light that is to come, and awake vs with their shrill voyces, out of sleepey sinnes, saying vwith S. Paul, *The night is past and day approacheth.* And againe, *It is time for vs to arise from sleepe, looke abroad yee iust, and sinne not.* Phil. 1, 12.

The Church her selfe, pure, holy, and immaculate, is compared to a Dove; as Salomon declareth in his Canticles, saying. *Beholde, thou art faire my Loue, thine eyes are like the Doves.* And againe in another place: *O my Loue, O my Dove.* We see likewise; that of the foure Euangelists three are figured by three beastes. If I wold continue longer on this argument, I could finde matter enough to discourse on. But about all other, that of our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, is the most notable, who would bee figured by a Beast, as Saint Iohn speaketh in his Apocalypse, chapt. 7. verse 14. *The Lyon of the Tribe of Iudah hath bene victorious.* And David sayeth in his Psalmes, *Rouze thee like a Lyon:* and so in many other places, which were too long to rehearse. Beside, in S. Mathew, he tearmeth himselfe a Hen, saying; *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, how often would I haue gathered thee & thy children together, as the Hen gathereth hir Chickens vnder her wings, and ye would not.*

Seeing

Gregor. in lib. 13. de Moral.

Contemplatiue kinde of life.

Gregor. in Libi supra.

Preachers compared to the Cocke.

Ephes. 3, 9.

The Church resembled a Dove.

Cant. 3, 1.

Iesus Christ figured by beast.

Psalme 12.

Math. 23.

Christs workes compared to the operaties of beasts.

more of men do u worke aples to el then rd: beastes no.

eight of the lok in the rolume.

Cinguy the second Cie in the Kingdome of Maugy.

Seeing then, that Christ compareth his workes to the properties of Beastes; men may doe well to receiue instruction from them, in leading a good and holie life. And contrarywise, what shame and confusion is it to vs, to see and know, that all kinde of Beasts do follow theyr nature perfectly, and men (onely made reasonable) vse their owne so badly, abusing that super-excellent gift very vilely. For, he that ought most to honor God, doth most of all offend him, and fare beyonde all other creaturtes, dayly peruerting and adulterating his workes. So that there are some beastes, of whome men may learne much better examples, then from some kind of men among whom they liue. For they haue more apprehension of iustice, and offend farre lesse, then men that knowe what is their dutie, and yet do it not. And therefore, God deliuereth it by the mouth of the Prophet *Esay*: *The Oxe knoweth his Master, and the Ass his Cribbe; but Israel knoweth him not; neither will his people vnderstand him.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

*Of neglect in Martiall Discipline: and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues thorow drunkenesse, and want of following such courses, as are to be obserued in Military affayres.*

**W**E haue already declared, how *Bayan Chinsan*, Lieutenant to the Tartarian Emperer *Cublay*, and director of his Military forces, tooke 12 Cities and Townes (by assault) at his first arriual, for conquering the great Province of *Maugy*, before all the rest would yeeld themselues tributary. One of them was vtterly ruined to the very foundation and worse vsed then any other known to be, during the Empire of the said *Cublay*, which was aboue fixe and thirtie yeares. This City being called *Cinguinguy*, was the second in wealth, greatnesse, and multitude of inhabitants, in all the rich Kingdome of *Maugy*, and the reason why it was wholly ruined, followeth thus:

*Bayan Chinsan*, pursuing his Conquests, was much withstood by a strong Castle, builded vpon a small mountaine, very potent by naturall situation, and artificiall constructure. For therein continued a powerfull Garrison, that preuayled with great aduantages on his Army, passing along the foote of that Mountain: and this was the reason that he would proceed on no further, till hee had deriued some better correspondencie from the people of this Garrison. And yet he durst promise to himselfe, that (within some small distance of time) he should preuaile against them, as afterwarde it prooued true indeed.

In the meane while, and at the selfsame instant, the explorators or scoutes were come backe againe, which he had sent to surueigh the estate of *Cinguinguy*, who made knowne vnto him, that the people of the City appeared, to knowe nothing of his comming, neyther stood vpon any guard, or preparation to expect a besiedging. This was the cause (to the end hee might the better preuent them) that hee forthwith dispatched a Squadron of thirty thousand men, armed at the lightest, and very good soldiers, all of them being Christians (which came among the Tartarian Idolaters in open liberty, as the Iews haue done from all times of antiquity, and dayly yet doe) to possesse themselues of the Citie, and hinder the entrance of any succour, either by way of power or victuals, assuring them likewise, that he would follow them with all conuenient speede that might be.

This warlike band of Christians, made such speedy diligence, that (within three dayes) they arriued before the City, and lodged themselues on the Ditches side, before any in the City took notice thereof. They made the scalado in so many seuerall places, and disposed their Archers so conueniently, as no one durst peep out at any of the battlements, or else be seene vpon the wals. At length, the besiedged (imagining the army that had thus engirt the, was of far greater strength then it vs indeed) being ouercome with feare, rendered themselues to the discretion & mercy of the assaylants, to the end, they might finde the more humanity at their handes. The gates being set open, the Christians entred, taking vp their lodgings in seueral

A strong Castle resisteth Bayan's passage.

Return of his scoutes from Cinguinguy.

The command that Bayan gaue to his Squadron of Christians.

The Christians arriual before Cinguinguy

The men of Cinguinguy yeeld to the Christians.

rall houses. And these indiscreete conquerors, without any other care of military discipline, finding the City well furnished with victuals of all kindes, & whatsoever was needfull for the life of man; but (about all) plenty of rich wines; fell to making themselves good cheere, and drinking hard, after the German manner, till they fell asleepe with the pots in their hands.

Heereupon the Inhabitants finding themselves deceiued, in yeelding to so smal a number of people, that had no better vnderstanding in actions of warre, neither knew how to vse the fortune so fairely befallne them; began to consult heereon with themselves, and how to worke their deliuerance with as much speed, as they were ouer-hasty in losing their liberty. The Christians continuing in this drunken behauiour, without any feare at all of the Inhabitants, that lodged the Soldiers in their houses, though not halfe so many as they were able to receiue: in one night it was fully concluded, that euery host should kill his guest, and so it was accordingly performed. Afterward, they threw their bodies into the great Riuer, which runneth through the midst of the City, saying: These are the renegadots and faith-breakers, men of Christian Religion, of whom the Emperour *Cublay* made no great account; but suffered them to carry crosses in their Ensigns, to shame them the more in their least ill demeanour.

*Bayan Chinsan* hauing surprized the foresaid castle, commanded the Captains to be hanged, and the castle quite ruined; but pardoned all the Soldiours, iourneying afterward on to *Cinguinguy*: but within lesse then two dayes iourney, hee heard how all his men were slaine, therefore hee brought a strong sledge before the City. The Inhabitants were not a little amazed, beholding so powerfull an Army to beset them, and conducted by a man so highly renowned: and therefore desired to haue a Parlee before any farther proceeding, which accordingly was granted. The summe of the Oration propounded by the Deputies, was thus. That they could not deny a manifest truth, but that they had slaine a number of runnagates, masterlesse men, seeming to haue no faith or honesty, neither shewing any open ap-

parance of their power; but suddenly surprized their City. Moreouer, that they were all Christians, more addicted vnto wine and gourmandizing, then any respect of valour or manhood: in which regard, his losse was little or none at all, by the deserued ouerthrow of such carelesse people, and they humbly desired pardon, if in this case they had transgressed.

*Bayan* returned his answer brauely and succinctly, saying. His men were warriors, that had no other direction in this businesse, but commaund from his mouth onely, and he had beene well informed, that they tooke the City by faire order of warre; without offending any one in their goods, or violence offered to wiues or mayds, or disarming any Inhabitant, but suffering them to continue in their wonted liberty. And in being Christians, they did not therefore deserue death, because he could as well tolerate them, as his Master the Emperour, who not onely suffered them to liue in all his Countries, without the least iniury done vnto them; but hauing conquered kingdomes, wholly Christian, he neuer inuouated any matter touching their Religion. Moreouer, the greater part of Officers in his Court, and the very worthiest of his warriors, were all Christians, being men more faithful, and of better conuersation, then any other Religion whatsoever.

As for their neglect in martiall discipline, he did not allow it in them, but confessed, that they deserued death therein, which (doubtlesse) himselfe would haue inflicted on them; condemning them for beeing so forward, in executing any authority belonging onely to him. For which boldnesse (with an absolute deniall of pardon or fauour) he vowed to be reuenged on the men of *Cinguinguy*; because (against all fidelity) they had slaine his men, and declared monstrous ingratitude for their extraordinary mansuetude, and thence hee pretended to deriue his reason.

Hauing thus spoken, hee would see them no more, but in this rough manner dismissed them. About an houre after, he caused his Rammes and other Engines of battery, to be mounted, for destruction of the walles and houses, and within few dayes after, tooke the City, with-

The carelesse neglect of Christians in their victory, continuing still in surfeit and drunkenness.

The Army of Christians slaine in their drunkenness, and shamefully vsed by the Inhabitants.

The strong Castle taken by Bayan, & tydings brought him of his mens slaughter.

A Parlee required before further proceeding, and answer returned by them of Cinguinguy.

Wine and gourmandizing more respected than manhood.

Bayans returned to the men Cinguinguy.

The Christians detest in their profession, an whole kingdomes conquered, permitted to enjoy the benefit of their religion.

Bayan desired pardon, yetting death bloody reuenge.

In what manner Bayan destroyed the City of Cinguinguy.

without any great resistance, putting all the men to the sword, that were about 14 yeares of age. Women and maides went whither themselves pleased; but for their children, they were sold at the Out-crie, to such as would giue the most mony for them: for there were certaine merchants of *Beugala*, which followed the army that did trafficke onely in such kinde of merchandise, and so do yet to this day. Afterward, vittailles beginning to faile, & the warlike enemy, hauing emptied the cittie of all the wealth; he commanded it to be set on fire, and that the Army should not boudge thence, vntil it were intirely consumed.

This City was seated on a goodly riuer, large and nauigable, whereby, the comerce which it made with other countries, returned infinite profit and wealth. In it was made the richest & fairest works wrought with the needle, both in cloth of golde and siluer, as no other City in the world beside had the like. There were also made sumptuous vessells (for all vses) both of gold and siluer, by most admirable cunning, and in great plenty: besides costly clothes of fine Cotten, gold, siluer and silke. In brieft, it was the second or third City (as then) in all those parts: which was thus destroyed, thorow the drunkennes of *Nestorian* Christians; and by the perfidy of the Inhabitants, euen as *Troyan Illium* by luxurie & whoredome, since when it was neuer rebuilded, or inhabited. The ruines thereof may bee seene to this day, whereat full many haue stood amazed, it being scituated in so potent a territory: but it was thought to proceed from the iust displeasure of God, and for the bloody massacre of so many Christians.

We may now come homeward, and nearer to our selues, and speake of the like faults, as were among these *Tartarian* Christians, thorow lacke of knowledge, how to make vse of victorie: As not long since was seene in *Fraunce*, in the first battaile giuen neere to *Dreux*, betweene the *French* Protestants and the *Catholiques*, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1562. vnder *Charles* the ninth. The Prince of *Conde*, being chief of those Protestants, ouerthrew with his horsemen (wherein he was strongest) a great part of the royall *Catholique* Armie,

whereof *Anne de Montmorancy*, Constable, was commanded, putting the *Zwitsers* to flight, and the sayde Constable taken prisoner. Heereupon the Protestants becomming insolent, and vterly vnmindfull of Militarie Discipline: left their rankes, brake their order, gaue the chase, pursuing after certayne runawayes, and, before they had fully conquered all their enemies; they beganne to gape after pillage with the *Swart-ritters* and *Launce-knights*. During this disorder, *Monsieur de Guise*, a most wise and valiant Captaine, hauing yet left him a band of braue men, beganne to set vpon those negligent fellowes with his troupes, and running on the Protestants (who imagined they had the whole victorie, which they knew not how to holde) got the better of them, and tooke their Leader the Prince of *Conde*, becomming sole maister of the field. Thus, not knowing how to vse Militarie Discipline, by breaking their rankes, following the chase, and scraping for pillage, when they had gotten the better of their enemies safe and soundly, yet not hauing wholly overcome them: did they not declare themselves very vnadvised, becomming guilty and well worthie of death? I am perswaded, that all good warriors are of that opinion. And so it happened, for thus the Protestant Armie was vterly foyled, which was (wellneare) equall in great Captaines and good men to the Royall. But such losse doth almost daily happen, where Military discipline is not obserued.

They that (at so cheape a rate) tooke the City of *Cinguinguy*, should haue disarmed the Cittizens, seized the strongest places into their owne power, planted Courts of guard in all the most frequented parts of the City, imprisoned the chiefest persons, expelled out of the City, a greater part of the youthfull and most forward men, if they would not kill them, without vsing such courtesie after conquest. In so doing, they had kept Martiall discipline on foote, and auoyded the losse of their owne liues, besides the reproach, to their great infamie. But ouer and aboue all the rest, they should (as much as in them lay) haue abstayned from wine: For there is not anie thing, that sooner bereaueth a

The fault of the Protestants in the battaile at Dreux.

The Duke of Guise a vertie worthy and tried warrior, ouerthrew the Protestants, and tooke the Prince of Cōde prisoner.

The Protestants Army vterly foyled.

What the Christians ought to haue done, vpon their victorie at Cinguinguy.

Wine most hurtful to any good Souldiour.

children sold at the Outcry, who gaue most.

The description of the situation of the city of Cinguinguy, and the commodities made therein.

Cinguinguy the second or third city in those parts.

A view of some disorders among our enemies.

good Souldiour of manly iudgement, and maketh him merely brutish in behaiour.

CHAP. XXXVII.

¶ *Of the miserable ends, and other strange trauerfes, endured by diuerse Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these times.*



According to the imitation of *Petrarke*, I am desirous to describe the vnhappie ends, and other aduerfities, happening vnto diuerse famous Christian Princes; as Kings, Emperours, Dukes, Popes, and other Prelates, liuing within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these dayes, some of them being familiarly knowne to vs; omitting such as the *Greekes* and *Latines* haue set downe in their writings, because I would not be troublesome to the Reader, by repeating Histories else-where to be read; (and perhappes) knowne to him before. And if it come to passe, that any worthie person, constituted in some eminent dignitie, chaunce to feele the sicklenesse of Fortune, by such occasions as shall ensue in this Chapter; let him take comfort, and forsake all sadnesse; for it is no meane consolation to the miserable, to haue store of companions ranked with them in their disasters.

We will begin then with a king of *Bohemia* named *George*, who liued in the yere 1466, who was reputed to be a man of great wisdome, and was elected (*in sede vacante*) or *inter-regnum* after the death of *Adislaus*, who died on the very day of his marriage, solemnized at *Prage*, the capitall cittie of his Kingdome, hauing taken in marriage *Madame Magdalen*, daughter to *Charles* the seauenth King of *Fraunce*. This *George* hauing obtayned the amitie of many in the Kingdome, and making himselfe much feared beyond many other; was installed King, and gaue his daughter in marriage, to *Mathias* King of *Hungarie*. In his elder yeres

*Ferdinand* King of the *Romaines*, brother to *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, possessed himselfe of his Kingdome, he holding then but a small portion thereof, because hee was molested many yeares before, by the Kings of *Poland*, *Hungaria*, and some Emperours, by the sollicitation of Pope *Paule*, the second; for sauouring of the *Husites* Doctrine, in which cause he was so vehemently afflicted, that it shortened his dayes. He dyed much bemoaned; for in his youth, and while his body held the strongest vigour, hee performed many notable and worthie exploits in warres against the *Turkes*.

Another Prince, some short while before, *Charles Bourgony*, Sonne vnto *Phillip*, one of the most potent and vndoubted Christian Princes, that was in those times, beeing in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand foure hundred and two and twenty. Hee vnderstoode himselfe to be so rich and mightie, that hee pretended to create himselfe a King. But *Fredericke* the third of that name, beeing then Emperour, would not admit such an aduancement of his Countrey. His father left him great store of coyne, and many large reuenues of diuerse Seigneuries: hauing lent foure hundred thousand crownes to *Charles* the seauenth, holding all the Townes and Countries, on, and about the riuier of *Somme*; as *Amiens*, *Abeuille*, *Saint Quintines*, and others beside. Hee held also (by way of mortgage) of *Sigismund*, Archduke of *Austria* in *Germany*, the lands to him belonging, both on this side, and beyond the Riuier of *Rheine*, and the Earledome of *Ferrat*, for three score and tenne thousand florins: whereby ensued, the Governour which he placed ouer those Lands, was the cause of diuerse mis-happes and ignominies, that followed vpon him very suddenly.

Moreouer, hee was Lord of foure-teen goodly Prouinces; as the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, the *French Court*, of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friseland*, *Henault*, *Artois*, *Namures*, *Gueldres*, *Luxembourg*, *Vtrecht*, and *Embourg*, all which Countries valewed well a large Kingdome.

And in regarde of his pompe and wealth

The Authour shapeth his course in this argument after *Petrarke*.

Adiuce to persons of honor and eminence

George King of Bohemia in Anno 1466.

King George one of the *Husites* religion.

Charles duk of *Bourgogne* ion to *Phillip*

400000. thousand crown lent to King *Charles* the seauenth.

The great and riches of *Charles* duk of *Bourgogne* with the feuerall lands that he was Lord of.

wealth, he became so proude, that hee durst vnder take the boldnesse (vpon some small suspition conceiued, that *Lewes* the eleuenth King of *Fraunce*, had intelligence with them of *Liege*, beeing then his enemies) to imprison the sayd King in the great Tower of *Peronne*, where they met both together, vnder the colour of friendly conference. And there he made him condiscend to follow him (like a water Spaniell) in the warres, which hee had against the Inhabitants of *Liege*, euen vntill hee had ruined theyr Townes, and all the Countrey: Heere seated *Edward* king of *England*, beeing expelled from his Kingdome; giuing him mony, and an armie by Sea, to bring it to passe.

Afterward, hee would needes coape in Armes with the Emperour, and (almost) all the Princes of *Germanie*: besieging the Towne of *Nuz* (which is not farre from *Coloigne*) for the space of a yeare, but all in vaine. Euery one reputed him to be great, happy, and inuincible: but we shal soone perceiue the contrary, and how (by little and little) hee trode the path to his owne ruine, as briefly I purpose to relate. It fortun'd, that this *Charls* had instituted as *Gouernour* ouer those Lands, which he held mortgaged by the Arch-Duke of *Austria*: a thiefe and tyrant, named *Peter de Hagembach*, Counte of *Thierstein*, who (so much as in him lay) tormented both them of *Mulhuse*, and the *Switzers*: whereupon, they took him prisoner, and hauing proceeded against him by due forme of Lawe: they degraded him of his order of Knight-hood, and afterwards beheaded him in the open Market place.

Next, the seauenty thousand florins were consigned ouer to a Banquer of *Basile*, and to the Duke it was signified by an Herald, that hee held no more right ouer the Country, then what the Arch-Duke had mortgaged vnto him. Hereat hee grew verie highly offended, and sought all meanes how to be reuenged; especially for the death of *Peter de Hagembach*. Then hee assembled an Armie, being assisted by the Duke of *Milaine*, and the Dutchesse of *Sauoy*; taking *Lausanna*, which was confedered with the *Switzers*.

Thence hee went and besieged the

Towne and Castle of *Granson*, solliciting them to yeeld themselues. They hauing humbly submitted themselues, the Duke commaunded foure score of them to be hanged, and an hundred more to bee drowned, in the nearest Lake adioyning to the Cittie. This inhumane act did not onely moue the *Switzers*; but likewise them of high *Germanie*, who with an Army belonging to the Arch-Duke of *Austria* (whereof *Harman d'Extingen* was the conductor) expelled the Duke from *Granson*, and slew a great part of his Army; taking beside, his Artillerie and furniture for warre, which was great and rich. Afterward, taking downe all their friends, which the Duke had caused to bee hanged, in their places they hung vp as many *Bourgognions*.

The moueables of his house, which hee would alwayes haue carryed along with him, were of extraordinary valew: for among them were so many rich tents, all of costly silkes, and vessells both of golde and siluer, embellished with store of precious stones, that it would require too long time to recount them. There were some *Switzers*, that sold great store of siluer plates, for two great blankes a peece, not knowing their valew and estimation. A Diamond, thought to bee the greatest and clearest that those times affoorded; and, esteemed more worth then fiftie thousand crownes, was solde for twelue Sols. A faire bathing tubbe of siluer, richly gilded, wherein he used to bathe himselfe, was solde for foure pounds. I cannot heere set downe, the rich clothes of Tapistrie, wrought with vn-ualuable workes of silke and golde, for him to treade on wherefoeuer hee went. To be briefe, the Reader would be wearied in rehearsall of the incredible wealth and riches, which this vnfortunate prince lost, and whereof his greatest enemies made their triumph.

Then falling into a long and grieuous sicknesse, at the length hee recovered, and taking courage to himselfe againe, hee returned the second time against the power and force of the *Switzers*. Hee had formerly taken *Nancie* from *Renè*, Duke of *Lorraine*; wherefore the sayde Duke of *Lorraine* forthwith ioyned his forces with the *Switzers*.

An Armie assembled by the Duke.

A most inhumane deed of the Duke.

The Duke chased from *Granson*, and his furniture for warre taken.

The Dukes moueables carried alwayes with him in warre.

The great simplicitie of the *Switzers*, in making sale of the Dukes treasure.

twes the e-  
leuth im-  
prisoned by  
the Charles.

the bold pre-  
sumption of  
Charles duke  
of Burgogne.

er de He-  
mbach  
unt of Thi-  
eine, De-  
ie to Duke  
Charles in  
ria, degra-  
ed and be-  
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the begin-  
ing of the  
dukes down-  
fall and mis-  
tunes.

*Fascic. Temp.  
Mater Histor.*

Rene Duke  
of Lorraine.

A third battel  
vndertaken  
by the Duke  
of Bourgonne  
and lost also.

The vanity of  
the Bourguig-  
nons concer-  
ning the  
Dukes death.

*Nacler. in lib.  
7. cap. 10.*

The vnfortu-  
nate end of  
so great a  
Duke.

Vladislaus K.  
of Poland and  
Hungaria, &  
howe little a  
while hee en-  
joyed both  
his kingdoms,  
thorough his  
owne folly.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* being before *Morat*, the people of the Towne yssued forth, and so beset the army of the *Bourguignons*, that twenty thousand (according to *Fasciculus Temporum*) or twentic two thousand, and seuen hundred (according to the *Mother of Histories*) were ther slain. The spoyle was left to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewise recouered *Nancy* againe afterward.

A third time likewise, the Duke of *Bourgogne*, being not a little offended, that he should be vanquished by so mean a Prince as the Duke of *Lorraine*, and hee recouering the Towne of *Nancy*; returned with fresh forces, and besiedged it againe with fourteene thousand able fighting men, beside some other bandes in expectation. The Duke of *Bourgogne* was discomfited, and all his army; but by no meanes could his body be found. The *Bourguignons* could not be perswaded that hee was slain: but hauing escaped from the field, hee had retyred himselfe into Germanie, where he had vowed to liue in seuen years penitence.

There were some *Bourguignons*; that made sale of precious Stones, Horses, and such like things, to be paide againe vpon his returne, and namely to *Brachelles*; in the Diocesse of *Spire*. There was a poore Begger, imagined to bee the Duke of *Bourgogne*, because he liued in the like estate of penance; which made verie many trauaile to see him, and bestow very liberrall almes on him. *Naclerus* reporteth, that he saw the poore man begging in the same place. The King of *France*, hearing the Duke was dead, seized on *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Peronne*, *Abbeville*, *Monstreul*, *Aras*, *Hesdin*, and the two *Bourgognes*, to wit, the Dutchy and Countie. The men of *Gaunt* tooke his Daughter, that gouerned his estates very poorely, and married her as themselues pleased; she hauing put to death the Chancellor, and other of his best officers. Thus you see how this great Prince ended his life, accompanied vwith many misfortunes.

*Vladislaus*, King of *Poland*, a young and gallant Prince, was called by the *Hungarians* to be their King, in the yeare 1440. Hee conceiued such glory by seeing himselfe King of two such mighty Kingdoms, that he thought himselfe to be inuincible. Whereuppon, being desirous to imploy

his valour in warre against some enemy, that might take notice of his courage and power; he brake faith and Truce, which the *Hungares* had made with the Turk the yeare before. In the first battayle hee gaue, he was quickeiy slayne, and hadde but a short enioying of his two Kingdomes; for, thorow the inconstancie of Fortune, his pretended felicity was soon cut off, and all his supposed power vtterly quailed.

The Emperour of the East, *Constantine Paleologus*, some fifteen yeares after, went to keepe company with this young King *Vladislaus*, in the other world. For *Constantinople*, the Metropolitane Cittie of his Empire, was besiedged and taken by *Mahomet* the second, sir-named the *Great*, thorow the negligence and treacherie of *John Iustinian* of *Geneway*; *Mahomet* hauing 300000. able fighting men, and foure hundred Cannons, and the sledge continued threescore dayes. The Emperour (in flight) was met withall, and murdered neere vnto the Gate: his head being carryed vpon a Launces point, and so conueighed quite thorow the Cittie, while his bodye was trodden vnto dirte with their secte. *Mahomet* also caused a Crucifixe to bee erected, and wrote vpon it (in scornfull derision) these words: *This is the GOD of the Christians*: commanding likewise, that euery one should cast dung and filthe vpon the fayre Image.

The wife to the Emperour, with her daughters, and the very Noblest Ladies attending on them, were brought before *Mahomet*; and after all reproach was done vnto them, euen the verie greatest Villanies in the world, their bodies were hacked and hewne in peeces.

Some few dayes after, there was another King (but of three dayes standing) put to death likewise. VVhich I may by no meanes omit, because it was the fore-named *John Iustinian* the *Genouese*, a trayterous Villaine. For hee had concluded with *Mahomet*, that if he would make him King, he would yeelde vp *Constantinople*, or bethe meanes whereby hee shoulde surprize it. *Mahomet* kept promise with him; for hee constituted him a King for three dayes space: and on the fourth day, hee commanded his head to bee smitten off. So sayeth *Fasciculus Temporum*; and that

Constantine  
Paleologus  
Emperour  
the East.

The power  
Mahomet  
fore Con-  
tinople.

The Emper-  
our: body  
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The shar-  
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The Tre-  
of Iohn I-  
nian, and  
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standing

that these things happened in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred fifty three, about the Moneth of May.

I am sure few people are ignorant, in what Beds of state, the noble Kings of France vse to take their rest, and vnder what rich Pauillions; yet the iniquity of our times hath bene such, that a Kings lodging hath bene more vile then a laxe. I speake of King Charles the eight of that name, who returning home to his kingdome, hauing bene in Italy, where hee conquered the kingdome of Naples, and the great Dukedomes of Calabria and Apulia, and wonne two famous battailes in those countries: vpon a Palme Sunday Eeue, being the seuenth of Aprill, one thousand foure hundred ninety eight, leading his Queene by the hand, Anne of Bretaine, to see certaine Gentlemen play at the Tennis, in a Ditch belonging to the Castle of Amboise, entred into an olde, broken, vncouered Gallery, where he gaue his head a great blow against the vpper part of the doore, albeit himselfe was but of lowe stature. Taking hold vpon some staves for his recouery, neere vnto a noysome place, where euery one that would (by custome) vsed to let passe their vrine, and other vncleannesse of the body; he was contented to endure it, and stood there merrily discoursing with the Queene, and other noble persons there present, iudging who deserued best of them that played. Suddenly hee was ouercome with a rheume or catarre, which taking from him all his strength and motion in euery part of his body, he was deprived likewise of his speech. This was perceiued by all there-about him, and how he lay vpon the ground, in such a foule, stinking, and vnseemely place; yet no one had the care, or subiect-like affection, to beare him thence to his royall bed, which was not aboue twenty paces off.

Hee languished in this manner, for the space of nine houres, and dyed there in that noysome place. Is it not a matter deseruing admiration, that so worthy a King should dye in so vile a place, being in his owne house, among his Officers, and many of the Nobility? Hee that was King of the sweete smelling Floure-de-Luce, to expire and ende his dayes, not among hearbs or flowers of pleasing sa-

uour: but in a place full of filth, then which, the whole world could yeelde no worse?

And to shew yee, that great Princes are as subiect to dye in battailes, as the simplest Souldiours: James, King of Scottes, may serue as an example, for hee was slayne in the field, with two Bishoppes, a great part of his Nobility, and many men of warre, that hapned in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene. And the yeare following, John d'Albrot king of Nauarre, lost his Kingdome, which was seized by Ferdinand King of Spaine, because hee stood accursed by Pope Iulius, for assisting King Lewes the twelfth, in warre against him; and aboue all, in the battaile of Rauenna, which vntill this present his Successours neuer enjoyed.

And Lewes Sforza, Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of Millaine, was led prisoner into France, flying before the French to Nauarra, a City of his Dukedome; hee was confined to imprisonment, within the great Tower of Bourge, where (in great want and pouertie) hee finished his dayes.

What shall wee say of King Frances, first of that name, the Father of Learning, whose wisdome and magnanimitie, could not warrant him against the Ambuscadoes of Fortune, no more then any of them before remembered? Hee fell into the hands of Charles the fifth, Emperour, enuious of his greatnesse, and had bene his competitor in the Empire, opposing himselfe against many of his designes. Hee detayned him prisoner aboue a yeare; during which time, hee had a most yrkesome disease, which compelled him (for enioying of his liberty, to yeeld to many hard and grieuous conditions. As, to renounce and disclayme a multitude of rights, which hee pretended to many Dukedomes, Earledomes, and Kingdomes. Beside, he gaue so great a quantity of money, as well for his expences, as discharge of martiall affaires, and his ransom withall, that his kingdome (for euer after) felt the smart thereof.

And not onely haue temporall Princes felt the rigour of inconstant Fortune; but Ecelesiasticall persons also,

James the fourth, King of Scots, slain in battaile.

John d'Albrot King of Nauarre lost his kingdome.

Lewes Sforza, Duke of Millaine, confined in prison, where he dyed.

Frances the first, King of France, the patron of learning.

The hardenforcements of King Frances

of Charles the eight, King of France.

his conquest of Naples, Calabria and Apulia.

that fate with ordayned to a man, not be toyded.

little care of so famous a King, in so great extremity, let him die in so stinking place.

The Author  
speakech now  
of Spirituall  
persons.

Pope Iohn  
deposed and  
imprisoned.

The bishop of  
Liege, Bro-  
ther vnto the  
Duke of Bour-  
gongn, a lord  
both spiritual  
& temporal.

The butcher-  
ing of an arch-  
bishop, and  
4. Cardinals.

Pope Clemēt  
taken priso-  
ner, & Rome  
raued or  
pilled by gree-  
dy Soldiours.

howsoever high and great degree they haue carried in the world. For in the year 1410. Pope *Iohn* was put in prison, flying from the Councell of *Constance*, and was giuen in guard to *Lewes*, Count *Palatine*, deposed from his Office, and one called *Martine*, fiste of that name, seated in his place, being likewise very inhumanly entreated, for the space of three yeares. Afterwardes, by the humanity of the sayde *Martine*, he was set at liberty, and created Cardinall: whereby euery man may perceiue, how farre this *Iohn* was falne from his former degree.

In the yeare 1466. the byshop of *Liege* brother to the fore-named Duke of *Bourgongne*, by his wife, who was of the house of *Bourbon*: beside his Office, hee was a Prince of the Empire, a Lord both spirituall and temporall, and holding so great and rich a cuntry, as that of *Liege*. He was taken prisoner by his subiectes, and a great sort of his friendes and officers (among whome were ten Abbots and Protonotaries, or Canons, al of worthy houses) massacred in his presence, & himselfe kept prisoner for long time, and in great misery. At length hee got safely away, hauing (by money) won his Guards consent thereto.

At *Florence*, in the yeare 1448. the arch-Bishop of the saide place, being cloathed in his habiliments of Priest-hood, and saying Masse, was sodainely surprized, and hanged or strangled at a Window, by the hands of the hangman; beside foure Cardinales massacred by the people, and many other Ecclesiasticall persons beheaded.

And although Popes (as hath bene held) by their great and spirituall authority, might impose silence vpon Christian Princes, from vndertaking warres, but to keepe themselues in quiet, and likewise to take armes at his command, for the affairs of the Christian world; yet it came so to passe, that Pope *Clement* was taken prisoner, and locked vp seuen months space in his castle of *S. Angelo*, kept by a guard of *Spaniards* and *Germanes*, and all of them Heretikes (wel-neere) about him. The City of *Rome* was greuously pilled, the Temples ransacked and prophaned; all which happened by the Souldiers of *Charles* the fift, a Catholike Emperour, in the yeare 1527.

After these men of Ecclesiasticall profession, it shall not differ much from our purpose, to conclude this chapter with the death of three potent Kings, that died all three in one day: to the end, wee may obserue how vnhappy it is for Princes, to thinke that they can well manage their affaires, in meddling amongst the quarrels of other Princes, as puissant euery way as theselues.

It came to passe, that two Princes contended for the kingdome of *Fez* and *Marocco*, situated in *Barbarie* of *Affrica*: the one of them being named *Muley Mahumet*, Nephew to the other that demaunded these Realmes, called *Abdelmelec*. This *Mahumet*, who enioyed those Kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, was assailed three or foure times by *Abdelmelec*, hauing gotten assistance of the Turke, and wonne stil the best in foure fought battailes. So that in the end, the inhabitants of *Fez* and *Marocco* receyued *Abdelmelec*: because *Mahumet* was a Tyrant, had very few frends, contemning euery one, and trusting altogether in his strength and Treasures, after all his losses in those former Battayles.

*Sebastian*, King of *Portugall*, made offer to him of his ayde and friendship, but hee refused it; vntill such time as hee had neyther place or person to retire vnto, nor any to follow him. Moreouer, he had spent the great heapes of money which hee had gotten together during his reigne, & now withdrew himselfe into the Mountaines, which are sixe Leagues off from the City of *Marocco*. There hee liued about seauen or eight months, like a theefe or robber, with some few companies of needie persons, which yet againe were cut off by the troopes of *Abdelmelec*; and *Mahumet* constrained to wander in the most vnaccessable places of the Mountaines, where he endured a million of miseries, for the space of a whole yeare, liuing in continual feare and distrust, onely thorough his conceyued opinion, that hee should be taken, or betrayed in his secreter walkes.

In breefe, necessity compelled him to repent his former denials, and to require the friendly succour offered him, by that braue King of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*: vnto whom he sent an expresse Messenger, and (afterward) two of his Captaines. In the meane while, he found the means to descend

The death of  
three Kings,  
all in one day

The memor-  
able History of  
Muley Mahu-  
met, & Abde-  
melec, King  
in Barbarie.

Abdelmelec  
expelled M-  
ley Mahumet  
out of Fez  
Marocco.

Sebastian, King  
of Portugall  
offereth aid  
to Mahumet  
& is denied

The misera-  
ble estate a  
condition of  
Muley Ma-  
humet.

Mahumet is  
enforced to  
request the  
ayd which  
had forme  
denied.

cent from the Mountaines, by wayes of little or no resort, and sought for his safety in \* *Tanger*, a Towne which the *Portugales* held in *Affrica*: where hee was well entertained by the Governour, who knew some part of *Sebastians* minde towards him, and therefore furnished the two Captaines with well armed horsemen, for the dispatch of their Embassie in *Portugall*.

King *Sebastian* was very ioyfull to see these Ambassadors, because he was naturally addicted to Armes, and the disposition of his person (ioyned with his height of courage) incessantly spurred him on to this businesse. And in this respect, hee did but awaite some apt ouerture, for making his passage into *Affrica*, forming his pretext, vpon an earnest desire (as hee would alwayes say) which hee had to aduance Christian Religion, and to extirpate that of the Mahumetists. Whereupon he suddenly promised (without any better consideration of the businesse) to succour *Muley Mahumet*, and to re-seate him in his kingdomes againe: hee made promise (I say) to such a one, as himselfe had before sought vnto, for this effect, by so large a passage ouer the Seas, and two seuerall times had bene misprized by him. The Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and many other great personages, could not dissuade him from this enterprize, but still he persisted in treading the path vnto his owne death, death that followed him so hard at the heeles. So did hee set on into *Affrica*, with thirteene hundred sayle, as well of great as small Vesselles in that Fleete, the very fayrest and goodliest that had bene scene in those times. His Army was composed of Lance-knight, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Portugales*, and some small number of *Affricane Moores*, which took part with the *Portuguzes*, and thirty sixe Pieces of Ordenance for the field, well fitted and furnished. In all, there was not aboute fixteene thousand men of warre; setting aside the Soldiours boyes, Waggoners, Strumpets, Castadours, and other such like people very vnprofitable for the field.

*Abdelmelec* (wee may well perswade our selues) slept not all this while carelesly, for hee brought threescore thousand men to the field, as well Pykes as Harquebuziers, and twenty sixe Peeces of Orde-

nance for the field, well appointed & governed by most expert men. *Abdelmelec* was very sorry, that hee should haue any conquest against Christians, in regard he bare them much affection; not because he feared the *Portuguzes*, but as fore-seeing, that *Barbary* would proue the graue to the King of *Portugall*; who (indeede) was too weake to encounter with him, that went so farre beyond him in power. And in due consideration of the case, hee would oftentimes thus say to himselfe. *King Sebastian should bee more respectiue, then so vnadvisedly to runne vpon his owne ruine: for he would take two kingdomes from me, which in right and iustice doe appertaine to me, and giue them vnto a Negro, wherein Christ endome can no way be eased or accommodated, neyther is it a thing which God (being iust) will permit.*

The report and rumors spread abroad, of *Abdelmelecs* valiant carriage, was the cause that euery one came to offer him seruice and obeysance; and from euery Prouince they brought him goodly presents and gifts of inestimable value. Many Christian Kings tooke pleasure in his friendship, and embraced him as their kinde well-willer; esteeming themselves happy in his acquaintance. So that from diuers places, great store of Christians trauided into his countries, where they receiued gracious entertainment, and hee shewed them much better countenance, then to any other men that resorted thither, helping them liberally in their necessities. On the contrary part, *Muley Mahumet* oppressed the Christians all the time of his reigne, or else permitted, that all greefes and molestations should bee done vnto them: wherefore King *Sebastian* (in this respect) did greatly forget himselfe.

Now to deteine the Reader no longer in suspence, the two Armies disposed themselves for the encounter, and mette in a field, which contained aboute two miles in spacioufnesse, so euen and plaine, that there was not any tree, grasse, brambles, or stones, to offer the least hinderance. The Army of *Sebastian*, had the Riuer of *Arache* behinde it, and that of *Abdelmelec*, the Riuer of *Alcassar*. *Muley Mahumet*, for whom this Tragedy was to be acted, contrary to his oath and promise, did not bring with him any ayde for *Sebastian*; hauing

An olde Ci-ty of Mauri-mia, heere-fore called Ingi.

King Sebastian alwayes seeking opportunity to enter Affrica, and his presence, for the aduancement of Christian Religion.

King Sebastian passed into Affrica against the opinion of all his friends.

The Army in full preparation for the field from Portugall.

The care of Abdelmelec, to encounter with his enemy.

How Abdelmelec did oftentimes commiserate the case of King Sebastian.

The loue, riches, and seruice voluntarily offered to Abdelmelec by Christians and others.

Muley Mahumet oppressed the Christians.

How the two Armies came to encounter in the field.

The trechery of Mahumet with King Sebastian.

Muley Mahomet flying from the fight was drowned in the Riuer of Arache.

King Sebastian slaine among his own Souldiors, but hardly known

Abdelmelec fell deadly sicke some 8 dayes before the battaile, and dyed in his Litter in the midt of the figat.

Three Kings ended their liues in one day diuersly.

The death & buriall of three Kings bodies very strange, as sildome the like hath bene heard of.

hauing formerly made him beleue, that more then halfe the Army of *Abdelmelec*, would come and ioyne with him: which came not so to passe, for both the Armies meeting together, each side fought valiantly for it selfe, and the Christians sustained the worse. *Muley Mahomet* was one of the first that fled, shaping his course towards the riuer of *Arache*, where thinking to passe the foord, & it being choked with mud and slime, and his horse sticking fast therein, he gaue him the spur so furiously, that losing his stirrops, and not knowing how to helpe himselfe by swimming, hee fell into the water, and so was both drowned and suffocated in the myre. As for *K. Sebastian*, after that all his men were slain, or (at least) put to flight; he was assayed on al sides (hauing but 7 or 8 knights with him) among whom also he was slaine, & lay on the ground among his owne people, that fought for their liues as much as men could do.

Now concerning *Abdelmelec*, some 8 or 10 dayes before the battaile, he fell into a greuous sicknesse, by eating a messe of milke in a neere adioyning Village, which so curded on his stomacke, as hee could not compasse any auoydance of it. Neuerthelesse, on the day of battaile, hee would needs mount on horse-backe, and prease into the thickest of the fight, where finding himselfe more weake then euer; he was conuayed into his Litter, wherein he died immediately. But his death was very closely concealed, vntill the battaile was finished, and won on his side. Thus we may see, that (in one day) three Kings died by three seuerall meanes: for *Muley Mahomet* was drowned; *Sebastian* finished his life in fight; & *Abdelmelec* dyed by sicknesse. Their bodies also receiued diuersity of handling or vsage: for the body of *Mahomet* was flayed, & the skinne stuffed with haire, was carried thorow all the Citties in the kingdomes of *Fez* & *Marocco*, in signe of open infamy. The body of the king of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*, was buried in the Town of *Alcassarquibier*, without any Priest for the funerall obsequies, or any sheete to couer his body; but stark naked, according as it was found, when acknowledgement was taken of it among the other dead bodies: yet one of the groomes of his chamber, despoyling himselfe thereof, gaue him a poore paire of

linnen breeches, & a most wretched doublet, which was no way disliked by the *Mahometanes*. The fore-said groomie saued himselfe miraculously, for of the whol Christian Army, either Soldiors or other, there did not escape 200. *Abdelmelec* was carried away dead in his Litter, royally apparelled, and more then twenty miles off from that place, hee was buried in a costly Sepulcher, among his Predecessors, and there was granted rents and reuennues, to diuers Priests of the *Mahometane* Religion, to pray to God (after their manner) for his soule.

Their successors also were as strange and diuers; for to *Muley Mahomet*, succeeded his mortall enemy, *Hamed*. To *Abdelmelec*, not his owne children, albeit he had diners; but his bastard Brother, the said *Hamed*, for the father would haue it so. To king *Sebastian*, *Philip* King of *Spain*, who was (a farre off) a kinesman to him, yet then the neereft that could bee found, because the other was neuer married. Here we may apparantly perceiue, how fortune playeth with miserable life, or vnsuccessfull ending in the very greatest, or of highest aduancement in this world, as well as those of much meaner condition, & that thorow some secret iudgement of God, who can & will dispose of all things, according to his owne good will and pleasure. These matters happened in *Affrica*, in the kingdomes of *Marocco* and *Fez*, on Monday, being the fourth day in the Moneth of August, and in the yeare 1578.

I could heere alledge many other examples of Christian Kings and Princes, whose endes haue bin scarcely honorable or happy, and that within thirty yeare of this instant: but because I know, that these times do affoord some passionate spirits, who take no delight in such sad relations, and others are of a freer temper, but as void of pittie, as the other are too forward in compassion, not carrying any meane betweene such two extremities; I will forbear to proceede any further in this argument, & enter into some other more apt discourse.

CHAP.

Not two hundred saued of all the Christian Army. The royall buriall of *Abdelmelec*.

Of the successors to the seuerall Kings in their dominions, after their deaths.

God disposeth of all things, as himselfe best liketh.

The Author unwilling to wade in tedious relations.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

*That Princes are commonly such in their actions, manners, and pietie, as they perceyue their Kings, Princes, and Rulers to bee.*

**H**ere neede no doubt to bee made, but that it was verie true which *Theodorick*, King of the Gothes (writing to the Romaine Senate) alledged: *That the course of Nature should sooner faile, then people bee any other then their Princes.* This is not onely to bee vnderstood of their vertues and vices; but likewise of the gesture of their bodies, yea euen so farre as to their wearing garmets. This may easily be prooued; for *Alexander the Great* but bending his Neck a little towards his right shoulder, al his yong Princes, and other cheefe followers in his Court, did bend theirs also in the very same manner.

*Alphonsus* King of *Arragon* and *Sicilie*, hauing a wry necke, all such as followed and affected him, inforced to wry their neckes like his; as being perswaded, that it was most commendable in them, because their King and Maister carryed his necke so: as wee finde it recorded in the Booke of the Courtier, and in the life of *Pyrrhus*.

King *Frances*, the first of that name, v sed continually to weare his haire verie long, and (as it was saide) looking out at a Window, he receiued a wounde on the head; by meanes whereof hee was enforced to cut his lockes, and weare them a great deale shorter then formerly hee had done. Many of his Courtiers, especially such as wore their haire as he was wont to do, caused their long lockes to be cut likewise, and ware them in the same manner as he did. Heereupon afterwarde, diuers Noble and high descended French-men, left off from longer wearing false Lockes and Periwigs, or *Gregorians*, which they reputed as a signe of Nobility and comeliness, for holding some place of eminencie in the Commonwealth, & thence-

forward esteemed it as a ridiculous fashion.

*Charles* the fiste, Emperour, wore his beard long, but cut round below, in shape of a pouch or purse. In imitation of him, the Noblemen of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Bowgongne*, with some other that were his subiects, hadde their beards after the selfesame fashion, which they tearmed to bee an Imperiall Beard. King *Charles* the ninth, King of *Fraunce*, being at *Metz*, where the Count of *Mansfeld*, and *Marquesse* of *Baden* came to see him, because he should shew them a gracious countenance, he tooke off the *Marquesses* Bonnet from his head, and put on (insted thereof) his owne, which he commonly vsed to weare, that was a German cap, great, thicke, thrummy, and flat, in forme of a Cheefe. In regard whereof, all the attendants in his Court (which was a great company at that time) would needs weare Bonnets after the same fashion. And it grew to such an extremity in affection, that such Cappes and Bonnets, as were vsually sold in *Metz* for *thirty Sols*, within three dayes after, could not bee bought vnder three French Crowns; and yet (at so deare a rate) they were not to be had, albeit the Bonnet-makers laboured night and day in making them, the crowd and presse for them was so great, without any other profite or commoditie ensuing by them, but only that they wold be in the Kings fashion.

King *Henrie* the third, by reason hee had some Vlcers in the fore-part of his head, was subiect to a continuall paine & greefe: therefore he wore thicke gummy haire, bound vp behinde (like womens) to couer that defect. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Court, had their hayre gummed and bound vp in like maner, although no paine thereto prouoked them: whereupon some were verily perswaded, that men would fall likewise to weare womens garments, they were so forward in the fashion of their haire. If I would insert all the courses and behaviour of the people, in imitating their Princes fond fashions and habits, I must needs be too troublesome to the Reader: therefore I will now discourse on their vertues and vices, with as much breuity as I can.

The onely cause why men trauided into *Egypt* fro so many parts of the world, and

Charles the 5 and his manner of beard.

Beards Imperiall or after the Imperiall fashion

The K. changeth Bonnets with the Marquesse.

\*Ten French Sols, make an English shilling.

The kings fashion is a great matter.

Henrie the 3. King of France whole Courtiers imitated his gummed haire, like vnto Womens.

Theodoricke, of Gothes, writing to the Senate of Rome.

the Courtiers of Alexander, and of Alphonsus.

in vit. Pyr.

ances, King France did weare long haire, and cutting it, his courtiers fell to his fashion

the locks & periwigs remained.

The cause why so manie men trauailed into Egypt.

The example of a Learned King, is no mean motiue to his subiects to affect learning.

The words of Plato the great Philosopher.

Manfor, Emperour of Affrica, and all the Spaines.

Great vertues in Manfor a louer of Learning, & a famous example to his successort.

Leo Affrican. in Hist de Temp. Of the women of Lybia.

and from Greece more then any other country (as did many great and excellent Philosophers, amongst whom were *Plato*, *Democritus*, and others) was for no other end; but in regard of a King of that Countrey, named *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, the onely louer of Learning, and seeker after such men as were learned. And in imitation of him, the Egyptians his subiects addicted themselves so studiously, to ground their vnderstanding in the most laudable Sciences, and that for such long continuance of time, as a man was reputed to haue seene nothing, if he had not trauailed into Egypt. Whereuppon, it is sayde, that *Plato* (admiring their wonderfull erudition) cryed out by way of exclamation: *The Greekes are no better then Children in knowledge, being compared with the Egyptians.* Here we may obserue, what honour this good King *Philadelphus* won to his subiectes, because by his imitation they made themselves vertuous, and giuen to all commendable qualities.

The like happened vnder the reigne of *Manfor*, Emperour of *Affrica*, and all the *Spaines*, who governed in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, & siue. This King was such a louer of learning, that he caused all Bookes written in Greeke, eyther concerning Philosophie, Physicke, or Historie, to be translated into the *Arabian* tongue. He founded many Colledges, wherto he gaue very great rents, for the maintenance of poore Students, and professors of learning, whereof a great many are at this day to be seen, in the Citties of *Fez* and *Marocco* in *Affrica*, in *Treuissen*, *Tunis*, *Argiere*, *Hippona*, and else-where, although he was a Mahometane in Religion, yet many other of his successors, that afterwarde followed him, and the people themselves (to this day) in those *Affricane* countries, doe relish of the good conditions, maners, and vertues abiding in that King, addicting themselves to Learning. Nor appeared this in men onely, but likewise in Women, according as *Leo Affricanus* testifyeth, saying; *The Women of Lybia, in these our dayes, are very Learned and Studious, and aboue all things else, they are sooner busied in good Bookes: then medling with cloathes, Garments, or other Vtensels belonging to household.* And I dare boldly main-

taine (with many other Learned men, well read in Histories) that but for this King *Manfor*, and his *Arabian* successors: Physicke had neuer bene halfe so fertile in remedies, as we finde it now to bee in these our dayes.

*Garcias d'Horta*, Physitian to the Vice-roy of the *Indiaes*, who liued within lesse then thirty yeares, sayeth, that hee had conferred with many Kings both of the *Arabes* and *Affricanes*; and found them to bee learned, as also notably skilfull in the *Mathematikes*. The like is affirmed by him that hath written the generall historie of *India*, that *Aimanfor*, King of *Tidora*, one of the verie greatest Islandes of the *Moluccaes*; was one of the greatest *Astrologers* in our times, and that the people are not so rude and barbarous, as heere among vs they are reputed to bee. Before *Manfor*, none of them had euer seene the Bookes of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Hippocrates*, *Galien*, and other Greeke Authours, in any other Language then the *Grecian*.

In the time of this King, *Manfor*, flourished great store of Learned men and Philosophers: such as were *Auerroes*, *Mesius*, *Rafis*, *Rabbie Moses*, and diuers others, whose workes (at this very day) are reade in our Vniuersities, and Commented vpon, by diuerse and sundrie great Schoolemen, and it is not to be doubted, but posteritie (for euer) will rest beholding to them.

The manner of founding Colledges, wherein to instruct poore youths in good Letters; Hospitales, for the lodging of maymed, sickely, and needie persons; Conuents and Abbeyes, for the dwelling of godly and religious men, wherein to pray for the augmentation of the Church, and prosperity of Christian Princes; beganne first by Kinges and Emperours, and in their imitation, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Popes, Cardinalles, and Byshoppes, besides other rich men (among the common people did the like. As *Charlemaigne*, *Lewes* the ninth, *Phillip* Duke of *Bourgongne*, and diuers other: which is a most plaine and manifest Reason, that all Christendome remaineth yet to this day, embellished with so manie faire and rich Arch-byshopprickes, Byshopprickes, Abbeyes, Priories, Colledges, and Hospitales.

Physick plentifully increased.

*Garcias d'Horta* in lib de diuers. Gest.

Affrican Arabian King learned now in these daies

What learned men flourished in the daies of King Manfor.

Christian Kinges & Emperours first founded Colledges, Hospitales, Abbey & Monasteries.

All Christendome beautified with religious houses

Princes, King of France, first of that name, the 12th of learning.

Honorable and learned Ladies, beside famous Queens of Navarre.

Learned Ladies in Italy.

Whether the famous and learned Queene of England.

Henry the fourth, the first in all battails, &c.

King Mithridates a notorious drunkard and his people follow his example.

King *Frances*, first of that name, because himselfe was learned, and cherished men of learning and knowledge; beheld his reigne furnished with a great number of learned and vertuous Schollers, more then any other that went before him. In the same minde continued his Sonne, successor to his Crowne, and all the children of his successour; not meanelly cherished and enriched by king *Henry* the fourth. *Margret*, Grandmother to the King now reigning, was a most learned Lady, of whose excellent & most elegant Poems, we haue great store remaining among vs. As also of *Iane* her Mother, both of them being Queenes of *Navarre*, (and in their imitation) many other great Ladies of honour, gaue their mindes to the reading of graue Authors, as well Greeke as Latine. Nor is it any matter of meruayle, if in these dayes, wee behold so many Ladies well seene in good Sciences, and among the rest, that *Italy* affoordeth such plenty of studious women: the custome of the countrey prohibiting, that women should be any great walkers, or so much seene as they are in *France*. And because that famous Queene of *England*, *Elizabeth*, was very skilfull in many Languages, and deeply read in the sayrest and most commended Sciences, as in the Mathematicks, & diuers others: it was also credibly reported, that her house and Court, was bounteously stored with learned and most vertuous Ladies. And that which filled *France* with such plenty of bold and hardy spirits, was by the meanes of king *Henry* the fourth, then reigning: who in all battails, encounters, and charging of the enemy, was alwayes the formost man himselfe; which taught his Captaines & Souldiors to do the like, onely by imitation of his vnparaled exploits.

Now on the contrary, if the Prince bee vicious, his Subiects wil fauour of the selfe same taste. As we reade of one named *Mithridates*, king of *Amasia*, who because he was a notorious drunkard, and accounted it as a vertue to drinke immeasurably: his people addicted themselues to that foule vice, so that the most part of them were full of diseases, as gouts, conuulsions, palsies, & alienation of vnderstanding. *Marke Anthony*, who tearmed himselfe Emperor of the East, so wallowed with his beloued *Cleopatra*, in the delights of *Egypt* (that the

degenerated quite from the vertues of their former King *Philadelphus*) and became so affected to drinking & drunkenness, intermixing rich flowers and precious stones among the wine they dranke; that he gaue such example to his men of warre, and to the people thorow the East, to drinke and gourmandize after the same manner, that they would be drunke euey day, and held it as an admirable vertue: forgetting the honest policy of the *Romanes*, who would drinke no wine while they were in Armes. And so *Marke Anthony* (albeit hee was a great and worthy Captaine) and all his followers, by hauing discontinued the vertuous exercise of Armes; when hee should come to cope with *Octanius Augustus*, was (with small labour) surmounted. And the best generous acte, that *Anthony* could then deuise to do, and for his latest piece of seruice, was to kill himselfe, like another brutish *Sardanapalus*.

*Darius* also, the great Monarch and King of the East, about three hundred yeares before *Marke Anthony*, euen like to him, had (beside his married wife) a multitude of concubines, bardaching boyes, fiddlers, vaulters, dancers, fooles, players, and other people of as small account in his Army, eating and drinking, before eyther hunger or thirst vrged any necessity. His Captaines and men of command, with all the rest of his Army, he licenced to the like liberty: for each of his Soldiours might haue his two concubines, beside as many *Ganimedes*, and cheefer men tripled, or (at least) doubled them. In the ende, his Army, thought to consist of eight hundred thousand able fighting men; there could not bee found twenty thousand among them all. For according to the example of their king, they were altogether addicted to luxury and drunkenness, and became as people vtterly vnmeete for warre. Therefore both he and they were ouercome by *Alexanders* forces, with small trauaile, or losse on his side; because his men were sober, continent, and stout fighting Soldiours, as the king himselfe was. So the *Persian Empire*, and the *Babylonian* also, was lost and dissipated in a moment; in regard that their king was lasciuious and of soft temper, which caused his subiects to imitate his example.

Marke Anthony thorow his drunkenness ouerthrew all the East.

A wonderful neglect in so famous a Soldiour.

Darius the great Monarch of the East.

Where no president of goodness appeareth, vice the sooner preuaileth.

The cause of the downfall of Darius.

The Authors  
aduertisemēt  
to Kings and  
Princes in  
these our  
times.

Princes then, and others, that are aduanced to gouerne ouer people, may be aduised by these examples and reasons formerly alledged, to addiect their mindes and bodies to vertuous exercises, to speak discretely, to be no blasphemers, to liue in all sobriety, and to declare modestie in their actions and apparrell: but aboute all the rest, not to swerue from vertue and true piety. For therein (doubtlesse) their people will follow them, and make their time of rule the more settled and assured: for where vice reigneth, rebellion (oftentimes) the sooner ensueth.

### CHAP. XXXIX.

*Of the Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted and vsed in Rome: How many they were that triumphed: What a Triumph is: and that there are two sortes of Triumphes.*



Two things that moue men to high matters.

**T**O speake morally, & as men should doe, there are principally two causes, which incite men to vndertake great matters, as well in peace as warre. The first is Honor and renoune; the second is profite and commoditie, Magnanimous, Noble and Heroicke spirits do chiefly couet the first; & base and vnworthy soules seeke for salary and hire. Cicero saith in his Oration which he made for \* Archias the Poet: *We all are drawne to desire commendation, and they of greatest place and expectation, saile with full gale after honour and fame: coueting no other recompence, or greater guerdon for their Vertue, then glory onely.* The same Cicero, in another Oration made for the defence of Milo, saith; *Wise and valiant men do not so much labour in exercise of their vertue, for the receipt of wages, as for the honor that ensueth thereby.*

\* A Poet of Antioch, much loued of Tully and Lucullus.

A Romaine, much maintained by Tully.

The carefull consideration of the Romes to honor men of merite, and how Rome came to bee Emperesse of the world.

This being well considered by the Romaines, they (more then any other Nation) sought how to honour and illustrate (beside due recompence) such as stroue to do any notable or vertuous acte. So that in short time after, and proceeding on with the same determination; Rome

afforded the resort (more then any place beside) of no meane number of worthie men, excelling both in Armes and Government, that by them shee attained to sway the Empire of the whole world. In regard whereof, for example and instruction to these instant times, as also to delight such as enquire after Antiquities: I thought it very conuenient, to supplie this place with some breefe declaration, of the manner obserued amongst the Romaines, in yeelding honour and renoune to such men, as had obtayned any victory for them.

Now because among all honors whatsoeuer, Triumph was reputed to bee the very greatest; we will discourse thereon, according as we finde it set downe for our instruction. Triumph was a forme of entrance, or (as we may well say) a kinde of Welcome, which they vsed in Rome, to their Captaines and Generalles, with the verie greatest pompe and solemnitie that could be expressed vnto men. And albeit Triumphs were much vsed among the Romaines, yet were they not the first inuencers of them. For *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny*, doth both say, that *Denis*, called *Dionyse* in Antiquitie, and named also *Pater Liber*, was the first that euer Triumphed in the worlde. It appeareth likewise, that the *Carthagenians* vsed to Triumph: for *Iustine* (among the other honours of *Hasdruball*) saith, that he Triumphed foure times.

Moreouer, wee reade of Triumphes among the Kings of *Ægypt*, and especially of King *Sosistris*. Neuerthelesse, to speake truely, Triumphes were neuer so solemnized in any other Nation, as they were among the Romaines: for vpon the day that any Captaine triumphed, the people of Rome ceased from all kinde of Workes whatsoeuer, and not any matter (concerning profite) was permitted to be done.

And to make this solemne Triumph the more compleate, the people of all places neere neighbouring thereto, came thicke and threefold thither to behold it. And all the Cittie, Temples, Streetes, Gates, and Windows, were enriched & hung with clothes made of Gold, Siluer, Silke, Leases and Flowers of sweete smelling fauour, beside all other magnificencies & costs that might expresse any signe of

Triumph  
greatest:  
mong all  
nors, & v  
was signi  
by the we  
Triumph

Diod Sicu  
lib. 6. cap. 1  
Plin. in l.

Iustine in l.

No Natio  
compara  
to the Ro  
manes fo  
Triumph

The acct  
of peopl  
from all  
bouring  
to behol  
Triumph

of ioy. The Senate and all the Priests, with the whole Nobilitie of *Rome*, and generally the berter sort of people, went forth into the fields very honourably apparelled, to entertayne the Triumpher: who entred *Rome*, cloathed in purple, crowned with Laurell, and mounted on a golden charriot, drawne by foure milke white horses. All his prisoners went before him, attired like slaues or seruants, hauing their heads close shorne or shauen: and the Captayne or King of the prisoners by him vanquished, went nearest to the Charriot before anie other. The Souldiours of his owne Armie entred in due order, bearing branches of Laurell in their hands. Then followed before him, Charriots and Waggon filled full of armour, which hee had taken from the enemy: beside other waggons laden in like manner, with Plate of golde and siluer, money, iewells and other rich shapes or trophices, with such gifts and presents, as hee had receiued of Kings, or any other friends to *Rome*. Great Castles, Towers, and other Engines of wood, made artificially, representing conquered Citties and Fortresses, were likewise carryed before him: making lively representation, as they marched along, of such battailes as had happened in the last warre, and so exactly to the life; that they were very dreadful to the beholders. These things were so many in number, so mighty, and of such rare diuersitie, that the Triumph (sometimes) required the vse of three seuerall dayes, because all the representations might be the more amply noted and conceiued. The Triumph consisted of various inuentions, with many rare deuices, too long to be reported.

Nor was this honour of Triumph, allowed and granted to euerie Captaine or Victor; but there were Lawes set downe, and notable occasions to be considered, before such fauour could be obtained. The Captaine that meant to demand it, came not at all into *Rome*: but abode at the *Vaticane*, and thither the Senate returned him answere, whether such grace might bee permitted him, or no. First of all, no chiefe, or commander of an Army might triumph; except hee had bene Consull, Proconsull, or Dictator; for Triumph was neuer granted

to any of meaner condition. In regarde whereof, *Marcus Marcellus* had triumph denied him, albeit he had worthily conquered *Siracusa*; and *Scipio* also, although he had subdued *Spaine*. For, it was necessarily required, that the battell must be great and notable against the enemy, and aboue fise thousand men at the least slayne therein. Of these matters, *Valerius Maximus* is Author. We likewise reade, that *Cato*, and *L. Marius*, being Tribunes, made a Law, whereby they ordayned seuer punishment for any Captayne, that deliuered a false report of the number slayne in fight. Nor was it enough for a man to win the battell, how doubtfull & bloody soeuer it were; but hee must subdue the whole Prouince or Country, & leaue it peacefully to his successor, bringing home his army braue & victoriously; which was the cause (sayth *Titus Linius*) that Triumph was denied to *Titus Manlius*, notwithstanding all his great victories in *Spaine*: for hee should haue compassed the acquisition of som new country, or entred into a new warre, & not defend that only which was formerly won. Vpon the same occasiõ also, great *Quintus Fabius* triumphed not, though he had conquered them of *Campania*.

It was obserued as a custome also, that on the day of Triumph, the Triumpher should invite the Consulls to suppe with him; which they would refuse to doe, because (at this feast) no person should bee present, to whom greater honour might be done; then to the Triumpher. The Triumph alwayes ended in the Temple of *Iupiter* in the Capitoll, where the spoiles (wonne from the enemy) were altogether offred, and deliuered vp to public vse. And because the triumpher should not ouer-glory himselfe in these high honors and fauors done him: some say, that a slaue or bond-man was seated by him with permission, to ieast and scoffe at him all the day long, & to reproach him with such iniuries as seemed best to himselfe, as a plaine apparance, that such dignities depended but on transitory graces.

Now, to make this triumphall honor the more intelligible; we will make rehearsal of some one or two, especially that of *Paulus Æmilius*, that worthy and famous Captayne of *Rome*, who obtayned his triumph iustly; for vanquishing & taking

Marcus Marcellus and Scipio denied triumph.

Valer. Max. l. 2.

Cato and L. Marius Tribunes.

Prouinces conquered and left in peace. Titus Linius in lib. 3. dec. 2.

Valer. Max. l. 2.

A custome obserued on the triumph day.

The spoiles deliuered to generall benefit.

Triall of the Triumphers patience.

The honorable triumph of Paulus Æmilius.

The Senate, Priests and Romaine nobilitie.

The manner of the Triumfers entering into Rome. Prisoners.

Howe the Souldiours.

Chariots of warre.

Chariots of peace.

Gifts and presents.

Conquered Citties and Fortresses exactly presented.

The triumphs lasted three dayes sometimes.

Triumph not allowed, but according to Lawes for the purpose.

On the hill where S. Peters Church now standeth.

Such men as fight lawfull triumph.

*Plut. in vit.  
Paul Aemil.*

Concourse of  
people to be-  
hold the Tri-  
umph.

Temples set  
open and per-  
fumed.

Whiffers or  
Sticklers to  
make way  
for passage of  
the Triumph.

The order for  
the first dayes  
passage.

The second  
daye honour  
in larger mā-  
ner.

Money carri-  
ed on Plates  
and chargers.

Fountain  
Pots, Ewres,  
Lauours, and  
Basons of  
gold and sil-  
uer.

*Perseus*, the powerfull king of *Macedon*, conquering and ruinating his kingdome, and therefore made his Triumph, according as it is remembred by *Plutarch*, in this manner. Our first remembrance, concerneth the people of Rome in generall, with them of all the neighbouring parts round about, attired after their very best ability of performance, and contending for places in houses and windowes, where best they might take view of the triumph. All the Temples and Churches in Rome were set wide open, deckt and richly hung with Tapistry, greene boughes of Trees, beside plenty of incense and sweet smelling perfumes, and so were all the streetes in like manner. Now because in the City the concourse of people was infinite, resorting from so many severall places, in earnest desire to behold such a solempne spectacle, there were certain men appointed with staves in their hands, who had charge to make way for the Triumphs passage, and looke to the peoples safe seating, because the matters prepared for this triumph grew so great, as they were enforced to diuide them into three severall dayes.

The first day was scarcely sufficient for entrance of all the Banners, Standards, & vanquished Ensignes; as also for passage of the Statues, Colosses, Tables, and Images, for all these were conuayed along in order, in rich and well appointed Chariots, VVaggons, and Thrones. On the second day, the Armour and munition of the conquered king, and what else belonged to the *Macedonians*, was brought into the city: which Armours being rich and gloriously glittering, were conueniently placed on best sighted carriages, meetest for their full and ample beholding. After these chariots and waggons, entred three thousand men, carrying siluer mony (open to be seene) on great Plates and Vessels of siluer, each one weighing three talents, of which Plates and Vessels there were 350 in number, and foure men allowed to carry each piece of Plate. The rest that serued to make vp the full number of three thousand men, carried Fountaine Pots, Ewres, Basons, Lauours, very curiously wrought in gold and siluer, beside other vessels of the same mettals, most rich and magnificent to behold: and the passage of these companies continued so long, that

it required the second dayes whole employment, marching along in due and comely order.

The third day being come, the breake of day no sooner began, but in the first band, & beginning of the Triumph, went Drums, Fifes, Clarions, and Trumpets sounding, not sweet and delicately, but in such stearne and vigorous manner, as if they were instantly to enter battail. After them were led six score kine, all white, hauing their hornes richly gilded, and their bodies couered with costly cloathes: all these were helde as sacred to the Gods, crowned and decked with garlands, and chaplets of faire flowers, & they that guided the, were braue gallant youths, sumptuously apparelled for this seruice, and for the sacrificing of them; and by these kine went as many comely children, carrying Plates of gold and siluer for the sacrifice. Next vnto the kine, were rancked such as carried gold money in chargers of gold, being seuentie seuen in number. And behinde them, followed they that holpe to beare the great Bolle or Cuppe of golde, weighing ten Talents, which *Paulus Aemilius* had caused to be made, enriched with many sumptuous and vnualueable precious stones. They which carried the chargers of money, were such as had bin neere in fauour, about the Kings *Antigonius*, *Seleucus*, and other Kings of *Macedon*, especially the forenamed *Perseus*. Next followed the chariot of the conquered King, with the Armes and Weapons which he vsed to weare, his Crown, Scepter royal and rich Robe laid vpon the Armour. Behinde the chariot, were the children to the poore king led as prisoners, with a great number of his cheefest Officers; as the Masters or Gouvernours of his household, his Treasurers, Chancellors, Secretaries, and others of high employment in his affaires. They all wept, & expressed extraordinary signes of greefe, beholding themselues brought into such a seruitude; which moued all the beholders to much compassion.

Of the children belonging to this king, there were 2 males and 2 females, but so yong in yeares, as they were not capable of vnderstanding their misfortunes; whereby the people were so much the more incited to pittie their condition, & thought it vnseemingly, that affliction should be seene

The third 8  
last dayes p  
formance o  
der the remai  
der of the  
Triumph.

Six score  
white kine  
appointed  
sacrifice.

Children  
with Plate:  
for the sacri-  
fice.

A Bolle or  
Cup of gol  
weighing  
Talents.

The conq  
red kings c  
riot and hi  
Armes.

The kings  
children le  
prisoners.

Children a  
weake vnd  
standers of  
calamities.

scene in such tender yeares. In this Triumph, the Father followed his children, attired after his Countries manner; but yet in blacke habites, pacing on troubled and fearefully, as indeed he had good reason, considering his present estate, and whence he was falne.

After the King, followed his friends & fauourites, with a great number of his familiars, who all looking on their King, confounded themselues with sorrow, to see his reuerend cheekes furrowed with teares, and many of the *Romans* bemoaned his misery. Then after were brought the crownes of gold, which the ancient Citties of *Greece* had presented to *Paulus Aemilius*, who followed the triumphantly, mounted vpon a goodly Chariot, cloathed in purple tissue of golde, bearing a Lawrell branch in his hand, and a crowne of the same vpon his head. Behinde him followed the people both on foote and horseback, some hauing branches of Lawrell and Palme in their hands, and some with Banners and Pennons, singing in honour of their Captaine, triumphing thus after his victories, with other most delectable sights to behold; and in this order *Paulus Aemilius* triumphed through *Rome*. Others also did the like, with some things added or diminished, and so they went to offer their spoyles, in the Temple of *Iupiter* within the *Capitoll*; and there, according to the forme and manner, as their blinded religion then required, they gaue thanks to their Gods for the victory obtained. And notwithstanding that in this fashion they obserued & performed their customary triumphs: yet they had a Law for it, according to which Law, they gaue triumph by desert, making a distinction of the gates & streets, whereat they were to enter, and whereby they should passe along, the times also being ordered and appointed. But concerning other things, as sports, playes, & Feasts of diuers kinds, it was permitted, that euery man might augment and enrich his triumph, and his chariot also: for it is found recorded, that they had a custome, to be drawne by four white horses, and yet notwithstanding, some haue bin drawne by as many Buls.

Great *Pompey*, when hee triumphed for *Africa*, he entred in a Chariot drawne by Elephants. *Suetonius* saith, that *Iulius Caesar* when hee made his triumphall entrance,

had his chariot drawn by forty elephants. With the like Beasts triumphed the Emperour *Gordianus*. And *Flavius* writeth, that the Emperour *Aurelianus*, who was king of the *Gothes*, triumphed in a chariot drawne by Harts. VVe reade also, that *Mark Anthony* in his triumph, had his chariot drawne by Lyons. The Roman Captains had a custome beside when they triumphed, to haue a young childe, or many in their chariots: whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration *pro Munera*. Others caused to be led in their triumphs, an infinite number of wilde and sauage Beasts, as Lyons, Ounces, Beares, Tygers, Rhinocerots, Panthers, Dromedaries, & other kindes of beasts, as did *Titus & Vespasian*, according to the relation of *Iosephus*. Some other also would haue their entrance with diuersity of Musique, as well by instruments as voyces, with infinite other the like delectations. Among all which triumphs, some were more singular then the rest; as those of *Pompey & Caesar*; of the two Brethren *Scipioes*; and likewise of the Emperours, whereof *Elondus* speakes in his Book of *Rome* triumphing, & according as *Paulus Orosius* saith, that there were 320 Triumphers in *Rome*; the last whereof was the emperor *Probus*, from whose time since, *Rome* ran to her decadence.

In *Rome* there was yet another kinde of solemn welcom, which was somewhat lesse then triumphing, being called \* *Ouatio*, and giuen for victories when as something wanted of such necessary conditions as required triumph. As for example, if the Captaine had not bin Confull or Proconfull, or had made war without great resistance, or little bloodshed in battle, or had conquered people of slender esteeme; or if the war had bin done without expresse authority from the Senate, & such like other conditions; then in sted of triumphing, this *Ouatio* was granted to him, & it was performed in this manner.

The Captaine entred *Rome* on horsebacke, in sted of a chariot, and some of them (in elder times) entered on foote, crown'd with the leaues of Myrrhe, which were offerings to *Venus*, because such triumphing was not reputed Martiall, but (as it were) veneriall, according as *Aulus Gellius* saith. The people attending on this Captaine, were not armed, neyther

Whence the forme of our Pageants were at first deuised.

Some triumphs more singular then the rest.

\* A small triumph of a Captaine, for a victory with our slaughter of men, or very few.

*Aul. Gellius in Noſt. Attic. lib. 6. cap. 6.*

The kings full going in triumph

The golden crownes of the Citties of Greece borne before him, and he following in triumphall manner.

The great difference in the Romane Triumphs.

The Law for the order of triumphing, and by merit.

The sorts and how they were by three permission.

The manner how diuers were drawne in their triumphall.

ounded Trumpets, Drums, or any other instruments of warre; but Flutes & sweet musically instruments, soft and delicate. Neuerthelesse, they entred in order, and with their booty, and the Senate went fourth of the Citty to meete and receiue him, making a great feast for him, as also highly praying & commending him.

I finde that many excellent Captains haue requested & accepted of this honor, and the first was *Posthumus Liberius*, hauing vanquished the *Sabines*; and *Marcus Marcellus*, for his victory at *Syracusa*. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Octavius Caesar* entred thus, after the *Phillippick* battailes, & the warre of *Sicily*. The cause why this small triumph was so named, is described by *Pliny*, for in declaring that diuers Captaines were denyed this kinde of triumph, and could by no meanes obtayne it: hee proceedeth to yeelde a reason, why this Ouatio was so termed. *The sacrifice (sayeth he) which the Captaine then offered, was a Sheepe, which in the Latine tongue is called Ouis: but the other Triumphers offered a Bull, and therefore vpon the word Ouis, the reception and entertainment made vnto the, was called Ouatio, or Ouialis.* Some other say, that it took name by a certaine sound in the peoples voyce, of *Oe*, or else *Oue*: but because this is a matter of small importance, it shall suffice to say, that such a thing was named *Ouatio*, eyther of the word *Ouis*, or of the other voyce of *Oe* or *Oue*.

It was also permitted to the Triumphers, to erect their Statues in Temples, & common places of resort: also to build Arches and Collombs, named Triumphall, framed of Marble, and in or on the, to insculpt (most excellently) their battels and victories, for their owne perpetuall memory. The vestiges or footings of the are (at this day) to be seene in Rome: and these things wer thus done, in imitatio of Trophees, anciently vsed among the *Grecians*, helping themselues thereby in manner following. In the same place, where the Captaine had obtayned any victory, a great tree was prepared, the greatest therabout to be found, the branches whereof were all cut off; and then vpon the trunk was fastened all the coat-armours of the vanquished, as a victorious and honourable memory, and it was called *Tropheum* or *Trophæum*, after the greeke word *Tropi*;

which signifieth a fleeting conuersion, or retreated, because (in that place) the enemy was put to flight, or disgracefull retreat, and so the *Romanes* afterward were glad to follow their fashion.

*Salust* writeth, that *Pompey* hauing ouercome the *Spaniards*, planted his Trophees on the top of the *Pyrennean* Mountaines: and this course (by tract of time) was in such esteeme, that they grew to be made of stone. But this matter can approue it selfe to be much more ancient, & that other Nations haue made vse therof: for we reade, that *Saul* hauing vanquished *Agag*, king of the *Amalekites*, and beeing come to Mount *Carmell*, he erected there a triumphall Arch, as a memory of his victory. In brecfe, the honour of triumph was esteemed and affected, more then any other honour in *Rome*, so that for obtayning it, the Captaines would expose their lines to all trauaile and perill. Beside, the Triumphers grew to great wealth, both by the enemies spoyle, and the gifts of their friends, and so much the rather haue I reported these things, because Princes may thereby receiue example, how to honour and remunerate their Captains and Soldiers to their merits. But in these decaying dayes, sluggards, and such as doe nothing at all, are as well, if not better respected, then they that aduenture their liues and goods, both for seruice of their Prince, & profite of their natie country.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Of such names of immortall honour and renowne, which the Romane Captaines had granted and giuen them, according to their severall victories.*



Ver and beside this high dignity of Triumphs, the Romane Captains had farre greater honours giuen them, by names & surnames, which were imposed on them by the people and Prouinces, that had bin conquered and ouercome by them. And as it was a notable forme of exaltation to honour; so did they immortalize their houses of descent, by contrary names of glory

The first Ouation Triumphers, and that accepted thereof very gladly.

*Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 22.*

How this kinde of triumph tooke name at the first, by variety of opinion

A further permission granted to Triumphers of erecting Statues, Pillars, &c.

Trophees among the Grecians, and in what manner.

Pompeys Trophees on the top of the Pyrennean Mountaines

1 Reg. 15, 1

Triumph more couet then any other honour in Rome.

A further dition of honour to the Romane generals.

glory and fame, onely through their memorable actions, which procured so many worthy and illustrious Families in the City of Rome.

For our first entrance into this discourse, wee may take an example by the three *Metelli*, whereof one (according as *Salust* and some others write) because he had overcome King *Jugurthe*, conquering also his lands and kingdome of *Numidia*; was surnamed *Numidicus*. The second being *Quintus Metellus*, for the victory he obtayned against the king of *Macedon*, was surnamed *Macedonicus*. And the third, *Creticus*, because he conquered the Isle of *Creete*. But much more ancient then these, were *Martius Coriolanus*, and *Sergius Fidenatus*. The first was named *Coriolanus*, after the Towne *Coriola* in *Latium*, by him conquered. And the other by the like acte on *Fidena*, a Towne in *Italy*. Another *Metellus* also was surnamed *Balcaricus*, because he had conquered to the *Romane* Empire, the Islands called *Baleares*, now tearmed *Maioque* and *Minorque*.

*Lucius Mummius* was surnamed *Achaicus*, because hee had subdued *Achaia* and *Corinthe*. So the other *Brutus*, in regard he brought the *Gaules* in subiection, was surnamed *Gallus*. The two *Scipioes*, being brethren, were honoured by the names of the people whom they had vanquished; the one in *Affrica* and *Carthage*, and the other in *Asia*, because hee conquered also in *Antioche* and in *Asia*: for hee was the first that displayed the *Romane* Coullors or Ensignes in *Asia*. Another *Scipio* afterward, tonne to *Paulus Æmillius* (of whose triumph we have already spoken) & Nephew adoptiue to great *Scipio*, was likewise surnamed *Affricanus*; because hee assyled and won the great and puissant city of *Certhage*. Neuerthelesse, hee receiued a greater honor and guerdon, to be surnamed *Numantinus*, and hee himselfe held it in farre higher respect; because in *Spaine* he destroyed *Numantia*, and vterly ouerthrew the *Numantines*.

I finde in like manner, that Emperours attributed vnto themselues the surnames of conquered places, speaking them expressly in their Letters missiue and other instruments; namely *Seuerus*, and his successors after him; as for *Arabia*, *Parthia*, *Armenia*, *Germania*, and other Prouinces by them subdued. So one named himselfe

*Arabicus*, another *Parthicus*, another *Armenicus*, so *Germanicus*, and *Asiaticus*: each man according to such victories as he had obtayned, so did hee magnifie himselfe.

Moreouer, for other matters and reasons, the *Romane* Captaines were illustrated by especiall names, for their greater magnificence and splendour. As we reade of *Marcus Manlius*, who for defending the *Capitoll* from the forces of the *French*, was surnamed *Capitolinus*. The family of the *Torquati* receyued that surname, for taking a *Chaine* or *Coller* from the necke of an enemy, for a *Coller* or *Chaine* in latine is called *Torquis*, and so were diuers of them therefore named. *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, because by long delayes & dissimulations, hee had held out *Hanniball* in warre, only for the defence of *Rome*; they surnamed him *Cunctator*, which is as much to say, as a temporiser or delayer. And for the same reason also, they termed him (beside) the *Shield* or *Buckler* of *Rome*, which redounded to his greater advantage and honour.

*Marcus Marcellus*, who liued also in those times, in regard of his great power and valiancy, the continuall battels which (without ceassing) he gaue to the enemy, was called, *The Sword of Hanniball*. And that excellent Captain *Sylla*, though somewhat cruel, was surnamed *Happy*, in regard of his prosperous victories. *Pompey* likewise was so renowned by his successe in warre, that he had the surname of *Great* giuen him, then which title, I know not what could more haue raised and exalted him. So farre extended the dignity of surnames, granted to Captaines in those dayes, especially to such as were vertuous Commanders and Generals, as they were also called Emperours, which in these more moderne times, is the title of supremest dignity, and which could not then be giuen, but to a Captaine, *Prætor*, *Consull*, or *Proconsull*, that had bin victorious in some notable battaile, and had desolated the enemies country, by the death of a great number of enemies: As if two thousand of his men were slaine, there must then ten thousand perish on the enemies side, and not otherwise it was granted.

With this so gracious and happy a surname, was *Iulius Cæsar*, the Father of *Iulius Cæsar* honored, for the victory which

Metellus and more of name, had their surnames according to their conquests.

Martius Coriolanus and Sergius Fidenatus.

Metellus Balcaricus.

Mummius Achaicus.

Scipio Affricanus and Scipio Asiaticus.

Scipio Affricanus and Numantinus.

Emperours named after conquered countries.

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus.

Novellus Torquatus & Manlius Torquatus. Quintus Fabius Cunctator.

Marcus Marcellus, The sword of Hanniball.

Sylla the Happy.

Pompey the Great.

Captaines called Emperours and vpon what respect or deserts

\* Called also Sabelli, a people of the Mountaines betweene the Sabines and the Marf in Italy.

Mark Anthony was offended at Cæsar.

The name of King hateful in Rome.

Well deserving strangers as much respected and rewarded, as the native sonnes of Rome.

Atalus King of Asia.

Eumenes brother to Atalus.

Deirotarus king of Galatia.

Massinissa king of Numidia.

he had against the \* *Samnites & Lucanes*, in the time of *Sylla*. *Pompey* also was called Emperour, for the memorable victory he wonne in *Affrica*, against *Domitius*. *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, being Proconfull in the warre against the *Parthians*, was by them of the Army named Emperour, for the victory there obtained. *Iulius Cæsar*, before he was called to the Empire, was styled Emperour, by reason of his many victories. But if this Captaine had not suffered great resistances in his battailes, he had not beene worthy of that name, & yet notwithstanding he was reprehended, so that *Marke Anthony* murmured against him, and yet because he had taken a great City, on the further side of the Riuer *Euphrates*, he was content that they should call him Emperour. After *Iulius Cæsar* and his successours, inuesting themselves with the full Seigneury of *Rome*, & knowing well, that the name of King was in horror and detestation among the people, they would bee named Emperours, which title hath continued euer since, & is the very greatest of all.

So then we see, that for such honors, the *Romanes* sayled not in their gratification, as well to their strange friends abroad, being vnder their reward, as to the homeborne sonnes of *Rome*. Because like as they were powerfull and rigorous, in fighting against enemies; so were they as gracious and liberall to such as assisted them. So that in the same kinde of bounty they gaue to king *Atalus* the Prouince of *Asia*, with the title of king: for which (afterward) he was ingratefull, because (by his testament) hee returned all his profits to *Rome*. To *Eumenes* the brother of this *Atalus*, because he had well serued and assisted the *Romanes*, in the war against *Antiochus*: the Senate gaue him all the Cities and Townes, which hee had conquered from *Antiochus* in *Asia*. To king *Deirotarus* of *Galatia*, because hee had ayded *Pompey*, in the warre against *Mithridates*, the *Romans* gaue him the Prouince of the lesser *Armenia*. In the like manner was king *Massinissa* of *Numidia* guerdoned, hauing beene embraced by *Scipio*, as his companion and friend to the people of *Rome*: to him was giuen all whatsoeuer he had conquered in the kingdome of *Syphax*, who had assisted the *Carthagenians*.

Nor were these gifts and presents al-

lowed to Captaines, and men of apparancie onely; but likewise to them of the meanest condition, they gaue gifts, prerogatiues, and great honours. The Confull *Marius*, knowing the well deseruing of two companies, that had fought valiantly against the *Cimbrians*, a people among the *Allemaignes*, and were come into *Italy* with him, he receiued them as Citizens of *Rome*. When being reprovded for doing such a thing contrary to their Lawes, he made answer: *In the noise and clattering blowes of weapons, there is no voice of the Law heard.*

## CHAP. XLII.

*Of such Crownes, with other recompences and salaries, which the Romanes gaue to Soldiors. Also of punishing offenders, comprehending (in this case) an excellent form for warre, and good government of a common-wealth.*

**T**HE *Romans* were not carefull onely for honouring & gratifying their Captaines, but offered them (beside) infinite other graces & fauours, rewarding them honourably in diuers and sundry kindes, with Crownes & Jewels; as holding them in particular esteeme and reputation, and according to the merit of their actions in Armes, in the same sort were they respected and requited.

When a Captaine had obtained a victory in some notable battaile, were it vpon the Sea or Land, and had therein taken some Towne by force, or done any other singular enterprize; immediately after, they had a custome to make diligent inquisition, concerning the valour of the particular bandes and squadrons. Then mounting vpon the Theater, after they had giuen thanks to the Gods for the victory obtrayned: in generall they commended the whole Army, and especially extolled the band or squadron, that had fought with most man-hood. Afterward they reuealed particular men in the companies by their names, publishing the worth

Meane men respected by the Romanes as well as great. A worthy example of the Confull *Marius*.

Diuers kinde of recompences vfed among the Romanes.

The want of publishing the merit of their Armes vpon their open Theaters.

of their vertue and courage, in no lesse measure then they had deserued :terming them friends and louers of their country, saying also, that the Common-wealth stood highly obliged to them. And this beeing done, they gaue then presents of Gold and Siluer, of Crownes, Girdles, Bracelets, Jewels, as also very excellent armour for horsses, made so curiously, & deliuered with such defences and prohibitions, as no man was suffered to vveare or haue the like, without he had deserued it in the same manner. Histories are full of these things, and particularly *Titus Linius*, speaking of the Consul *Papyrius Censor*, saith ; that he gaue Bracelets of Gold to fourteene Centurions ; and afterward to a Squadron, he gaue very rich & costly Ornaments. As much hee saith of *Scipio*, being in *Spaine*, and other places.

Now, concerning the Crowns which they gaue, they had diuers names, and were according to the degrees of merite. They had the Crowne *Obsidionalis*, the crowne *Triumphalis*, the crowne *Oualis*; *Corona Ciuica*, *Corona Muralis*, *Corona Naualis*, and *Corona Castrensis*. *Pliny* speaketh of them all, and so doeth *Aulus Gellius*,

But that Crowne of greatest excellencie, and more esteemed then all the rest, was *Corona Obsidionalis*, which extended to the circled or sledge of the Campe, and it was giuen onely, for hauing deliuered an army enclosed and besieged within a Towne or Citie, or when a camp was strictly enuironed. So that by such a worthy deede of armes, the place or people accounted themselues to bee deliuered from death, or mercilesse imprisonment: for no other action whatsoever, was this honor & respect to be giuen. The crown was made of greene leaues, for they cared not to haue it made of Golde, or other mettall, but of the grasse and hearbes of the same field, where the enemy had bin ouerthrowne or forced to flight. With this Crown was crowned the Great *Quintus Fabius*, because when *Hanniball* vvas before *Rome*, hee defended and deliuered it from his besieging. *Æmilius Scipio*, was also crowned therewith in *Affrica*, for hauing deliuered the Consull *Manlius*, with certaine bands. *Calphurnius* obtayned it also in *Sicily*; and so did the valiant *L. Cincinnatus Dentatus*, and some other.

*Corona Ciuica*, or the Citizen crowne, was made of Oaken leaues and branches, with the fruite or Acornes hanging on it. This was giuen to him that had saued a Cittizen, when his life was in extreame perill, killing his enemy, & making good the place where the danger hapned. This crown was so much made account of, that sometimes it fell to such a mans Honour; who for sauing one *Romane* cittizen, at his deliuerance slew two of his enemies. But because he defended not and made good the place from future perill, doubt vvas made, whether he had deserued this Citizen Crowne, or no. Neuerthelesse, Law was dispensed withall, and it was concluded to be giuen him, seeing hee had deliuered the Citizen, and slaine two of his enemies in a place so perillous, which was not in his power still to protect, although the Law imported so much. And albeit a man had deliuered a King, or a Captaine of confederates and friends, yet could he not haue his crowne to reward him, except he had deliuered a *Roman*: I find that *Pliny* recordeth, that this very same crown had bene giuen to one, who slewe the first enemy that mounted on the wals of a City or Fortresse, being defended by or for the *Romanes*.

This *Corona Ciuica*, was the most excellent, next vnto the *Obsidional*, and might dayly be worne, and in all places. Likewise, he that deserued this Crowne, was of such account and esteeme, as hee might sit in the Theater, or at Feastes, where hee had alwayes his place neere vnto the Senate. And when hee entered, the Senate would rise vpon their fecte, to do him honor.

He stood also free and exempt from any Office or charge whatsoever, except his pleasure was to accept it: and moreover, for his sake, and in regard of him, his Father and Grandfather (if they were liuing) stood exempted also. Many *Romans* obtained to weare this Crowne, & especially the most valiant *Cincinnatus Dentatus*, named before, who wonne fourteene of them. The second *Capitolinus* had sixe; and to *Cicero*, by particular dispensation, one of them was granted, because he had defended *Rome* from the conspiracy of *Catiline*. These Crownes, whereof wee haue made relation, although they were made but of Hearbes and Leaues, and might

*Corona Ciuica*, the Citizens Crown, giuen for sauing a citizens life.

Law may som times bee dispensed withall on needefull occasions.

*Plin. in lib. 6. c. 7*

The reputation & esteeme of this citizen Crowne.

What *Romans* had the honor to weare this Crowne.

*Tit. Lini. in li. 10. cap. Censor.*

the severall crowns which the *Romanes* haue.

*Plin. in lib. 16. c. 22. Aulus Gellius in lib. 5.*

*Corona Obsidionalis*, & where it was giuen, being the crowne for saving a siege

such as had the honor to be crowned with this Crowne.

might more properly be called Garlands, or like to the *French* chaplets of floures: yet were they (notwithstanding) much more esteemed and renowned, then if they had bene of the finest gold.

As for the Murall Crowne, called *Corona Muralis*, it was of golde, and giuen to him that had assaulted and ascended the walls of a city, or a castle, mounting first vp the scaling Ladder, and both freeing and defending the walles; which caused, that the Crowne was made in forme of an imbattelled wall. The first (according to *Pliny*) that obtained this crowne, was *Manlius Capitolinus*. *Scipio* also gaue it to *Quintus Trebellius*, and *Sextus Digittus*; because that they (both together) wonne first the enemies wall, before any other.

*Corona Castrensis, sine Vallaris*, was giuen to him that (in the fight) entred first into the Barriers, Railes, or Listes of the enemies Campe, comming off againe with credite and reputation: this Crowne also was made of gold, and shaped according to Bastions and Rampires of a field for warre.

Of the like mettall was the Nauall Crowne, *Corona Naualis*, which was bestowed on the man, that first (in fight at Sea) boarded and entred an enemies shippe: and it was in the shape of the prow or poynt of a ship. *Marcus Varro* made no disdain of this Crowne, when it was offered vnto him by great *Pompey*, in the war against the Pirates. *Octavius* presented it also to *Marcus Agrippa*, and to *Sylla*: many other likewise had the honor thereof, wherof now I omit to speak.

When any Souldier of *Rome*, were he noble or ignoble; had made any prooffe of his bodie, were it at the course of Launce, or in single combate: the *Romaine* Captaines or Generals were wont to giue him or them collers or chaines of gold and siluer, or bracelets, or girdles, accordingly as they had deserued, with other priuileges and preheminences. And such prizes they might giue to his friends, that had assisted them in the war: but as for the Crownes, they were reserued only for *Romaines*. Of all which things wee finde many notable examples in the *Romaine* histories.

*Suetonius* writeth, that *Octavius* permitted to *Marcus Agrippa*: that he might

beare Banner of Azure colour: in regard of a victory which hee had obtayned at Sea, against *Sextus Pompeius*. He further affirmeth, that it was he who deuised first the gifts of Collers and Flagon chaines, with other particular presents beside, allowed only in such affaires, which would require too long a space heere to report. And heere it is well worth the remembering, that the *Romanes* were so valiant, that some one man hath wonne the honour of all these rewardes, or the greater part of them. For *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe name such men, amongst other *Marcus Sergius*, who obtained the most part of them. And in the warre at \* *Thrasymenus* and *Trobia*, where the *Romaines* were vanquished by *Hanniball*, he wonne the crown called *Corona Ciuica*, as also in the ouerthrow at *Cannas*. This man was so valiant, that hauing lost his right hand in the battel, he shewed great valor with the left, and by meanes of a steele hand made him, in stead of the other lost, he foyled and slew 4. men in one day in the field of *Battell* ech after other: in which braue day of fight, and others beside, he receiued 23 wounds, & al in the fore part of his body.

Yet notwithstanding, neither this *Marcus Sergius*, nor any other beside, did euer deserue and attaine to so much as *Lucius Cincinnatus Dentatus*, Tribune of the people, of whom we spake a little before. Of him write *Plinie*, *Solinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Aulus Gellius*, affirming, that in iewels and presents of price, some greater then other, he obtained onely by actions of Armes, 320. and more. Beside, that he entred *Rome* with 9. seuerall Generals, when they performed their solemne triumphs, & whom he had assisted in their victories. He had a great number of brokē Spears, shiuerd Lances, shafts of *Iauelins*, pikes without heads of steele, giuen to him as signalls of honour. He had 18. collers and gold chains; 83 of siluer: Of armors and furnitures for horses fitting war seruice, and thereunto particularly appoynted, hee had fise and twenty: an hundred and forrie bracelets; eight *Castrenses*; three *Murales*, one *Eliodionale*, and I know not how many *Nauall*. In seuerall fought battailes, hee had taken fise and fourtie wounds, all of them before vpon his bodie; and no more then one only behind; and thirty foure times he

Corona Muralis giuen for first scaling the walles of a Citie or Castle.

Corona Castrensis, as belonging to the Campe and Barriers thereof.

Corona Naualis for boarding shippes at Sea.

Other worthy rewards for merit.

Suet. in vita Octa. Cesar.

The first deuifer of Collers, Chaines and other gifts.

Plin in libr 10. cap. 7. In Solinus in cap. 9. lib. 7.

\* A Lake in Hetruria.

Marcus Sergius a valiant Romaine.

45. wounds all before on his body, and but one one behind.

hee had disarmed and dispoyled the enemy, hauing personally bin present in sixe score encamped battells. Nay, he was so valiant and fortunate in Armes, that hee was surnamed the *Romaine Achilles*: and although his performances may seeme to the world incredible; yet notwithstanding the multitude and conformitie of histories doe auouch them.

The *Romaines*, for famous actions in Armes, conceded (beside) other honours and preheminences, as power of publique iudgements, and sitting in the chaire of \**Curules*, which was the seate of the *Ædi'es* and *Prator*, and which was permitted to *Scipio*. Somtimes also there they gaue consent, for the greatest authorities of Souldiers, according as they were suffered by the people to doe: concerning a degree or state, submitted to the libertie of the *Patriottes* and people. Captaines likewise were permitted to erect triumphall Statues, and to decke and cloathe themselues, euen as if they had beene Consulls. The Senate granted (by forme of salary and congratulation) that they might place in Temples, the armes and spoiles of enemies conquered by the in batrels: and such things were termed *Manubia*, as much to say, as spoyles and booties taken from an enemy.

Furthermore, the *Romains* had a commendable custome, concerning such as had beene slayne in their warres; that their children should haue and enioy the like wages, as they gaue vnto their fathers living. And to olde Souldiers, that had long time followed the wars; such good allowance of land, as they might well and easily liue thereon. Suffering them also to dwell in Citties, Townes, and Provinces conquered and subiected, where themselues pleased to make election. In this manner the Cittie of *Siuill* was made a Colony for *Rome* by *Casar*: which Colonies (according to the common *French* saying) may be termed a new dwelling, or transmigration of people. In brieft, the *Romaines* neuer left a good action vnrequited, nor without some great priuiledge; for the which cause, more valiant men were found among them, then in all other nations beside.

I spare to speake of many other requittalls, which the *Romaines* vsed in respect of Armes, thinking already I haue sayde

enough. Notwithstanding, it is a matter most certaine, that as they excelled all Nations, in both acknowledging and rewarding honest seruices: so they came not a iote behinde vs, in teaching and correcting where occasion required. For when men were not to bee moued by regard of honour and vertue, or by necessity and gaine, to doe what was good; yet they were compell'd to doe no vile thing, both in respect of shame, and feare of punishment. For the paines were great and rigorous against such as shewed themselves to be slouthfull and negligent: because when they lost honour, being called thereto, and might by their owne indeuour haue had it; they were well and soundly whipt, till the blood followed. Some were manacled with yrons like slaues; and if they fled away, and forsooke their Captaines in battaile, they were impaled or spitted on stakes, or else crucified: for, answerable to the delict, so was their punishment.

*Titus Linius* writeth, that the Souldiours of a Squadron, belonging to *Appius Claudius*, to whom the keeping of a place was giuen in charge; forsooke and lost it. He being desirous to inflict punishment, and yet to mixe it with mercie: they were selected by numbers of tenne, and then to cast lottes, and they on whom the lot fell, were put to death for all the rest. *Iulius Frontinus* sayth, that *Marke Anthony* did the very like to a band, which had not defended the rampires, but suffered the enemies to set fire on them. Other inflictions also hee imposed vpon Souldiours, for disobedience and other offences, requiring more time then I am permitted. Wherefore I will shape my conclusion thus onelie, that as those times wanted not remunerations and honours for well doing; so, they were as forward in correcting wicked and bad actions.

No want of doctrine and discipline among the Romaines.

Correction and punishment for idle and negligent persons.

*Tit. Linius in Dec. lib. 4. c. 7*

*Iul. Frontinus in lib 7. cap. 3.*

CHAP.

The Romaine Achilles Lucius Cicinnatus Venturatus.

The chiefe Chaire in the Cancellorie.

Statues allowed to be erected by Captaines and Generalls, & their enemies in Temples.

Manubia, the spoiles of enemies.

Repect of the Souldiers children, as men of long seruice, for their dwelling and feeding.

A good act vnrequited by the Romaines.

CHAP. XLIII.

¶ *Of the reason wherefore Sleep was granted and giuen to man : And likewise, that too much sleep is vicious and hurtfull.*

**S**leep was naturally giuen to man for his conseruation; because there is not any naturall worke, but it hath neede of rest and repose. *Aristotle* sayth, *Every creature that hath bloud, sleepeth*: and there he proueth by good reason, and likewise by experience, that fishes doe sleepe. Sleepe is a repose of all the sences, and proceedeth from the fumes and euaporations, which (in regarde of foode receiued) arise from the stomacke to the braine, by the coldnesse whereof, the hot vapours are tempered, and make the exterior motions and sences sleepy: then retyring the vitall spirits to the heart, all the members become drowsie, and rest from their trauaile, vntill such time as the vitall spirit (which is the instrument whereby the soule frameth her operations, governing and commanding the whole body) doth recouer new forces, and ceassing or diminishing those vapours, man awaketh from sleepe, and then the sences and powers returne more freshly, with farre greater power to their operations.

Concerning the occasions of sleepe, *Aristotle* discourseth at large in his Book of Sleepe and Vigilancie: and *Plutarke* declareth diuers opinions of the Philosophers, beside sundry naturalists. But although it is for the rest and health of the body, yet it must be taken moderately; *Because long sleepe* (saith *Aristotle*) *weakeneth the naturall and animall spirit, even as the moderation thereof doth giue them vigour*: for many things are necessarie, which neuertheless are hurtfull, if they be receiued excessiuely. Foode is both needefull and sauourie, and yet notwithstanding, if it exceede measure, it harmeth, and hath no rellish at all. In like manner, moderate trauaile is wholesome; but

vsed with extremity nothing is more damageable. And so I say of sleepe, that it should not be taken but vpon necessitie, for recreation and repose of the sences, the spirits and members of the body.

Ouer-much Sleepe (as it ouer-loadeth the members and sences, making them slouthfull, and enfeebling them by idlenesse) so it ingendreth so many humidities in the bodie, that they make it sicke, and killeth it, because in the time of sleepe, all the moistures of the bodie (with the naturall heate) retire themselues to the exterior partes, and then they make no euacuation of the superfluities and humidities thereof. Also, sleepe immeasurably vsed, not onely is prohibited by naturall Philosophers and Phisitions; but likewise it is reprooued by all wise men of vnderstanding. *Aristotle* sayth, *During the time of sleepe, there is no difference betweene the wise man and the foole*. And questionlesse, although a wise man had not any other occasion to make litle vse of sleepe, but for equalling himselfe with a sottish Ideot; yet hee should auoid and shunne the excesse (though sleepe maintaineth life, and is very wholesome) in considering with his best cogitations, that he which sleepeth, is not liuing. And as *Plutarke* sayth in his Booke of the contention betweene fire & water: *The man that sleepeth hath no more strength or knowledge in his sleeping, then if hee were dead*. *Pliny* is of the same opinion, saying; *Sleepe taketh from vs the halfe part of our life, considering, while we are in sleepe, we neither know nor feele, whether wee are liuing or no*. *Ouid*, and other Poets beside, with men of no mean learning, do call sleepe, *The similitude of death*.

*Saint Paul*, in the fourth chapter of his first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* sayth, *Brethren, I would not haue you ignorant, concerning them that are asleepe*: in speaking these words, hee plainly meaneth death. Then it followeth thus: *Such as sleepe in Iesus Christ, will God bring with him*. Sleepe likewise is the resemblance of negligence and slouthfulnesse, according to *Saint Gregorie*, who saith; *For a man to sleepe, is to keep himselfe and perscuere in his sinnes*. If sleeping thus had not beene vnderstood to sinne, *Saint Paul* would neuer haue sayd so many times: *Awake yee iust, and sinne no more*. A man then may very

Excessiue of sleepe b  
sickeneth  
killeth the  
body.

*Arist. li. vii.*

Sleepe eq  
leth a wise  
man with  
foole.

*Plutar. in  
cont. de Ig.  
Agn.*

*Plin. li. 36.*

*1. Theff. 4.*

*S. Gregor. in  
8. de Moral.*

*2. Corinth.*

*Arist. in Ani.  
malt. lib. 4. ca. 3.*

What sleepe  
is said to be.

What sleepe  
worketh by  
his course in  
the body of  
man.

*Aristot. in lib. de  
Som. & Vigil.  
Plutar. in Mor.*

Too much  
sleepe is very  
dangerous.

All things are  
to be vsed  
with modera  
tion and dif  
cretion.

very well shame, to spend the most part of his life sleeping in his bed; for therein he sinneth no lesse then he that sitteth all day at a Table feeding: in regarde, that these things ought not to be taken, but for the sustentation of life, and not the hurt thereof, and of the soule also; wherefore sleepe is allowed for sustenance, and not for voluptuousnesse.

Seeing then it should bee employed onely for the health of the bodie; let vs now vnderstand, after what maner a man should lie in his bed for Sleep, to the end it may be profitable to him. I reade; that the most profitable kinde of sleeping for any well disposed person, is first to beginne sleepe vpon his right side; and afterward (for the most part of the night) to turne and rest vpon his left side; and in the ending of his sleepe, to turne a while on the right side againe. The reason is, because the stomacke of a man is seated in such sort, that the mouth thereof leaneth somewhat more to the right side then to the left; but the hollow heart or bottome thereof, declineth a little toward the left side. So that by lying down to sleepe (for an houre or two) on the right side, the stomacke extendeth it selfe and resteth vpon the liuer. And hence ensueth two especiall commodities; the first, that the stomacke ordereth it selfe, and in that preparation, the foode descendeth downe the more easily: the second, that the humidity of the meate receiued, refresheth the liuer, and by that refreshing, naturall heate taketh strength in the stomacke, to beginne and cause digestion.

After that these two good effects haue followed one another, then it shall be fitting to turne vpon the other side, because by being so turned, the liuer cometh and couereth the stomacke, and embraceth it euen with wings, (as it were) so that his foode retaineth more to the liuer, and thereby perfecteth digestion. Neuerthelesse, it is good in the morning, for a finall consummation of that times sleepe, to turne againe vpon the right side, to the end that the stomach may beginne to ease and discharge the liuer, and likewise to expell the ayre or superfluitie of the passed digestion. This rule is good, and will bee well acknowledged by him that hath a qualified liuer,

and his stomacke not cold, but th at these two members are found and temperate in him. But he that hath an ouer-hot liuer, and a cold stomacke, as many times it commeth so to passe: it is not good for him to sleepe vpon the right side, because the stomacke falling vpon the liuer, straineth and presseth it in e .ery part, heating and enflaming it excessiuely, so that the vpper part of the stomacke continueth vncouered by the superiour part, cooling and weakning it more and more; whereby the very greatest heate of the liuer carrieth and beareth vpon it, all the little left in the stomacke before, whence ensueth bad digestion, and consequently a sickly disposition. Wherefore the man that hath a cold stomacke, and a hote liuer, it is not wholesome for him to sleep on his left side; because the stomacke being wholly couered with the liuer, it maketh digestion; and as for the liuer, lying so aloft vpon the superior part, it is both discovered and discharged, and by that meanes refresheth it selfe, and is not enflamed at all.

There are some also, that make a custome of sleeping on their belly, which helpeth and comforteth digestion, because it assembleth and retayneth naturall heate in the stomacall part, which is in the better disposition for euacuating superfluities. The contrary commeth to such as sleepe on their backe, with the face openly discovered: in regarde that naturall heate extendeth it selfe abroad, by which meanes digestion is weakened, and the superfluities can not be purged by the mouth, nor by the ordinarie conduites and passages: but remaine in the breast and in the throat, which oftentimes causeth stuffings and suffocations, with Epilepsies and other infirmities.

The wise therefore doe also counsell and aduise, that a man should not sleepe too much stretcht out in his bed, because thereby digestion is greatly weakned and impaired: for according to the Philosophers rule; when the vertues and forces are vnited together, the operation is so much the better. But being moderately and indifferently heaped or doubled, the carnositie which couereth the stomacke, ioyneth the more closely to it, heating and strengthening it better then before. These rules whereof I haue spoken, are

Of an ouer-heated liuer, and a colde stomacke, and what infirmities do attend thereon.

Of a cold stomacke and inflamed liuer.

Of such as do sleepe vpon their face and belly.

Of such as sleepe vpon their backe, and what ensueth thereon.

Of sleeping too much stretcht out in bed.

necessa-

Sleepe to be used for sustenance, and not for voluptuousnesse.

What maner a man should lie in his bed.

Why the stomacke is placed in the bodie.

The benefits of lying down and resting on the right side.

The benefit of turning vpon the left side.

The reason for turning againe on the right side to finish sleepe.

necessary for such as bee dainty and delicate, and those of weaker disposition, but that be healthfull, lusty, and able, the best rule that they can obserue, is to keepe the custome which they haue bene most vsed to.

### CHAP. XLIII.

*Of an ancient vse and custome in Spaine, in making their account of times, by these words; Here de Cæsar: What that Here is, and wherefore, and when the vse thereof was left.*



**N** ancient times they had a custome in *Castile*, when-soeuer they dated writings & instruments of reckoning or worth; they wrote downe the words of *Here de Cæsar*, in such sort as we set downe the yeare of Grace, or of our Lord God, and the same stile was obserued in Chronicles and Histories, as hath bene obserued by many diligent Readers. And although this matter hath bin seene and discoursed by many; yet few people haue vnderstood the occasion and originall of this vse, neyther wherefore the word is tearmed *Here*.

In mine opinion, there may bee two good reasons rendred. The first, that this word *Here* was written with an aspiration, and so haue I found it in some places of the Spanish History; although in some other it is not so. But being so, we say, that it commeth of the Latine word *Herus*, which is as much to say, as Lord: and thereby it followeth, that *Here* may be vnderstood for Lordship, Soueraignty, Monarchy, or Reigne and Dominion: and that *Here de Cæsar*, implyeth the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, that is to say, the beginning of Monarchy, which is vnderstood of *Octavius*. Of this opinion is *Antonius Nebricensis*, for in his vacabulary for the Spanish Language, he saith; *Here de Cæsar*, is namely the Monarchy of *Cæsar*.

Astrologers in their accounts, and especially king *Alphonsus* in his Tablets, nameth the beginning of reignes by the

word *Here*: as that of *Philip*, that of *Alexander*, that of *Nabuchodomasor*, that of *Cæsar*, and many other. And yet notwithstanding, although this may seeme to bee a case cleare and euident, yet there is a kinde of difficulty, wherein it is expedient to yeeld satisfaction. To wit, that as *Eusebius*, *Paulus Orosius*, and diuers other writ, *Christ* was borne in the 42 yeare of the Empire of *Octavius*: if it be so, it appeareth that *Here* should anticipate the 42 yeares of *Christ*'s Natiuity, in regard that it hath respect to the beginning of *Cæsars* Empire, according to due consideration. Neuerthelesse, it anticipateth but of thirty eight yeares, according to king *Alphonsus* his setting downe: wherefore the Text hath not fayled, for euermore *Here de Cæsar*, precedeth the birth of *Christ* thirty eight yeares.

I vnderstand this to ensue from *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and all the rest, who naming the birth of *Christ*, to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of the Empire of *Octavius*; begin their account of his Empire, at the first day of his entring Rome, soone after the death of his vnkle *Iulius Cæsar*, where he arriuing, was made Captaine with the Consuls *Hirtius* & *Pensacus*, against *Mark Anthony*. In setting downe the account of time so, and not otherwise, the birth of *Christ* commeth iustly to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of his Empire: notwithstanding, they that make their account by *Here*, leaue out foure yeares at the beginning. And it seemeth they had good reason so to doe, because in those 4 first yeares, *Octavius* held no commaund in Rome, neyther had the gouernement without resistance: for at the entring of those foure yeares, he had warre against *Marke Anthony*. Then going afterward to Rome with his troopes, he had the Consulship perforce, in the place of *Hirtius*, he being dead at his comming.

When these things were done, hee made an accord & conuention with *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus*, where they became all three (one after another) to gouerne for a certaine time, and made the cruell proscription, whereby they did put to death diuers of the principall mē in Rome. Moreouer, he and *Marke Anthony* passed into *Greece*, in persecution of the murderers of *Cæsar*, where they fought a battaile against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: after whose

death

Here de Cæsar obserued as we do the yeare of our Lord God,

The first reason concerning the word *Here*.

Here de Cæsar, the Monarchy of Cæsar.

*Anton. Nebricensis* in Vocabular.

The account of Astrologers.

A question concerning the Natiuity of *Christ*.

The difference of Writers the setting downe the account.

The four yeares *Cæsar* had commaund Rome.

The Triumvirate of *Octavius*, *Mark Anthony*, *Lepidus*, their bloody proscription.

death and discomfiture, he lost *Mark Anthony* in those Easterne parts, and returned into *Italy*, where he opposed himselfe against *Lucius Antonius*, the brother vnto *Marke Anthony*, and besiedged him in *Perusia*, constraining him to yeelde to his mercy. Thus hauing vanquished and expelled all his enemies, hee came (without any contradiction) to *Rome*, to gouerne *Italy, France, Spaine, and Germany*: for *Lepidus* was in *Affrica*, and *Marke Anthony* in *Asia*; therefore his entrance and Seignoury, was foure years after his comming from *Greece*.

In regard whereof, the account of *Here* and Monarchy, beginneth (by good reason) there, which is thirty eight yeares before the birth of *Christ*: so that *Eusebius, Orosius*, and all the rest, who set downe the birth to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of *Octavius* his Empire, doe begin their reckoning, from the day that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine, he being his Vnkle. And this is prooued apparantly, because it appeareth by all histories, that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare seuen hundred and ten, from the foundation of *Rome*: & our Lord was borne in the yeare seuen hundred, fifty two, whereby there is a distance of two and forty yeares, all which are granted to the empire of *Octavius*. In like manner, according to *Eusebius*, *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare of the worlds creation, five thousand, one hundred, fifty seuen: and our Lord (after the same *Eusebius*) was borne in the yeare five thousand, one hundred, ninety nine, wherein there is a difference each from other, of the same two and forty yeares.

If wee come, to account by *Olympiades*, *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the second yeare of the 164 *Olympiades*; and *Christ* was borne in the third yeare of the 194. inclusiuely; which is also the same difference of two and forty yeares: in which respect, they set the empire of *Octavius*, two and forty yeares before the Natiuity. Albeit his true empire began four yeares after the time when his *Here* had original, and thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity: for during those foure yeares, hee was no Lord nor Commander, as all the *Romane Histories* do approve. *Plutarch, Appian, Dion, Suetonius*, and more then all the rest, *Titus Liuius*, or to speake better, *Lucius Florus* saith, That *Octavius* com-

ming to *Rome*, when his Vnkle was slaine, was but eightene yeares of age, and was *Consull* at nineteene. Then the warres being past, and all his enemies vanquished and gone; he returned victoriously to *Rome*, & Monarchised in the three and twenty of his age. So that by this account, and likewise that of *Titus Liuius*, the empire of *Octavius* began foure yeares after the death of his Vnkle *Iulius Cæsar*, which agreeth with the account of *Here*, thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity.

Some others doe allow of another reason or opinion, concerning this *Here*, by writing it with a diphthong *Æ*, without aspiration, and they say it is deriued of the Latine word *Aera*, for coine or money, *ex Aera constata*, and that it had original, from the beginning of taxes or tribute money, which was payed to *Octavius*, and called *Ære*, or the tribute of *Cæsar*, and not the empire of *Cæsar*, and that it was termed *Aera Aera*. It is further affirmed, that it was the name of a coyne or money, which was reckoned at a certaine value, and that from the time that was ordered and imposed, so they numbred and counted the *Ære*. *Saint Isidore* is of this opinion, speaking thus. *Aera singulorum annorum constituta est a Casare Augusto, quando primo censu excogitabo Romanorum orbem descripsit. Dicta autem Aera, quod omnis orbis as reddere professus est republicæ.* Therefore it appeareth plainly, that this maner of account, came and receiued name of his money and tribute then payed. So hee auoucheth in the chapter following, in speaking of the *Quinquennall* yeares, where hee saith: *Ad huc enim Consules, ad huc Aera non erant.* In like manner it seemeth, that *Ambrose Calepine*, in his *Dictionary* gaue this diction such original, saying. *Astrologi quoque initium, à quo supputationes, incipiant, Aeram vocant: dicta Aera ex eo, quod omnis orbis as reddere professus est reipubli.*

*Fryer Alphonsus*, of the Order of *S. Dominick*, in his *Euchiridion* of times, hath these very words. *Another beginning came of accounting by the Ære of the same Octavius, who hauing the whole world in his hand, would know what people he had vnder his Empire: and therefore commanded by Edict, that euery one should be registred in the towne of his birth, to the end, they might giue*

Qq him

The Empire of Octavius began foure yeares after his Vnkles death.

The second reason concerning this Here, to come of Cæsars tribute mony.

Isidor in l. 9. de Etimol. c. 36.

An account made from five yeares to five yeares.

Ambrosius Calepinus in Dictiono.

Alphons. Fr. Dom. in Euchirid. Temp.

The City Pousæ in Hæria.

When the account of Herod Monarchy iustly begin, according to the date of Herod.

The death of Cæsar, according to Eusebius.

Account according to the Olympiades.

Lucius Florus in lib. 125

The name of Aera deriued from the tribute payed by them.

A question concerning the beginning of Cæsars Edict of Maxatiron.

An answer to the former question.

The Edict could not so soone be knowne in remote parts as neerer home.

him (in signe of Seignury or dominion) a kinde of money; and because this money was of mettall, the description thereof was named Aera. So that (according to these Authors) this manner of numbring the years by Heres, came from the tribute which they payed, and it was so written in Latine, Aera.

Notwithstanding, there remaineth yet another difficulty, of no meane importance, to wit, it seemeth that the Edict of Cæsar began not so long time before the Natiuity, as the thirty eight yeares which they count of the Here. Also it appeareth by the second chapter of S. Luke, that it began in the yeare when our Lord was borne, because he saith *Exijt Edictum à Cæsare: There came out a decree from Augustus Cæsar*, and therefore the beginning accordeth not with that of Here. Wherevnto (in mine opinion) answer may be made, that on the hither side of the East parts, to wit, those of Italy, France, and Spaine, this Edict might be begun by the commandement of Octavius, when hee had bene enstalled Lord and Emperor peaceably in Rome, which was thirty eight yeares before Iesus Christ was borne: but in Assyria and Indea it was not then made knowne, because the Prouinces remained vnder the gouernment of Mark Anthony, vntill they came vnder the Monarchy of Cæsar, and there is no contradiction to be found, but that eight and thirty yeares (before) he gouerned France and Spaine, and measurably impatronizing himselfe of the Prouinces, hee caused the Edict to be accordingly published. Wherefore it might so come to passe, that the first which was made knowne in those Countries, was that whereof S. Luke speaketh, and yet neuerthelesse, there were other Countries and Prouinces, where that Here had receiued beginning before.

Venerable Beda sheweth this clearly, writing vpon the same chapter of S. Luke, expounding the words, *Vt describeretur vniuersus orbis*, he saith thus. *Signant hanc descriptionem, vel primam esse harum, quæ totum orbem concluderint, quia pleraque iam parte terrarum leguntur fuisse descriptæ.* It seemeth this description, to be the first that was vniuersall to the whole world; because before it, many Citties and Townes in particular, had bene described or set downe. S. Ambrose affirmeth as much vpon the saide chapter of Luke, saying: *There were found many other Lands and Prouinces, which had bene registred downe.* Lucius Florus, in his abreuiation of 133. Bookes of Titus Linius, writeth: *That Cæsar, soone after hee had vanquished Marke Anthony, imposed a tribute vpon al France, which was litile lesse then thirty yeares before Christ was borne.*

But whether the cause arose by the first reason, of tearing it by the name of Here, or by the last; it is sufficient that it began eight and thirty yeares before the Natiuity. This custome of accounting by Heres is very ancient, especially in Spaine, as also among the Arabes and Sarrazines, and I think that the Gothes afterward vsed it, and it was not left so long as the Romanes reigne endured. Isidore, in writing of the Gothes, and of this Here, approueth it to be ancient. And although I cannot directly say, when it began, yet I know well enough, that it hath bene long time vsed in Spaine, as appeareth by the Spanish Chronicles, euen vntil John the first, King of Spaine (who lost the battaile of Alubarata, in the fift yeare of his reigne) commanded, that from thence forward, the Here de Gasar should no more be vsed in writings and histories, but the birth of Christ; which was in the yeare 1383. and in the Here de Cæsar, 1421.

Bedasup. 2. S. Luc.

Ambros. in cap. S. Luc.

Lucius Fl. in Abre. 7. Linius.

A small conclusion of two reasons.

Isidor. in li. vbi supra.

At what Here de Gasar ceased.

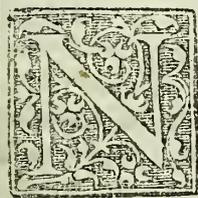
THE.

The End of the Fourth Booke.



# OF NOBILITY POLITICALL AND CIVILL.

## THE FIFTH BOOKE.



**N**obility, which many of the greater sorts of wits, with great prooffe of vn-corrupted verity, & much flowing Eloquence, haue gone about to deriue out of diuers foundations, is of three sorts: and is diuided into Nobility *Celestiall*, which consists in *Religion*: Nobility *Philosophicall*, which is got by Morall vertues: and Nobility *Politically*, whereof this present Treatise is. Out of the two first sorts of Nobility, no man can come Noble, except that he the same, be a good man also. But out of this third sort, a man, although he bee neuer so wicked and vngracious, may yet excell the rest of men, euen in the highest degree of Nobility: so as did *Caligula*, *Nero*, and such others like.

The matter of Nobility, was in ancient time accounted of two sorts, viz. *Theologicall* and *Morall*: For why, Nobility is a thing honourable, and of it selfe laudable: But without vertue, nothing (according to the opinion of *Cicero*) can be commendable, or praise-worthy. Of which thing, the seate and scituation of the *Temple of Honour* among the *Romanes*, was a notable example: whereunto there was no entrance or way, but by the *Temple of vertue*.

But by the preposterous innouation and change of things, that Nobility which was proper onely to the good, gaue place, and in stead thereof, that Nobility which is alike common vnto the bad and to the

good, stept to the helme: yea, euen the word *Nobilis* (or Noble) it selfe, which some will haue to haue beene so called, as who should say, *Noscibilis*, or remarkable, or for some vertue *Notable*, began to be indifferently taken into both parts, good & bad: as *nobile Scortum*, a noble harlot, *nobile Scelus*, a noble villaine. Neyther in question of Politicall Nobility, are wee any more to haue recourse vnto the Diuines or Philosophers, and much lesse to the ancient Romane Constitutions (for the most part) discerning all thinges by Magistracies, Charges, and Offices, but onely vnto the dispositions of the Princes and Monarchs of the world: who hauing the power of the gouernement of the world (as it were in a sort common together with God) after their maner, gouerne Nobility according to their owne pleasure and good liking, and so haue made the same hereditary. And heereof is it, that a stranger, made a Nobleman at Rome, or else-where, is not at home accounted in the number of the Nobility, his Prince being thereto vnwilling, and so contrariwise also. VVherefore, they which examine Politicall Nobility, according to any other rule, then the custome of euery Nation, are vtterly out of the way. Yet in this so great diuersity of manners and customes of Nations in all places, the same Definition of Ciuill Nobility agreeth vnto them all, viz. *Quod sit qualitas, siue Dignitas qua quis legitimè à Plebeia conditione eximitur &*

Politically Nobility common as well to the bad as to the good.

In question of Politically Nobility, we are not to haue recourse vnto Diuines, or Philosophers.

Barthol. *Constitutio in vnaquaq; Regione est omnium Dignitatum origo, forma & Principium.* Politically Nobility resteth vpon the custome of Nations.

Celestiall Philosophicall. Politically.

Treatise of Honour and Politically Nobility.

Temple of Honour among the Romanes.

*per gradus erigitur.* That it is a quality or dignity, wherby a man is lawfully exempt and by degrees promoted out of, and aboue the estate of the vulgar & common sort of people. Of this Nobility, there be two kindes, viz. Nobility *Natiue*; that is to say, by birth: and *Datiue*, which is by the Princes giuft. For as for violent Nobility, such as was that of *Nimrods*, I vtterly reiect it.

But that these things may bee made more manifest, we will by certaine of the better Common-weales, euen vnto these our times, deriue the beginning of this dignity, and the manner of obtaining the same, as it were euen from the first infancy thereof, taking both the matter & the examples we therein vse, out of most authentick and approued Authors, the sentences almost nothing, and much lesse the words, much changed, so that the well affected Reader, cannot of right, lay any thing thereof to our charge.

CHAP. II.

*Of the Nobility of the first Age.*



**I**Dare contrary vnto the common receiued opinion affirme, nobility *Datiue* to haue bin before, & more excellent then Nobility *Natiue*, exāple being taken frō *Adam* himselfe, whom all men know to haue bene made, and not borne: and verily to haue bene a Noble-man (if any other) as formed by God to the Image of himselfe, endowed with all good gifts, and made Lord and Soueraigne Ruler of all creatures; yea, euen of the whole world. But that cœlesti- all Nobility he soone (alas, too too soone) lost, by hearkning vnto his wife: and that worldly Nobility which he yet retained, being vnto his children deriued, began first in them to be *Natiue*, or Nobility by birth. If any man therefore consider *Adam* his owne race and Progeny, he must needs confesse all the men of that age, to haue bene together Noble. But as in mans body for the preservation of the whole, diuers functions, and offices of members, are required; euen so, in that first society

of men (as in all others) a distinction of persons was necessary: wherefore the first Common-weale, which was of the family of *Adam*, and of his children, consisted wholly of Noblemen (to wit) of the children of one Father, and he the same, being a King, a Prophet, and a Priest; but yet not all of them to be with like honour reuerenced. For he, that first Householder as it were by the decree of Nature, gaue the preheminance and cheefe place vnto his first begotten Sonne, so long as hee kept the right of his Birth-right, which order other families. Afterward following, constantly obserued: so that he which was first by Nature, should be accounted also first in honour. Yet neuerthelesse, was it altogether lawfull for the *Father of the family*, to make choise of his own children, that so according to euery one of their desarts, he might bestow vpon them honours, or take them from them.

Of the great number of *Adams* Progeny, & the discord of the Brethren among themselues, at length arose the diuision of Families, and so consequently, the vncertainty and forgetfulnesse of kindreds, and deadly hatreds and fallings out withall. By warre, the change of mens estates and conditions, and seruitudes are brought in. The vanquished, of Noble become base and vnnoble: & contrariwise, the victors, of base persons, became Noble. Men for the preservation of themselues, haue out of families assembled together into Villages; out of Villages, into Citties; and out of Citties haue growne together into Prouinces, and so into most great kingdoms. In dangers and distresses, according to the rule of reason, wise men are called vpon for their counsel, valiant men for their aide and defence, vnto whom, as vnto men most worthy, the gouernment is committed; whereas the rest are enforced without difference, to obey without any respect of their stocke or kindred.

These things to haue thus beene in the *Iewes State and Common-weale*, is vnto all men knowne, which are but easily read in the old *Testament*. First, that Principality and prerogatiue, was giuen vnto the first begotten, you shall easily vnderstand, if you shall diligently consider, that when *Adam* by reason of his great yeares, was not able longer to attend to the gouernment of the church, and of the common- weale,

The definiti-  
on of nobility  
Two kindes  
of Nobility,  
viz. *Datiue*  
and *Natiue*.

Nobility  
which in *Adā*  
was first *Da*  
*tive* in him  
began to be  
*Natiue*.

A distincti-  
on of persons  
uen in the  
first society  
men.

The prerog-  
atiue of birth  
right obse-  
ued.

The diuisi-  
on of Famili-

Families  
haue grow-  
ne into Villa-

Villages in  
Citties.  
Citties in  
Prouinces  
Prouinces  
to Kingdoms

weale, *Seth* was made **Gouernor**, who the held the place of the first begotten. Vnto *Seth* euen for the same cause succeeded *Enoch*: vnto *Enoch*, *Conan*: vnto *Conan*, *Mahaleel*: vnto *Mahaleel*, *Iered*: vnto *Iered*, *Canoc*: vnto *Canoc*, *Methusehel*, vnto *Methusehel*, *Lamech*: vnto *Lamech*, *Noah*: who ruled ouer his Progeny an hundred & ten yeares after the Deluge; at which time, the dispersing of his posterity happened. Which dispersion being made, euery one of them bare himselfe as Prince of his owne family; which preheminece passed still vnto the first borne of that stocke and family: so that the first begotten of the principall family, still held the same. Neither ought any man to doubt euery one of the Patriarkes to haue ruled as cheefe men ouer their owne Tribes and Families vntill that the gouernment of the whole people was deliuered ouer to *Moses*. But concerning *Moses* himselfe, we reade in the fourth of *Exodus*, him and *Aaron* to haue gathered together all the Elders of the children of *Israel*, which was the first Assembly. In the 24. of *Exodus*, the Lord commandeth seuentie of the Elders of the children of *Israel*, to come vnto him, together with *Moses*: which seuentie (in the same chapter) are as it were by a knowne name called Nobles or cheefe Persons of the children of *Israel*. *Moses* beside, oppressed with the multitude of sutes, following the counsell, of *Iethro*, chose out of the people certain Captaines of thousands which should beare rule ouer a thousand families: others of hundreds, who commanded ouer an hundred: others of fifties who had the command ouer fifty: and others of ten, who bare rule ouer ten, & determined of their lesser sutes and controuersies. Now that there were many Captaines of thousands, euen in one and the selfe-same Tribe, it is out of holy Scripture manifest; and these men, *Moses* here & there calleth, *The Heads of the Fathers, the Heads of the Tribes, Princes, and Heads of the Soldiers*; and amongst them were 12 cheefe Princes, especially chosen of the 12 Tribes, who somtimes were alone by themselves chosen out for some especiall commission. But what manner of men *Moses* made Rulers ouer the *Israelites*, and what manner of companions he chose forth as assistants vnto himselfe in the gouernment of the common-weale; he himselfe in the

first chapter of *Deuteronomy* thus plainly witnesseth. *And I spake vnto you the same season, saying, I am not able to beare the burden of you my selfe alone. For the Lord your God hath multiplied you: and behold, you are this day as the starres of heauen in number, &c. Bring (from among you) men of wisdom and of vnderstanding, & men knowne in your Tribes, that I may make them Rulers ouer you. And you answered me and said; that which thou hast saide, it is good for vs to do. And so out of the Tribes I tooke the Captaines (men of wisdom and experience) & made them Rulers ouer you, Captaines ouer thousands, and ouer hundreds, ouer fifty, & ouer ten, & Officers among your Tribes, &c.* But wee enduced both by the weight of the words, and by reason, are enforced to cōiecture, *Moses* being a wise man, in this election and choise, to haue preferred men for their wisdom & experience famous and well knowne, both for the gaining of the fauour and obedience of the people; and also for the better gouernment of the common-weale: neyther to haue any thing regarded such, as boasted onely of the prerogatiue of their birth; for otherwise, instead of helpers, he should rather haue associated vnto himselfe, the perturbors of the publike peace. Wherefore we set downe those seuentie Iudges by the commandement of God, appointed by *Moses* to haue bin of the dignity of Senators, vnto who some men adde two more, viz. *Moses* himselfe, and the High-Priest, as if that six had bin appointed out of euery one of the twelue Tribes.

Wherefore, by those things which we haue now already spoken, it is euident, as well *Datiue* as *Natiue* Nobility, to haue bin in vse amongst the *Israelites*, & sometime euen in one and the same family, to haue passed vnto the first begotten alone, or to some other graced with some publike Office in some family, whilst the rest borne of the same stock, in the mean time stucke fast within the bounds of them of the vulgar state and condition. And concerning the kings of the *Israelites*, it is to be thought also, as it is of the kings of other nations, that they according to their pleasure, ennobled many, eyther by reason, or by affection moued and induced so to do. But let vs now from the *Iewes*, passe ouer vnto the *Gentiles*.

Princes.

The Heads of the soldiers.

The first begotten were Princes of their owne Families.

Nobles or cheefe Persons of Israel.

Captaines of thousands.

Centurions.

Captaines of fifties, Centurions, or Captaines of tens.

The Heads of the Fathers, The Heads of the Tribes.

## CHAP. III.

## ¶ Of the first Greeke Nobility.



Nothing was euer more vnconstant thē the greek Common-weale, with perpetuall changes still floating vp & down. The beginning of their Monarchy, I (as most are wont) will no further fetch, then from *Cecrops*. He first called the rude *Athenians* out of the fields, into a ciuill society, built twelue Townes, and diuided the Cittizens of them into Souldiers, Artificers, Husbandmen, and Shepherds. Euery City had Magistrates of it owne, neyther did they but in times of great danger resort vnto the King: yea many of them at times tooke vp Armes against their Kings. They which inhabite the *Champaine* Country, were commanded by some few. The Mountiniers were gouerned by a popular estate, and they which dwelt by the Sea-coast, had a mixt gouernement, in a meane betwixt both. And they which out of the whole body of the people, were called vnto the gouernement of the Common-weale, were honored for Princes, Senators, and Noblemen. *Plutarch* writeth, such men as were of greatest power in the Citties, to haue bene thrust out by *Theseus*, that hee himselfe might so alone raigne, yet diuided he the people into Senatours, Husbandmen, and Artificers: of whom hee would haue them of the first ranke, to excell the rest in dignity: them of the second sort, to excell the rest for necessary vse; & them of the third, to exceede the rest in multitude and number. But in the choise of the Senators, he had respect vnto their wealth, their learning, and especially their vertue, which things were required also in the person of the King. For *Demosthenes* in his Oration against *Neera* sheweth, after the Common-weale set in order by *Theseus*, neuerthelessse by his hands stretched out, to haue appointed a King out of the number of thē which were thought to excell in vertue. Vpon the Senators he imposed the charge of bearing of Office, to consider and determine of matters of Religion, to interpret and expound the

Law and sacred rights: and when he was desirous more to encrease the City, hee called all men indifferently vnto an equall part of the Common-weale. VVherefore, in *Theseus* his Gouernment, Nobility was gotten by riches, knowledge, and vertue. After the Kings, there was in the City a double *Democratie*, one which consisted in the power and gouernment of the richer sort of the Cittizens; and another, which rested in them all in generall which were free-men. *Solon* (the discord betwixt the common sort, and them of the richer sort of the people being appeased) after the slaughter of the *Cylonians*, restored vnto his country, the Democraticall or Popular gouernment, the Oligarchy or gouernment of some few, being quite taken away. He deuised foure orders or degrees of Cittizens: Them, which could of their dry & wet commodities, fill fise hundred of their measures (called *Modij*) hee placed in the first order or degree. Them which could fill foure hundred of those measures, hee placed in the second ranke. Them which could fill three hundred, in the third, and al the rest in the fourth. And called the first of these *Modiales*, the second *Equites*, the third *Zeugitea*, and the fourth *Theta*. All publike Offices, he appointed to be committed to them, which were placed in the three first degrees, and they so hauing borne Office, were accounted in the number of the Nobility, but vnto the fourth ranke was no publike Office or Magistracy communicated; & therefore that ranke was altogether base and vnnoble. But after *Solon*, *Aristides*, and *Pericles* participated the Magistracies, euen vnto the basest and lowest sort of the people also, as *Xenophon* in his Booke concerning the *Athenian Commonweal*, setteth it down for right and reason, that they, euen of the meaner and poorer sort, should indifferently be called & admitted vnto all preferments in euery part of the Common-weale, for that they more profited for the enriching of the City, then did they of the Nobility. Euen plaine Cittizens, hauing well deserued of the Commonweal, were therefore among the *Athenians* ennobled. So *Leo*, for that he for the welfare of the commonweal, had solemnly vowed his daughters to death, was accounted & registred amongst the ten Worthies. And Nobility once by the Father obtayned,

enno-

The first diuision of the Grecian common-weale by *Cecrops*.

Who were Princes, Senators, and Noblemen, among the Greekes.

A new diuision of the Athenian people by *Theseus*.

After *Theseus* a double *Democratie* in the Athenian Common-weale.

Foure orders or degrees of Cittizens dained by *Solon*.

1. *Modiales*  
2. *Equites*  
3. *Zeugitea*  
4. *Theta*.

ennobled his Children also.

But the *Athenian* commonweal was not so lauish & prodigall in the communicating of Nobility, as was in auncient time the Romaine Common-weale sparing and curious in the bestowing thereof. Wherefore this the Romaine State and Common-weale shall affoord vnto vs greater store and plenty of matter of this kinde and nature.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ Of the first Romaine Nobilitie.

**R**omulus to draw strength vnto the city of *Rome*, but lately before by him built, ordayned an *Asylum* or *Sanctuary*, wherevnto the poore and base people out of Countries and places thereby by flockes resorting, gaue the first increase vnto so great a city. And out of this rabb'ement of people *Romulus* chose an hundred *Senatours*, which by *Iuuenall* the Satyricall Poet is in these verses noted.

*Et tamen ut longè repetas, longèq; reuoluas  
Nom-n, ab infami geniem deducis Atylo:  
Maiorum primus quisquis fuit, ille tuorum,  
Aut Pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

(name,

And though from far thou dost repeat thy pedegree & Yet frō the base *Asylum* thou canst but deniue the same: For he that was first Author of thy stocke and pedegree, A Shepheard was, or else such one, I list not name to (thee.

Then *Romulus* for their honor, would haue to be created, *Fathers*: and for their age, *Senators*, and both them and their progeny he appoynted to be of the ranke of them that were of the *Senatours* descended. But afterward, the Commonweale being communicated also with the *Sabines*, he chose out another hundred. *Tarquinius Priscus* (or as some other rather would haue it) *Brutus* added vnto them another C. called the *Senatours* of the meaner sort of the People. *Valerius Publicola*, after the Kings were driuen out, chose threescore and foure more then an hundred, of the order of Gentlemen (in stead of so many *Senators* slaine by *Tarquinius Superbus*) which were called *Adlecti*, or men chosen: for after the

kings driue out, such as he saw to be wise, ancient, and of approued honesty, he alcribed into the *Senate*, as into the most graue & reuerend Counsell. After those first foundations of the Romaine Commonweale thus layed. Citizens of *Rome* descended of the stocke of *Senators* (who before had borne the chiefe and greatest Honors) were by the *Dictators*, *Censors*, or *Triumvirs*, created *Senators*, and afterward also of the Order of Gentlemen were called into the *Senate*.

Wherefore, the Order of *Patricij*, and of the *Senatours*, to haue ennobled such as were thereof, there was neuer anie doubt; but concerning the order of Gentlemen, some there be, which make question. *Tiraquellus* thinketh the Romaine Gentlemen to haue holden the middle place betwixt the *Patricij* (or them which were descended from *Senatours*) and the *Plebeij* or Common People: for that *Tacitus* calleth them *Illustres*, or men of marke. *Martiall* also calleth the Order of Gentlemen, the Lesser Order and the Order of *Senators*, and of them that were descended of *Senatours*, the Greatest Order.

Many are also of opinion, Nobilitie to haue bene giuen amongst the Romaines, by the bestowing vpon them Rings of Golde: and most certayne it is, such gift of Rings to transferre the state and condition of a Free-borne man vnto them to whom they were so giuen, without which free estate no Romaine was deemed capable of Nobility. But when the vse of rings of Golde began in *Rome*, it is not manifest. *Pliny* writeth it of long to haue bene the Badge or Cognifance of them which were about to goe Ambassadors vnto forraigne Nations, and the rest of the *Senators*, to haue bene without them: neyther was it the manner and fashion for anie other to vse them, then such as had for that cause publicly receyued them. And such Golde rings they vsed onely abroad, and iron rings at home in their houses.

But afterward, the custome of wearing of Gold rings beganne to be vsed of all the Nobility, as it is written in *Titus Linius* in his ninth booke, in these words; The *Senate* to haue burnt with such rage, and disdayne, because *Cneius Flavius* a late freed man was made *Ædilis*, that many

*Adlecti.*

*Ordo Equester,*  
or the order  
of gentlemen.

The golde  
ring.

*athers.*  
*enatours.*  
*atricii.*

The right of wearing of a Ring, to who it belonged.

The dignitie of a Senator.

ny of the Nobility thereupon, laid aside their gold Rings, and Trappings of their Horses: wherein *Plinie* witnesseth many to haue beene deceiued, which thinke them of the order of Gentlemen to haue then done the same. For that (sayth hee) is also added: but the Trappings were also layde aside, for which the name of Gentlemen is put too. It is also recorded in the *Annales*, Rings to haue beene then layde aside by the Nobilitie, but not by the whole *Senate* in generall. Whereby it is manifest, that the Gentlemen as then had no right to weare a Ring, and that it belonged but vnto the Nobilitie onelic; that is to say, vnto the *Patricij*, and the *Senators*, although they were not themselves *Patricij*; that is to say, discended of *Senators*, for that the dignity of a *Senator* gaue beginning to Nobilitie.

But after that Iudiciall causes were translated from the *Senate* vnto the *Gentlemen*, the vse of Rings together withall, passed vnto them also; which was not then so much the cognifance of *Gentlemen*, as it was of *Iudges*, and yet not of all them, but of them which were of greatest dignitie and honour. Rings (sayth *Pliny*) diuided the other Order from the vulgar People, as soone as they once beganne to be men of marke and fame, and afterward. But, Rings verily put a middle and a third Order or Degree of men, betwixt the Common-people, and the *Senators* or *Fathers*: and that name which horses of seruice before gaue vnto men, this name (I say) the *Iudges* now giue vnto money: neyther was that long agoe done: for *Augustus* the *Emperour*, disposing of the *Courts*, the greater part of the *Iudges* wore Iron Rings, and they were not called *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) but *Iudices* (or *Iudges*.) The name of *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) rested in the troops of publique horses. But afterward, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of *Tiberius*, when the Order of *Gentlemen* was come into an vnion (for so he termeth it) order was taken for the credite of the wearing of Rings, as that they should be vnto all *Gentlemen* common. And at length (sayth hee) when as *Caius Sulpitius Galba* going about to gaine the credite of a youthfull good name with his Prince, by the fines of *Tavernes* and *Victualling houses*) had complained in the *Senate*,

euen *Chapmen* and *Pedlers* to be defended from the penalty of such their misdemeanor, by the wearing of Rings; it was for this cause by the *Senate* decreed, that it should not bee lawfull for any man to wear a Ring, but vnto him who being free born, both by his father and grand-father by the Fathers side, was valued at 40. *Seffertices*. And by the Law *Fulvia* concerning the *Theater*, to such as had place and did sit in one of the foureteene orders or degrees. Heereby it came to passe, that they seemed to be of the Order of *Gentlemen*, which did weare golde Rings, for that it was not lawfull for any so to doe, but such as had a *Gentlemans* substance. And therefore *Suetonius* writeth, *Iulius Caesar* when as in exhorting of his Souldiers, he oftentimes shewed the finger of his left hand, and said, that he could willingly, for their sakes, be content to pluck off his owne Ring; to haue been thought in so doing, couertly to haue promised vnto euerie one of them, the right to weare a Golde Ring, and the substance of a Gentleman. But after that it was permitted to all *Gentlemen* indifferently to weare them, that marke (sayth *Plinie*) beganne to bee indifferently of all men desired: For before, *Gentlemen* and *Iudges* were knowne by their Iron Rings; but at length, whilest the Order of *Gentlemen* is seperated from the *Free-borne* men, the wearing of Rings was communicated with them that were bond-men, and of seruite condition: that is to say, with such as were of bondmen and slaues, become free. Howbeit this right of wearing of gold Rings, was not wont in ancient time to be giuen to any other, but to such as had right manfully and valiantly behaued themselves in the wars; neither was the right of wearing of a gold Ring, euer giuen to such, as were of bond-men made free, except they were also made free-men borne, (which was in auncient time a Priuledge not to be granted but by the Prince.) And it was alwaies in ancient time, accounted a greater matter to be a freeman borne, then to be rewarded with the right to weare a gold Ring: For that sheweth vs euen from our birth to be freemen born, whereas this right of wearing of a gold Ring, indeed, either blottes out, or as much as it can, washeth away the stains of seruitude; yet so, as that the

Ingeniue of freeness of birth.

signe

signe thereof for ever remaineth. But the creating or restoring of a man vnto Gentry, commeth nearer vnto Nature, which bringeth with it all the commodities of naturall Gentry, and that belonged onely vnto the Prince, to restore agayne a man banished or cast into exile, vnto his former estate and place: who beeing so restored vnto their bloud or birth-right, were not onely ingrafted into the number of the citizens of Rome, but also inrolled among the *Quirites*; that so, they might be partakers of all the honours and offices of the Common-weale. Therefore it is of *Pliny* called, *ius Quiritum*; that is to say, *The right and Privilege of the Quirites*.

There was also among the Ancients, a certaine right of hauing of *Images* or *Statues*, which was by the *Senate* giuen vnto such, as had notably borne some great Office, or worthily deserved some great honours, which was not so much for the marke and signe of *Nobilitie*, as of the stocke and Family whereunto they were giuen. For, they which obtayned *Statues* for their stocke and family, there was no doubt, but that they thereunto brought *Nobilitie* also. And I know not what greater or more excellent thing there was, then to haue the right and power to vse *Statues* and *Images*.

*Plinie* in his nine and thirtie Booke thus writeth; *Apud Maiores, Imagines in atrijs erant, qua spectarentur, expressis vultus singulis disponebantur armarijs, ut essent imagines qua comitarentur gentilia funera, semperq; defuncto aliquo, totus aderat Familia eius qui vnquam fuerat populus. Stemmata vero lineis discurrerant ad Imagines pictas. Tablina vero codicibus implebantur, & monumentis rerum & magistratuum gestorum.* In the time of our Auncestours, *Images* and *Statues* were in their Courts to be seene, liuely counterfaits and portraictures were in all their Studies and Closets placed, to the end that there might bee still *Images*, to attend and set forth the Funerals of such as were to be buried of that stocke and Family. And alwayes, when any Gentleman of note and marke dyed, all the whole race of them that were then liuing of that house and Stocke, accompanied the dead corpses; and from their Armes, lines were drawne along vnto the painted *Images* of them whose Armes they

were. As for their Studies and Closets, they were full of Bookes and Records, testifying the Noble acts by them worthily performed, and the honourable Offices by them in the State & Common-weale borne and discharged, whilest they yet liued. Whereby it is declared, *Statues* and *Images* to haue bin rather the signes of some great Office well discharged, then of any *Nobilitie*. Neyther, that all the *Images*, of all that were of the stocke and race of them, to whom the right of *Images* belonged, were wont to be carried at the Funerall solemnities of their kinsmen, but onely the *Images* of them, who with great prayse and glorie, had borne and discharged some honourable Office, and who had of the *Senate* obtayned that right and priuiledge.

Wherefore *Cicero* reckoneth vp this right of hauing *Images*, amongst the ornaments of Magistrates. Such as are, the *Gowne*, the *Senators Robe*, the *Chaire of Estate*, and, to haue the preheminance to deliuer his minde and opinion first: All which things passed not vnto their posteritie, so that they might vse the same in such sort as did the Nobility, of such as had bene *Consuls*, *Prators*, and such like: which the *Romain Lawes* would haue to discend vnto their Nephewes in these degrees; that as well the women, as the men, vnto the Nephewes sonne, should be accounted of the same dignitie that their Ancestors were of. In brieft, he that had brought the right of hauing of *Images* into his Family, is to be thought to haue done no more, but that his owne *Image* might be carried foorth at his owne Funerall, and the Funerals of them of his owne stocke and Kindred; and not, that the *Images* of his posteritie, should also in such Funerall solemnity be carried; but onelie the *Images* of them who had gotten the like right. And these *Images* were kept at home in their houses, and were carried foorth at the Funerals of them of theyr house and stocke, for an example of their Noble acts by them done. But concerning *Images* and *Statues*, many thus doe thinke, That they which had the *Images* of their Auncestors, were accounted and called *Ancient Noblemen*, and those which had but onely their owne *Images*, were reputed and called *New Noblemen*: but such, as had neither *Image* of their owne,

nor

The right of  
Statues or I-  
mages.

Toga  
Praetexta.  
Sella cerulis.

nor of their Auncestours, they were reputed as base and vnnoble. And yet they of the common sort of the people, having obtained the Offices (called *Curules*, or of the *Iuery Chayre of Estate*) had also their *Images*. And thus much concerning the right of Images and Statues: Now wil I againe returne vnto *Romulus*.

As *Romulus* had diuided the people into two degrees or orders (*viz.*) the order of the *Senators*, and of the *Common persons*, calling their Progeny *Patricios* and *Optimates* (or the Progeny of the *Fathers*, and of the *Nobility*) and the Progeny of the other *Plebeios* (or a Progeny descended from the vulgar and common sort of people) so deuided he their Offices and vocations also. Vnto the *Patricii* or such as descended of the *Senators*, hee left the liberall professions (*viz.*) the bearing of Armes and Offices, the making of Sacrifices, the deciding of controuersies in Lawe, and the administration of all busineses belonging in publique vnto the citie and Commonweale: But to the *Common people* he left the bearing of Armes, also the tilling of the ground & the feeding of cattle: other base trades and occupations (not besecming free-men borne) he assigned vnto strangers, Marchandize, and seruile ministeries, he wholly committed vnto them.

The Romaines themselves, he would not haue to exercise any base trade, or laborious and painefull businesse; vnto whom hee forbad all vn honest maner of gaine, for all such manner of gaining was thought vnseemely vnto such as were *Fathers* in the Common-weale: neyther in ancient time could one be chosen *Senator*, or one of the *Patricii*, but by an expresse Law, to that end and purpose propounded to the people, which was the greatest office belonging vnto a *King*, a *Consull*, or a *Dictator*. But in what things the *Patricii* were discerned from them of the common sort of the *People*, is by many examples tried: for the *Patricii* which excelled in Nobility, and which were honestly begotten and well brought vp, had a *Tablet* or *Jewell* on their breasts, and little Moones on their feet, for they vsed *Iuery Buckles*, crooking horned wise, like vnto the *Moone*, which they say was ordained by *Numa*, that *Senators* and their posterity, should vnto their black shooes

tie Moones, as if by the Character of the *Moone*, the number of an hundred had bene designed and figured, in which number the *Senators* were then contayned. But the *Tablet* they wore was of Gold, made in forme of an heart, where with they of auncient time, are reported to haue also sealed their Letters: which *Tablet* free-borne boyes, and the sonnes of such as had serued on horse-backe, vsed to weare, together with the imbroidered Gowne called *Prætexta*, vntill they were seuentene yeares olde, which time expired, they then in a solempne feast hanged it vp vnto their household, or harth-gods, whom they called *Lares*. Euerie honourable and noble youth wore this *Prætexta* or imbroidered Gowne about his coat, but after child-hoode past, this *Prætexta* being left off in the seuenteenth yeare, and sometime in the sixteenth, and fifteenth also, they put on the gowne (called *Toga virilis*) or *Mans Gowne*: that which was imbroidered with Purple, was wont to be giuen only to them whose fathers had borne the great Offices (called *Curules*) or some other great honors. The order of *Gentlemen*, and the *Common sort of People*, in auncient time did weare no Purple. The garment of the *Tribune of the People*, and of them of the *Comminaltie*, was a cloake, such as they called *Sagi*, *Endromides*, and *Cuculli*, *Cassocks*, *Mantles*, and *Cloakes with hoodes*. But in succeeding times, the *Commoners* indeede did weare Purple, but yet different from that which the *Senators* wore (*viz.*) of a darke colour, and died with the iuyce of hearbs, and not with the right *Tyrian purple die*. Beside that, the *Patricii*, by the institution of *Romulus* had the *Auspicia* or offices of *Diuination* belonging vnto them, and the *Senate* the offices of Priesthood. But this ordinance (saith *Dionysius*) continued not long, for that all things were made common with them of the *Comminalty*. And lest any man should thinke the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators* to be the same; *Tacitus* reporteth, the Emperour *Claudius* to haue selected out of the *Senate*, euery one of the most auncient sort of the *Senators* into the number of the *Patricii*, there being now but a few left of those families which *Romulus* called *Maiorum*, and *Lucius Brutus*, *Maiorum Gentium*. But there is another thing where-

The vse of  
Prætexta,  
imbroidered  
Gowne.

Sagi.  
Endromis.  
Cucullus.

A Tablet  
A litle Moone

Why the Ro-  
mans vsed the  
Character of  
the Moone on  
their shooes.

where-

whereat thou wilt happily more maruell, which is, that the *Comminaltie* growing strong (as there was a passing ouer from the state of a *Commoner* vnto the degree of one of the *Patricii*) so diuerse of the *Patricii* also went ouer vnto the *Comminaltie*, and so became of their numbers. The election of the *Senators*, according to the alterations and changes of times, belonged sometimes vnto the Kings, afterward to the *Consuls*, and to the *Dictators*. After the kings driuen out, we reade, the *Consuls* to haue chosen such of the *Patricii* as were deereft vnto them, and afterward some of the *Commoners* also to bee *Tribunes* of the Souldiers with *Consulary* power, vntill that it was by the Law provided, that the *Censors* should Warde by Warde make choice of them in the Senate. By and by after a substance was required for the creating of a *Senator*, and if he that was so chosen, did afterward waste and weaken his said substance, he lost also his order and degree.

Wherefore it is manifest, the *Romaine Nobilitie* to haue bene established in the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators*, which not to haue bene denied vnto the Order of *Gentlemen*, we gather of that which followeth, although some others be of other opinion. *Dionysius* affirme h, three hundred *Gentlemen* to haue bene chosen by *Romulus*, out of the most honourable Families, tenne out of euery Warde. Some of the *Gentlemen* were such as serued vpon a publike horse, altogether in the Cittie; other some of them were such as serued vpon a priuate horse in the Armie abroad. The publike horse the *Censor* appoynted, and publike Horse-men, or *Gentlemen*, he created, as well out of them that were descended from the *Senators*, as out of the *Comminaltie*, who at length were for their substance created also, as were the *Senators*. But a *Gentlemans* substance was foure hundred thousand *Sestertices*, which being consumed and spent, the reputation and dignitie of a *Gentleman*, therewith took end also. *Isidore* writeth, That although a man were by birth a *Senators* sonne, yet vntill he came to lawfull yerres, he was but a *Roman Gentleman*, & so afterward came into the order of the *Senators*. *Liuy* bringeth in *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, thus speaking. *Equites Romani*

*principis iuuentutis, Equites Seminarium Senatus, inde lectos in patrum numerum Consules, inde imperatores creant.* The *Romaine Gentlemen* (saith he) are the Princes of the youth, the *Gentlemen* are the *Seminarie* of the *Senate*, out of them being chosen into the number of the *Fathers*, they create their *Consulls*, out of them they create their *Generals*. The *Romaine Gentlemen* did weare the *Robe of Estate*, neither could any man be of the order of the *Gentlemen* of *Rome*, but that hee must be free-borne. Wherefore, to be a *Romain Gentleman*, was somewhat a greater matter, then simply to be a free man borne. Yet *Pliny* hath written, the wearing of Rings; to haue inserted and put a middle and third Order into the People; and them to haue begunne to be euerie where renowned, and to haue diuided the other Order from the vulgar sort of People, or the *Comminaltie*; as if hee should haue saide, The *Gentlemen* at the first to haue bene *Commoners*, but afterward to haue been men of better note & marke: which according to the words of *Isidore* before recited, may seeme to be compared vnto the *Senators* children, who were accounted among the *Equites* or *Gentlemen*, vntill they came vnto the *Senators* age.

In the question of *Nobilitie*, not onely the ignorant, but euen the learned also, much erre, whilest that they agree not vpon the proper signification of these words, *Eugenia, Nobilitas, Generosus, Nobilis, Ingenuus, Gentilis*; that is, *Honour of birth, Nobility, a Gentleman, a Noblemaan, a man free born, a Gentleman*, For while they interpret *Eugenia* the Greeke word, *Nobilitas* in *Latine*, (and with vs *Nobility*) the more generall word is brought in place and steed of the more particular: or as the *Logicians* vse to say, *Genus pro Specie*. For why, *Eugenia* or honour of *Birth*, is but the one kinde of *Nobilitie*, called *Nature*, (and not all kinde of *Nobilitie*) requiring a certaine antiquitie of stocke, of riches, and of vertues as *Aristotle* would haue it) whose words are these: *Non diuites, neque boni, sed qui à virtutibus, diuitijs, vel antiquis bonis descenderunt Eugenes sunt habendi*: Not the rich men onely, neyther the good men alone, but they which haue descended from *Vertues*, *Riches*, and good *Auncestors*, are

Senators  
substance.

Publique  
hic.

Senators  
ane, vntill he  
me to be of  
mull yerres  
counted but  
Gentleman  
Rome.

Eugenia or  
Nobilitie of  
birth.

to be accounted *Noblemen borne*.

*Nobility of birth*, which is called *Eugenia*, is of *Oforius* defined: *Splendor vel dignitas generis in quo maximè virtutes extiterunt. vita Communi salutare & commoda*. The luster or dignity of stocke, wherein most great vertues haue flourished, wholesome and commodious for the common vse of mans life. Which *Oforius* affirmeth, to be as it were subiect to rottennesse, and with olde age to be able to be consumed and ended. But this rule is not in our Court received. *Symon Symonensis* in these words reprooueth *Oforius*, his name being concealed, or else some other man of the same opinion with him. *Supine loquuntur qui aiunt quem admodum summa Senectus mentis vini & consilium debilitat, sic etiam Nobilitatis splendorem mediocri vetustate auferi, extrema vero Senecta confici*. They speake ydly (saith he) which say, that as great old age doth weaken the force & iudgement of the minde; so also, the glory and luster of *Nobilitie* to be with moderate antiquitie encreased, but yet to be with extreme olde age extinguished. For as the similitude (saith he) agreeth not, so neyther doth it well conclude: For the more auncient that a Stocke or Familie is, by so much the credit and reputation thereof is greater. And yet hee the sayde *Simon* forgetting himselfe in another place stumbleth at the same stone, by setting bounds and limites vnto the same *Eugenia*, or *Natiue Nobilitie*, and by decreeing that a long and continuat race of Noble Progenitours, in whom great vertues haue oftentimes shined vnto the number of three discens, doth make a true Noble Stocke, or *Eugenia*. And that the beginning of a Stocke or Familie, is no further to be deriued, then from the fourth Predecessor, lest in searching further, euen *Kings* themselues (as sayth *Plato*) should be deriued from *Slaues*, or *Slaues* from *Kings*.

Of this *Eugenia* or *Natiue Nobilitie*, all ages haue best thought, but yet so, as that all the right of *Nobilitie* should vpon it be ground: for a man may be Noble, although he be no *Eugenes*, or from *Nobiles* descended; yea, he may be more honourable then he which is so descended, although not so auncient a *Gentleman*. As a new made Earle, compared with an

*Esquire* of a most auncient Familie. As *Agathocles*, of a Potter made a King. What was *Romulus*? VVhat was *Tullus Hostilius*? And what was *Tarquinius Priscus*?

But let vs now come to search out the signification of the aforesaid words: The *Romaines* diuided their People into *Free-men* and *Slaues*; of *Free-men*, some were of Bond-slaues made *Free-men* (whom they called *Libertini*) other-some, were *Free-men* borne, (whom they called *Ingenui*.) The *Libertini* were Citizens of *Rome*, who were three wayes manumised or made free; that is to say, by *Will* or *Testament*, or in the open *Congregation* or assembly of the people, or before some publique *Magistrate* which had power so to doe. And hereupon happily in auncient time, when as this our Kingdome was much oppressed with seruile state and condition, the word *Francklin*, for a man made free, or enfranchised, was in vse, except you had rather it to haue bene vsed, for a *Free-borne-man*.

But they were called *Ingenui*, or *Free-borne-men*, who neyther themselues, neither their Auncestors had euer serued as *Slaues*. And their Auncestors they reckoned vp, euen from their Grand-father, which is euident by these words of *Liue*. *An vnquam fando audistis Patricios primos esse factos non è Cælo dimissos, sed qui patrem Cicere Annumque possint?* Did you euer heare it spoken, the *Fathers* to haue bene first made, and not sent downe from Heauen, but such as could reckon vp their Father and Grand-father: that is to say, nothing but *Free-borne-men*.

*Freedom of birth*, opened a way vnto all degrees of Honours, which (euen as *Politicall Nobilitie*) was eyther *Natiue*, or *Datiue*; that is to say, by birth, or by gift. *Datiue Freedom* was by certayne *Magistrates* giuen, and at length onelic by Princes themselues, and that two manner of wayes, the one secretly and not so plainly, by the gift of a *Ring*, the other more expressely by name and perfectly, by restoring of men to their birth or blood. And whereas men of seruile condition were but by one name called and knowne, *Free-borne-men*, and *Men of free estate* and condition, had two or moe names. And the name which they tooke from their Stocke or Familie, is called *Gentile*,

Of Free-me  
some were  
freemen ma  
some were  
Free men  
borne.

A Franklin

Ingenuitie  
freedome o  
Birth.

he name  
entle is  
n from the  
cke or fa-  
ily a man  
meth of.

*Gentile*, or proper to them of that race or kindred. And yet it is to be noted, names giuen by chance, somtime to becom proper to a stocke or family. As *Tullius* was a name proper & peculiar to a Family, but *Cicero* was a name gotten by chance, and faigned of the Pulle called *Cicer*, (or the *Cichpcafe*) the forme whereof one of that family had vpon the end of his nose, who thereof was first so surnamed: but that same name of *Cicero* began to be *Gentile* or proper to that Family, as to *Cicero the Orator*, to his Brother, and to their posterity. *Tully* in his *Tropicks* defineth, *Gentiles esse qui eodem inter se sunt nomine, qui ab Ingenuis oriundi sunt, quorum Maiorum nemo seruitutem seruierit: qui Capite non sunt diminuti*, them to be *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke and family) which are among themselues of the same name descended of Free-borne-men, none of whose Ancestors had serued as slaues, or had beene condemned to loose their liberty, state, or Country.

They which were called *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke or family) were of necessity to be descended from *Ingenui* or Free-borne-men; for that of Slaues, and of them whom they called *Libertini* or men of slaues made free, there is no stock or family. Wherefore, the right of *Gentility*, or of hauing of a Stocke and Family, although it was different from *Nobility*, yet is it not to be doubted, but that it was in great esteeme & reuerence among the Romaines, and to them, to haue aboue all things desired to be called *Gentiles*, as men that had beene descended from some good stocke or kindred. And that desire hath euen yet vnto this day possessed all *Italy*.

For among the *Venetians* they are called *Gentilhuomini*, who deriue their stock from the first Inhabitants of that Island; and which are themselues *Patricij*, or descended from the *Senators*. And that word *Gentilhuomo*, as it were by hand deliuered from the *Italians* to the *Frenchmen*; from the *Frenchmen* remoued to vs; and at the length, together with the new place of dwelling, hath begunne to put a new signification, differing from that which *Gentilis* or *Gentilitas* was of, amongst the ancient *Romaines*.

For it is false which some, & they learned also, haue deliuered, *Gentilitie* to haue

beene proper onely vnto the *Patricij*: for why, it was common vnto the vulgar sort of the people (as was *Ingenuity* it selfe) which appeareth by this one place of *Suetonius*. *Patricia gens Claudia (fuit citiana & alia plebeia nec potentia minor nec dignitate) orta est in Regillis*. The *Claudian* stocke and family, of the order of the *Patricij*, (for there was another house of them also of the Comminalty, neither in power nor in dignity inferior to the other) rise vp at *Regilli*. But they seeme to haue beene deceiued, by that which *Livy* writeth, *Romulus* to haue created an hundred *Senators*, which he called *Maiorum gentium* (or of the greater families) and *Brutus* another hundred also, called *Minorum gentium* (or of the lesser families.) But this proueth not, that we must therefore grant, only them of the order of the *Patricij*, to haue had a stocke and family; neither did this so calling of them, *Maiorum* and *Minorum gentium*, diuide them from the common people, but theselues among themselues only; for that, whereas they were all chosen of *Free-borne-Citizens* (and which had their stocke and family) yet such of the as *Romulus* had created, brought the honour of the order of the *Patricij* sooner into their stocke and family, then did they whom *Brutus* had freed vnto them. They are also called *Gentiles*, who in likenes of name agree among themselues (although there be no kindred amongst them at all.)

Among the *Athenians* they were called *Genita*, that is to say, *Gentiles*, not they which were ioyned among themselues in stocke or blood, but were of those sort of people, who, diuided into Wardes, grew into a certaine society and fellowship among themselues. For among the *Athenians* there were foure Tribes, and euerie Tribe was diuided into three Wardes, which made twelue Wardes. And euerie Ward was diuided into thirty parts, which they called *Gentes* or Kinreds. But againe to the purpose.

Why a stock or family among the *Romaines* is to be deriued from the *Grandfather*, neyther could consist but in two at the least (*viz*) the *grandfather* and the *father*: Some thinke the reason thereof to be, for that the *Latine* word *Gens* signifieth a multitude, which requireth mo then one: and yet *Gens* seemeth to be called, as

who are to  
accounted  
entiles, or  
stocke and  
family.

it were *Genus* (that is to say a stock or kindred) the Letter V. beeing taken away. Howbeit these two words differ, the one of them from the other, for that *Genus* signifieth a stocke and beginning; but *Gens* importeth as it were a certain multitude of Stocks, and of beginnings of Families and Houses.

*Ingenuity*, or freedom of birth, had the Ornaments thereof from nature, and had respect vnto liberty, which it still deriued from the Grand-fathers. But *Gentility* was a matter of the ciuill Law, and was referred vnto the ancientnesse of *Agnation* (or kindred by the fathers side) differing from the other onely in antiquity of stocke: for it is not needfull to deriue or take *Agnation* farther then from the *Father*.

Which if it bee so, then *Gentility* and *Nobility* are all one and the same thing. And they confound *Gentility* (wherof the common people no lesse vant and boast, then doe the *Noblemen*) with *Nobility*: which deny him to bee a Noble-man by birth, but he whose Grandfather was *Noble*; neither agree they with themselues, when they dare to affirme (but by vvhath authority I knowe not) *Nobility* together with the seed of the Parents to bee passed ouer vnto their posterity, according vnto that saying of *Mantuan*:

*Qui virit in folijs venit à radicibus humor:*  
*Et patrum in natos abeunt cū semine mores.*

The beauty of the fairest branch,  
doth from the roote proceede:  
And so the Fathers manners do  
in their off-spring abide.

And otherwise out of *Horace*:

*Est in Inuencis, est in equis, patrum*  
*Virtus: neq; imbellem feroces*  
*Progenerant Aquila Columbam.*

In Bullockes, and in Horses eke,  
the Syres worth we proue:  
Nor doth the hardy Eagle hatch,  
the weake and fearfull Doue.

By which Analogies, the learned Poets verily went about to stirre vp Noble and couragious youths, to the imitating of their Fathers vertues, being otherwise not ignorant *Nobility* wherof we intreat to be a thing ciuill or *Politicall*, & not naturall. And indeed of vnreasonable creatures, there be diuers kindes, but of men there is but one sort. VVherefore, as an

Eagle bringeth not forth a Doue, so neyther doth a man beget a Hare. But admit that good men are begotten of good Parents, and valiant men, of valiant fathers. But if this be vnto mankind proper, why are not good and valiant children begotten by good and valiant common persons also? For why, they are men aswell as the other, but nothing is then this rule more deceitfull. For through the corruption of mans nature, we see it oftentimes to happen, an vnthrifty sonne to be born of a thrifty Father: a foole, to be begotten of a wise man; a Coward, of a valiant man. Neither is this now any noueltie or new matter, but such as tooke roote euen in the first corruption of our Nature. For accursed *Caine* was the first begotten sonne of *Adam*, a most good father, and of him the same was good *Abel* begottē. *Jacob* also and *Esau*, were the twinnes of a most blessed father: of which two, God loued the one, and hated the other. And if there be any thing of great operation, which is passed ouer together with mans seede, it is altogether vice; so farre off is it from being of any vertue, which is cuer with labour and study begotten, but born neuer. An Emperour (as *Ferretus* writeth) for his bodily substance is no better then other men; and yet for the highnes of his dignity, is most like vnto God. *Demosthenes* saith also, wicked Sonnes (as it were by a certaine fatall destinie) to bee borne of good Parents. It is also commonly saide in the Greeke Prouerbe, *The misfortunes of the Worthies sonnes*. VVhat should I produce the *Mathematicians* and *Astrologers*, which affirme *Nobilitie* and *Ignobility* much more certainly to depend of the force and influence of the starres, then of the constitution of parents.

And yet the vulgar sort, and not without cause, vseth to expect some greater thing in Princes children, then in poore mens; of which their hope and expectation, there are many causes alledged, as the great means *Noblemen* haue, for the best bringing vp and instructing of their children (for it is a shame vnto the sonne if he shou'd degenerate from his Father, being a Nobleman.) In brieft, the plenty of Kinsmen and Friends, giuing the good Counsell. Neither was the Poets minde any other, if you marke his conclusion.

*Ingenuity*, hath  
the grace  
thereof from  
Nature.

*Doctrina sed vim promouet insitam;  
Rectique cultus peccata roborant.*

Instruction, helps Dame Natures powres,  
And teaching, strengths those mindes of ours.

By *Natures ingrafted or hidden power*, hee vnderstandeth certayne feedes of vertues, which by the goodnesse of God alone, are yet in mans Nature, which become not otherwise fruitfull then do the seeds of Hearbs, according vnto the manner and fashion that they are manured & ordered with; so that a man well brought vp, may much more easily obtayne Philosophicall Nobilitie, then can a man that hath bene well borne.

Wherefore poore Countrey-mens Children, who know nothing more then their beasts and cattell, seeme rather to be rude *Silvans* then men. Whereas others, borne in better place, euen in the same Schooles, and in the same Studies, striue with Noble-mens Children, and would to God they did not so do, both with greater profit and praise.

Other reasons yet remaine, which prooue *Politicall Nobilitie* not to bee a thing substantiall, but meere accidentall: for why, it may be both present and absent; without the corruption of the subiect whereof it dependeth; so that the passage thereof may be letted by some heynous offence committed. It is also lost by voluntary departing or relinquishing of the same (when as Nature in the meane while cannot be thrust away with a forcke) which wee reade to haue bene done, of many of the Romaine *Patricij*, who refusing their *Patriciat* dignity, took on them the state and condition of the vulgar sort, or Commoners. Now many, through the Lawyers termes, are in this matter deceiued, who call the extinguishing of Nobility for some offence committed, *The corruption of blood*: which manner of phraze and speech, they vse not, for that *Natiue Nobility* is naturally and essentially in the humour of blood, more than other hereditarie facultie, but because the right of inheritance, which is by the degrees of the communication of blood directed, is by that meanes determined or ended, & in hatred of the crime, it is called *Corruption*, with the infection whereof, all their children are polluted and defiled.

Neither can a stronger argument be

deuised, to proue *Nobility* not to be mingled with the blood, then that the *Nobility* of the *Grandfather* ennobleth not his nephue by his son, condemned to lose his liberty, state, or country. Of which this ciuill institution, a naturall reason is giuen; to wit, for that an vnable mean letteth & hindereth the extreame to be ioyned together. But yet it was wont to be demanded with vs, no otherwise thē it was long agoe with the ancient Romains, whether the nobility of the father being a *Senator*, do profit his son, being borne before his father had obtained that dignity? And whether such Nobility in the son, be *Natiue* or *Datiue*? Whereunto I answer, The child by our custom, to be immediatly by his fathers nobility ennobled, & their children, like the boughes of a tree, remoued into a richer ground, are green & flourish with the same new moysture that the bodie of the tree doth. And such Nobility hath deserued to be called *Natiue*, for that it extendeth not but to them, which are borne of such a father. As for example: A Baron, being honored with the title of an Earle, his first begotten son forthwith taketh vnto him the title of some *Barony*, and all his daughters are saluted *Ladies* and *Madames*.

Wherefore we conclude *Natiue nobility* to be drawne from the father, & not to be needfull for vs to seek for it further: for it may be, that sometime it cannot be deriued from the grandfather, as in case that some great offence of the father come betwixt: for a man born of a noble father, is without all doubt by descent noble. But if anie man wil contend him, not properly to be *Eugenes* or nobly descended; I answer, the common sort of people most of al, do respect the same, but the *Iudiciall Court* to haue thereof no care at all. For otherwise some new Princes should be of lesse *Nobility*, then some meane Noblemen, if the priuileges of Nobility should be bestowed, after the ballance of proper and true *Eugenia*. Adde moreouer, that if true *Eugenia* should be vrged, it requireth not only our great grandfathers grād fathers, but euen all the rest of our auncetours in continuall order, after them to be *Noble*, *Rich*, profitable for the Common-weale, good mē, & without spot or imputation.

An hard speech indeed, but an harder rule, and a consequence, of all most

*Natiue Nobilitie* is not necessarily to be deriued farther then frō the father.

hardest: Such a noble descended person, is a rare Bird, and yet some such there be: but concerning that matter, heare *Aristotles* opinion. *Eugenia*, verily (saith he) I haue found but in few, and no where an hundred good *Eugenes*. Wherefore the Athenians called their Noblemen by more vsuall words, *Eupaterios* and *Eupatrides*, as who should say, *Men borne of Noble fathers*: although I do know these words to be oftentimes confounded with the word *Eugenes*.

It to be no hard thing to affirme, that Nobility may be deriued from the mother.

I haue frankly affirmed Nobilitie to descend from the father to the children; and what if I should say the same force to be in the Mothers nobilitie also? Surely, both reason and the opinions of Doctors, and ancient customes also, will be present for the defence of this cause. If Nobility draw any thing naturall at all from the Parents, almost the whole constitution of the Childe, is to be giuen vnto the Mother. It hath also such shape (if we may beleue Philosophers) as the Mother conceiueth, together with the seede. For first, it taketh life from the Mother, it taketh likewise nourishment of and from the Mother, encreasing from the Mother; and in brieft, by the consent of all men, it, together with spirit and vitall humour draweth from the mother, affections, Vertues and vices. And that such power is in the Mother, it is manifest by the precepts of Physicians, who command Parents to be most careful to what Nurses they put their children to be nursed. In brieft, if the vertue of the Father be in the children to be reuerenced, why should not the Mothers be so also: The manner of the Sex, doth neither diminish nor encrease Nobilitie; which is for it selfe to be desired. Nay, in tender women it seemeth to haue both more admiration and grace.

It is of a certayne Lawyer well written; That amongst the causes for which the honour and dignitie of persons, is encreased or diminished, that is of others the lightest, which is drawne from the difference of the Sexe: *Vlpianus* reporteth, the sonnes of the women of the *Ilienses*, of *Delphos*, and of *Pontus*, to haue bene assigned vnto the houses of their Mothers, and not of their Fathers. *Plutarch* writeth, that amongst the *Xanthij*, the Sons were ingrafted into the stocke

and family of their Mothers, and from them the name of the stocke and kinred to be deriued, and not from their Fathers. The same thing *Herodotus* reporteth of them of *Licia*: as that they should take the name and credite of their stocke and kindred from their Mothers, and that he was with them a free-borne-man, and Noble, that was borne of a free-born-woman, and Noble; although his Father were a Slaue or base common person; yea, and by the Lawes of the *Romaines*, the Sonnes in some cases follow the beginning of their Mothers. Neyther is it a thing vnheard of with vs, nor with other Nations, Sonnes to haue taken vnto themselues, names from their Mother, which were of greater nobility then their Fathers; as *Rainatus de Clara*. *Spartianus* and *Trebellius Pollio*, haue written, *Maccianus* or *Maccrinus*, to haue bene by his Mother noble, his Father being but onely a valiant and martiall man. You may also with *Cornelius Tacitus* reade this sentence: *Iam depulso Nerone, quisnam eligeretur inquirebant, & omnium ore Rubellius Plancus, cui Nobilitas per matrem ex Iulia familia. Nero* being now deposed, great inquiry was made, who should be chosen, and *Rubellius Plancus* was in euery mans mouth, who was nobly borne by the mothers side of the *Iulian* Family. And from these, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and *Statius Papinius* disagree not, whose verses I haue thought good heere to set downe.

## VIRG.

*Genus huic materna superbum*

*Nobilitas dabat: incertum de Patre ferebat.*

His Mothers noble birth, to him did giue a noble race,  
For by his fathers side he was, born but obscure & base.

## OVID.

*Est quoque per matrem Cylononca addita nobis  
Altera Nobilitas.*

And by my Mother *Cylononia*,  
Is doubled my Nobilitie.

## IDEM.

*Hinc fuit Euander, qui quanquam clarus utroque,  
Nobilitate sane, sanguine matris erat.*

From hence did old *Euander* come, who though he noble  
By both sides, yet by Mothers blood, more noble did  
(appeare

## PAPINIUS.

*Sed quicquid patrio cessatum est sanguine, mater  
Reddidit, obscurumque totus clarescere vidit  
conubio gausa domus.*

*Stemmata materno felix, virtute paterno.*

What

What wanted in the Fathers blood,  
the Mothers did requite the same;  
And the base house reioyced much,  
by such a match to grow to fame.  
By Mothers Stocke accounted blest.  
And Fathers vertues with the best.

Now the Reason which many Doctors bring, to prooue the Sonne to be partaker of his Fathers Nobilitie, is this; *Eucerie thing compound, partaketh of the forme and matter which agreeth to both the parents.* Wherefore, where the Law repugneth not with reason, this rule is to be holden for true.

And now concerning *Nobilitie Natue*. (or by birth) I haue thus much spoken: and from hence I will directly proceede vnto *Nobility Datue*, or to *Nobility* which commeth by gift.

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## CHAP. V.

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### ¶ The diuers beginnings of *Nobilitie Datue*.

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Being about to search out the other kinde of *Politick* or *Ciuill Nobilitie* (viz.) *Nobilitie Datue*, and that cuen from the first beginning thereof, certayne things before sayde, seeme heere necessarily to be againe called vnto remembraunce. Their argument is first to be refuted, which say: That seeing *Adam* was a common Father vnto all men, whereof commeth it, that one man should be better then another? It is thereunto answered out of the same *Olde Testaments*, out of which the question is risen, beeing of the like Authoritie and credite both with the Christians and the Iewes. *Noah* when he had planted a Vineyard, and had tasted of his planting, hauing drunke of the wine, lay drunken and bare in his Tent. And *Cham* seeing the priuities of his father, tolde it to his brethren, who vpon a naturall honestie and vertue, with a Cloake cast vpon their shoulders covered their sleeping father with their eyes turned from him, and not

seeing their Fathers nakednesse. But *Noah* awaked, and knowing what his younger sonne had done vnto him, he cursed *Cham*, commaunding him to be a slaue of all slaues. By this shamefull and vnworthie fact, *Cham* with all his generation, carryed away his Fathers curse, seruitude, and the Title of obscure and base persons; whereas contrary-wise, *Sem* and *Iaphet* found all the Names and Titles of Honestie, Nobilitie, and Vertue, and their Fathers blessing withall.

The *Datue Nobilitie*, whereof our present speech is, was for many causes raysed and inuented. And first of all, vpon vrgent necessitie. For when as euill and wicked men preuayled, and good and honest men were oppressed: it was necessarie the good to be distinguished from the badde; and for the preseruacion of the publique tranquility, to be seperated and diuided from them: wherefore, wise, iust, and vertuous men, and the lights, as it were, of the world, shining before others, were set ouer the rest, that they might be vnto all men an example of godlie and honest life; that they might decide and determine all things. And at that time such wise men and prouiders for the Common-weale seemed by vertue to procure vnto themselves *Nobilitie*. For the olde Prouerbe preuailed with them: Vertue, and not blood to ennoble men. Such men were by the People called, chosen, & appointed Counsellors and Iudges, who by their subiects were elected and created *Kings* and *Princes*. And they, which for their worthy deeds had obtained such honourable Titles and Offices, cnnobled both themselves and their posterity.

Another cause also why *Nobility* began to be honoured, was the *Ignorance* & vnskilfulnesse of the *vulgar* and *Common sort of people*, who haue their sence, reason and vnderstanding so dispersed and scattered, as that they cannot gather, discern, or iudge any thing certaine, firme, or sound. Wherefore, for the maintenance of the publike peace and tranquility, it was necessarie to make choice of *Princes* (that is to say, of *Gouernours*) men, for their vertue and wisdom, famous and Noble, who might compose and set in order the troubled estates, for lacke of knowledge disordered, and

Necessitie is the  
cause of *Nobilitie*.

The ignorance  
of the vulgar  
and common  
fort.

with singular wisdom, and action, as it were by a certaine cunning, drawe the rude people vnto a more ciuill kinde of life, and courtesie of behauiour: such as were *Iupiter, Pallas, Ceres, Bacchus, Apollo*, and many others. And these men, by their wisdom, vertue, and skill, obtayned not onely the Titles of Nobilitie and Dignity, but were of the vnskilfull multitude, accounted for gods also, and receiued from them euen diuine honors.

We see *Nobilitie* to haue risen also, of the aboundance of wealth and riches: for many pinched with extreame pouer-  
tie, enforced to hang vpon the richer fort, and giuing themselues altogether ouer into their power, reputed them for *Noblemen*, and for such, both esteemed of them, and honoured them.

*Nobilitie* also beganne of Noble and worthy acts done; for in auncient time, when as Nations were by their enemies oppressed, if any valiant and couragious man had from such oppression deliuered his Country, he therefore was aboue other men worthily honoured. Many also in ancient time by Martiall prowesse obtained *Nobility*, and therefore of the people accounted Noble: as was *Dauid* for the death of *Goliah* the *Philistine*. Some, immediatly from God were elected and called vnto Nobilitie, as *Iosua, Gedeon, Ieptha*, and the rest of the *Judges of Israel*, who were Generalls ouer great Armies: other some, were againe by God chosen euen from the Plough, to be rulers ouer the people, as the Princes of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*. King *Saul* called out of the field; *Dauid* from feeding of his flock, who thought themselues vtterly vnworthy of such a princely calling. But such as God hath ennobled, are of vs aboue all others to be accounted most noble.

Yea, no small part, but euen the greatest part of *Datiue Nobilitie*, gained vnto themselues honor and glory by their skill in martiall affaires, carrying home with them victory and triumph ouer their enemies; so as did *Horatius Cocles, Titus Manlius, Scipio Affricanus*, and his brother *L. Scipio Asiaticus*: I speake not of great Emperours, such as were *Vespasian, Domitian, Nerua, Traian, Antonius, Seuerus, Theodosius*, and many others, who were part of them accounted *Fathers of their Countrey*; part of them *Benefactors*, but

all of them best *Princes*, whose Images are vpon their Coines, euen yet carried about; and publique Statues were in the honour of them, with certaine solempne Ceremonies erected, to the intent that all others with their valour and vertue, should with their deedes, as it were, in striuing-wise, aspire and grow vnto the like glory.

Others also, borne of most base and low condition, who by Armes in time of warres, for their wisdom and courage, haue beene promoted to be great *Emperours, Casars, Dukes, Princes and Earles*: as were *Tullius Hostilius, Numa Pompilius, Tarquinius Priscus, Iulius Casar, Octavianus Augustus*, and such other like, from hence, tooke the beginning of the Titles of their vertues. For certaine it is, at the first vnder the *Roman Empire*, when as they had subdued the *Germanes, Italians, the Spaniards, the Britains, the Gauls*, and other most mighty kingdoms, *Dukes, Earles, and Barons*, not then to haue bin in such sort, as now they be, but from thence to haue afterward sprung vp and risen. All their Offices were executed by *Tribunes* and *Lieutenants*. There was a greater *Tribune*, who was next vnto the *Emperour* and his successour. There was also a great Officer called *Tribunus Celerum*, *Lieutenant* of the Armie, of the light armed and most readie Souldiers. Those which with a *Cohort*, or band of men, were the Keepers, and had the guarding of the Emperours person, and they among the *Romanes*, which were of the first Order, next after the Emperor, were called *Tribuni Celerum*, as they were long agoe in the time of *Romulus*, and of the other sixe kings succeeding him.

The great Officers, called *Magistri Equitum*, or *Maisters of the Horssemen*, had like power with the *Dictators*, and with the Emperours, as *Lucius Feneftella, Pomponius Latus de Magistratibus Romanorum*: and also *Flavius Vegetius*, and *Marcus Cicero* doe, intreating of Martiall affaires, describe. But *Pomponius Latus* writeth *Romulus* to haue called the Generall of an army, whom the *Germanes* call *Hertzogen Tribunus Celerum*. *Salust* in his Treatise concerning the Conspiracie of *Cateline*, hath called them *Dictatores, & Imperatores*; that is, *Dictators & Emperours*.

Beside that, Great Magistrates called  
*Præfecti*

Wealth and riches.

Noble acts.

Men immediatly by God called vnto Nobilitie.

Knowledge in martiall affaires

Magnanimity and wisdom

*Præfecti Prætorio*, were of so great credit and authority, as if appeale had bin made from their sentence, they might againe appeale from the Emperour, vnto the *Præfecti Prætorio*. For most wise, good, and iust men, by the Emperours chosen out, were created *Præfecti Prætorio*, vnto whō they were wont to commit almost the whole estate of the Common-weale. The Emperour *Seuerus* granted many things vnto the Great Officers called *Præfecti vrbis*, and *Præfecti Prætorio*, of all which, heere to speake, were but needlesse. For heere we speake onely of the authority of the *Præfectus Prætorio* (or Captain of the Guard) which the Emperour onely gaue vnto him, who is the chiefe, liuely, and very essentiall Law it selfe: who were of power to thrust Cittizens into exile, and to restore them vnto their estate againe. Whereby it is most euident, Princes and Governours of People to haue had the power and authority of the sword, to punish the offenders, and to administer Iustice: wherby they were afterward thought to procure and get a great name of Nobility, both vnto themselues, and to their posterity: and right probable it is, the authority of Princes and Dukes to haue first risen of the *Tribuni* and *Præfecti*: which Princes, at such time as the Romane Emperours remoued out of *Germany & Italy* into *Greece*, are read to haue taken vnto themselues the Imperiall power: which authority and regall priuiledges wee see (euen at this day) by Kings and Emperours to bee granted vnto Dukes and Princes: so that the election of Princes & Dukes dependeth not of their Subiects (as doth the election of Kings) but is Datuely, as of gift, to be referred vnto the fauour and bounty of the Emperours and Kings, to whom they haue bene subiect. And in the former times, the names of Duke and Prince were names of Offices, and not of Honours and Dignities. And so in the times of the Romans, the Roman Kings, their Dictators and Consuls, & also their Emperours, were in the administration of their ciuill affaires, all martiall men, both horsemen and footmen.

But beside these great Offices of the *Tribuni* and *Præfecti*, there were other publike offices and charges; some called *Ordinarij*, for that they kept orders in the army, and stood in the front of the bat-

taile. Those in the time of *Augustus*, were wont to be called *Augustales*: and of *Fl. Vespasianus*, *Flauiales*: some called *Aquiliferi*, carrying an Eagle in their Ensignes, and othersome called *Imaginary*, bearing the ensigne of the common or generall Army of the people of Rome notable with the Letters, *S.P.Q.R.* that is to say, *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*: or the *Senate and people of Rome*, whom wee can more fitly compare vnto none, then to our Standard or Ensigne-Bearers.

But if wee would heere prosecute all things in order, this Treatise should without measure encrease. But now in this place wee onely goe about, slightly as it were to shew the beginnings of Noble Dignities & Offices, least any man should suspect them to be but altogether things fained, and vpon no reason grounded. Rehearsing these things in the mean time by the way, that when we shall come vnto our owne age, it may appeare, how much Powers, Dominions, and Nations differ among themselues. For they who in ancient times were vnder kings and emperours appointed Governours ouer Regions and Countries, are now become hæreditary possessors thereof: & they which before were but Noble Ministers or Seruants, are now become absolute Nobles.

Beside that, in the meane time it most plainly appeareth of that which is afore-said, that the kindred, stocke, and discent of the Nobility in former ages flourished and became famous onely for vertue, noble actes, and valour of minde. And that Vertue being set apart, wee are all forasmuch as concerneth mans nature, the sonnes of *Adam*. VVherefore, according to the rule of Theologicall or Philosophicall Nobility (whereunto our Ancestors especially addicted themselues) to boast of Nobility by birth, without vertue, was but a vaine thing.

*Nam genus & Proanos & quæ non fecimus ipsi,*

*Vix ea nostra duco.*—————

For our proud Stocke and Pedigree,  
and things we did not make,  
VVe scarce reckon them for our owne,  
or for our owne them take.

VVherefore wee pray and exhort all  
men,

men, that forasmuch as vertue commeth not by inheritance, euery man would endeavour himselfe, of himselfe to become Noble. For they which otherwise vaunt and boast of Nobility, seeme onely honourers of vertue, vpon another mans credite, and liue not by their owne, seeing that they be rather base persons, bearing themselves brag, vpon another mans vertue. But for the most part quite out of order, so the fashion and manner of the world now is. For what cannot flattery, the fauour of Princes, and too much indulgency do, and bring to passe.

## P A R E R G O N .



**I**T is sufficiently manifest, by that which is aforesaid, what the iudgment of my Friend and Vncle *Robert Glouer* was, concerning Politicall Nobility in ancient time, amongst the Gentiles: which Philosophers heeretofore, haue set forth to vs, as a wauering thing, (and Diuines as a thing vncertaine) whilst they in speaking thereof omitted the Ciuill Rights of persons.

It were verily to be wished, that the ornaments of vertue should euery where be conferred and bestowed vpon none, but vpon such, as in whom vertue it selfe resteth: for that as the encreasing of honor, so the credite and reputation thereof also, is propounded to be gotten, not by ambition, but by industry. But seeing that Politicall Nobility is another thing, whereof there be diuers beginnings, and those of such sort and condition, as maketh in euery man that hath them, a beginning and excellency proper and peculiar to themselves; it is from the rest of the kindes of Nobility (viz. Theologicall and Philosophicall) by this only difference distinguished, that whilst they rest onely vpon Religion and Vertue, this Ciuill Nobility resteth vpon the custome of Nations.

In the prosecuting whereof, for that he finished not the same, I verily tooke it most greuously: for many things seemed to me to be therein wanting, which might much haue concerned the matter: As the

peculiar forme of enobling of men, vsed in euery kingdome apart, and especially in this Empire and Island, as the very method and order of the worke seemed to me to make shew of. But forasmuch, as he in his life time perfected not these things: For,

— *Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem.* )

Vntimely death soone tooke away  
*Achilles*, and clos'd him in clay.

Least *Venus*'s head being onely by *Appelles* perfected, the body beeing not yet drawne, the whole worke in the meane time altogether imperfect or deformed, should lye neglected and vnegarded, I thought it a thing worth the labour, to supply that defect, with such things as hereafter follow: to the intent, that at length amongst others, I might in fewe words, and as it were at a glimpse, shew what orders of Nobility are with vs also: what Rites and Ceremonies are vsed in promoting of men vnto the degrees of Nobility, that from hence the forme of creating of the being before vnderstood, I might afterward with greater fruite, and fuller pleasure, come vnto the persons themselves, with their families, marriages, changes, and noble actes; and at length in a iust volume (if God shall see it good) more at large, and fully delight the Readers.

But if we shall compare these old and most ancient times of the Romane Empire with ours, wee shall finde no signe or token of that auncient Nobility in the Courts of Princes. If you shall seeke for such as they called *Patricij* or Senators (whom the Romanes reuerenced as men sent downe from heauen) you shall finde them no where but in Citties, exercising Vsury and Merchandize (trades vterly forbidden the Romanes) at whom (although within their owne walles they be much regarded and esteemed) our noble Courtiers were wont to scoffe & iest. Or else if it please you, goe vnto the time of Pope *Urban*, who (forsooth) made *Charles* the Sonne of King *Lewes* the 8. in *France*, a Senatour of *Rome*, when as he should rather of his owne right, haue graced him with the Cardinals hat. Indeede, it was a very ridiculous comparison

son of the French King his Sonne with a Senator of *Rome*, as the matter now standeth.

Wherefore let vs see, and as breiefely as we can touch, how, & by what degree after the empire of that City (which first built by Shepherds, at length became Mistris of the whole world) began to decline from so great an Estate, together with the change thereof, by little and little, drew with it the change of Noble dignities and titles also.

After the translating of the Romane empire by *Constantine* the Great, all that excellency of publike dignities, whereof it is expressly and sufficiently enough before spoken, seemeth to haue bin changed into a certaine other forme, and a new manner of ennobling of men to haue bin deuised. And verily, the names of Honours and Dignities in the east-empire, seeme to haue bene diuers from the west-empire: and the *Latines*, after the empire rent in sunder, and seated at *Constantinople*, seeme to haue bene subiect vnto the *Greekes*. For he that was there next vnto the Emperour, eyther by reason of the neerenesse of blood, or by institution, and was of the *Latines* called (*Primas*) was of the *Greekes*, by a generall name saluted *Despotes*; that is to say, *Lord*: as he is at this day cald *Monsieur* among the *French men*. The later Writers, were wont also to call him, the same man *Sebaston*, according as the emperours had deuised honourable titles, where-with they might grace their friends, and binde them vnto them. The third in dignity from the emperor, was the *Sebastocrator*; whom hee whom they called *Cesar*, followed as fourth.

But whilst the emperor *Basilius*, was wont to be called *Sebastos*, & also *Cesar*, he the same man, at one & the same time enjoying all these titles, these dignities were then as offices, and not as titles of honour. But afterward, they as honourable names of dignities, euen without any offices at all belonging vnto them, began to bee according to the emperours pleasure, bestowed and disposed of. And for a time, the next in honour vnto the emperor, was called *Cesar*: as *The king of the Romanes* at this day, is in the West. But afterwards, *Sebastocrator* was the second in honour, & *Cesar* the third, at such time

as *Alexius Comnenus* appointed his Brother *Isaacius* to be *Sebastocrator*: of whom *Zonoras* speaketh more at large. And last of all *Alexius Paleologus* being *Despotes*, was made next in honour vnto the Emperour, vnto whom he the same Emperour *Comnenus* hauing no Sonnes, betrothed his eldest daughter *Irene*, and graced him with the Title of the *Despotes*, as hee which should haue bene heire of the empire, if he had not before dyed.

*Protosebastus* had the first place & degree of honour from the emperor. And at length *Panhypersebastus* began to be the most stately and maiesticall name of all others, being a new title, of a new dignity, inuented by *Alexius Comnenus*, to gratifie *Michael Taronitus* withall. *Eparchus* was also a name of great honor, as who should say, the cheefe of all the Prouinciall Presidents. *Contostaulus* was Generall of the Auxiliary forces, which out of *France*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*, serued in the East. Whereof he was called *The Great Contostaulus*: and otherwise *Comestabilis*, which of the *Italians* is interpreted *Contostabile*. *Drungarius* was he, which had the command of a Fleet at Sea. But him which commanded the Army at Sea, they called, *The great Duke*, and in Greek, *υπασπαστης*, for difference sake, imitating therein the *Latines*. For he which led the Army at Land, was called *Egemon*; but hee which ruled at Sea, was called *Dux*. And ouer the Army at land, commanded alwayes, eyther the emperor himselfe, or the *Despotes*, or the *Sebastocrator*, or the *Cesar*, or the *Panhypersebastus*. And vnto this Great Duke whom they had as cheefe Admirall, they made subiect all the Drungars of their Fleete, their Admirals, their *Proto-Comites*, and him the Great *Drungarius* himselfe, before whom they also appointed the emperours Statue on horse-backe (which they called *Contus*) to bee carried before him in their forces at Sea. They had also their Great *Logotheta*, whom we at this day call the Chancellor. Their *Logariastes*, whom the *Frenchmen* call *Controlleur*. And their *Protostator*, or *Marshall* of their Army. Their *Primicerios* also and *Primaugustos*, and many others of that sort, I willingly passe ouer, least in prosecuting of euery one, my discourse should grow too long and tedious. These were all honorable dignities, and that for the most part not

Protosebastus  
Panhypersebastus.

Eparchus.

Contostaulus.

Drungarius.

Mega-Dux.

Egemon.

The Great  
Logotheta.  
Logariastes.  
Protostator.

Primicerios.  
Primaugustos

so much for the necessity of their Offices or order, as so made by the fauour and good liking of the Emperour.

But whilst it seemed so good vnto the Emperours, so to appoint the seate of the Empire at *Constantinople* (where al things now lye swallowed vp of the Turkes) they left the west bared of their Legions, and strengthened onely with Fortes, vndefended and subiect vnto the inuasions & fury of the barbarous Nations: vpon the fall and decay whereof, the ruine of the East Empire (at length) ensued also. *Italy* and *Affricke* was at that time governed by their *Exarchi*, *Toparchi*, *Comarchi*, *Cartularij*, *Spatharij*, *Gustaldi*, and *Capatani*. But at length, when *Narses* the Eunuch, and one of the *Romane Patricij*, was by *Iustinus* the Emperour, appointed Governour, he brought in them whom they called *Consulares*, *Præsides*, and *Correctores*. But after, that hee that *Narses*, prouoked with the iniuries and despightes of *Sophia* the Emperesse (and with anger enraged) had called in thither the *Longobardes* out of *Pannonia*, they became by little & little to vary, concerning the titles of Honour, and names of Dignity.

For *Narses* beeing dead, *Longinus* (one of the *Romane Patricij* also) by the same Emperour chosen Governour or *Exarcha* in his stead in *Italy*, for the repressing of the *Longobards*, but a little before called forth by *Narses*, and euen now about to come, ordained Dukes thoroughout the Prouinces (haply to the imitation of *Constantine* the Emperour, who is reported to haue provided by Law, that Countreyes and Townes should be assigned to *Dukes*, *Earles*, and olde *Captaines*, which hauing long serued, were to be rewarded for their good seruice done and past.) And vnto this purpose tend the words of *Guicchiardine* himselfe, which I haue thought good hereunto also to adioyne.

By the translation of the Empire vnto *Constantinople* (saith hee) a way was opened vnto the power of the *Roman Bishops*; for the authority of the Emperours, dayly more and more weakned and decreasing in *Italy* (both by their continual absence, as also for that they were still busied with warres in the east) the people also by litle and litle reuolting from them, & the City of *Rome* it selfe, being at length oftentimes by the *Goths* and *Vandals* taken & sacked;

the authority of the Emperours began to decay and vanish away in *Italy*. But the barbarous people, at length again driuen out of *Italy* by the power of the Emperours, the gouernment began againe to be managed by Greeke Magistrats (of whom he which commanded ouer the rest, was called *Hexarchus*, and had his seate at *Rauenna*) who appointed Governours ouer the rest of the Citties of *Italy*, which Governours they called *Dukes*. From hence, came the name of the *Hexarchatship* of *Rauenna*, wherein al places were comprehended, which had not *Dukes* of their owne, but were vnder the commaund of one *Hexarchus*. Not long after, a notable change and alteration of matters ensued from the *Longobardes*: For they, a most fierce and cruell people entering into *Italy*, possessed the country called *Gallia Cisalpina*, of whome it hath also taken the name of *Lombardie*. They added also vnto their Gouernment *Rauenna*, with all the *Hexarchatship* thereof, besides many other parts of *Italy*, extending their armes as farre as *Picenum*, *Spoletum*, and *Beneuentum*, ouer which, they appointed Governours to rule and commaund, whome they called *Dukes*, &c. So the *Longobards* raging and roaming farre abroad in *Italy*, at length, with thirty of their *Dukes*, in vaine attempted to haue taken the Cittie of *Rome*. And so it came to passe, according to the manner of warres, that the Titles of the dignities of the former empire being neglected, all things began to be governed by the Generals and Commanders of the armies, viz. by such as they called *Dukes*, *Earles*, and *Princes*.

These people, *Charles the Great*, son to *Pipin* King of *France*, by the *Romans* called into *Italy*, hauing taken *Ticinum*, the Metropolitall Cittie of the *Insubres*, & there slain *Desiderius* (of a *Constable* promoted to be King of *Italy*) ouercame and subdued, and was forthwith by the generall consent of all men chosen emperor of the West Empire: who as hee would haue the Empire it selfe to be called, *The French Romane Empire*, so euen in the beginning thereof he had a purpose to make it hereditary, and made the *Great men*, & such as were with *Honourable Titles* graced, to be altogether free: and bound them by oath, as men in Fee, holding onely of the King, and of the Emperour: so that

Dukes, Earles, Princes,

The French Romane Empire.

that

that if by chance they should fall from their faith and allegiance, or dye without issue, hee then ordained those their dignities to be transferred vnto others: & that his ordinance was called *Inuestitura*, or an *Inuesture*. The bounds and townes of his kingdome, he committed to be gouerned by Counties or Earls. The bounds & borders they called *Marchias*, or *Marches*: whereupon, the Gouvernours of the *Marches*, began to be called *Marchiarum Comitēs*, (or Counties of the *Marches*) and at length *Marchiones*, or *Marquesses*. And them whom he set and placed in the Prouinces, for the administration of Iustice, and the keeping of the people in their allegiance, were then called *Missi* (or *Mensenti*) or otherwise *Legati*: that is to say, The Emperours Legats or Lieutenants. But such as the people afterward of them selues created, for the administration of Iustice, and the gouernment of Citties, being two or moe in number, beeing chosen after the manner of the ancient *Roman* Common-weale, were called *Consuls*. The *French* *Roman* Empire, with this successe made by *Charles* the Great, was left vnto his posterity almost hereditary: which in short time after also, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Grosse (Nephew in the fourth degree vnto *Charles* the Great, & before, King of *Germany*) deuolued from the *French-men* vnto the *Germanes*. Vnto whom also (within a few yeares after) *Otto* the Great, king of *Germany*, and he Emperour, also succeeded; who following the steps of *Charles* the Great, gaue such perfections vnto his beginnings, in bestowing and disposing of honours & dignities, as that he is not so much for his surname and noble actes, to be compared with the most mighty emperours, as for his wholesome Lawes, and heroicall Ordinances, of all posterity of right for euer to be commended. For this man, after the ancient manner of the *Longobards* and *French*, entertaining euery most valiant man into his wars, graced with Royalties such of them, as had done him worthy & faithfull seruice (and these Royalties were all manner of dignities, lands, & gouernments of Prouinces) which he according as he thought good, bestowed vpon such as had of him well deserued. And now men began more plainly to make a difference of titles and dignities. For the titles

of Dukes and Counties (being with the ancient *Romanes* but the bare names of personall offices and charges) now receiued other customes: and a Duke (at first chosen for his vertues & noble acts) they now began so to call him of his Duke-dome: as they did also a *Marquesse*, of his *Marquisat*, and an Earle of his Earldome. And he which had the command of people, from some King, *Marquesse*, or Earle, was called *Capitaneus* (or a *Capitaine*.) But they which had such command from *Capitaines*, were called *Valuasores* (or *Valuasours*.) And they which had it from these *Valuasors*, were called *Valuasini* (or *Valuasines*.) Whereupon this new beginning of Politicall Nobility, beeing far & wide dispersed through the kingdomes of the Empire, they at length were deemed rightly Noble, according to the manner and custome of euery place & Country, who eyther themselues, or their ancestors liued, so graced with these, or such like priuiledges.

And these be the things, which according vnto the variety and alteration of times, we haue read in the most approued Authors, concerning the titles of honours and dignities. In recounting of which, we haue thought this most especially worth the noting, that all the streames of Nobility (but especially the greatest & cheefest of them) came and issued all out of the Campe. Which degrees of honour and Nobility, before that wee compare them with ours, it shall not repent vs in distinct rankes, orderly to runne through the beginning of euery one of them.

And first to begin withall, They in Campes were called *Principes*, or *Princes*, (of whom at this day, wee euery where make so great account) which serued in the first rankes, excelling others in strength and age; and which followed the Spearemen, diuided into fifteen bands or troops, so placed, as it were for a refuge & releefe for them: to the end, that if in battaile the Speare-men should be enforced to retire, they might in safety flye vnto those *Principes*, as vnto principall men of more approued and assured seruice. Whereof *Castra Principalia*, the *Principall Tents*, and *Porta Principalis*, the *Principall Port*, where those *Principes* or *Principall* men were wont to lye with their bands; are so often read of in *Liue*.

Dukes.  
Earles.  
Marquesses.

A Capitaine.

Valuasors

Valuasines.

Princes.

Next

Next vnto *Augustus* the Emperour, they which in the emperours name gouerned the *Romane* affaires, were called *Principes Senatus*, or Princes of the Senate. But afterward, the emperour would haue the place or title of a Prince, to bee a dignity next vnto a Kings, who amongst the ancient *Saxons* were called *Ethelings*, and with vs *Clytones*. But now it is as it were a generall name, diuersly giuen and attributed vnto many at once, and orderly comprehending in it all the greater sorts of dignities: yea in some places, according to the manner and custome of the places, the title and dignity of a Prince, is inferiour vnto the title and dignity of a Duke, or an Earle.

Dukes.

*Duces* or Dukes tooke their names from the Latine word *Ducendo*, as who should say *Ductores* or *Leaders*; for that they marching before, led their followers. Whereof we reade the Latine phrase, *Ducere bellum*, that is to say, to leade Warre; for *Gerere bellum*, to make warre. And so *Hij bellum assidue ducunt cum Gente Latina*. These men make continuall war with the Latine Nation. And they which as Dukes or Generals were leaders of Armies, were wont to vse such Ensignes as the Consuls did: whereupon, the word *Ducatus*, sometime signified the Region or Country, ouer which the Duke commanded: and other while, the Military government and commanding authority it selfe. Vnto which manner of men, for things by them honourably and valiantly in the wars atchieued and performed, triumphall Ornaments were sometimes awarded. Amongst the ancient *Germanes*, vnto a Generall or Leader of an army, were assigned twelue Counties or Earles to attend vpon him.

Marqueffes.

*Marqueffes* were so called of a certaine iurisdiction bound vnto some certaine place. So he which had the command and government of any frontier Territory or Sea-coast, was called *Marchio*, or a *Marques*: and they which received of the Fees, were properly accounted the *Valuassars* of the king, or of the kingdom, as men standing with the Generals *Ad valuas Regni*, at the gates and entrances of the kingdom. Other some there bee, which goe about to deriue the word *Marchio* from *Marca*. (a word of the *Celtes*) from whence they deriue the word *Mar-*

*chare* in French, to ride: and the *Marcomanni* as a people so called, for that they excelled in good horse-manship.

Now of Counties or Earles, as there were diuers kindes, so of them amongst the ancient *VVriters*, are read diuers and sundry sorts and orders; such as among the rest wer *Comites Sacri Palitij*, or counties of the *Sacred Pallace*: *Archiatri* (or *Principoll Courtiers*) and *Comites-stabuli*, or *Constables*. For *Desiderius* from a *Constable*, by the *Lombards* chosen and appointed to be king of *Italy*, was slaine by *Charles* the Great. And it is elsewhere read, hee sent *Burchardus* the *Constable*, with his Fleete to *Corsica*.

Counties or Earles.

There were also *Comites Militum*, or *Counties* of the Souldiers, of whom the *Romanes* would haue always two residing in the East, and were thereof sometimes called *Comites Orientis*, or *Counties* of the east. And in breefe, there were *Counties* of *Prouinces*: such as were the *Counties* of *Spaine*, of *Brittaine*, and of the *Saxon-Coasts* in *Brittaine*.

The *Gustaldius* in *Italy*, and a *County*, seeme in ancient time to haue bene all one: There be some also, which beleue a *County* in olde time to haue bene called *Comarchus*.

The name of a *Vicount* sheweth a beginning not to be doubted of: For he to whom the *County* in the *Camp* committed the authority of his iurisdiction, was called *Vice-Comes* or *Vicount*; as were in the ancient time the *Proconsul*, & the *Proconsull* his *Lieutenant* or *Deputy*.

Vicounts.

But whereof the *Barones* or *Barons* were so called, is not yet wel knowne; For vnto the *Romans* as concerning their dignity, they were vterly vnknowne: howbeit, that they affirme it to bee a Latine word, by that saying of *Cicero* to his friend *Atticus*. *Apud Patronem reliquosque Barones te in maxima gratia possuit*: Hee brought you into great fauour with your *Patron*, and the rest of the *Barons*.

Barons.

Other some obtrude vnto vs the greek word *dapus*, which signifieth *Graue*. But howsoeuer it commeth to passe, if credite be to be giuen to our most learned Lawyer *Bracton*, the *Barons* were still accounted for most valiant men, for hee would haue them to be called, *Robora belli*, or the strength of warre. And by the Lawyer *Baldus*, a *Baron* is defined to be a man ha-  
uing

uing from his Prince the power and authority of the greatest, middle, and lowest correcting of offenders. But sufficeth it now concerning these matters, to haue sayde thus much, as purposing of the same, to speake more at large heereafter.

And let vs now come nearer vnto the matter, by comparing of ancient things, with others of latter time; to the intent, that by applying of those ancient things vnto this our Age and Time, the reason as well of the Names as of the Dignities themselues, may the better and more manifestly appeare.

Like as the *Empire* of the *Greekes*, was by the *Turkes* ouerthrowne and brought to nought, euen so also was the empire of the *West*, by the cunning and ambition of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, rent in sunder and weakened. Which, how great it was, the very ruines thereof doe now scarcely declare. The maiestie whereof, is yet by the *Seauen Princes Electors* (of the *Germanis* called *Cornostein*) vnto the Ornament of the *Christian* world vpholden and maintayned. The *Septemuirat* of *Germany*, the *Emperour* *Ocho* the third, and *Pope* *Gregorie* the fift, ordained in the year 960. Vnto whom afterwards the *Emperour* *Charles* the fourth engaged the reuenues of the *Empire* (hauing promised vnto euerie one of the *Electors*, an hundred thousand crownes) that he would appoint *Wenceslaus* his sonne, heire of the *Empire*. But the Money beeing not payed, it came to passe, that the *Patrimony* of the *Romaine* *Common-weale*, which was appointed to the vses and maintenance of the warres (and for that onely cause was subiect to alienation) was privately distributed and diuided amongst them, vnto euerie one of them a part, whereby the power of the *Empire* was afterward almost brought to nothing, the *Seauen Princes Electors* of *Germanie*, keeping all vnto themselues, and compelling the *Emperours* by oath, that they should not reuoke the *Lands* and *Pawnes* before ingaged.

And *Kings*, to whom it was a pleasant thing to be deliuered from another mans power and command, erected to themselues *Monarchies*.

But they which in most great *Kingdoms* hold the second place, next to the *Kings* and the *Kings* sons, are according

to the forme of the *Emperours* army, called *Dukes*. The title of an *Archduke* is but one alone, belonging to the house of *Austria*, by the *emperor* *Frederick* diuised, to grace his *nephew* *Phillip* withall, at such time as he was to marry *Ioane* the heire of *Spainie*.

The name of *Vayuode*, is a title of dignity onely in *Transilvania*, and *Valachia*. And so also is the *Doge* of the *Venetians*, who is also called a *Duke*.

And as in warres *Counties* or *Earles* were assigned vnto *Dukes*, so our *Counties* now at this day, are thought next in dignity to follow the *Dukes*.

For a *Marquesse* at this day, is nothing else in his owne proper signification, then a *Countie* vpon the *Frontiers* & *Borders*: which in the *Germaine* tongue is more significantly called a *Martgrau*: with whome a *Countie* is called *Graf*. And whereof come those honourable names of the *Pfaltzgrau*, *Landgrau*, *Martgrau*, *Rheingrau*, & *Burghgrau*: that is to say, *The Countie Palatine*, *the Countie of the Province*, *The Countie of the Borders*, *The County of Rhene*, *The County of the Castle or Garrison*. And yet according to the diuers custome of places, *Marqueses* in some places are preferred, and goe before *Counties* or *Earles*.

The beginning of a *Vicount*, the very etymology of the name it self hath taught vs.

*Barons* are also euery where according to the dignity of their degree, power, & grauity accounted honourable. *France* hath also onely foure peculiar Great and principall *Lords*, whom they call *Vidames* (*viz.*) *Chartres*, *Chalons*, *Amiens*, and *Gerbery*. So hath it pleased men according to the custome of places, vnto new forms of *Honours* and *Dignities*, to giue olde names. But nothing is euery where, and in all places so sincerely obserued and kept, as is that olde and generall diuision of *People*, into *Noble* and *Vnnoble*, with a certain difference of the *Vnnoble* sort among themselues, as of the *Nobler* sort among themselues also.

For such with easie exercises get their liuings, such as excell in wit in the knowledge of *Martiall* affaires, in learning, in wealth, or in vertue: these men, in these times, are as it were the *Seminaries* of *Nobility* (as were in ancient time the *Gentlemen* whom they called *Equites*; among the *Romans*, the nursery of the *Senators*.)

An Archduke.

A Vayuode.

A Doge.

An Earle.

A Marquesse.

A Vicount.

A Baron.

Vidames.

Noble and Vnnoble.

The Seminary of nobility.

The Empire decayed, the Nobilitie began to get other customs and

The Seauen Electors were instituted in Germany about the year 960.

A Duke.

All the vulgar  
people are  
base and vn-  
noble.

All gentlemen  
are alike No-  
ble.

The differen-  
ces of Nobil-  
ity.

Nobility, the  
greater and  
the lesser.

In some pla-  
ces of Italy  
there be he-  
reditary  
Knights.

In many pla-  
ces also there  
are Esquires  
by birth.

Many noble & famous Gentlemen, haue also from Lawyers and Merchants descended. And although some of the vulgar & common sort of the people, be among them of better account and reputation, then some others of them, yet in respect of the Nobility, they are altogether base and vnnoble: like as all free-borne men, which are not of the vulgar and common sort of people, are indifferently and alike noble, according to the French Prouerb: *Je suis Gentilhomme comme le Roy*, I am a Gentleman as well as the King. *Il foy de Gentilhomme*: The faith of a Gentleman.

Yet it is to be knowne, antiquity and high functions, to haue their estimation in Politicall Nobility, as they haue in other things. And heereof as seemeth vnto me, are those distinctions of Nobility, named, and vnnamed: or of the greater and lesser Nobility, as some others would haue it. And *Named* Nobility I call that which is by hereditary succession graced with Titles and Fees. As a king taketh that his denomination of his kingdome: a *Duke*, of his *Dukedome*; an *Earle*, of his *Earledome*; and a *Baron*, of his *Baronny*: who may also be called *Maiores Nobiles*, or *The greater Nobility*, although not altogether so properly, for that that distinction of Nobility, indifferently comprehendeth all sorts of Noblemen, & the higher Magistracies (bestowed vpon men for tearme of life onely, or during the Princes pleasure.) The rest of the Nobility vnder the degree of Barons, may be called *Nobiles Innominati* (or vnnamed Noblemen) or *Minores Nobiles*, that is to say; the lesser Nobility.

And yet there are some of them which seeme to haue *Named Nobility*, although they be not in the same ranke and order to be placed: such as are Knights and Esquires. But forasmuch as the Titles of Knighthood and of Esquires, are not hereditary, they are accounted amongst the lesser Nobility.

The *Frenchmen* in the meane time, and we *Englishmen* also, doe by more knowne words, better discern the greater Nobility from the lesser, but not without a certaine iniury and wrong done vnto the latine tongue, from which wee deriue our Nobility. For who is he which knoweth not the Latine word (*Nobiles*) indif-

ferently to comprehend all such as are aboue the common and vulgar sort of mē? Which word is in *French* or *English* expounded (*Noble*.) By which word, the common sort of *Englishmen* calleth or noteth no man, vnder the degree of a Baron.

The rest vnder the degree of Barons, are in *French* called *Gentilzhombres*, and in english, Gentlemen. Of which, such as are neyther Knights nor Esquires, we call them but onely Gentlemen; without any addition; and in *French*, *Gentilzhombres simples*, or plaine Gentlemen. Although it may be that some of these mē can shew moe Armes of their stocke, and deriue their Pedigree further, then can some others of greater dignity, or euen the emperour himselfe.

Wherefore, in Politicall Nobility, being simply vnderstood, these plaine tearmed Gentlemen are not inferiour vnto the Princes themselues, but yet in honor and dignity much. For the titles of *Kings*, of *Dukes*, of *Marquesses*, of *Earles*, & *Barons*, are as it were the names of most honourable Offices, and by reason of such additions, one becommeth more famous and nobler then another.

These things beeing thus somewhat more at large and in general spoken, concerning Nobility, seeme as it were to open the way vnto the particular degrees thereof with vs. But the diuision of the orders & degrees of men, which our english Common-weale and Empire well beareth, at other times, by others sette forth, is exceedingly well set downe: who haue diuided the same into a King, into Nobility of the greater and of the lesser sort, Citizens, Men liberally brought vp, and Labourers. But forsomuch as I haue purposed to speake onely of the degrees of Nobility, and that the intention and scope of this worke tendeth no farther, I haue determined to entreat onely of the Kings, and of the cheefe named Nobility, whom it pleaseth vs to call, *The Peeres of the Kingdome*, *The Common Fathers of the Common-weale*, & in brieft, by one name, *Great Estates*, or *Noblemen*.

Yet in so great conuersions of things, and inundations of forraigne Nations, where-with this our Island from the first inhabiting thereof, hath bene oftentimes troden vnder foote, and for a long time

What the  
tine word  
Nobilis  
sith with  
French  
and Engl-  
men.

Noblem  
how the  
to be dis-  
guithed.

A Tran-  
vnto the  
lith Nob

most greuously afflicted: to write such a serious discourse, as to set downe, what were the beginning Titles of our Noblemen, with the orders and degrees of honours, seemeth a thing most difficult and hard.

Concerning which things (freely to confesse the truth) seeing that I haue not well satisfied my selfe, I dare not with too much hasty confidence to affirme much, especially seeing that heere, as well as elsewhere, the Victors haue still especially endeouored them-selues, not so much to oppresse the people by them subdued, as they haue done to innouate their customes, and to change their lawes. Seeing that it is so by Nature ordered, that with the same fate where-with Monarchies and Kingdomes are ouerwhelmed, euen the Nations themselues, and Noble Families fall, and come to vtter ruine also.

For first, the *Romanes* by subduing the *Brittaines*, the naturall Inhabitants of this Island, went about with their Legions to ouerthrow all things.

But the *Romanes* about five hundred yeares more or lesse after, beeing againe transported into *France*, the *Saxons*, or rather *English-Saxons*, called in by the *Brittaines* vnto their aide, raised warre against their Hoasts, and thrust them quite out of their auncient Seates, and first of all others, gaue vnto the kingdome the name of *England*. And these people the *Danes* also for a space thrust out of the kingdome.

But at length, when as this kingdome began (as it were) againe to breathe vnder *Edward the Confessour*, a most holy King, and last of the *English-Saxons* race, he being forth-with dead without issue, gaue occasion to the *Normanes* to passe ouer. VVho at length preuailing, (*Harold* who with-stood them beeing overcome) and the *English-men* beeing thrust out of their ancient inheritance, began fourth-with to assigne the Landes and groundes in euery place vnto their companions and fellow-souldiors, and also to bring in the *Normane* customes and fashions.

Many things for all that, are yet extant in the most auncient Records, euen in the *Heptarchy* of the *English-Saxon* Kings, concerning those Noble-Men

which were Rulers ouer the Countries of *Chester*, *Leicester*, and *Lincolne*, whom we reade to haue beene indifferently also called *Dukes*, and Counties of the *Mercians*. The *Danes* had also their *Heretoches*, and the Princes of their *Heretoches*. And *Edward*, the King and *Confessour* yet reigning, euen in the time next vnto the comming in of the *Normans*, in the charters and monuments of Churches, are found there to be *Ethelings*, *Clytoss*, *Patricij*, *Consuls*, *Earles*, *Palatines*, *Dukes*, *Senators*, *Stalhers*, *Thayni*, *Theotthani*, *Ministers*, and *Princes*. But yet with great inconstancy, of such their names and callings. For whom thou shalt reade to be called Counties, thou shalt else-where finde euen at one and the selfe-same time to be called *Dukes*. But the stile of *Clyto*, at first signified the Kings eldest Sonne, but afterwards, it was a title common to all them that were descended of the kings blood.

The Titles of *Countie* and *Consull* signified the same thing, differing, but in that *Comes* (or a *County*) was so called a *Comitatu* (or of a *Shire* or *County*;) and a *Consull* of *Consulendo*, or of giuing of Councill. A *Stalher*, and *The Governour of the Kings house*, to haue beene all one, it is out of diuers writings manifest. The *Partricij* and *Thaini* were Noblemen of the better sort; and I could almost affirme them to haue beene equall vnto our Barons at this day. Ministers and Princes, who in old Charters are set as lowest witnesses, seeme to haue beene names of one and the same signification, and alike signifie Noble-men: but what degree of honour or Nobility they were of, is altogether vnknowne. Neither seeme these honourable Titles to haue beene fourth-with together with the victory, by *William the Normane* changed. For these men whom King *Edward the Confessor* in his Charter, concerning the Priuiledges by him granted to the Abbey of *Waltham*, in the yeare 1062: taketh to witnesse by the name of *Counties Palatine* (whom he but euen a little before had called *Dukes*) and by the names of *Procurators*, *Chamberlaines*, and *Princes of his Court*: the *Normane* himselfe, in the second yeare after his victory, in his confirmatory Charter granted vnto the same Abbey, doth by the same Stiles and Titles take to

witnesse also.

But, after that he had now confirmed the kingdome vnto himselfe in safety, the *Counties* whom he by his Royall Charter had rewarded with *Counties* and Lands, began to be one from another, distinguished, by the addition of the Title, of such and such a *Countie*. As witnesse *Alanus* Countie of *Richmond*; witnesse *Hugh* Countie of *Chester*: witnes *Roger* Countie of *Shrewsbury* and *Arundell*.

VVherefore the *English Saxons* by little and little, eyther dead without issue, or oppressed, or thrust forth into exile, and so liuing in other places, all things were so framed vnto the *Norman* maner, as that of our *Nobilitie* at this day, there is not any which can so much as any little breathe of the Stock and Race of those most ancient *Saxons*.

These foundations of the auncient VVorthies and *Nobility* beeing layde by *William* the *Conquerour*: and oftentimes afterwards by Successours, according to the diuerse occasions and occurrents of times, by little and little continued and augmented, beganne at length in the reigne of King *Henry* the third, and *Edward* the first, to shine forth, who hauing now vanquished the *VWelch-men* their Neighbours, and contending with the *Scottes* bordering vpon them, for Principallitie and Soueraignetic; entreating of all things concerning the Common-weale, with the three States of the Kingdome (which consisted of the *Nobilitie*, the *Clergie*, and the *Comminaltie*) they themselues in their Royall Maiestie sitting in Parliaments, appoynted vnto euery man a preheminance, according to the place of his dignitie: from whom, especially all the *Nobilitie* of our age, may seeme to deriue the diuerse and appoynted degrees of Dignities and Honours.

A King.

VVherefore a King, who may with vs bee also called a *Monarch*, hauing in himselfe the supream power, is of such great Maiestie, as that besides *GOD* alone, hee hath none his Superiour. Who from Equitie and Iustice seeking his chiefest praise and commendation (when as any matter of greater weight or importance is to bee decreed and set downe, concerning the welfare and honour of the Common-weale) doth ey-

her make new Lawes, before conceiued by the three estates of the Kingdome, or else abrogateth the old; and free from all homage for his Empire, is with the sacred solemnities of his Countrey, with a royall Crowne, by his subiects crowned, whom afterwards we with so great reuerence obserue and honour, both in the time of peace, as also in the time of war, as that (forso much as hee himselfe is the fountaine of all *Nobilitie*) he may for his onely pleasure and good liking, blesse and grace whom hee will, with Offices, Dignities, Honour, *Nobilitie*, and Riches.

Amongst the *Nobilitie* or *Peeres* of the Kingdome, the Prince is the chiefe, who is alwayes but one and himselfe alone, for hee is to be deemed the Kings eldest sonne, or heire apparant of the Kingdome, and hath of long beene graced with the Title of the *Prince of Wales*. The Kings sonnes in auncient times, before the comming in of the *Normans*, were wont to be called *Ethilings*, that is to say, *Clytons*, (as more Noble than the rest, whom they in Latine called *In-clyti*, or *Noble*) as *Edgar Clyto*, *Alured Clyto*, and others. Our Princes of *Wales* are now with vs; the same that the designed *Cesars* were among the ancient *Romans*, as who should say, heires of the *Imperiall Maiestie*; and whereupon at this day, the *Germans* appoint him which shall be emperor, King of the *Romans*, and the *French* stile him that is to succeed in the Kingdome, the *Dolphin*: but the *Spaniards*, together with vs, call him which is to haue the kingdome after the death of the king his father, *The Prince*, or *Infant*.

The Prince of Wales.

The first that was by this name called after the coming in of the *Normans*, was *Edward*, the eldest son of King *Henry* the third, who (his Father *Henry* being dead) and hauing there vanquished *Leolin*, was the first that vnited the Principallitie of *Wales* vnto the kingdome of *England*: vnto whom also, *John* the *Scot* earle of *Chester*, being dead without heyres male (other lands and reuenues being assigned vnto the sisters of the foresaid Earle) the king his Father had giuen the same countie.

The first Prince of Wales.

At length King *Edward* the third gaue vnto *Edward* his eldest sonne (a most famous and renowned warriour) then

then Prince of *Wales* and Earle of *Chester*, the Countie of *Cornwall* also, which hee then had made a Dukedome: and by this meanes it is come to passe, that afterwarde our Kings eldest sonnes or heyres, were by the Kings royall Charter, with great solemnitie in full Parliament, created Princes of *Wales*, and Earles of *Chester*, (with the Countie of *Flint*, which belongeth vnto the Dignitie of the Sword of the Countie of *Chester*) but are called Dukes of *Cornwall*, euen from the first houre of their Natiuitie.

They which are accounted of the Nobility after the Princes of *Wales*, we call Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons. Aboue which, if I shall also place the most famous Fellowship of Knights, of our (by farre) the most honorable order, taking name of the Garter, I not shal haply seem to haue done amis: forasmuch as it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the Lesser Nobility, (excelling others in vertue and valour) almost equall, not onely vnto Noble-men at home with vs, but euen with *Kings* and *Emperours* abroad. But of them we are else-where to speake.

All these Noblemen (I say) in the beginning to haue beene Generalles and Leaders of Armies, or Gouvernours of Countries, it is before declared. But afterward, as pleased the *Emperours*, to haue beene giuen them for terme of life: and at length strengthened with lands and fees, we see them to haue obtained a certayne hereditary perpetuity: wherefore, a Duke, who in ancient time was, as it were, the Constable of the Kingdome, and whose chiefe seruice was, to leade and conduct the Kings Armie in time of warre, now graced with Fees, and once authorized by the King, is become an hereditarie Title. Our Kings discended of the *Norman* blood, so long as they themselves were Dukes of *Normandie*, graced no man with this Title of *Duke*, till *Edward* the Third; who first of all (as is before sayd) exalted the County of *Cornwall* into a Dukedome: vnto the example whereof, many hereditarie Dukes were in like manner by our Kings created, howbeit that at this day we haue none.

Next vnto Dukes in order follow

*Marquesses*, who in ancient time were called *Gouvernours* or *Wardens* of the borders or *Marches*: a Title vnto vs, before the time of King *Richard* the Second, vterly vnknowne; who in the tenth yeare of his reigne, by his Royall Charter first created *Robert Vere* earle of *Oxford* (his Minion) Marques of *Dublin* the Metropolitall Cittie of *Ireland*. By which example, many others afterwards obtained the like Creations by Inheritance.

Concerning either the etymologie or the office of an *Earle* amongst the Antients, I haue else-where briefly touched some things, and leaue the same to bee more at large by others entreated of. *Earles* with vs, haue alwayes beene both of greatest authority and dignity, and of much greater antiquitie then either *Marquesses* or *Dukes*.

Neyther is it any let at all, but that an *Earle* may be called *Earle* of any County or place, from whence he receiueth no profit, neyther therein holdeth any iurisdiction. Indeed it is in antient Charters, declared them in old time to haue beene Feod-men, and to haue beene rewarded with the third penny of the profit of that Prouince wherof they were called *Earles*; but now the maner is with vs, that the Titles of *Earledomes*, are according vnto the Kings pleasure conferred and bestowed, without any possession of the places at all: vnto whom, the King, in stead of the third Penny, is wont to appoynt a certayne summe of money, to be yearely receiued out of the *Exchequer*, or his Customs: as wee will heereafter more at large declare.

Concerning the beginning of a *Vicount* with vs, there is no cause why I should from farre deriue it; forasmuch as we had none of them before the time of King *Henry* the sixt. For he in the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, created *John de Bellomonte*, or *Beaumont*, a *Vicount*: Whereupon that which in ancient time was the name of an office, we now at this day do acknowledge it bee a certayne name and Title of Dignitie, as it were in the midst, betweene an *Earle* and a *Baron*; as wee doe a *Marquesse*; betweene a *Duke* and an *Earle*. This Degree of Nobilitie hath inuestiture from the Kings themselves, with certain solemn ceremonies,

An Earle.

A Vicount.

Marquesse.

A Baron.

as the other degrees of Nobility haue.

Now the last of all, aswell in order as specially in dignity, come foorth the Barons, whose conioyned power, compared with the rest, hath in the great affaires of the Common-weale alwayes bene the greatest. Of whose beginning, yet truth it selfe doubtfully wauereth. *Lucas de Penna in L. f. C. de mancipijs*, in his 16. book sayeth. *Quòd Reges cum plures haberent filios nec omnes Reges posse fieri (quòd regnum diuidi nequeat) prospicerent: ampla cuique donabant Castra cum iurisdictione & Imperio, vnde Barones dicerentur, id est, filij alijs excelsiores.* For that Kings when they had many sonnes, which they well saw could not all be made Kings (for that a kingdom cannot be diuided) they gaue vnto euery one of them great Castles, with iurisdiction and command, whereof they should be called *Barons* (that is to say) Their sonnes, higher in degree then others. Other some will haue the word *Baro*, to haue bene deriued from the Greeke word *βαρυς*, signifying grauity. But if it may be lawfull for vs with coniectures to contend, I deeme it not amisse, heereunto to ioyne the curious conceite and iudgment of a certaine most learned man, and of great reading, who marking the great power and authority of Barons, supposeth them in the beginning to haue bene the Generals or Leaders of Nations & people, dispersedly roaming and stragling vp and downe without any certaine resting places, after the empire was rent in sunder, who equally diuiding the lands by force or leaue by them gotten, as it were by tutelary law gouerned the people, holding of them in fealty, and subiect to euery one of their iurisdctions, eyther with a meere soueraignty apart, as Monarchs, or vnder some other common Prince.

Whereof, *Baldus* happily hath called a man of greatest, middle, and meanest authority and command, *Baronem*, or a *Baron*. But they which were so in power and authority in a manner like and equal, were before in Latine called *Pares homines* (or like men) but of the *Frenchmen* and *Italians*, (speaking more contractly) *parhommes*, and *parhuomini*, and thereof they might, saith he, bee called *Baroni* and *Barons*: for with a more easie pronounciation, they in their words easily admit *b* for *p*. And to giue more credite to this mat-

ter, he ioyneeth thereunto the force of diuers Languages. For they whom the *Frenchmen* from the beginning, called *Barons*, we in the same sence in ancient time, called *Thaini*, and at this day in english, called *Lordes*, whom the *Germanes*, as it were by a circumlocution, doe more fitly call *Free-heren*, which with vs truly signifieth *Free Lodes*; that is to say, *Lodes* hauing free iurisdctions and territories. But from whence this very word *Lord* is sprung (which is not so much peculiar vnto Barons as to all Noblemen in generall) remaineth yet doubtfull.

Forasmuch as we after our manner and fashion, are wont to call all Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, and Vicounts, (and some of the greatest Officers and Magistrates of the kingdome also, although they bee not Barons) after the manner of Barons, *Lodes*: some say it to be a primitiue & originall word of it selfe, sprung out of the Saxon word *Hlaford*, which is interpreted *Lord*: Other some also, suspect it to haue bene a deriuatiue word, and to haue bene first brought out of *Burgundy*: for it is manifest, the emperour *Probus* to haue sent hither into *Brittaine* the *Burgundians*, whom he had ouercome in the year 282. Who hauing heere seated and settled themselues, did vnto the *Romanes* right good seruice, if at any time rebellio did arise or was stirred vp against them. And in that place they commonly call it *Allodium*, which signifieth, *Free* and discharged from all homage and seruice: which manner of possessour or owner, is euen at this day called *Allodius*: whom we, resting almost vpon the same reason, do in english call, *A Lord*. Contrary vnto those *Allodij* or *Lords*, are the *Leudes* or *Leudi*, as subiect vnto the *Allodij*, where of perhaps the word *Laydes* is vsed amongst the *Scots*, whom they with vs call also *Lords*.

But as concerning words and etymologies, let euery mā ghesse as he list: howfocuer the names be deemed of, it is for the most part of all men granted, that *Free-heren* or *Lodes* (call them whether you list) to haue in all places liued as *Free-borne* men, and of great esteeme, & I verily think them to haue bene the same, whom *Cesar* calleth *Regulos* in *France*: where euen yet vnto this day, certaine of the most olde and ancient Barons, are reported

Thaini.

A Lord.

Hlaford in the Saxon tongue, in English Lo

A Layrde.

ported and reputed by a certaine right of their Baronies, to contend for precedence with the new Earles. But how full of authority and dignity the name of a Baron and of a Baronage is, shall very plainly & easily appeare, if wee shall eyther respect the antiquity thereof, as they which of ancient time had hereditary Iurisdiction annexed vnto their honour and dignity, and whereof wee at this day retain a shew in our **Lozds courts**, commonly called a **court Baron**: or looke into the most honourable and reuerend prerogatiue of the in the cheefest assemblies of the kingdome. For all *Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Vicounts*, haue their seates with the Barons, in the highest assembly of the kingdome, in Parliament, onely by the name of their Baronies; Inso much, that the greatest Duke sitting in Parliament (although he be placed according to the preheminance of his degree) yet holdeth he his place only by reason of his Barony: neyther is it for any other reason granted vnto our Archbishops and Bishops (as it was in auncient time vnto some Abbots and other of like sort) to sitte there, but that they haue the possession and dignity of some Baronage or Barony annexed and ioyned vnto theyr Bishoppricks; yea, the eldest Sonne of a Duke whosoeuer, although he be commonly called an *Earle*, as also the eldest sonne of an earle, although by the flatterie of custome, and in respect of his blood he be called in Latine *Dinasta* or *Dominus* in French *Signeur*, and after our manner, a *Lord*, yet if wee shall consider the force of the Law, they are not to be numbred either amongst the earles or the Barons, but only to be accounted *Esquires*; neyther can they challenge any voyce or suffrage in the Parliaments of the Kingdome, so long as their Fathers liue. Howbeit, wee haue it often in experience (I confesse) that as often as the King shal see the eldest sonne or heyre of a *Duke, Marquesse, or of an Earle*, as well in wisdome and councell, as of yeeres ripe and stayed, and whom he shall deeme worthie to be present at the greatest assemblies of Parliament, him he promoteth vnto the height of that honour: and by a *Writte of Summons* (as they terme it) his Father yet being aliu, according to the name & stile (if he be the sonne of a Duke) of his

Barony, or if he be the sonne of a *Marquesse, or of an Earle*, by the name whereof he was before called, and whereof hee was heire apparant, and into the inuestiture whereof his father also before came.

This I say, sometime is done, and may be done, by the fauour of the Prince onely, whose prerogatiue is so indeterminate as that he may promote vnto honors, and admit into Parliaments whom hee pleaseth. As for example; it pleased our deceased Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year 1575. by her *Writ of Summons*, so to call *William Poulet*, Baron *S. John of Basing*, at this day *Marquesse of Winchester*, (viz:) the eldest sonne of *John Poulet*, *Marquesse of Winchester*, and to assigne vnto him a place amongst the Noblemen of the Vpperhouse, due vnto the ancient Barons of *S. John*, vntill that their heires male sayling, the heire generall of the same family, had married with the stocke of the *Poulets*. This I say, the Queene might doe by her royall prerogatiue onely; the age and towardlinesse of the young Baron being respected and looked into, which he could no way by right haue challenged, his Father yet liuing.

*Henrie Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*, was by *Writ of Summons* called vnto Parliament, his father yet liuing, by the name of Baron *Strange of Knokin*, and placed in the same seate wherein the Barons *Strange of Knokin* were wont of ancient time to sit. The like we now of late haue also seene to haue bene done to *Gilbert Lord Talbot* (at this day Earle of *Shrewsburie*) sonne and heire to *George earle of Shrewsburie*, but of late deceased: which places they could not by prescript forme of law as yet challenge vnto them, for that theyr Fathers then aliu, possessed both the dignities & reuennues of the aforesaid Baronies. So that I say, they were onely by the fauor of the Prince promoted vnto such honour and degree, whilest that their fathers yet liued.

For wee rightly acknowledge no Barons, but them whom the Kings Royall Maiestie hath first by his Charter created, or else the Parliaments preheminance & dignity designed; who so called and once admitted, and in Parliament placed, are alwaies after to be held and accounted Barons, and to be reckoned amongst the Nobility of the Baronage of *Englynd*, nei-

For that vnto  
me infamous  
the gate of  
honor, are no  
wher open, so  
things which  
are once gran  
ted vnto any  
man by the  
Prince, are  
not to bee a  
gain returned  
vnto his lesse  
or disgrace.

ther doeth it any where appeare, anie of them to haue bene afterwards reiected or degraded, except by chance their possessions were so far diminished, as that they were by no meanes able to maintayne so great an honour. For, as in ancient time the *Romane* Senatours, which had wasted or decayed their Senators substance were out of Senate remooued; euen so (I say) such are either of their own accord to abstain from comming into the vpper house of our Parliament, or else (I may say perhaps) are not thereinto admitted, although that they for euer still retaine the stile and name of their Barony.

And these be they whom we acknowledge to be *Named Noblemen*: But how they bee now amongst themselves together, and severally apart, both in dignitie and preheminance distinguished, is out of the forme of their *Creations* or admissions to be better discerned: which things we will declare by the Letters Patents, or of *Summons*, giuen vnto euery one of them at the time of their *Creation*, (which Letters, we by two names call, viz: *Royall Charters*, and *Parliament Writs*) and by the ceremonies after our manner, ioyned into their Inuestiture, and the custome of their precedency; beginning first with the Baron himselfe.

For why, the name of the Baronage of *England* is right famous, and more honorable then the rest: resembling the ancient shew of a *Reuerend Romane Father*, registred to be one of y<sup>e</sup> counsell of estate, & of the *Senatory Dignity*; and with vs giuing an entrance vnto all the higher degrees of honor, as did that among the ancient *Romanes*.

In elder time, it was for a certain space giuen vnto none, but vnto men for their martiall prowesse renowned, vnto whom the ensigne of a Barony was also giuen; as was the right to weare a Ring of Gold granted vnto the *Romane Gentlemen*. But afterward, not onely they whom martiall prowesse had commended, but euen they also whom their Nobility of birth, their manners, fortune, or wisdom hadde at home ennobled, were wont by the Kings Writ of *Summons*, to be called forth vnto the high assembly of Parliament. And at length also, King *Henrie* the 6. brought in the fashion to create some by this very name, by vertue of his *Royall Charter*:

which manner of forme and fashion, together with that other of calling by *Writ of Summons* vnto the Parliament, we onely at this day haue in vse, in forme following.

*Letters of Summons, or Parliament Writs* (as they call them) for the promoting of any one, or of whomsoever, vnto the Dignity of a *Baron*, in full Assembly of Parliament, are in a prescript appointed forme in this sort made: Changing onely such things as are of order to be changed.



**E**LIZABETH, by the Grace of God, *Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defendresse of the Faith, &c.*  
Vnto her faithfull and well-beloued *Henry Norris of Ricot Knight, Greeting* - Forasmuch, as Wee by the aduice and consent of our Councell, for certaine high and urgent causes, concerning the estate & defence of our kingdome of England, and of the *English Church*, haue appointed a certain Parliament of ours, to be holden at our Citie of *Vestmonastery*, the eight day of *May*, next comming, and there to haue speech and conference with you, and with the *Prelates, the States, and Nobility of our sayde Kingdome*: Wee firmly enioyne & command you, vpon the Faith and Allegiance wherein you are vnto Vs bound, that the waight of the aforesaide busineses, and the imminent dangers considered, all excuse whatsoever set apart, you be there personally present the day and place aforesaide, to conferre with Vs, & with our *Prelates and Nobility aforesaide*, concerning the aforesaid busineses, & there to shew your aduice. And of this, as you loue Vs, and honour the safegard & defence of Our Kingdome, and the Church aforesaid, and the good dispatch of the affairs aforesaid, in no wise faile you.

Witnesse Our selfe, the \_\_\_\_\_ day  
of \_\_\_\_\_ in the year of Our reigne  
the fourteenth.

An

Another manner there is of creating of Barons by Charter: whereof this is the forme.



**E**LIZABETH by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defendresse of the Faith, &c. Vnto all Archbishops, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, Gouvernours, Free-borne men, and all our Officers, Ministers, and Subiects, whomsoever, vnto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. Wee well perceiue, and see the hight and tipe of our Royall Dignity, not onely to be beautified, but encreased also, whilst the titles of honors, are by vs conferred vnto men for their vertues renowned, and in our most weighty affaires well experienced. For We thinke our Royall Crowne to be so much the more adorned and enriched, when as We call and promote graue and wise Men, especially such as are for the Nobility of their stocke famous, and for their wisdomer renowned and mighty, into part of our Royall carefulnesse, vnto the degrees of Honour and Dignity, and the gouernment of the Common-weale. Wherefore, Wee considering the long seruice, which our well-beloued and faithfull Councillor William Cicill, our principall Secretary, hath many waies done, as well in the time of our Progenitors, Kings of this kingdome, as also his faithfull, and most pleasing loyalty towards Vs at all times, euen from the first beginning of our Reigne, not onely in the notable and graue affaires of Councill, but beside also, hath not ceassed daily to doe, in all other expeditions for our Kingdome in general: and also the circumspection, courage, wisdomer, dexterity, integrity, prouidence, care, and fidelity of him the saide William Cicill, towards Vs, our Crowne and Dignity.

Know you therefore, that We of our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue set, giuen, and in our Countie of Northampton promoted, made, and created, and by the tenor of these presents, do set, ordaine, and create him the aforesayde William Cicill, vnto the state, degree, dignity, and honor, of Baron of Burghley: and vnto the said Williams, haue imposed, giuen, and granted, and by these presents, doe impose, giue, and

grant, the Name, Stile, and Title of the Baron of Burghley. To haue, and to hold, the same State, Degree, Dignity, Stile, Title, Name, and Honour, vnto him the aforesaid William, and the heyres male issuing of his body for euer. Willing, and by these presents for Vs, Our heyres and successors granting, that the aforesaid William, and his Heyres male aforesaide, may successiueley beare and haue, and euery one of them may haue and beare the said Name, State, Degree, Stile, Dignity, Title, and Honour: and may be called and stiled, and euery one of them may be called and stiled by the name of the Baron of Burghley. And that he the sayde William and his heires male aforesaid, shall successiueley in all things, be holden for Barons of Burghley: and shall so be used and reputed, & that euery one of them shal be used, holden and reputed, as Barons. And that the saide William, and his heires male aforesaid, may haue, hold, and possesse, and their heires male also aforesaid, and euery one of them may as Barons, haue, hold, and possesse a seate place, and voice in our Parliaments and Councels, amongst other Barons, within our kingdome of England. And also the saide William, and his heires male aforesaid, may haue, enioy, and vse, and euery one of them, shall by the name of the Baron of Burghley, haue, enioy, & vse, all the Rights, Priuiledges, Preheminences, and Immunities, of right, and lawfully belonging vnto the state of a Baron in all things; which other the Barons of our said Kingdome of England, in former times, in better sort, more honourably and more quietly, used and enioyed, or at this present doe enioy and vse: and this without any fine or fee, great or small, to bee therefore to our vse in any wise giuen paide, or made into our Hanapery of our Chancery, or elsewhere, for that expresse mention of the certainty of the premisses or of any of them, &c. These being witnesses. The most reuerend father in Christ, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, our welbeloued & faithfull Councillor, Nicholas Bacon knight, Keeper of our great Seale of England, and also our welbeloued Coosins and Councillors, William Marquesse of Northampton, Henry Earle of Arundell, Thomas Earle of Sussex, President of our Councill in the North parts of our kingdome, Henry Earle of Huntingdon, Ambrose Earle of Warwick, Master of the Ordinance, Francis Earle of Bedford, Robert Earle of Leycester, Master of our Horse,

The Letters  
arents wher  
y Sir Willi  
m Cicill  
night, was  
y Queene  
Elizabeth  
made Baron  
of Burghley.

*Horse, Walter Vicount Hereford, Anthonie Vicount Mountaigne: And also the reuerend Fathers in Christ, Edwin byshop of London, Nicholas byshop of Worcester, Edmund byshop of Rochester, William byshop of Chester: And also our wel-beloued and faithfull William Lord Lumley, James Lord Mountioy, Henrie Lord Cromwel, Thomas Lord Paget, Roger Lord North. And our welbeloued & faithfull Councillors, Francis Knols, knight, Treasurer of our household, &c. James Crofts Knight, Master Controller of our household, &c. Giuen vnder our hand, at Westmonastery, the 25. of February, in the 23. yeare of our reigne. By the Queene her selfe, according to the aforesaid date, by the authority of the Parliament.*

*The Rites and Ceremonies vsed in Creating Barons by Charter.*



*William Cicill Knight, attired in a robe and Mantle, and in this forme brought foorth, the xv. day of Februarie, the xiii. yeare of the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, was in the royall Palace at Westmonastery, in a great assembly of Courtiers, made Baron of Burghley. First, the Heralds go before, by two and two together, whom Garter alone followeth, carrying in his handes the Royall Charter; Henry Cary, Baron of Hunsdon, carried the Barons Cloake: after whome followed William Cecill Knight, in the midst, betwixt Edward Baron Clinton, on the right hand, and William Brooke Baron Cobham on the lefte: who entering into the Chamber of Salutation (which wee commonly call the Presence Chamber) & making there obeysance thrice, approached vnto her royall Maiesty; where Garter first deliuered the Charter to the Earle of Suffex, then being Chamberlain of the Queenes house, who gaue the same vnto the Queene, and she againe deliuered the same vnto John Wolley Esquire, to be read: VVhere, at the word (*Inuestiuimus*, or we haue inuested) the Queen put vpon him the Barons Cloake; and the Charter being read, pronounced him the sayde William Cicill, Baron of Burghley, and his heyres male after him, as is before declared.*

*VVhich thing being done, the charter*

*was againe deliuered vnto the Queene, who forthwith gaue it to the Baron to be kepte; who at length, after most great thanks giuen her, for the honour by him receiued, in his honourable attire, with a great noise and sound of Trumpets, departed to dinner, euen in the same maner that he came in.*

*After mid dinner, Garter with the rest of the Queenes Heralds, comming neere vnto the Table, and hauing first altogether cryed aloud, *Largesse*; forthwith proclaimed the Queens stile in *Latine*, *French* and *English*, and so with-drawing themselves a little farther off, and againe repeating *Largesse*, he repeated the stile of the new Baron in these words: *Du tres noble Seigneur Guliaulme Cicil Chenalier, Baron de Burghley*: and so hauing done their obeysance, and altogether crying twice *Largesse*, they departed.*

*The manner and forme of admitting of Barons by Rescript or Writ.*



*His (I say) is the manner of creating of the Named Nobility, by royall Charters: now a fewe things remaine; to shew how the newe Barons are by VVrits of Summons chosen into the Parliaments: and in what sort they being thether called, are there placed. The forme of the writ wee haue before shewed, and the forme of theyr Admission, is this.*

*Henry Compton, Henry Cheyney, & Henry Norreis Knights, were by writs, called to be present at the Parlement at Westmonastery, vpon Thursday the 8. day of May, in the 14. yeare of the reigne of Q. Elizabeth, vpon which day, after that the Nobles were set on their seats, these three attending without, were by turnes in this maner brought in, and admitted into the vpper house. Garter K. at Armes, came before bare-headed, hauing on his royall coat, whom two of the last made Barons, attyred in their Cloaks, robes, and Mantles followed, bringing in the knight that was to be in his new honour inuested, in the middle betwixt them. Him at length they bring vnto the Chancellor, vnto whome the Knight hauing made once or twice Obeyesance, deliuereth his *Writ of Sum-**

mons to be read, wherein he declareth by what power & authority he is come thither: the Chancellor after the writ read with great courtesie welcomming him, dismisseth the new Baron (in his Barons attire) to take his place, which place (*Garter* going before them) they shewe vnto him: but the writ is by the Chancellour deliuered vnto the Clarke of the Parlia-

ment to be laid vp.

In the like manner were the other two Knights afterward brought in and admitted, and in their due order in their seates placed. So they which entred into the Parliament but Knights onely, goe out thence and are so accounted Barons, and enioy the like honor with the rest of the Barons of the kingdome.

The habit wherein a Baron of England,  
is inuested.

BARO



## CHAP. VII.

*The Kings Charter for the Creating of a Vicount.*

The Copy of  
the L. Patents  
of K. Henrie  
the VI. crea-  
ting Io. Brau-  
mont, vicount  
of Beaumont.

**H**Enry, by the grace of  
God, King of *Eng-  
land*, and of *France*,  
Lord of *Ireland*, &c.  
To all Arch-Bys-  
hops, Bysshops, Ab-  
bots, Pryors, Dukes,  
Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sheriffes, Go-  
uernors, Bayliffes, Ministers, and other  
his faithfull Subiects, vnto whome, &c.  
*Greeting.* Know you, that we, when as  
wee see it to beseme our Maiestie, with  
principall honors to promote them, who  
with dutifull seruice dayly attend vs, espe-  
cially in such things which proceed from  
our meere Prerogatiue & gracious boun-  
ty; and them chiefly, whom the remem-  
brance of their fathers and former Ance-  
stors hath ennobled, and the merites of  
their owne vertues haue with manifest o-  
bedience and loyalty graced: that vertue  
so rewarded, may in it selfe be streng-  
thened, and withall allure many vnto vertu-  
ous actions.

Heereof it is, that wee considering the  
Noble discent of our most dearely belo-  
ued cosine *John* Lord of *Beaumont*, & the  
good seruices which his Ancestors faith-  
fully performed vnto our Progenitours,  
together with the most acceptable Offi-  
ces which he euen from his infancy, hath  
hitherto commendably done vnto vs, and  
yet dayly performeth; as he desireth here-  
after to continue the same, and to doe vs  
so much the more better honour: VVee  
of our especiall Grace, in this our present  
Parliament, giue vnto the aforesaid *John*  
Lord of *Beaumont* our cosine, and the  
heires male of his bodie, the name of the  
*Vicount of Beaumont*; and do really inuest

him the saide *John*, with the Armes of the  
*Vicount of Beaumont*, and assigne vnto him  
in our Parliaments, Councils, and other  
assemblies, a place aboute all the other  
Barons in our Kingdome. Vnto whom  
as it shall be more fit, and as it is shewed  
in the very State of a Vicount aforesayde,  
wee of our meere motion and bountie,  
haue giuen and graunted for vs and our  
heyres, as much as in vs is, vnto the afore-  
saide *John* and his heyres, together with  
the Name, Armes, and place aforesaide,  
twentie Markes to be yearly receiued vn-  
to him, and to his heires male yssuing out  
of his owne body, out of the former issues  
and profits, of our countie of *Lincolne*, to  
bee paid by the hands of the Sheriffe of  
the sayde county for the time beeing, at  
the Tearmes of Easter and S. Michaell,  
by equall portions. To haue & to hold to  
him and his heires aforesaid, the Name,  
armes, place, and twenty Marks as afore-  
saide for euer; for that expresse mention,  
&c. VVitnesse our selfe at *Redding*, the  
twelfth of February, in the eighteenth  
yeare of our reigne.

By the *Writ of our Priuate Seale.*



Here is so great a similitude  
and likenesse in the Rites  
and ceremonies in creating  
of a Vicount, vvith those  
which are vsed in the crea-  
ting of a Baron, as that but chaunging  
such things as are of necessity to be chan-  
ged, a man would thinke them almost the  
very same. But this difference there one-  
ly is; that a Baron is conducted betwixt  
two Barons, whereas a Vicount hath an  
Earle on his right hand, and a Baron on  
his left (in case there want Vicounts) to  
conduct him, and is by halfe a gard vp-  
pon his shoulder aboute a Baron, as by  
the Picture following in the next Page  
appeareth.

The rites and ceremonies of creating  
a Vicount.

VICE-COMES



## CHAP. XIII.

¶ *The Royall Charter for the creating  
of an Earle.*

The Copie of  
the Letters  
patents of Q.  
Elizabeth,  
creating Wal-  
ter Deuereux  
earle of Essex.



*Elizabeth*, by the grace of God, Queene of *England, France, and Ireland*, Defendresse of the faith, &c. Vnto all and singular *Archbishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons*, and all others, vnto whom &c. Greeting. Seeing that they whom the Diuine prouidence hath put and placed in a Monarchy and Royall Seate, that they being as it were the Lieutenants of him that heauenly Monarch, vpon earth, may well, vprightly, religiously, decently, and wholefomly rule, gouerne and maintaine, whatsoeuer is to their custody and government by God himselfe giuen and committed: and that the Monarchs in their Monarchies, represent the same thing that the eyes do in the body, whose office it is to direct all the members of the body: Monarchs and Princes therefore as eies of the Commonweale, ought diligently to intend, to looke about, and to search into all States and degrees of their Empire, without which wee must needs confesse, no ciuill administration, or politicall gouernement, to be possibly made or framed. And so necessary is the preseruacion of orders and degrees of men in great Empires, as that after they once see the Nobility of the States and Degrees, broken, rent, impaired, or shaken, or (as many things happen after the maner of men) by death afflicted or weakened, they ought with all speed to amend, repaire, increase, and augment the same: so that others, whom both their owne vertues, and the glory of their Stocke and Ancestors hath ennobled, being called vnto Nobilitie and honour, the glorie of Degrees and States may for euer in the glorie and brightnesse thereof bee preserued and kept. Wherefore wee now seeing one honourable and glorious order of Nobilitie amongst the rest to growe few; and knowing right well our most famous and renowned Cosin *Wal-*

*ter Vicount Hereford, Knight of our most Noble order of the Garter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley*, worthily and valiantly to haue for vs behaued himselfe in that seditious tumult of wicked Traytors and Rebels, raised of most wicked and vngracious men in the North parts of our kingdom: In which tumult and power of armed Traytors, a most great and horrible danger was, not vnto our Kingdome onely, but euen vnto our person also intended: so that partly by his conduct, not onelie the cruell furie and rage of the Traytours and Rebels, was there in that place repressed, but many of the Rebels also were vnto our obedience reduced, and so the state of our Kingdome before fore troubled, became againe to be well quieted and pacified.

Wee therefore, for these causes and things by him so worthily perfourmed, willing to promote him the sayde *Walter* vnto the State, Honour and Dignitie, of the *Earle of Essex*: and for that the aforesaide *Walter* is descended of the Noble Stocke and Family of the *Bourchiers*, late *Earles of Essex*, & is by the common Law of our Kingdome, next heire vnto *Henry Bourchier* late *Earle of Essex*. Know you, that wee of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, haue erected, created & promoted the said *Walter* to be *Earle of Essex*; and also to the state, degree, dignity and honour of the *Earle of Essex*: and by the Tenour of these presents, do erect, create, and promote him to be *Earle of Essex*. And vnto the same *Walter* haue imposed, giuen, and bestowed the name, stile, and title of the *Earle of Essex*; and by these presents, do impose, giue, and bestow the same. And him the said *Walter*, in such the state, title, honour, and dignity of the *Earle of Essex*, By the girting vnto him of a *Sword*, and the putting on of a *Cap of Honour*, and a *Coronet of Gold*, do grace, inuest, and really ennoble by these presents. To haue and to hold the state, degree, dignitie, stile, title, name, and honour of the *Earle of Essex* aforesaid, with all and singular the preeminences, honours, and other such things whatsoeuer vnto the state of an *Earle* appertayning or belonging, vnto the aforesaid *Walter*, and the heires male issuing from his bodie for euer. Willing, and by these presents, graunting for vs, our heires,

heires & successors, that the said *Walter*, and his heires male aforesaid, shall the name, state, degree, dignity, stile, and honor aforesaid, successiue ly haue & beare: and shall by the name of the Earle of *Essex* aforesayd, be called, and stiled, and euery one of them shall be called & stiled. And that the said *Walter* and his heires aforesayd, shall in all things successiue ly be holden, vsed, and reputed, and euery one of them shall be holden, vsed, and reputed, as Earles of *Essex*. And the said *Walter* and his heires male, shall haue, hold, and possesse, and euery one of them shall haue, holde, and possesse a place in our Parliaments, and in the Parliaments of our Heires and Successours within our Kingdome of *England*, among the other earles, as earle of *Essex*; and in such sort, as the aforesayde *Henric Bourchier*, late earle of *essex* had, held, and possesed the same.

And the said *Walter* also, and his heires aforesayd, shall enioy and vse, and euerie one of them by the name of the earle of *essex*, shall enioy and vse all & euery the rights, priuileges, præeminences, and immunities in all things orderly and of right vnto the state of an Earle belonging: and which other earles in al things, orderly & of right, haue before these times, in better wise more honourably and quietly vsed and enioyed, or do at this present enioy and vse.

And for because, that as the height of State and Honour encreaseth, so greater charges and burdens necessarily encrease also: and that hee the sayd *Walter* and his heires aforesayd, and euery one of them may the better, more seemely, and honorably maintaine & support the aforesaide state of the earle of *Essex*, and the burdens lying vpon him the said *Walter* and his heires: We therefore of our more abundant grace, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and successors, vnto the aforesaid *Walter*, and his heires aforesaid, for euer, twenty pound of Fee, or yearly rent, to be yearly receiued, of the issues, profits, and reuenues, of our great and litle Custome and Subsidie graunted vnto vs, or heereafter to be granted vnto vs, our heires and successors, arising, growing, or comming, within the Port of our honorable Citie of *London*, by the

hands of our Customers and Collectors, or the Customer and Collectors of our Heyres and Successors there, for the time being, at the Tearmes of *S. Michael*, and *Easter*, by euen portions, to be euery year payed. By reason that expresse mention of the true yearly valour, or of any other valour or certainty of the premises, or of any of the, or of any other gifts or grants by vs, or any of our Progenitors, before these times made vnto the aforesaid *Walter* earle of *essex*, in these presents appeareth not: or any Statute, Ordinance, Act, Prouision, Proclamation, or restriction to the contrary therof, before had, made, set forth, or provided; or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any thing notwithstanding.

These being VVitnessees. Our faithfull Councillor, *Nicholas Bacon* knight, Keeper of our great Seale of england: and our most wel-beloued Cousins, *Edward* earle of *Oxford*, Lord Chamberlaine of england, *Reinold* earle of *Kent*, *William* earle of *Worcester*, knight of the most Noble order of the Garter, *Henry* earle of *Rutland*, *Thomas* earle of *Sussex*, of our aforesaid order of the Garter knight, and President of our Councill in the North parts of our kingdome of england: *Henry* earle of *Huntingdon*, of the aforesaid Order, &c. *Ambrose* earle of *Warwicke*, of the aforesaide Order, &c. *Edward* earle of *Hertford*, *Robert* earle of *Leicester*, of the Order aforesaid, &c. *Thomas* Vicount *Bindon*. And also the reuerend Fathers in Christ, *Edmund* Bishop of *Sarum*, & *Edmund* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, our Almer, And also our wel-beloued and faithfull, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlaine of our House, of the Order of the Garter aforesaide, &c. *William* Lord of *Burghley*, our principall Secretary of the Order aforesaid, &c. *Henry* Lord *Strange*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, of the order aforesaid: *William* Lord *Sandes*, *Edward* Lord *Windsor*, *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, *John* Lord *Darcey* of *Chiche*, *Robert* Lord *North*, *Edmund* Lord *Chandos*, of the aforesaide Order of the Garter, &c. *Thomas* Lord of *Buckhurst*, *William* Lord *Deleware*, Barons, *Francis* *Knolles* knight, Treasurer of our House, *James* *Croftes*, Knight, Controullor of our House. And our well-becloued and faithfull

Henry Sidney Knight of the aforesayd Order, &c. and Lord *President* of our Councell in the Marches of *Wales*: *William Cordall* Knight, Maister of the Rolles of our Chancerie, and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Mannour of *Greenwich*, the fourth day of May, in the foureteenth yeare of our reigne. 1572.

CHAP. IX.

¶ *The Rites and Ceremonies of creating of an Earle.*



He same *Walter Deuereux*, *Baron Ferrers of Chartley*, & *Vicount Hereford*, hauing on an inner Gowne of purple silke, and covered with a Roab of Estate, & a veluet Mantell of the same colour, and going in the middle betwixt the erle of *Suffex* on his right hand, and the earle of *Huntingdon* on his left, both of them in their Roabs was conducted from the *Queens Chappell* vnto the *Queens* presence. Next before him went the earle of *Leicester*, carrying a *Cap of Estate*, and a *Coronet of Gold*: & the earle of *Bedford* on the left hand, bearing before him a *Sword*, with the Hilts vpward. Before these also went *Garter*, the chiefe *K. of Armes* with the *Charter* alone, and before him al the rest of the *Heralds*, by two & two together. When they were now come vnto the *Chamber of Presence*, after they had thrice made their most lowe obeifance, with some little space betwixt, they drew neare vnto the *Queen* then sitting in her *Chaire of Estate*; where the aforesaid *Walter* kneeled downe, the rest standing by. There the *Charter* was first deliuered vnto the *Queene*, who gaue it to *William Cicill*, *Baron of Burghley*, who deliuered the same vnto *William Cordell* Knight, Maister of the Rolles, to reade it aloud. Where at these words (in the *Charter*) *Gladio cincturiamimus*, the *Queen* put about his necke a *Sword*, hanging ouerthwart towards his left hand: and at the words *Cappa & Circuli aurei*, she also put vpon his head a *Cap*, with a little *Coronet*. And afterward reading that which was left, pronounced him the said *Walter* before *Vicount Hereford*, now created erle of *Essex*, for him and his heires male, as in

the *Charter* it selfe before set downe more at large appeareth. These things being done, the same Maister of the Rolles (instead of the Secretary, for the helping of whom he had read the charter) deliuered it to the Earle of *Oxford*, *Great Chamberlaine* of England: but he deliuered it vnto the *Queene*, who also gaue the same vnto the Earle of *Essex* to be kept. But he after great thanks, with greatest humility giuen, withdrew himselfe aside amongst the other Noblemen standing there by, expecting another, comming to be created earle. In like maner, & at the same time also, *Edward Baron of Clynton and Say*, and *Admirall of England*, was for himselfe and his heyres male, created earle of *Lincolne*.

These things altogether finished, they departed in the same order that they came in, with the Trumpets aloud sounding, whom the *Heralds* receiued. *Garter* went before, whom the new Earles followed in the middle, betwixt the Earles of *Suffex* and *Huntingdon*. And being so attired in the Ornaments of their creations, were conducted to dinner into a dining Chamber prepared for the same purpose. Where, after they had sit a space, at the comming in of the second course, *Garter* with the rest of the *Heralds* entring into the dining Chamber, crying aloud, *Largesse*; he alone proclaimed the *Queens* stile, first in *Latine*, after in *Frēch*, and thirdly in english: and hauing twice repeated the word *Largesse*, & withdrawing themselues a little farther from the Table, proclaimed the stile of these last created Earles, in french and english in these words.

*Du tres hault et Puisant Seigneur Gautier d'Enerux Counte de Essex, Vicount Hereford, Baron Ferrers d'Chartley, et Cheualieur du tres noble ordre de la Jarretiere.*

Of the most high and mighty Lord, *Walter of Enerux*, earle of *Essex*, *Vicount Hereford*, *Baron Ferrers of Chartley*, and Knight of the most honourable order of the *Garter*.

*Du tres hault et puisant Sir Edouarde Conte de Lincoln, Baron de Clynton et Say, grand Admirall d'Angleterre, et Cheualieur de tres noble ordre de la Jarretiere.*

Of the most high & puissant, *Sir Edward*, earle of *Lincoln*, *Baron of Clynton & Say*, great *Admirall* of England, & knight of the most noble order of the *Garter*.

The

The habit and attire wherein an Earle of  
England is invested.

COMES



## CHAP. X.

¶ *The Kings Charter concerning the  
creating of a Marquesse.*

Edward by the grace of God, King of *England* & of *France*, Lord of *Ireland*, &c. Vnto all *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Dukes*, *Earles*, *Barons*, *Iustices*, *Sheriffes*, *Gouernours*, *Ministers*, *Balines*, and all his faithfull subiects; greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as our Royall Maiesty, after most great victories obtained ouer our enemies, is by the power of *Almightie God* promoted vnto the Regall Dignitie, and our Hereditary Royall seate: and lest that so great glorie of our Name, should euen in the verie rising thereof, for want of Children, faile, it came most happily to passe, that we were in lawfull marriage ioyned vnto our best beloued wife, *Elizabeth*, Queene of *England*, of whom we haue raised certaine more strong staves of our future Royall Posterity, that is to say, *Edward* our eldest Sonne, *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornewall*, and *Earle of Chester*; *Richard Duke of Shrewsbury* and of *Yorke*; with a notable encrease of other our Children also: which thing greatly both perswadeth and enforceth vs, euen from our heart, to giue the greatest thanks wee possibly can, vnto the most glorious and high *GOD*, Defender of our Royall right, and Reuenger of our wrongs; and with gracious fauours to profecute, and with greater honour and fauour to grace and beautifie her the same our wife, hauing of vs best deserued, and all her Progeny. But to the intent that our first begotten Sonne aforesayd, and the rest of our best beloued Children, compassed about with the faithfull, trusty, and sure strength of their neare and deare friends, as it were with certaine walles, may the more strongly be defended; we will not passe ouer vnrewarded, *Thomas Grey* their Brother by the Mothers side; whose noble Stocke, exceeding towardlineesse, worthy valour, but most of all, whose honourable vertues, we with the sincere affection of loue embrace: for

why it seemes a thing most certain, them being brought vp in naturall society, and bound together with that sweete remembrance, them to haue dwelt in the same dwelling place before they were borne, to beare a certaine common, and especial loue amongst themselues for euer: and that they who in so strait a degree of consanguinity & loue are ioyned together, if any one of them should bee of so small dignity and reputation, as that for pauerity hee should not be able honourably to serue his greater kinsman when he ought so to do: we thinke it not vnbecoming vs to prouide therefore, so as shall best seeme vs. And therefore we willing that the sayde *Thomas* should bee promoted with a greater patrimony, and more notable Titles of honour and dignity, that so he may stand in better stead, and become a greater Ornament vnto vs, our Children, and the Common-weale: of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meer motion, do ordaine, make, and create him the said *Thomas*, to be *Marquesse Dorset*: and also by these presents vnto the said *Thomas*, giue and grant, the stile, honour, state, title and dignity of *Marquesse Dorset*: and by the *Girding vnto him of a Sword*, and by the *putting on of a Cap of Honour*, do inuest him of the stile, title, name and honour of *Marquesse* of the place aforesaide; together with all the præeminences vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging. To haue and to hold the said name, stile, honour, state, title, and dignity of *Marquesse Dorset*, together with all the appurtenances, dignities, and other things whatsoever, vnto the state of a *Marquesse* of our kingdome of *England*, as well in our Sessions, Parliaments and Councells, and of our heires, or otherwise howsoever it be vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging, vnto the aforesayde *Thomas* and his heyres male issuing out of his body for euer. And also of our more plentifull grace we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents do giue and graunt vnto the aforesaid *Marquesse* towards the supportation of the sayde name, stile, honour, state, title and dignity, 35. pounds of lawfull money of *England*. To be had, leuied & receiued yerely vnto the sayd *Marquesse*, and the same his heires aforesaid, (viz.) twenty pounds there-

The Letters Patents wherby King Edward the 4. created Tho Grey Marquess Dorset.

thereof to bee had and receiued vnto the said Marquesse and the same his heyres, of the Fee-farme of the Towne of Dorset, by the hands of the Bourgeses of the saide Towne for the time being, at the tearmes of S. Michaell, and of Easter, by equall portions. And the other fisteene pounds the remainder thereof, to bee had and receiued yearely vnto the saide Marquesse, and his heyres aforesaide, of all the Customs and Subsidies, to vs already granted, or to be granted, and of eyther of the, and of euery part, or of euery parcell of the same, comming and growing in that Port of our Towne of Southampton, by the hands of our Customers or Collectors, or of our heyres in the Port for the time being, at the aforesaide Tearmes by equal portions. For because that expresse mention of the true yearely valour of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants vnto the saide Thomas, before these times by vs made, is not in these presents made: or any statute, acte, or ordinance to the contrary, made, set forth, or ordayned: or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever notwithstanding: and these things without any fee thereupon, to our vse in any wise to be payed. These being Witnesses: Our most famous first begotten Sonne, Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester, and of Flint. The most reuerend Fathers, Thomas, Cardinall and Archbishop of Canterbury, & George, Archbishop of Yorke. Our most renowned Brethren, George Duke of Clarence, and Richard Duke of Gloucester: and the right reuerend Fathers, Thomas, Bishop of Lincolne, our Chancellor of England: and Thomas Bishoppe of Hereford. Our wel-beloued Coosins, William Arundell, Henry Essex, Treasurers of England, and Anthony Riuers Earles. And the welbeloued and faithfull Clarke, our Esquire John Russell, Doctor of Law, & keeper of our priuate Seale: And also our welbeloued and faithfull Thomas Stanley, & William Hastings, Knights: with others. Given vnder our hand at Westmonastery, the XVIII. day of Aprill, in the XV. yeare of our Reigne.

By Letters of our priuate Seale, and of the Date of these presents, before the Parliaments.

## CHAP. XI.

¶ The Kings Charter for the creating of a Marchionesse.



ENRY by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Defender of the Faith: & Lord of Ireland: to all and singular Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sheriffes, Gouvernors, Ministers, and all Baliues, & others his faithfull Subiects: Greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as a Royall Seate, & the height of regal dignity, with the greater State and Maiesty, consisteth in the multitude of persons of both Sexes, as well of men as women: and that the gouernment of our kingdome is so much the more, with the more excellent honour strengthened, by how much the more noble States, and higher Dignity of both Sexes are vnder it, or support it. VVe therefore vnto the premisses directing our sight, and willing to establish our Royall Scepter with the encrease of Nobles, and especially such as are from Royall race descended. For a Royall Seate once placed, is with the presence of many Princes to be attended. VVherefore vpon this consideration, as well for the Nobility of her Stocke, as for the excellency of her vertues and conditions; and other the shewes of her honesty & goodnesse, worthily to be commended. VVe by the consent of the Nobility of our kingdome then present, make, create, and ennoble; and by these presents make, create, and ennoble our Coosin Anne Rochford, one of the Daughters of our wel-beloued Coosin Thomas, Earle of Wiltshire, and of Ormond: Keeper of our priuate Seale, to be Marchionesse of Pembroke: and also by The putting on of a Mantle, and the setting of a Coronet of gold vpon her head, as the manner is, do really inuett vnto her the Name, Title, State, Stile, Honour, Authority, and Dignity, and other the rest of the Honour, vnto the same belonging and annexed.

To haue and to hold the Name, Stile, Title,

The Letters Patents wher by King Henry the eight

Rochford Daughter to Thomas earle of Wiltshire and of Ormond, with the Title of Marchionesse of Pembroke.

Title, State, Honor, Authority, and Dignity of the Marchionesse of *Penbrooke* vnto the aforesaide *Anne*, and the Heyres male yssuing of her body for euer. And to the intent, that the sayd *Anne* as becometh the name of the Marchionesse of *Penbrooke*, & the Nobility of her state may the more decently and honorably, maintaine and support the burthens to be laid vpon her, we haue giuen and granted, & by this present Charter doe giue, grant, and confirme vnto the said *Anne*, and her heires aforesaid, thirty and fiue poundes yearly, to be receiued to her & her heires aforesaid, of the firme rents, issues, reuentions, obuentions, profites, and emoluments, of our Countie of *Penbrooke* aforesaid, arising and growing, as well by the hands of the Sheriffe of that Countie for the time being, as by the hands of the Balyffes, Farmers, or other occupiers of our Countie aforesaide whosoeuer, at the Termes of *Saint Michael* the Archangell, and of *Easter*, by equall portions to bee payed. For that expresse mention of the true yearly valew, or of other giftes or grants by vs, vnto the aforesaide *Anne* in former times made, in these presents appeareth not, or any statute, act, ordinance or prouision to the contrary therof made, set forth, or prouided, or any other thing or matter whatsoeuer, in any thing notwithstanding. These being Witnesses. The most reuerend Father in Christ, *Ed.* Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Reuerend Father in Christ, *Step.* Bishop of *Winchester* our Secretary, and *John* Bishoppe of *London*; And also our wel-beloued cosins *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, our Treasurer of *England*, and *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, Earle Marshall: *Thomas* Earle of *Wilshire*, Keeper of our priuate Seale: *John* Earle of *Oxford*, our Chamberlaine of *England*: and *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, steward of our house: *Thomas Audley* Knight, keeper of our great Seale: *William Sandes* of *Vine*, Knight; Chamberlaine of our House: and *Walter Deuereux* of *Ferrers* Knight, Barons: *William Fitz-Williams*, Treasurer of our house: and *William Paulet*, controller of our house, Knights: and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Castle of *Windfor*, the first day of September, and in the 24. yeare of our reigne.

*The Rites and Ceremonies used in Creating of a Marchionesse.*

THIS *Anne* the daughter of *Tho.* Earle of *Wilshire*, and of *Ormund*, vpon a Sunday, viz. the first day of Septem. 1532 in the 24. yeare of King *Henry* the eight, was at *Windfore* in this manner inuected.

The King himselfe attended vpon with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Marquesses, Earles, Barons, and other the Great Estates of the Kingdome, together with the French Ambassador, and manie of the Priuy Counsell, went into the Chamber of *Salutation*, which they commonly call *The Presence*) and there fate him downe in his chaire of *Estate*. Vnto the which place the aforesaide *Anne* was conducted with a great traine of Noble Courtiers, both men and women. The *Heralds* went formost, *Garret* K. of *Heralds*, first carrying the Kings Charter. After whom, the Noble Lady *Mary*, daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, vpon hir left arme, carried a robe of estate of *Crimson Veluet*, furred with *Ermines*, and in her right hand a *Coronet of Gold*. Her, the aforesaide *Anne* followed, with her hayre loose, and hanging down vpon hir shoulders, attired in her inner garment (which they call a *Surcot*) of *Crimson Veluet*, lined with *ermens* also, with strait fleeces, going in the middest betwixt *Elizabeth*, Countesse of *Rutland* on her right hand; and *Dorothy*, Countesse of *Suffex* on her left; whom many Noble Ladies & Gentlewomen followd. But she being broghe towards the Kings Royall Seate, thrice made her obeysance, and comming vnto the King fell downe vpon her knees. The King gaue the Charter before deliuered vnto him, vnto the Bishop of *Winchester* his Secretary to be read, which as he was reading aloud at these words *Mantella inductionem* (in the Charter) the King put vpon *Anne* the Marchionesse the Robe of estate, deliuered him by the Lady *Marie*; and at the wordes *Circuli aurei*, put also vpon her head a *Coronet of Gold*. At length, the Charter being read, the King gaue vnto her two Charters, viz: the one, of the creating of her to bee a Marchionesse, and to the heyres male yssuing out of her body for euer. And another, for the receiuing of a thousand poundes reuenew yearly, for the maintaing of that her dignity. All which thinges at length performed, she gaue the King most humble thanks, and so hauing on her Robe of

*E. State,*

*Estate*, and a Coronet vpon her head, with the Trumpets aloud soundi g, departed.

**T**HE Rites and Ceremonies for creating of a *Marquesse*, altogether agree with those vsed in creating of a *Duke*

changing onely such things as are of necessity to be changed, but that *Marquesses* haue a *Marquesse* and an *Earle* to conduct them at their creating: the rest of the difference is out of the portraiture beneathe set, as followeth.

The Rites and Ceremonies in creating of a **MARQUES.**

MARCHIO



## CHAP. XIII.

*The Kings Charter for the creating of a Duke.*

**EDWARD** by the grace of God, of *England, France and Ireland*, King: Defender of the Faith, &c. to all Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sheriffes, Gouvernors, Ministers, and to all Baliffes, and other his faithfull Subiects, &c. Greeting. Seeing that there is nothing which more becometh a Prince, then to shew himselfe bountifull and liberrall, especially vnto such as haue of him well deserued, & good seruices vnto him performed: wee therefore reuoluing in our minde, with how many, how great & worthy seruices our most deare and well-beloued Vnkle *Edward*, earle of *Hertford* hath honoured vs: wee haue therefore thought him worthy, whom wee should promote vnto an higher degree of honour and dignity: neyther can we but for such his great deserts towards vs, but in some part with due deserts againe requite him. Know you therefore, that wee of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, and by the aduice of our Councell, do create, ennoble, make and ordaine, him the aforesaid earle, to bee Duke of *Somerset*. And by these presents, giue and grant vnto him the saide earle, the name, title, state, stile, honour, authority, & dignity, of the D. of *Somerset*: and him of that name, with the title, state, honor, authority, & dignity, & other honors to the same belonging & annexed; by *The girting vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of Gold vpon his head: and the deliuering vnto him of a golden Verge*, do really inuest. To haue and to hold the name, stile, state, honour, authority, and dignity, of the Duke of *Somerset* to our aforesaid Vnkle, and to the heyres male of his owne body, and of the body of *Anne*, now his wife, already begotten, and of the body of the same *Anne* heereafter to be begotten. And if it shall happen the saide Duke to dye without heyre male begotten, or heereafter to be

begotten of his body, and the body of the saide *Anne* now his wife: VVee will and grant, that if by the death of him the saide Duke, the heyres male of his body, and of *Anne* now his wife shall decease or dye, then *Edward Seymour* Esquire, the saide Dukes Sonne of the body of *Katharine* the first wife, of him the saide Duke deceased, shall be Duke of *Somerset*, and shall beare, haue, hold, and enioy vnto him the aforesaid *Edward Seymour*, and the heires male from the body of him, the same *Edward* lawfully descended, the name, state, title, honour, authority, and dignity of the Duke of *Somerset*, with all the honours vnto the saide Dukedome appertaining & annexed. And also by the *Girting vnto him of a sword, and the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of gold vpon his head, and by the deliuering vnto him of a golden verge*, shall be thereof really inuested. And if it shall happen the aforesaid *Edward* to dye without heyre male of his body lawfully begotten, then we will, and grant, that the heyre of the now Duke of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife which he shall heereafter marry, shall bee Duke of *Somerset*, and shall beare, haue, and enioy the same, vnto him & his heires male, lawfully begotten. And also the state, title, honour, dignity, and authority of the Duke of *Somerset*, with all the honours vnto the saide Duke appertaining & annexed. And also by the *Girting vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting of a Cap and Coronet vpon his head, and the deliuering of a golden verge vnto him*, shall therein be royally inuested. And that the same Duke and his heyres aforesaid, may according to the decency of the saide name of the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Nobility of his and their estate, more honourably beare themselves. And that the same *Edward* and his heyres aforesaid, if they shal chance to be Dukes of *Somerset*, may the more honourably maintaine, and beare the state and honour of the aforesaid name of the Duke of *Somerset*: and for want of such issue, that then the heires male of the body of the saide Duke hereafter to be begotten of the body of any wife, which he shal hereafter marry, may in like maner more honorably beare the state and honour of the aforesaid name of the Duke of *Somerset*: we haue giuen and graunted, and by this our present

Charter,

The copy of the letters patents of K Edward the 6. creating Edward Seymour, to be Duke of Somerset.

Charter, giue, graunt, and confirme, for vs our heires and successours, vnto the aforesaid duke of *Somerset*, a certaine annuall rent of forty pounds, of good and lawfull money of *England*, issuing out of our Mannor of *Crikerum*, otherwise called *Crokborne*, *Stokegersey*, *Wikefitzpane*, or of any of them, in our County of *Somerset*, being late parcel of the possessions of *Henrie* late *Marquesse of Exceter*, which came vnto the hands of the late most noble and inuincible Prince, King *Henry* the eight, our most renowned father, by reason of the attaindor of the said Marques, of high treason attained, and which now are in our hands. To haue, hold, and receiue the aforesayd yearly rent of fortie pound, vnto the aforesaid duke of *Somerset*, and his heires aforesaid, at the Feasts of the blessed virgin *Mary*, and Saint *Michaell* the Archangel, by equall portions, to bee yearly payed by the hands of the Receiuers, Farmers, Tenants, and other whomsoeuer, Occupiers of our Manors, Lands, and Tenements aforesayd, or of any of them, being parcell of them. And after that, for want of such issue, vnto the aforesaide *Edward*, and the heires male of his body lawfully begotten. And for defect of such issue, to remaine from thenceforth, vnto the heires male of the said Duke of his owne body begotten, by any other his wife, which he shall heereafter marry. And that these our Letters Patents, or the Inrolement of them, vpon the onely shewing of the same, or of the enrolement of them, shall be yearly, and from time to time, as well vnto our Chancellour, and our Councell of our Court of *Augmentation* and *Reuencion* of our Crowne, for the time being, as vnto all others our Ministers, Receiuers, and other our Officers, their heires and successours whatsoeuer for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in this part, for the deliuey and payment of the said yerely rent off forty pounds, vnto the aforesaid Duke and his heires aforesaid. And for defect of such issue, vnto the said *Edward Seymour*, and the heires male of his body lawfully begotten. And for want of such issue, vnto the heires of the sayde Duke, of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife, which he shall hereafter marry. And if it shall happen the said yerely rent off forty pound, or any part or

parcell thereof to be behind & vnpaid at any of the aforesaide Feasts, in which it ought to be paid as is aforesaid: then we grant for vs, our heires and successours, vnto the sayde Duke, and his heires aforesaid, and euery one of them: and for lacke of such issue, vn to the saide *Edward Seymour*, and his heires aforesaid: and for want of such issue, vnto the aforesaid heires of the said Duke, whom he shall lawfully beget of the body of any other his wife whom hee shall heereafter marry, and to euery one of them, into the aforesaide Mannors, and euery one of them, and into all and euerie the aforesaide Lands and Tenements, or any parcell of the saide Mannors, Lands, or Tenements, to enter, and there to distraine, & the distresses there so by them, or any of them taken, to driue, leade, carry away, impound, and with them, and euery one of them to detaine, vntill the aforesaid yearly rent of forty pound, together with the arerages (if any there shall be thereof) shall vnto the aforesaid duke and his heires aforesaid, or vnto the said *Edward* or his heires aforesaide: or the heires of the saide Duke, or some one of them, be fully and wholly contented and payed, by vs, our heires and successours, or the assignes of vs, our heires, or successours. And for that expresse mention, &c. These being VVitnesse. The most reuerend Father in Christ, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*; and our well-beloued and faithfull Councillour, *William Poulet* Knight, Lord *Saint-Iohn*, Great Maister of our house, &c. *John Russell* Knight, Lord *Russell* Keeper of our priuie Seale: and also our most well-beloued Cozins, *Henry* earle of *Arundell*, and *Francis* earle of *Shrewsburie*, &c. Giuen vnder our hand at the Tower of *London*, the sixteenth day of February.

*The first of Edward the sixth by the King himselfe.*

## CHAP. XIII.

*The manner of Creating of a Duke.*

**I**N the yeare one thousand five hundred forty seven, the xvii. of the Moneth of February, and in the first yeare of the Reign of *Edward* the sixt of that name, The Nobility being called together and assembled into the Tower of London. *Edward Seymour*, the aforesaid Earle of *Hertford* the kings Vnkle, & Protector of the kingdom, with others promoted vnto the diuers degrees of Nobility, was in this wise created D. of *Somerset*. He himselfe being apparelled in an inner Robe of honour, the Heralds went before him in their Heralds coates, the chiefe of whom, *Garter* following alone, carried the Charter. The Earles of *Shrewsbury* and of *Oxford*, going together, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* on the right hand, carried a Verge of gold, & the earle of *Oxford* on the left, carried the Dukes Cap, with a Coronet of gold. Next vnto whom followed the Earle of *Arundell*, carrying a Sword with the hilts vpward. At length the earle of *Hertford* himselfe was conducted in the midst, betwixt the

Duke of *Suffolke*, and the Marquesse of *Dorchester*: When they in this manner, attired in their Robes of honour, were come into the *Chamber of Salutation* (which they commonly call *The Presence Chamber*) they after thrice obeysance made, went vnto the king, sitting in his chayre of Estate: where forth-with the earle kneeled downe, all the rest standing about him, *Garter* king of Heralds, deliuered the Charter vnto Baron *Paget*, the Kings Secretary, who gaue the same vnto the King, and he deliuered it vnto him againe to be read aloud. And when hee came vnto the words *inuestiuimus*, (or we we haue inuested) the king put a Dukes Mantle vpon the Earle: and at the words (*Gladio cincturauimus*) girt him with a Sword: at the words (*cappe & circuli aurei impositionem*) the King himselfe in like manner with his owne hand put vpon his head a Cap with a Coronet of gold vpon it: and at length, at those wordes (*virga aurea traditionem*) the King himselfe gaue into his hand, *A verge of gold*: which done, the Secretary read the rest, euen vnto the end of the Charter: wherein he pronounced him the saide earle of *Hertford*. to bee Duke of *Somerset*: at which time, the King forthwith gaue the Charter vnto the Duke to bee kept: who after thanks giuen vnto the Kings Maiestie for so great an honour and dignity receiued, in this sort attired, stood by the Chaire of Estate, whilst the Noble-men returned to bring in others, who were also to be created.

The

The habite and attire of a Duke.



## CHAP. XV.

*The Kings Charter for the creating of the Prince of Wales.*

The Copy of the letters patents of king Henry the 6. creating Edward his first begotten Son Prince of Wales, and Earle of Chester.

**HENRY** by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, Gouvernors, Ministers, and to all our Baliues, and faithfull Subjects, Greeting. Out of the excellency of Royall preheminance, like as beams from the Sun, so do inferior honours proceed: neyther doth the integrity of the royall luster and brightnesse, by the naturall disposition of the light, affording light from light, feele any losse or detriment by such borrowed light: yea, the Royall Scepter is also much the more extolled, and the Regall Throne exalted, by how much the more Nobles, Preheminces, and Honours are vnder the power and command thereof.

And this worthy consideration allureth and induceth vs, which desire the increase of the Name and Honour of our first begotten and best beloued Sonne, *Edward*, in whom we behold and see our selues to bee honoured, and our royall house also, and our people subiect vnto vs; hoping by the grace of God (by coniecture taken of his gracious future proceeding to be the more honorably strengthened, that wee may with honour prevent, and with abundant grace prosecute him, who in reputation of vs, is deemed the same person with vs. VVherefore, by the Councell and consent of the Prelats, Dukes, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons of our kingdome, being in our present Parliament, we haue made and created, and by these presents make and create him the said *Edward*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Earle of Chester*. And vnto the same *Edward* we giue and grant, and by this Charter haue confirmed, the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and the honour of the said Principality and County. And him of the said Principality and County, that hee may therein in governing rule, and in ruling, direct and defend, we by a *Garland vpon*

*his head*, by a ring of gold vpon his finger, and a verge of gold, haue according vnto the manner inuested him. To haue and to hold the same vnto him and his heires, the Kings of England for euer. Wherefore, we will, and straightly command, for vs and our heires, that *Edward* our Sonne aforesaid, shall haue the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and Honour of the Principallitie of *Wales*, and of the County of *Chester* aforesaid, vnto him and his heyres the Kings of England aforesaid, for euer. These being witnesses. The reuerend Fathers, *John*, *Cardinall* and *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, Primate of all England, our *Chancellor*, and *William Arch-bishop* of *Torke*, Primat of England; *Thomas* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Bishop of *Norwich*: our most wel-beloued Cousins, *Richard* Duke of *Torke*, and *Humsfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, our wel-beloued Cousins, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Richard* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *John* Earle of *Wilshire*, and our beloued and faithfull *Raffe Cromwell*, Chamberlain of our house, *William Faulconbridge*, and *John Stourton* Knights. Dated at our Pallace of *VVestminster*, the *XV. day* of *March*, and in the yeare of our Reigne, *XXXII.*

*By the King himselfe, and his Councell.*

## CHAP. XVI.

*Things required vnto the Creation of the Prince of Wales.*

**F**irst, an honorable habite (viz.) a Robe of Purple Veluet hauing in it, about *XVIII. elnes*, more or lesse, garnished about with a fringe of gold, and lined with *Ermins*.

A Surcoat or inner Gowne, hauing in it about *XIII. elnes* of Veluet, of like Coulour, Fringe, and Furre.

Laces, Buttons, and Tassels (as they call them) ornaments made of purple silke & gold.

A girdle of silke also, to gird his inner Gowne.

A sword with a scabberd made of purple silke and gold, garnished with the like girdle he is girt withall, thereby shewing himselfe

himselfe to be Duke of *Cornwall* by birth, and not by Creation.

A cap of the same veluet that his Robe is of, furred with *Ermines*, with Laces and a Button, and Tassels on the crowne thereof made of Venice gold.

A garland or a little Coronet of gold, to be put on his head, together with his Cap.

A long golden Verge or Rod, betokening his government.

A Ring of gold also to be put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he

declareth his mariage made with *Equity* and *Justice*.

All these things were almost with Royall sumptuousnesse prepared for *Edward*, Sonne to King *Henry* the eight, to haue bene created Prince of Wales, but preuented by his Fathers death, hee was crowned King, sixt of that Name: yet the forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies belonging to the inuesting of the Prince into the Principality of Wales, you may perceiue, by that which is before declared.

PRINCEPS WALLIAE



## CHAP. XVII.

*Of the Crowning of the King.*

*Concerning Charters & Writs of Summons vnto Parliament, whereby the Kinges of England, onely vpon their good liking, & incere motion (as they vse to say) are wont to conferre Named Nobility, wee haue already spoken: and now at length we are come vnto the rites and Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Kinges themselues, as they are after our manner with vs Crowned. Concerning which, a few things are now to be saide.*



Nothing assuredly is more excellent then the Royall dignity, if we shall respect the Maiesty of the name of a King, either among the nations or in holic Scriptures. The Romanes in ancient time, appointed three Degrees of their greatest Dignities, of all which, the Regall power was the cheefest and highest. Next after the dignity of a King was the *Dictatorship*; in the third place, followed the power which the *Generall* of their Armies had, whom they called *Imperator*. Hee that great *Iulius Cæsar*, when after the victory of *Pharsalia*, had bene oftentimes by his army saluted *Imperator*, yet for all that, vsed he not the name of *Imperator*, but *Dictator*. For why, the name of a King, after the time of *Tarquinius*, was for a great while growne into hatred, and become odious in the Citie. Howbeit, at such time as he was about to make an expedition against the *Parthians*, hee affected to bee called a King: affirming it to be contained in the Books of the *Sybil*s, the *Parthians* not possible to bee conquered and subdued but by a King.

The *Dictators* most high power, was in all things like vnto the power of a King: and such as a man may say to haue bin e-

quall vnto the power of a King. This was (as *Varro* witnesseth) changed into a great Magistrate, whom they called *Magistrum Ciuium* (or *Master of the Citizens*) which manner of Governour of a Citie, the *Germanes* vsed to call, *Burgue Meistre*.

The name of *Imperator* or Emperors, was at first but an Office in an Army, and a bare Title; which yet at length became a dignity of greater State and Maiesty, then any of the rest; and yet at length so fell, as that the Maiesty and magnificence of the Christian world, is maintained onely by the power of Kings. Vnto foure of whom onely, it is written to haue bene proper in ancient time to bee annointed, viz. vnto the Kings of *Ierusalem*, of *England*, of *France*, and of *Sicily*.

The French writers report, the *French Kings* within the bounds of their owne kingdom, to be styled *Imperatores* or *Emperors*. *Chassaneus* also affirmeth, the king of *England*, to bee in *England*, a Monarke. And if the name of *Christianissimi*, or the most Christian king, bee glorious vnto the French kings, and the name of *Catholici* or *Catholique* vnto the kings of *Spaine*, the kings of *England* haue also a style whereof to reioyce, as (viz:) not in Title, onely to be styled *Fidei Christianæ & Catholica Defensores*, or *Defenders of the Christian and Catholique Faith*, but euen vvith vndaunted Maiesty, to be of both acknowledged the great *Champions* and *Protectors* of the same. But concerning attributes or additions of Stiles and Titles, I list not for to striue. But, seeing that the kings of *England* for their royall dignity, giue God the thanks onely; and that it is onely by the grace of God (as they vse to say) by hereditary succession, by them obtained: they hold it vnto them confirmed by the suffrages of the people, vvith the requisite forme and ceremonies of *Coronation*, *Consecration*, and *Inunction*. Which being of ancient time (the kingdom fore shaken with *Danish* wars) ofte kept at *Kingston* vppon *Thames*, is now vsually holden and made at *Westmonastery*, a city ioyning vnto the city of *London*, in forme following.

*The ancient forme of the Coronation of the Kings and Queenes of England.*

**I***n primis.* The King to be newly crowned, the day before his Coronation, shall be brought forth in royall Robes, and shall ride from the Tower of London, to his Pallace of Westminster with his head vncovered, being accompanied on horsebacke with his temporall Lords, his Nobles, the Commons of London, and other his seruants.

*The seate of Estate.*

Item. Let there be prouided against the day of Coronation, in the Kings great Hall at Westminster, a Chaire of Estate, fittingly prouided with hangings of silke and embroidery, with Cushions and Carpets of Arras accordingly.

*The Scaffold.*

Item. Let it be prouided, that a Stage or Scaffold bee erected in the Church at Westminster, with steps on eyther side: let it be orderly futed with Cloathes and Carpets on all parts, and likewise on the floore.

*The Royall Throne.*

Item. Let it bee prouided, that vpon the said Scaffold, there bee erected a Throne or Chaire, wherein the King is to sit: Let it bee accordingly futed with rich furniture, and Cushions of cloth of gold.

*The Abbot of Westminster.*

Item. It is to be obserued, that the Abbot of Westminster for the time beeing, by the space of two or three dayes before the Coronation of the King or Queene, shall instruct them what duties they are to performe in the celebration of their Coronation; as also to prepare their consciences, before the receiuing of the *Sacred unction*. And if the Abbot be dead, sick, or absent in some remote Country, or lawfully hindred; the shall one of the Monks of the saide Monastery (nominated by the Couent of the same Church) supply the office of the said Abbot in this case.

*Of the Kirtle and Surcoate.*

Item. Vpon the day of the Coronation, the King that is to be crowned, shall be placed in the foresaid Chaire of estate, in the foresaid Hall (but beeing first bathed:) and after his bathing, a Kirtle and Surcoat of Veluet shall be prepared for him, open on the breast, betweene the shoulders and blades of his armes: Let his open Kirtle and Surcoat bee fastened together with loops of siluer: and vpon the Kirtle let him be cloathed with other royall Robes, and let him bee shod with Sandals.

*Procession.*

Item. Let a solemne Procession be prouided by the Abbot and Couent of Westminster: from the fore-saide Church to the Kings seate, in the fore-said Hall. In which procession, there shall be arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates. Then the King shall descend, and follow the Procession into the Church at Westminster, and he shall goe vpon blew cloth spread vpon the ground, from the foresaid Chaire to the Stage (or seege) erected in the fore-saide Church. And in the said procession shall be sung such like Hymnes, as are accustomed to bee sung in the reception of Kings and Queenes.

*The Crosse, &c.*

Item. The Crosse, Sword, Scepter, and Royall Mace (ensignes of honour) shall be borne in the procession, by the Abbot, Prior, and Senior Monks of Westminster into the Pallace, and there shall they be surrendered to diuers of the Lords, to be borne before the King to the Church.

*The Barons of the five Ports.*

Item. The Barons of the five Ports shall carry a rich Canopy vpon siluered stauces ouer the King or Queenes head, in the fore-saide procession vnto the saide Church.

*The Abbot of Westminster.*

Item. The Abbot (or the Monke supplying his place) ought alwayes to be neere about the King and Queene to giue instructions.

*The Arch-bishop ought to demand the good liking of the people.*

After the King hath a little reposed himselfe in the Chaire or Throne erected vpon the Scaffold, then the arch-bishoppe of Canterbury, shall goe vnto the foure squares of the Scaffold, & with a loud voyce, aske the good liking of the people, concerning the Coronation of the king: Meane while the king shal stand vp in his Throne, and turne himselfe vnto the foure squares, in like manner, as the Archbishoppe speaketh vnto the people. And after the said demand, the Anthem *Firmetur manus tua, &c.* shall be sung.

*The Orffertory of the King.*

The anthem being ended, the king shal descend from the Scaffold, vp to the high Altar, the Bishops leading him: wherupon he is bound to offer a Mantle, & one pound of gold: therein fulfilling his commandement, who said; *Non apparebis vacuus in conspectu Dei tui.*

*The King prostrateth himselfe.*

The Offering being finished, the king boweth himselfe vpon the Pauement, before the Altar, being before prepared by the Kings Officers, with cloaths and suitable cushions of veluet, vntill the Arch-Bishop hath saide ouer him the Prayer, *Deus fidelium, &c.* And then ought a Sermon to be preached vnto the people.

*The King taketh his Oath.*

The Sermon being ended, the king approacheth vnto the Altar to take his oath, which he ought to performe vpon the sacrament of our Lords body. Then let the Hymne, *Veni creator spiritus*, be solemnly sung. VVhich being begun, the King shal prostrate himselfe before the high Altar, vntill the Letany and Preface bee wholly sung ouer him. Which being finished, let the king arise and sit in his chaire, therein reposing himselfe a while.

*The annointing of the King.*

After this, let the King arise from his chaire, and goe vnto the Altar, and there shall he put off his Robes (except his Kirtle and Surcoat) and there let him receiue Vnction, the Quier meane while singing; *Vnixerunt Salomonem*; with the prayer following. Then let him be annointed in five

places, (viz.) in the palmes of his hands, on his breast, betweene his shoulders, on the blades of his armes, and on his head, with holy-oyle, in forme of a crosse; and afterwards making the signe of the crosse vpon his head with the Chrisme, the fastenings and Mantle beeing first opened. Item, after the foresaid Vnction, and wiping with linnen cloathis (which ought afterwards to bee burnt) let the opened places for the annointing, be closed again by the Abbot of Westminster, or his Deputy.

*The Abbot of Westminster shall take off the Kings Cap.*

After the annointing of the kings head, let it bee couered with a linnen Cap, because of holy vnction, and so let it remain vntill the eight day after the vnction: vpon the which day, the Abbot of Westminster or his Deputy, shall come vnto the king, and take off the aforesaid linnen Cap, and shall wash & mundifie the kings head. After the said washing, the Abbot of Westminster, or his assignes, shall put vpon the King, royall habiliments, viz. a *Sindon* fashioned after the *Dalmatian* fashion, with hose and sandals: and then let these royall Robes bee sacred by the arch-Bishop: as *Patet in Libro.*

*The King shall be clothed with a Mantle by the Abbot.*

These Offices being finished, the aforesaide king shall be arrayed by the Abbot of Westminster, or his assignes, with a long Cloake or Mantle, wouen with faire Imagery of gold, before and behind, with his Buskins, Pantofles, and Spurs fitted to his legge.

*The setting of the Crowne vpon the Kings head.*

After the King is thus arrayed, then let the Crowne be placed vpon the kings head by the arch-bishop, and afterward let a Ring be put on the Kings hand by a Bishop.

*Of the Sword.*

After this, let the Royall Sword bee blessed, and the said King shall receiue it from the Bishop, and shall gird himselfe with the said sword, and receiue the Bracelets: afterward, let him bee clothed with a

Royall

Royall cloake.

*The offering of the Sword.*

After this, let the King offer the saide Sword vpon the Altar to God: which the worthiest earle then present is to redeeme for one hundred Shillings; and to carry it naked before the King. The price whereof pertayneth vnto the sayde Altar.

*The receiuing of the Scepter.*

After this, let the King receiue a paire of linnen Gloues; & after that the Scepter, with the Crosse in his right hand, and the Mace in his left. Then being blessed, he shall kisse the Bishops, by whom (as also by the residue of the Nobility) he shall bee honourably conducted to his Royall seate, the Quier singing, *Te Deum laudamus.*

*The Prelates, and the residue shall make their homage.*

After this, let the Prelates and Lords make their fealty and liege homage to the Lord King; and then let Masse begin. Item, whilest *Gloria in excelsis* is singing, the King shall be censured by a Deacon; and at *Credo*, he shall kisse the Booke.

*The offering of Bread and Wine.*

Whilest the Offertorie is singing, let the King approach to the Altar, & make his offering of Bread and Wine: and after that let him also offer a Mark of gold: which being done, the King shall a little bow downe his head, whilest the Archbishoppe doth blesse him with two Orisons, which being finished, let the King be brought back to his Throne or estate.

*The kissing of the Pax after the Agnus Dei.*

The kisse of the Pax after the *Agnus Dei* being receiued: let the King descend from his Estate, and humbly approach the Altar, and there receiue the body & blood of our Lord: which being receiued, the Abbot of *Westminster* shall minister vnto him wine out of a stone Challice, pertayning to the King, and then immediately the King shall returne to his estate.

Masse being finished, let the King descend from his Throne, and goe vnto the high Altar, and let the Archbishops, Bi-

shops, and Nobility go before him to the Shrine of Saint *Edward*, where the King shall be arrayed with other Roabes; all which shall be offered vpon the Altar of Saint *Edward*.

*The taking off the Roabes.*

The great Chamberlaine (viz.) the earle of *Oxford*, shall vnclothe the king of the foresaid Roabes in a with-drawing place neare to the Shrine: which Roabs, as they are particularly taken from the King, so shall they be laid vpon the said Altar by the Abbot.

*Another Crowne.*

The King attired in other honourable apparrell, shall approach vnto the Altar of Saint *Edward*, where the Archbishop shall put another Crowne vpon his head.

*The King returneth to the Pallace.*

The said King being thus crowned, & carrying in his hand the Regall Scepter, from the Shrine to the high Altar, and from thence to the scaffold, then shall he descend thorow the midst of the Quier, by the same way as hee came into the Church, the foresaid earles carrying the Swords before him, returning with great glory vnto the Kings Pallace to dinner.

*The deliuery of the Scepter.*

Dinner beeing ended, and the King withdrawne into his chamber, the Scepter shall bee deliuered to the Abbot of *Westminster*, or his deputy, by the Kings owne hands, to be kept in the said church of *Westminster*.

¶ *The Coronation of the Queene.*

And note, that in the Coronation of the Queene, Proceesion shall be celebrated: and if she be crowned with the king, then ought she to be annoynted vpon the Crowne of her head, and on her breast: and if she be crowned alone, then ought shee to be annoynted vpon the Crowne onely crosse-ways with the Chrisme.

*The Kings Oath vpon the day of his Coronation.*

The Archbishop of *Canterburie* shall demaund the King, saying: *Pleaseth it you*  
to

to confirme and obserue the Lawes and Customes of ancient times, granted from God by iust and deuout Kings vnto the English Nation, by Oath vnto the said people, especially the Lawes, Customes and Liberties, granted vnto the Cleargy and Laity, by the famous King Edward? The King answering that he will performe and obserue all the premises. Then shall the Archbishop reade vnto him the Articles whereunto he shall swear, thus saying; *Thou shalt procure vnto the Church of God, vnto the Cleargie, and people, firme peace, and vnitie in God, according to thy power: He shall answer, I will performe it.*

*Art thou pleased to cause to bee administered in all thy iudgements indifferent and vpright Iustice, and to vse discretion with mercie and veritie. He shall answer, I will doe it.*

*Art thou pleased, that our vpright lawes and customes be obserued: and doest thou promise, that those shall bee protected and maintained by thee, to the honour of God, according to thy strength. He shall answer, I grant and promise.*

*The petition of the Bishops.*

The Admonition of the Bishops vnto the King followeth; and must be read by one, (viz.) by the Bishop of Lincolne: *Lord King, wee desire your pardon, that you would vouchsafe to defend to euery one of vs, and to the Churches committed vnto vs, our Canonically Priuiledges, with equitie and iustice, as a King in his Kingdome ought to doe vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and Churches committed vnto him. Hee shall answer thus*

*The Kings answer.*

*With a willing and deuout heart, I promise vnto you, and I pardon euery one of you, and the Churches committed vnto you. I will confirme the Canonically priuiledges, minister equitie and iustice, and will defend them by Gods fauour, as farre as I am able; euen as a King ought with vprightnes to do, vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and the Churches committed vnto him.*

*The Oath of homage made vnto the King.*

*I become your man liege of life and limbe, and troth, and yearely honour to you shall beare aensst all men that now liue. So helpe me God and Holy doome.*

Item, that the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, shall first make his fealtie, then the Bishops, and afterwards all the Nobles of the Kingdome.

## CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *A brieue Description of the pompe and Ceremonies at the Coronation of Edward the sixt, King of England: according to the auncient manner, vsed in the Consecration of the Kings of England.*



**H**enrie the eight, the most Inuincible King of England, beeing dead, who departed out of this life at *Westminster*, the 28. day of *January*, 1546 and 38. of his reigne. *Edward Seymour*, eile of *Hertford*, King *Edward* his Vncle, accompanied with most of the Nobilitie of the whole Kingdome, forthwith went to *Enfield* (in the Countie of *Middlesex*) vnto *Edward*, now at length (by right of succession vnto his Father *Henry*) King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*. Whom the Munday following (viz.) the last of *January*, he with the great applause of the Citie, and of the people by the way as hee went, was brought from thence vnto the *Tower of London*.

The same day the Heralds from an high Stage set vp in the midst of *Westminster* hall (with a great sound of *Trumpets*) out of a Royall Charter, sealed with the great Seale of the kingdome, proclaimed the death of the aforesaid king *Henry* the eight, and the Inauguration of *K. Edward* the sixt to come. Which Charter was dated the 31 day of *Januarie*, and the first yeare of King *Edward*.

Vpon Friday following (viz.) the 4. of *February*, it was through the most famous places of the City of *London*, by the Heralds proclaimed and notified, that whosoeuer they were which by right of Fee, were bound at the Coronations of Kings, to performe their Offices or Seruices; should vnto the Kings Commissioners therefore appoynted, in the *White hall*,

hall, the vij. of February exhibite their petitions: who according to the ancient custome of the kingdome, should determine vnto euerie man their rights and seruices, against the twentieth of the same moneth, the day appointed for the Coronation of the King.

Vpon Thursday (which was the first day of February) the Nobility and States of the Kingdome assembled into the Chamber of Presence (as they call it) euerie one of them in order one by one, did their reuerence and duety vnto the King, sitting in his Royall Seate, kissing his hand, and saying; *Long liue the Kings Maiesty.*

After that the Chancellour declared vnto him the Will of his dead Father, and the Names of his Executors: and that for lacke of yeares, he was not yet himselfe able to gouerne his Kingdome (for now hee was but going vpon the tenth yeare of his age) he told them, that the Earle of *Hertford* his Vncle, was by common suffrages chosen Tutor of his person, and Protector of his Kingdome. VVhich when the King had approoued, and that the erle refused not that charge, they altogether, and oftentimes doubled and redoubled; *Long liue our King Edward: and, God saue our King.*

The next day (viz.) vpon Friday, the Noble-men meeting together in the Starre-chamber, there bound themselves by Oath vnto the King: at which time and place also the Maister of the *Rolles*, and the chiefe Officers of the *Chancerie*, were sworne truely and sincerely to enrole the VVill and Testament of the aforesaid King *Henrie* the eight, being dead.

The Sunday following, the King by his Vncle the Protector, was after the accustomed maner made a knight, who by and by after with the same Ceremonies created the Maior of *London*, and certayne others, knights.

But vpon the Monday, the Commissioners hauing well considered of the matter, and hauing read the Suters Petitions on both sides, gaue sentence concerning Seruices, after the manner to be performed at the time of the Coronation; of which in their place and order more is to be hereafter said.

The VVednesday following, was

wholly bestowed in the magnificent performing of the rites and ceremonies of the Funerall of King *Henrie* the eight. VVhich done, they entred into consultation concerning the Coronation of the new King. And first of all, for the greater solemnitie of the pompe, the Earle of *Hertford* was graced with the Title of the Duke of *Somerset*. At which time others also, with other honourable Titles, were with great solemnity honoured also.

After dinner, the Knights of the Garter assembled together into the Kings Chamber, where the King attired in the ornaments of that Order sate (as of right he should, highest) and with ioyned voices, chose the Marquesse *Dorset*, the earle of *Darbie*, and others, into the fellowship of that Order.

At length, vpon Saturday (viz.) the 19 day of February, the king with a most magnificent pompe, went through the middest of the Citty, from the Tower of *London*, vnto the Pallace at *Westminster*, the great Ordinance both out of the Tower, and the Shippes, on euerie side thundering.

*And in this order they went.*

First, all the Kings Messengers by two and two together.

After them the noblemen of lesser note, or Gentlemen by two and two together also.

The Sergeants of the forraine embassadors, by couples.

The Trumpettors with great noyse sounding on both sides.

The Gentlemen, keepers of the Kings person (whom we call *Esquiers* for the Body.)

Knights (which are called knights, Bachelours.)

The greater Chaplaines.

The yonger sonnes of Noblemen mounted vpon great Horses.

The Senators or Aldermen of *London*.

The Clearks of the Councell.

The Kings Secretaries.

The keeper of the sacred Records, commonly called, the Master of the Rolls.

The Knights of the Bath.

The kings Councillours.  
 Knights Bannerets.  
 Knights of the order of the *Garter*, which were not by dignitie Barons.  
 The sonnes of vicounts.  
 The yonger Sonnes of earles and Marquesses.  
 Barons.  
 Earles eldest Sonnes.  
 Vicounts.  
 Bishops.  
 Marquesses eldest sonnes.  
 Dukes yonger sonnes.  
 Earles.  
 Dukes eldest sonnes.  
 Marquesses.  
 Dukes.  
 The Controller or Censor of the Kings house; and the Venetian Ambassador.  
 The Treasurer of the Kings house; and one of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.  
 The kings Almner; and another of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.  
 The lord William Paget Secretary, with the duke Phillip.  
 The Admiral of *England*, with one of the Ambassadors of *Scotland*.  
 The keeper of the private Seale, with another Ambassador of *Scotland*.  
 The governour of the Pallace, or great Maister of the Hall, with the *Baron de la Garde*, a Frenchman.  
 The Chancellour of *England*, with the French Ambassador.  
 The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Emperors Ambassador.  
 Two noble Courtiers representing the dukedoms of *Normandy* & *Aquitaine*, attired in Purple robes, with caps of honour, with their Cloaks cast crosse of purple veluet, furred with Mineuer.  
 Garter king of Armes, in his Heralds coate, and the Maior of the Cittie of London, carrying the Mace of his Mairalty.  
 The Sergeants at Armes, & the Heralds on both sides.  
 The Constable of *England*, who for that time was the Marquesse *Dorset*, carried the Sword: on whose right hand went the earle of *Warwicke* as Chamberlaine of *England*; and on his left hand the earle of *Arundell*, supplying the place of earle Marshall.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protectour of the kingdome, went a litle before the king toward the left hand.  
 The King himselfe went vnder a Canopy or Thole, borne by sixe Knights, (the footmen going about him) before which, two Gentlemen Vshers went with white Staues.  
 Next after came the master of the Horse, with a royall Palfrey richly furnished.  
 After came nine Pages of honor (whom we call Hench-men) bare headed, and mounted vpon great Horses, whom Sir Francis Brian their Captayne followed.  
 Then followed the gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.  
 The gentlemen Pentioners, with their Polonian Partisans, guarded on both sides from those Courtiers which represented *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, euen to the Guard.  
 Then came the Captaine of the Guard, with his band of the Yeomen of the Guard.  
 The Seruants of the Noble-men and Gentlemen shut vp the troope, going in order according to the honour and dignitie of their Lords and Maisters.  
 In this order they came thorough the middest of the Citty vnto the Pallace at *Westminster*: The Pageants in the meane time, with diuerse shewes euey where set foorth, and the Orations made, &c. I for breuitie sake purposely omit.  
 Vpon Sunday, the twentieth day of February, at nine of the clocke, the King was carried downe the Riuer, from the Pallace vnto the Hall at *Westminster*, where first in the Chamber of the Court of Augmentation (which now is called the Court of Wardes) he attired himselfe in a Roabe of Purple veluet, with a long trayne, furred with Ermins. His inner Gowne was of the same kind of veluet, furred with Mineuer, and fringed round about with Gold. These were called Parliament Roabes, but vpon his head hee did weare a Cappe of blacke Veluet. The Noble-men in like manner also being attired in their Roabs of honor, attended vpon the Kings Maestie; from thence to the Marble Chaire set in

in Westminster Hall, and from thence vnto a Royall Throne set vp for him in *S. Peters Church* at Westminster. But the way whereby he went, was by the Kings Almner all couered with blew Cloth.

*And in this order they set forward.*

¶ All the Gentlemen went by two & two together.

All the Esquires by two and two also.  
The Secretaries of the Latine & French tongues.

The Senators or Aldermen of London.  
The chiefe Porter or Vsher alone.

Three Crosses.

They of the Quier of the Church of *Westminster* in their Coapes.

The Subdeacon of the Kings Chappell, with the singing men of the same.

The Bishops in their *Pontificalibus*.

The Chancellor of the Augmentation, and the Venetian Secretary.

The Gouvernour of the Wardrope, with the Duke *Philip*.

The Controllor of the Kings house, with an Ambassador of Scotland.

The Treasurer of the Kings house, with another Ambassador of Scotland.

The Almner, with the Ambassadour of France.

Secretary *Peter*, with another Ambassadour of France.

Secretary *Paget*, with the Emperors Ambassadour.

Garter King of Armes, and the Maior of the Citty of London.

The Earle of *Rutland* carrying *Saint Edwards Spurres*, and with him the Earle of *Huntingdon*, carrying *S. Edwards Staffe*.

After that, three drawne swords; the first whereof was borne by the Baron of *S. John*, great Master of the Kings house: the second, by Baron *Russell*, keeper of the Priuate Seale: the third, which is called *Cortayna* was carried in the midst betwixt the other two, by the earl of *Darby*.

A Sword was also carried before in the Scabberd vndrawne, vnto which vpon the left hand was ioyned the Earle of *Arundell*, as Earle Marshall in stead of the Protector.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the Kingdome, carried the Crowne, whose right side the Duke of *Suffolke* with a

Globe and Crosse of gold enclosed, & his left side the Marquesse *Dorset*, with the Royall Scepter.

At length the Kings Maiesty went vnder a Thole or Canopy, which the Barons of the five Ports (by an ancient right) did beare; supported on the right hand by the Bishop of *Durham*, and on the left by the Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

The Earle of *Warwicke*, as great Chamberlaine of England, held vp the Kings traine: whom the Marques of *Northampton* assisted on the one side, and Baron *Seymour* of *Sudley*, Admirall of England, both of them of the Kings priuy Chamber.

The Gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.

The Noblemen of the kingdome, attyred in the Robes of honour, euery one of them according to his place and ancientnesse: whom the Gentlemen Pensioners, the Captaine of the Guard, & the Yeomen of the Guard themselves did follow.

The King in this order beeing brought to *Saint Peters Church*, was placed in the Chaire of *Saint Edward* the King, in the midst of a Throne, seuen steppes high. This Throne was erected neere vnto the Altar vpon a Stage, arising with steppes on both sides, couered with Carpets and hangings of Arras. Where, after the King had rested a little, being by certaine Noble Courtiers carryed in another Chaire vnto the foure sides of the Stage: he was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declared vnto the people (standing round about) both by Gods and Mans Lawes to be the right and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland; and proclaimed that day to be crowned, consecrated, and anointed. Vnto whom he demanded, whether they would obey and serue, or not? By whom it was againe with a loud cry answered; *God saue the King: And euer liue his Maiesty*.

This being done, he was againe placed in the Chaire of the Throne, the Quier singing of an Anthem: The King from thence descending vnto the Altar, there offered his Cloake, and certaine Money, (viz.) XX. Shillings, and after ward lay downe flat before the Altar, the Archbishop saying certaine Prayers; as *Deus fidelium*, &c. And after ward in formall words, swore an oath vnto the King before

fore the people.

There the king being againe prostrate, the Archbishop againe kneeling downe, beganne the Hymne *Veni Creator spiritus &c.* and said other Praiers over the King: two other Bishops beginning the Letany, which at length ended, the King arose and came againe vnto his throane: and from thence was brought to a retyring place (commonly called a *Trauerse*) where hauing put off all his former garments, hee was by the Chamberlaine of *England* apparrelled agayne with other, (viz.) a Crimson Coate, open vpon the backe and the breast, the shoulders and the elbowes, with a linnen Cappe vpon his head, wrought with gold. The *Chancellor* in the meane time, from the Stage proclaimed vnto the people the Kings generall pardon.

The King brought back againe out of the *Trauerse* vnto the throane, and from thence vnto the Altar, vnder a cloath of golde (the strings of his Coate and Shirt being opened) was by the Arch-bishop with formall praiers vnto God, vpon the Palmes of his hands, vpon his breast, betwixt his shoulders, in the ioynts of his Armes, and Crowne, with hallowed oyle and chrisme annoynted; the Quire in the meane time singing the Anthemé: *Invenerunt Salomonem, &c.*

After this annoynting (the oyle being lightly wiped off) the openings of his coate and shirt were agayne by the archbishop cloased, who put vpon his hands a payre of Linnen Gloues, and a Linnen Cappe, (brought thither by the great Chamberlayne,) and so brought backe vnto the *Trauerse*, was with a Royall Roabe againe reuested.

At length returning againe vnto the Altar, hee there offered vp the Svord wherewith hee was girt, to be afterwards with five pound in mony redeemed. The royall Ornaments were after that consecrated. The King sitting before the Altar, the Archbishop and the Protectour brought vnto him three Crownes.

The first was the Crowne of Saint *Edward* the King.

The second was the ancient Crowne of the Kings of *England*.

The third was of all the richest, made for that day, and for that purpose (and fit for the Kings head) which being all

by turnes, with the great sounding of Trumpets, and the applause of the People, put vpon his head: the Quire also singing *Te Deum laudamus, &c.* The Archbishop put a Ring vpon the third finger of the Kings right hand, at which time hee was likewise by the Maister of the Jewells bedecked with Bracelets, and other most rich and most precious Jewells.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* deliuered the Scepter into the Kings hand.

The Archbishop deliuered vnto him Saint *Edward* the Kings little Staffe.

The Earle of *Rutland* offered vnto him a paire of golden Spurres.

The Duke of *Suffolke* gaue vnto him the golden Globe.

The Earle of *Oxford* deliuered him the other Royalties.

Hee in this manner attired with all Royall Ornaments (viz.) apparrelled with a royall Roabe, and crowned with a Crowne vpon his head, carrying in his right hand a Scepter, and a golden Globe in his left, beeing brought vnto the Throane, hee sat downe in the Chaire of *S. Edward* the King. Where first the Duke of *Sommerfet* Protector of *England*, vpon his knees in formall words did his due homage and fealty vnto the King and his heires, the kings of *England*: whom the Archbishoppe of *Canterburie* followed and kissed the Kings knee. The same againe did all the rest of the Nobility, which could so doe. But such as stood about (and with the shortnesse of the time excluded, could not come nie) the Protectour vpon his knees pronouncing their homage, holding vp their hands, cryed out with loude voyces together, Long liue *EDWARD* the sixt our King.

Diuine seruice at length being done by the Archbishop and two Bishops, the King at the offering time came downe vnto the Altar, where in the patten of *S. Edwards* Chalice, he offered an hallowed little Crust or Cruet of Wine, and a pound of gold: and then hauing bowed downe his head, the Archbishop sayde certaine Prayers, and blessed the King, and so returning vnto his Throane, there kissed the Paxe being offered him.

Last of all, hee being brought vnto the Altar, the Archbishop taking the Crowne

Crowne from off his head, layde it vpon the Altar. From thence the King going into the Trauers, deliuered his royall Ornaments vnto the Deane of Westminster to be layde vpon the Altar: and in his inner purple Gowne (commonly called a Surcoat) furred with Ermins, with a Crowne vpon his head, returning vnto Westminster Hall in the same order wee before saide; staved a while in that chamber (which we call the Court of Wardes) vntill the Tables were royally furnished. The stately furniture of the Hall at that time, the multitude of Tables, the variety of dishes and sauces, and the delicate magnificence of the feast, I willingly passe ouer.

Yet this it is worthy to remember, that the Earles of *Oxford & Huntingdon* held water vnto the King, which the Earle of *Huntingdon* before tasted.

The Earle of *Rutland* held the Towell.

The Marquesse of *Northampton* was the Caruer, & before tasted the Dishes.

The Earle of *Suffex* was Sewer of the first course, and placed it vpon the Table.

Before the coming in of the first course, the Marquesse *Dorset* at that time Constable of England, with a little siluer staffe (the signe of his office) and the Earle of *Arundel* with the rod of the Marshalship, mounted vpon trapped horses, all in cloth of gold came riding into the Hall.

Four swords were all the dinner time carried before the King.

The Ambassadors of forraine Princes, the Bishops and Noble-men, the Maior of the City of London, the Barons of the five Ports, &c. were in their order set at Tables in the same Hall.

After the second course, the kings champion (surnamed *Dimock*) a knight in compleate Armour, mounted vpon a great Horse, couered with a Caparison of cloth of gold, and attended vpon with an Herald in his Coat of Armes, came into the Hall: who euen at the first, with a proud gate went vnto the King, and with great reuerence made to him his lowe obedience. Afterward prauncing his carrying Horse, by a trumpet sounding foure times in the Hall, challenged to combate him who soeuer he were, that should deny *Edward* the sixt of that name, to be the true, vndoubted, and lawfull King of *England, France, and Ireland*. And so often he cast

downe his Gantlet vnto the ground, as a pledge of his challenge so made: which when no man would take vp, the Herald deliuered it vnto him againe: which done, the King did drinke vnto him in a Cup of gold, which he thankfully accepted, and challenging the Cup due vnto him as his Fee, so departed.

Last of all, *Garter* king of Armes, with the rest of the heralds, hauing made thrice obedience before the King, all aloud, in formall words proclaimed the kings title, in *Latine, French, and English*, in this sort; *Largesse, of the most Soueraigne, and most invincible Prince and King, Edward the sixt, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith: and of the Church of England and Ireland, next vnder Christ, in Earth supreme head: chiefe of the most Noble order and Knight-hood of the Garter.* Which same stile, when he had in *Latine and French*, and so in three other places of the Hall beside repeated, they oftentimes altogether crying out aloud, *Largesse*, so departed.

A little before the ende of the Feast, the Maior of London (as the manner is) in a Cup of gold, gaue a Cuppe of spiced Wine (which we commonly call *Ypocras*) vnto the King to drinke; which after hee had tasted of, hee gaue the Cup vnto the Maior, as due vnto him for his fee.

The rest of the time was spent in creating of Knights of the Bath, and of other Knights, and in appointing of Iustings & Tiltings: All which, as not appertaining to my purpose, I omit; as also the variety of musique, the diuers kindes of shewes, & other things in number infinite, which wonderfully graced & set forth the magnificence of this coronation: of all which things, let them say more at large, which saw eyther the same, or the pompe of the Coronation of the most Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, with the wonderfull happinesse of her Reigne, and the applause and ioyfulnessse of the people on every side.

## CHAP. XIX.

*The memorable and famous Coronation of our most gracious Lord King James, and our Soueraigne Lady Q. Anne his Wife, the 25. of Iuly, 1603.*

¶ The Cobby heereof was deliuered to his Maiefty, by the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who faithfully obserued the forme, set downe in the ancient Booke kept among the Regalia at *Westminster*.



HE King and Queen came from *Westminster* bridge, to the West doore of the *Minster* Church.

They receiued into the Church with an Hymne or Antheme. They passe along thorow the body of the Church, and so vp to the Stage, and do there take their places in their seuerall Seeges Royall.

The King shewed to the people, and they are required to make acknowledgmet of their allegiance to his Maiefty, by the Archbishop: which they do by acclamations.

*The second Antheme is sung.*

The King and Queene descend from their Thrones, and going to the Altar, there offer: the King a Pall, and a pound of gold: the Queene likewise offereth.

*A Prayer is saide by the Archbishop.*

A Sermon by the Bishop of *Winchester*.

After the Sermon, the King is moued by the Archbishop to take his Oath.

The Oath ministred by the Archbishop, and taken by the King, there is sung, *Come Holy Ghost, &c.*

A prayer by the Archbishop: when that is done, *Letany* is saide or sung by two Bishops.

The Archbishop beginneth the Ceremony of the anointing, with the thanksgiving, *Lift up your hearts, &c.*

After which, the King comming to the Altar, putteth off his vpper garments.

The Kings vnder Garments are so to be made, as the places to be annoynted,

may (by the vndoing of certain loops) be made open.

The Archbishop annointeth his Maiefty.

{ Palmes.  
{ Breast.  
Vpon the { Betweene the Shoulders.  
{ Bending of both Armes.  
{ Crowne of the head.

Then a Linnen Coife is put on his head, the Quier meane while singing the Anthem.

*Prayer made by the Archbishop.*

*The Inuestiture.*

Then is the King inuested with the Robes of King *Edward* the *Confessor*, by the Abbot of *Westminster*.

{ With the Tunicke.  
{ Close Pall.  
{ Tuisni Hofen.  
{ Sandals.

Spurs put on by a Peere.

Then is the Sword deliuered his Maiefty by the Archbishop and Bishops, and after girt about him by a Peere.

After, the Armill or Collar is put on by the Abbot of *Westminster*.

Then the vpper Pall or Mantle Royall.

His Maiefty to be crowned with the Crowne of King *Edward* the *Confessor*.

*The fourth Antheme.*

A Ring to be put on the fourth finger, on the left hand: after which done, the King putteth on the Linnen Gloues, & goeth to the Altar, & taking off his sword, there offereth it.

Which sword so offered, the cheefe Peere is to redeme; and hauing redeemed it, to draw it, and leaue it so drawne by his Maiefty all the solemnity.

A Rod with the Doue to be borne in his left hand.

*A Prayer or blessing is pronounced by the Archbishop.*

Then the King graciously vouchsafeth to receiue to his kisse the Arch-bishop or Bishops that were assisting to his Coronation.

*The Inthronizing.*

After this, the King is ledde backe to his Throne, with all solemnity, the Quier singing, *We praise thee O God, &c.*

The King is inthronized by the Arch-bishop, in the Throne Royall.

The

The Peeres do their homage to the King, so sitting in his Chaire Royall.

And after the homage done, they all put their hands vp and touch the Crowne on the Kings head, as promising for euer to support it.

*The Queenes anointing.*

¶ The solemnity of the Kings Coronation, and inthronizing beeing performed, the Arch-bishop leaueth the King in his Throne, and goeth to the Altar.

The Queene, who hath all this while reposed her selfe in her Chaire beneathe, ariseth and commeth to the steps of the Altar, and there kneeleth downe.

*A Prayer saide by the Archbishop.*

The queene ariseth from her prayer, the cheefest Lady taketh off the Coronet first, and after openeth her breast.

Then the queene kneeleth downe againe.

The Archbishop first powred the anointing Oyle on the crown of her head. Then he annointed her on the breast.

*A Prayer by the Archbishop.*

Then the cheefe Lady attendant, closeth the queenes Robe at her breast, and after putteth on her head a linnen coyse.

*The Queenes Crowning.*

That done, the Archbishop puts on the fourth finger of the queenes left hand a Ring.

*A Prayer by the Archbishop.*

The Archbishop taking the Corwne in his hands, and laying it before him on the Altar, saith a prayer.

The prayer done, he sets the Crowne on the queenes head, after that hee saith a prayer.

*The deliuey of the Queenes Scepter & Rod.*

After the prayer, the Archbishop deliuered first the Scepter into her right hand the Rod of Iuory with the Doue into her left hand, both which being done, he saith a prayer.

Which prayer being ended, the queene ariseth and goeth from the Altar, and is led by two Bishops vp to the Stages, and passing by the King in his Throne, shee doth, *Inclinare Regi eius Maiestatem (ut de- cet adorando.)*

Which hauing done, she is ledde to her Throne, on the left hand, and some-what lower then the Kings, and is placed or inthronized in it.

After this, the Archbishop beginneth

the Communion.

Whereas after the } Collects. }  
Epistle. } read by the Archbi.  
Gospell. }

The Nycen Creede.

*Offertory is sung by the Quier.*

Whilst the Offertory is singing, the king and queene descend from their Throne, and come downe to the Altar. The King maketh his Oblation; first of Bread and Wine: secondly, of a marke of gold. The queene after him offereth likewise.

After which, the Archbishop pronounceth the blessing ouer them: that ended, the king and queene are brought back to their chaires hard by the Altar. The Arch-Bishop proceedeth with the Communion. After the Archbishop hath communicated himselfe, and those which assisted him, the king and queene come vnto the steps of the Altar, there to receiue the holy Sacrament.

The Archbishop ministreth the body, the Abbot the Cup. That done, the king and queene are brought backe to their Throne aboute the Stages.

There they stay till the Communion be ended. After which, they both goe into the Chappell of King *Edward* the Confessor, there they put off the Crownes wherewith they were crowned.

They withdraw themselues into their Trauers. The King putteth off King *Edwards* Robes wherewith hee was inuested.

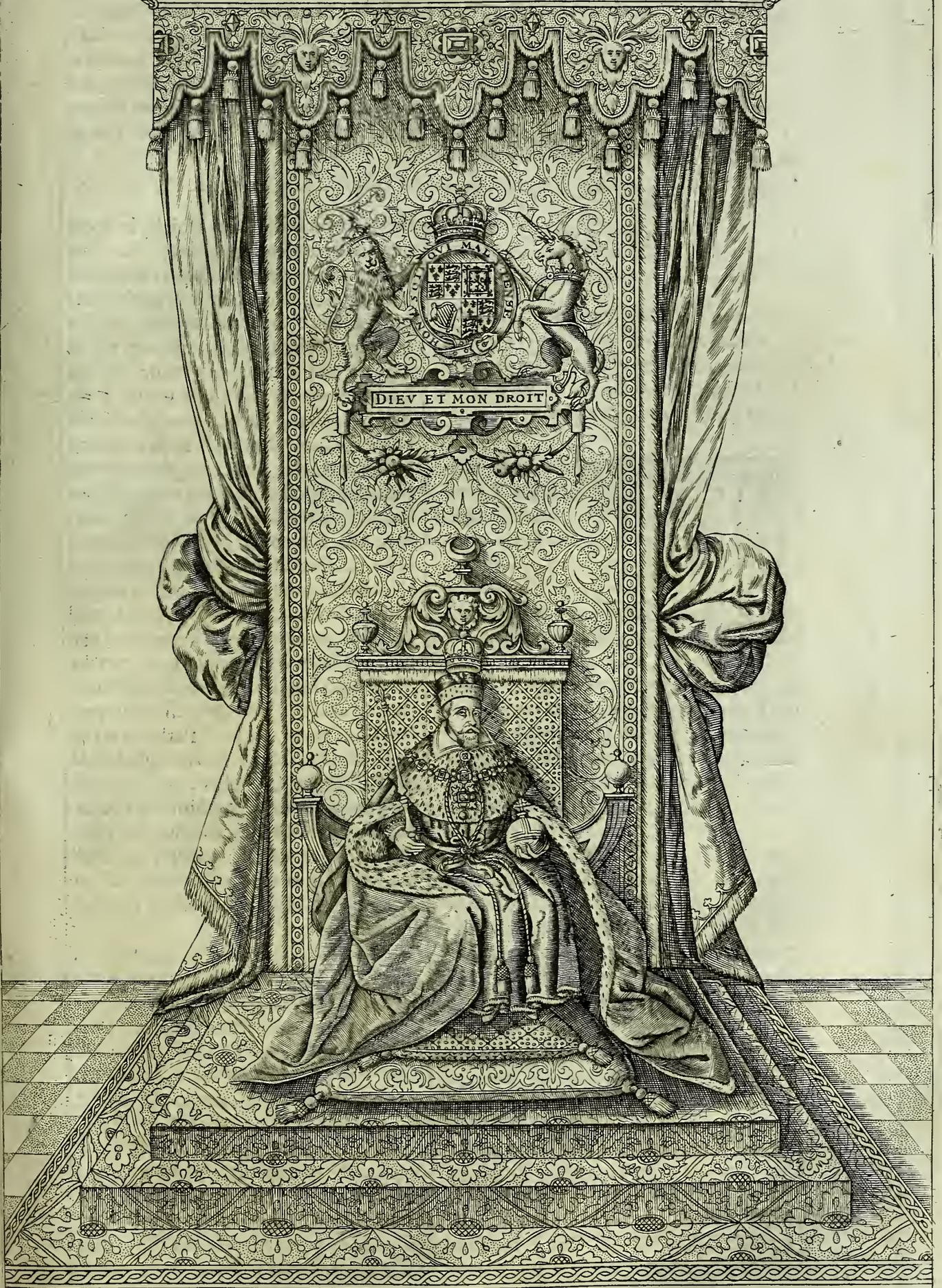
Hee is arraied with his owne Robes royall, by the great Chamberlaine of England. Then comming forth, the Arch-Bishop puts on the king & queenes heads the Imperiall Crowns, which they are to weare. The King taketh *S. Edwards* Scepter in his hand, and the queene hers. The traine is set in order, and they returne the same way they came.

After the king and queene returne to the Pallace.

The Scepters are deliuered vnto the Abbot of Westminster, to be kept there among the residue of the *Regalia*.



REGIA MAIESTAS



*Hitherto I haue described what manner of men the named Noble-men haue bene with vs. The forme of their Charters and Rescripts I haue set downe, with what Rites and Ceremonies they are after our manner and fashion created: and the Maiestie of the Coronation of the Kings themselves, we haue declared. Here now a great field is opened vnto me to speake of the right of the precedence of the Nobilitie, and of their Priuiledges; but forasmuch as they rest rather vpon Custome, then vpon positive Lawes, I haue of a set purpose omitted many things, proceeding but so farre as the Statutes of the King done may be my warrant and safety.*

CHAP. XX.

*A Statute and Act of Parliament, made in the one and thirti yere of Henry the eight, concerning placing of the Lords in the Parliament chamber, and other assemblies and conferences of Counsell.*



Orsomuch, as in all great Counsels and Congregations of men, hauing Degrees and Offices in the commonwealth, it is very requisite and conuenient, that an order should be had and taken for the placing and fitting of such persons as are bound to resort to the same, to the intent that they knowing their places, may vse the same without displeasure or let of the Counsell: therefore the Kings most royall Maiestie, although it appertaineth vnto his prerogative Royall, to giue such honour, reputation, and placing to his Counsellors, and other his Subiects, as shall be seeming to his most excellent wisdom, is neuertheless pleased and contented for an order to be had and taken in this his most high Court of Parliament, that it shall be enacted by the authoritie of the same in manner and forme as heereafter followeth.

First, it is enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, that no person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be of (except onely the Kings children) shall at any time heereafter attempt or presume, to sit or haue place at any side of the cloth of Estate in the Parliament Chamber, neither on the one hand of the Kings highnes, nor on the o-

ther, whether the Kings Maiesty be there personally present, or absent. And forasmuch as the Kings Maiesty is iustly and lawfully Supreme Head in earth vnder God, of the Church of England, and for the good exercise of the said most royall dignitie and office, hath made *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, and Lord Priuie Seale his Vicegerent, for good and due administration of Iustice, to be had in all causes and cases, touching the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, and for the godly information and redresse of all Errours, Heresies, and abuses in the said Church. It is therefore also enacted by authoritie aforesaid, that he the said Lord *Cromwell*, hauing the said Office of Vicegerent, and all other persons which heereafter shall haue the saide Office of the graunt of the Kings highnes, his heires or successours, shall sit and be placed, aswell in this present Parliament, as in all Parliaments to be holden heereafter, on the right side of the Parliament Chamber, and vpon the same forme that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sitteth on, and aboue the same Archbishop and his successors, and shall haue voice in euery Parliament to assent or dissent, as other the Lords of the Parliament haue.

And it is also enacted, that next vnto the sayd Vicegerent, shall sit the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and then next vnto him on the same Forme and side, shall sit the Archbishoppe of *Torke*: and next vnto him on the same side, the Bishop of *London*; and next to him on the same side and Forme, the Bishop of *Duresme*; and next vnto him on the same side and Forme the Bishop of *Winchester*; and then all the other Bishops of both Prouinces of *Canterburie* and *Torke*, shall sit and bee placed on the same side after their anciencies, as it hath bene accustomed.

And

And forasmuch as such other Personages, which now haue, and heereafter shall happen to haue other great Offices of the Realme; that is to say, the Offices of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings most honourable Councill, the Lord priuy Seale, the great Chamberlaine of England, the Marshall of England, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-Master or Lord Steward of the Kings most honourable household, the Kings Chamberlaine and the Kings Secretary, haue not heere-tofore bene appointed and ordered for the placing and sitting in the Kings most high Court of Parliament, by reason of their Offices. It is therefore now ordayned and enacted by the Authority aforesaide, that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings Councill, and the Lord Priuy Seale, being of the degree of Barons of the Parliament, or aboue, shall sit and bee placed aswell in this present Parliament; as in all other Parliaments hereafter to be holden, on the left side of the Parliament Chamber, on the hither part of the forme of the same side, aboue all Dukes, except onely such as shal happen to be the Kings Sonne, the Kings Brother, the Kings Vnkle, the Kings Nephew, or the Kings Brothers or Sisters sonnes.

And it is also ordained and enacted by authority aforesaid, that the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the great Master, or Lord Steward, and the Kings Chamberlaine, shall sit and be placed after the Lord priue Seale, in manner following: that is to say, every one of them shall sit and be placed aboue all other Personages beeing of the same estates or degrees, that they shall happen to be of; that is to say, the great Chamberlaine first; the Constable next; the Marshall third; the Lord Admirall the fourth; the Grand-Master or Lord Steward the fift; and the Kings Chamberlaine the sixt.

And it is also enacted by authority aforesaid, that the Kings cheefe Secretary being of the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, shall sit and be placed afore and aboue all Barons, not hauing any of the Offices before mentioned. And if he be a Bishop, that then he shall sit and bee placed aboue all other Bishops, not hauing

any of the Offices aboue remembred.

And it is also ordayned and enacted by Authority aforesaid, that all Dukes not afore mentioned, Marqueesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons, not hauing any of the Offices aforesaid, shall sit and bee placed after their Anciency, as it hath bene accustomed.

And it is further enacted, that if any person or persons, which at any time here after shall happen to haue any of the said Offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councill, Lord Priuy Seale, or cheefe Secretary, shall be vnder the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, by reason whereof, they can haue no interest to giue any assent or dissent in the saide house, that then in euery such case, such of them as shall happen to be vnder the degree of a Baron, shall sit and be placed at the vppermost part of the sakes, in the midst of the said Parliament, either there to sit vpon one Forne, or vpon the vppermost sake, the one of them aboue the other, in order as is aboue rehearsed.

Be it also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that in all trials of treasons by Peers of this Realme, if any of the Peeres that shall be called heereafter to bee tryers of such treasons, shall happen to haue any of the Offices aforesaid, that then they hauing such Offices, shall sit and bee placed according to their Offices, aboue all the other Peeres that shall bee called to such trials, in manner and forme as is aboue mentioned and rehearsed.

And it is also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that as well in all Parliaments, as in the Starre-Chamber, and in all other Assemblies and Conferences of Councill, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President, the Lord priuy Seale, the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-master, or Lord Steward, the Kings Chamberlaine, and the Kings Secretary shall sit and bee placed in such order and fashion, as is aboue rehearsed, and not in any other place, by authority of this present Acte.

*The Parliamentary Pompe.*

## CHAP. XXIII.

¶ (Viz.) *The forme and manner of the going of the States vnto the Parliament, seriously collected out of diuers examples. Wherein I thought good, especially to propound that most stately going of Queene Elizabeth, in the xxvij. yeare of her reigne.*



Pon Sunday (the xxij. day of Nouember) in the Chamber of Presence (as they doe tearme it) it was proclaimed that the Noble-men and States, and so all others which were bound to attend vpon the Queenes Maiestie, the next day to be holden at *Westminster*, should bee ready at nine of the clocke before noone, to giue their attendance, the Queene then lying in her royall house called *Saint James*, neare vnto *Westminster*. The next day at the appointed houre, the Noblemen put on their Parliament Robes in the Counsell chamber, and the Bishops theirs likewise, in another chamber next vnto the chappel: from thence they, by the Garden going into the Parke, mounted on horse-backe, attended the coming forth of the Queene. About eleuen of the clocke the most gracious Queene, attired also in a Parliament Roabe, at the going out of the Garden, mounted in a Chaire of Estate, like vnto a Chariot or Horselitter, carried betwixt two white Horses. This Chaire was on euery side open, but that behind a couering hanging forth aboue, semicircle-wise, was with two litle pillers of Siluer supported: vpon the top whereof, stode on high a Crowne of golde: and vpon two other pillers at her feete, stode a Lyon and a Dragon glistering with golde, made with wonderful cunning, supporting the Queenes Armes. This Chaire (which I might rather call a Throane) being altogether cunningly garnished and gilt, was most magnificently bedeckt with cloth of Siluer (as

they call it) and with Cushions of the same. Wherein, after that the Queene had placed herselfe: the rest by two and two in this order set forward.

First went the *Mandataries* or Messengers of the Kings Court.

Afterward the Gentlemen of lesse note. Squiers.

Squiers of the body.

The Clarkes of the Chancerie.

The Clarkes of the Signer.

The Clarkes of the priuate Seale.

The Clarkes of the Counsell.

The Maisters of the Chancerie.

The Knights Bachelours.

Knights Bannerets.

*Trumpets heere and there sounding.*

Seruants or Sergeants at Law.

The Kings Sergeant in an vlined purple Gowne or Hood.

Him followed *John Popham* the kings Attorney, with *Thomas Egerton* the Solicitor.

Two Heralds.

The Iudges of the Exchequer, whom we call *Barons* of the Exchequer.

The Iudges or Iustices of the Court of the Common Pleas, and of the Kings Bench,

*Edmund Anderson* chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, together with *Koger Manwood* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, both knights.

*Christopher Wray*, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, or of England, & *Gilbert Gerard* Maister of the Rolles, Knights both: but this man ridde in a Velvet Gowne; but aswell the rest of the Iustices, as the Barons of the Exchequer, rid in Gownes and Hoodes of Skarlet, lined with a white furre called *Miniuer*.

The yonger sonnes of the Nobility according to their dignities.

The Treasurer of the Kings Chamber.

Knights of the Bath.

The eldest sons or heires of the Nobility.

Knights of the Priuy Counsell.

Knights of the order of the *George*, or of the *Garter*.

*Francis Walsingham* knight, principall Secretary.

*Francis Knolles* Treasurer of the Queens house, together with *James Crostes*, Controuller of the Queenes house, both Knights.

*Edward*

*Edward Norris*, the third Sonne of Baron *Norris*, carrying the Queenes Hat and Cloake, shut vp this ranke.  
Two Heralds, whom the Barons followed by two and two together.

## Barons.

*Henry Baron Norris of Rycot.*  
*Henry Baron Cheney of Tuddington.*  
*Henry Baron Compton,*  
*William Cecill Baron of Burghley.* But he went in another place, because hee was Treasurer of England.  
*William West, Baron de la Ware.*  
*Thomas Sackuile Baron of Buckhurst.*  
*John, Baron S. John of Bletesho.*  
*Henry Cary Baron of Hunsdon.* He was absent because he was Gouvernor of *Barwicke.*  
*Giles Bruges Baron Chandos.*  
*Roger Baron North of Carthelage.*  
*Charles Baron Howard of Effingham.*  
He went in another place, because hee was Chamberlaine vnto the Queene.  
*Thomas Baron Darcy of Chiche.*  
*Thomas Baron Paget.*  
*Edmund Baron Sheffeld of Butterwick.*  
*Charles Baron Willoughby of Parham.*  
*Robert Baron Rich of Leze.*  
*Philip Baron Wharton of Wharton.*  
*William Baron Eure of Witton.*  
*Henry Baron Cromwell of Vlcombe.*  
*Lewes Baron Mordant of Turuey.*  
*Thomas Baron Burgh of Gainsburgh.*  
*Henry Baron Wentworth of Netlested.*  
*Fredericke Baron Windesor of Bradenham*  
*William Baron Vaux of Harroden.*  
*William Baron Sandes of Vine.*  
*John Baron Darcy of Menill.*  
*Cutbert Baron Ogle of Bothall.*  
*William Baron Montioy.*  
*John Baron Sturton.*  
*John Baron Lumley.*  
*Edward Baron Dudley.*  
*Henry Baron Scroope of Bolton.*  
He was absent, for that he was Gouvernor of *Carlile.*  
*Arthur Baron Gray of Wilton,*  
*Edward Baron Stafford, of Stafford.*  
*William Brooke Baron of Cobham.*  
*Gregorie Fynes, Baron Dacres of Herstmonceaux.*  
*Edward Parker Baron Morley.*  
*Henry Baron Barkley.*  
*Peregrine Bertij Bar. Willoughby of Eresby.*  
*Edward Baron Zouch of Haringworth.*  
*George Touchet Baron Audley.*

*Henry Neuill Baron of Abergauenry.*  
Two Heralds going before the Bishops.  
The Bishop of *Glocester.*  
The Bishop of *S. Asaphe.*  
Bishop of *Chester.*  
Bishop of *Carile.*  
Bishop of *Peterborow.*  
Bishop of *Landaffe.*  
Bishop of *Hereford.*  
Bishop of *Cicester.*  
Bishop of *Lietchfield.*  
Bishop of *Bath.*  
Bishop of *Rocheſter.*  
Bishop of *Worceſter.*  
Bishop of *S. Davids.*  
Bishop of *Bangor.*  
Bishop of *Lincolne.*  
Bishop of *Sarisbury.*  
Bishop of *Norwich.*  
Bishop of *Exceter.*  
Bishop of *Ely.*  
Bishop of *Wincheſter.* Prelate of the Garter. Bishop of *Durham.*  
Bishop of *London,* Chancellor to the Bishop of *Canterbury.*  
These three Bishops, (viz.) the Bishops of *London, Durham, and Wincheſter,* by force of Acte of Parliament, made the xxxi. yeare of King *Henry the viii.* goe next vnto the Arch-bishops: but all the rest take their places, according to the ancientnesse of their elections. Euery Bishop Gown was made of Scarlet cloth, made after the fashion of Barons, and hoods of the same, lined with *Minewer,* & hanging downe behinde them.  
*Henry Vicount Howard of Bindon.*  
*Anthony Browne Vicount Montacute.*  
Two Heralds, after whom the Earls followed.  
*Edward Earle of Lincolne.* The Admirall was sicke.  
*Robert Earle of Suffex,* was absent, because he was vnder age.  
*Robert Earle of Leiceſter,* went in another place, for that he was for this turne Steward of the Queenes House.  
*Edward Earle of Hertford.*  
*Henry Earle of Penbroke.*  
*Francis Earle of Bedford.*  
*Henry Earle of Southampton.*  
*Ambrose Earle of Warwicke.*  
*William Earle of Bathe.*  
*Henry Earle of Huntingdon,* was absent, because he was President of *Torke.*  
*Henry Earle of Suffex.*  
*George Earle of Cumberland.*

*Edward Earle of Rutland.*

*William Earle of Worcester* supplied the place of the Marshall, being absent.

*Henry Erle of Kent*, went in another place because he carried the Sword.

*George Earle of Shrewsbury*, was absent being sicke.

*Henry Earle of Northumberland*, Then prisoner in the tower of *London*.

*Edward Earle of Oxford*, went in another place, because he was high Chamberlaine of *England*.

*Phillip Earle of Arundell.*

*An Herald or King of Armes.*

*William Marquesse of Winchester*: Hee in another place carried the *Cap royall*.

Heere were places fit for Dukes: all whose parliament roabes (a thing worth the noting) differed nothing from the Barons, but that they wore the guardes vpon their shoulders, three or foure fold. For although all Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles, in their creations are attired with garments of Silke and Veluet, which are called Roabes or garments of Honour: yet in Parliaments they vse the same that Barons doe, made of Skarlet, with certayne differences of white Furre, set as fringes or edgings on their shoulders: for that there they al fit by reason of their Baronies, and according to their dignitie take their places.

*Thomas Bromley* Knight Chancellour of *England*; with *William Cicill* Baron of *Burghley* ridde together. But the great Seale of *England*, was by one footman carried before the Chancellour: but hee himselfe was attired in a Gowne of black Veluet lined with Sables.

*John Whitgift* also, Arch-bishoppe of *Camberbury*: with *Edwin Sands* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* followed next after them.

*Clarencieux*: King of Armes.

Two Sergeants at Armes with siluer scepters, which we call Maces, gilt.

*Garter* chiefe King at Armes, in his Heralds coate, hauing the chiefe gentleman *Vther* on his right hand.

The Marques of *Winchester* did beare the *Cap royall*, vpon whose left hand the Earle of *Worcester* carried the Rod of the Marshallship of *Englad*, in steed of *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, then earle Marshall, who was then in the Parliament Chamber, although he was not heere present, for that he was sicke of the Gout.

The Earle of *Kent* after them carried the sword, on whose right hand went the earle of *Oxford*, then great Chamberlaine of *England*, and on his left hand the Earle of *Leicester*, *Seneschall*, or Steward of the queenes house.

The queenes Maiesty carried in a chaire as we haue before said. She her selfe decked vp in a purple Robe, furred with *Ermines*. But her inner Garment was of purple veluet also, more straighter vnto her body, turned vp at the hand, with the same furre.

Foure Quiries of the Stable (whom in *French* they call *Esquaries*) and the Footmen in their rich Coates were attendant about the queene: and without them all along in a ranke, waited the Gentlemen Pensioners with their *Partisans*.

After them followed the Earle of *Darbie*, Master of the Horse (instead of the Earle of *Leicester*, who at this time supplied the place of the Steward) leading a spare horse of state: by whom on the left hand rode *Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Chamberlaine of the queenes house, both of them attired in their Parliament Robes.

After these followed also *Christopher Hatton*, Knight Vice-Chamberlaine, with many Noble women, Ladies, and other Noble Courtiers.

In this order and Royall pompe, the queene came vnto the South gate of *S. Peters Church* at *Westminster*, where the Bishop of *Sarisbury*, the Kings Almoner, and Doctor *Goodman* Deane of that Church, with the *Prebendaries*, and all the quier receiued Her in their Coapes. Without the Porch was set a Forme, furnished with Carpets and Cushions, at which the queene vpon her knees, receiued of the Deane the golden Scepter of *S. Edward*, which she layde vpon the Cushion before her: and hauing receiued a little Booke of the Deane, vnto her selfe softly prayed. Afterward shee came into the Church, vnder a stately Canopy of Cloth of Siluer, which sixe Knights supported.

The Marchionesse of *Northampton*, and the countesse of *Oxford* bare vp the train: Baron *Howard* of *Effingham* being Chamberlaine supporting her: *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlaine going on the other side, but not supporting her. But forasmuch

forasmuch as the Queenes robes made of rich silke and Ermins, were too weighty and chargeable for her well to beare, the Earle of *Arundell* on the right hand, and the Earle of *Penbrooke* on the left, held them vp from her shoulders.

Before the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer, went the singing men and Quiristers, singing of Psalmes, and when the Queene was now come vnto the royall withdrawing or retyring place (commonly called the *Trauerse*) prepared for them vpon the right hand of the Quier, neare vnto the Communion Table: the Noble-men tooke their places vpon Formes, beneath the *Trauerse*, but the Bishops sate themselues downe beneath the Pulpit, on the north side of the Quier.

The Archbishop of *Canterburie*, after a psalme sung, made a sermon, the sword and cap of Honour beeing in the meane time borne before him.

The sermon with a psalme ended, the Queene on foote vnder a Canopy, went vnto the south gate of the Church, carrying in her hand the Scepter, dedicated to King *Edward* the Confessor. In which place, shee restored it vnto the Deane of *Westminster*, of whom shee had before receiued it, to be againe layd vp.

It is worthy note, that whilest the Queenes Maiesty was hearing diuine seruice in the Church, the Earle of *Leicester* (for that time Steward of the Queenes house) went vnto the Lower *Parliament* house, to be there present at the answer of the Rescripts, (which our Lawyers call the Returne of the Writtes) before sent forth for the sommoning of the knights of the shires, and for the Burgeses of the townes thither, and met the Queene coming vnto the vpper *Parliament* house.

The Queene being come thither, first retired her selfe into her owne priuie Chamber, where resting her selfe a litle, the Noble-men in the meane while, had in due order placed themselues in the vpper house: and at length the Queene her selfe came forth, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rod of the Marshalship of *England* being borne before her, and the other Officers going before her, shee went vp into the Royall Throne, the Nobilitie of the Kingdome sitting downe about her.

In the midst of the vpper house lie great Sackes of cloth filled with wooll: vpon the vppermost whereof sitteth the Chancellour; and vpon those which lie towards the sides of the house, sit the Maister of the Rolles, the *Queenes Secretary*, the *Judges*, the *Barons of the Exchequer*, and certayne Lawyers, aswell Ciuilians as Common Lawyers. Vpon the lowest of all, sitteth the Clarke of the *Parliament* house, with the Clarke of the *Crowne*, behinde whom the other Clarks write, resting vpon their knees.

When the Queene was set, and that they of the neather house (*videlicet*) the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgeses of the Citties were let in, she commaunded the Lord Chancellour, standing on the right hand by her, to make his Oration: who turning himselfe vnto the Nobilitie, and the rest there present, declared vnto them, in her Maiesties name, that this assembly of *Parliament* to be for three causes called (*viz.*) For the glorie of Almighty God, and the furthering of true Religion: For the health and preservation of her royall Maiestie, and the welfare of the Common-weale. Which after that hee had aloud and most eloquently at large declared, turning his speech vnto the Knights and Burgeses, standing on an heape together below: he willed them to make choise of their Prolocutor, and to giue notice of him so chosen, to the Lords of the Priuy Counsell, from whom they should expect what the *Queens* pleasure and answer was concerning him so chosen, to be afterward presented.

When the Chancellour had ended his speech, the Clarke of the *Parliament* rising vp, in French, and with a lowd voice proclaimed the names of them, which as Delegates had the power within certain dayes to vnderstand of the affaires aswell of the Kingdomes of *England*, *Fraunce*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as of the Dukedoms of *Normandie* and *Aquitaine*, and to heare and examine the requests and petitions of them of the Ilands and parties beyond the Seas.

Which things being done, the Chancellour prorogued the *Parliament*, the *Queene* discending from her Throane, and retiring into her Priuie Chamber, there put off her parliament robes; which  
when

when the Barons had in like manner also done, they in order (with the Sword, the Cappe of Honour, and the Rod of the Marshallship carried before her) attended her vnto her Barge, wherein shee from thence was downe the Riuer carried backe vnto her Pallace (called *White Hall*;) through which she passed into the Parke, where she mounting vpon a most couragious Horse; the Nobility, States, and most honourable men and women attending her, shee happily returned vnto her Pallace of *S. James*, from whence she before came.

Vpon Thursday following, the day appointed for the presenting of the Prolocutour, the *Queene* about three of the clocke in the after noone, by the Parke came from her royall house of *S. James*, vnto her pallace of *White Hall*; and when she had in her Chamber put on her *Parliament* robes, she went to her Throne, th: Sword, the Cappe, and the Rodde of the Marshallship, being after the wonted manner carried before her: The Lord Chamberlaine going on the right hand of the Sword, and the Lord Steward on the left, with the Lord *Treasurer*, *Garter*, the vsers, & the Sergeants at Armes going before them. At length, when the Noble men were set downe, the *Chancellour* on the right hand, and the high *Treasurour* of *England* on the left hand, stood beside the *Queene* without the barres.

Then at length, the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgeses of the Citties being admitted in, brought in their most learned Lawyer (viz.) *John Puckering*, who standing at the barre, and hauing thrice made most lowe obeifance, sayd what he might, to shew himselfe vsfit to vnder take so great a burthen, requesting most earnestly, that they would make choice of another *Prolocutor*, vnto whom the *Queene* by the *Chancellour* made answer; That shee liked exceeding well of the choice of him already made, and that she ratified the same.

Which done, the *Prolocutor* framed himselfe to another manner of speech, wherein hee particularly rehearsed what great benefits were redounded vnto the Commonweale, by the most wise gouernement of her royall Maiestie he declared her singular vertues, her very naturall and motherly care ouer her Sub-

iects: But especially in that she had then called together the Estates of the Kingdome, there to consult and consider of the most weightiest affaires of the Common-weale, earnestly admonishing the Bishops to provide for the Ecclesiasticall and Church matters: the Nobilitie and the rest to bee carefull of the profite and welfare of the Common-weale. In the conclusion of his speech, he most humbly requested, that the auncient Rights and Priviledges of the Lower house of the Burgeses, (viz.) of freely deliuering of their speech and minds, and of being free from Arrests, as well themselves as their Seruants, during the time of the parliament, might be kept whole and vntouched. And if that in any thing not well by them vnderstoode, they should happen to offend, he requested leaue aswell for himselfe as for the rest, to haue accessse vnto her royall Maiestie.

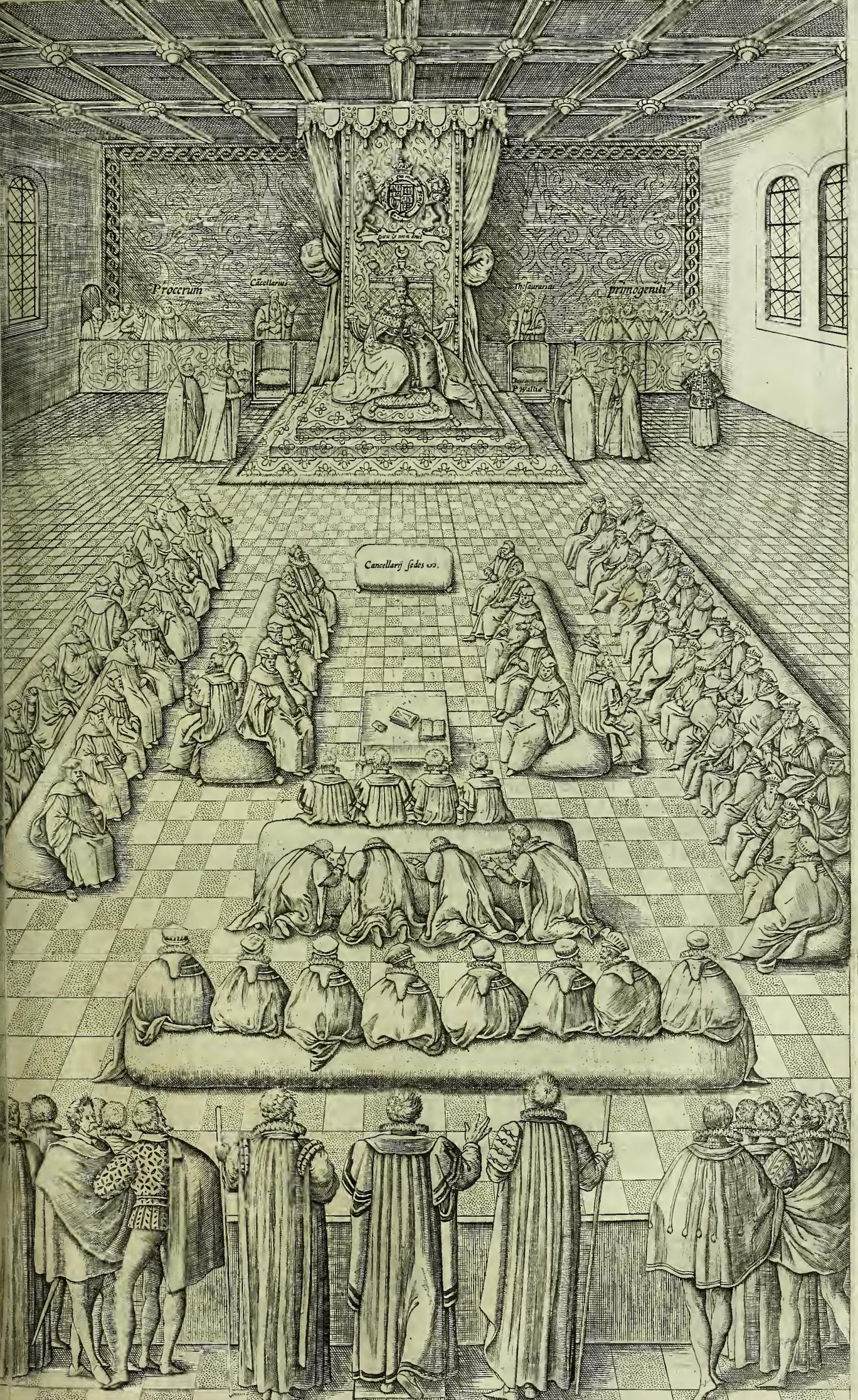
His Oration at length ended, the *Chancellor*, by the *Queene* commanded, and in some poynts, by her instructed, highly commended the *Prolocutors* Oration, and in the *Queenes* name graunted the leaue he had requested.

Which things being so on both sides dispatched, the *Queene* rose and retired herselfe into her private Chamber, put off her *Parliament* robes, and so attended vpon with the Nobilitie, came downe: and at the West side of the *Parliament* house, mounted into her chaire of Estate, a very royall one; and from thence with a great traine of Noblemen and honorable Ladies attending her (the Earle of *Kent* carrying the Sword before her) shee by Torch-light through the Parke, returned vnto her Pallace of *Saint James*, from whence she before came.

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¶ The manner of sitting in the Vpper house of Parliament, is in this Platforme following in the next Page, most truly and lively described.

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Procurator

Cancellarius

Procurator

Primoheriti

Cancellarij sedes eo.

Prolocutor

Mites Provinciarum & Burgenses, (quos vocant) utriusq; qui Cameram Parliamenti inferiorem constituunt. Prolocutorem conducentes.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The manner of restoring of renewed Nobilitie before lost.*



HE maners and formes of creating of Noblemen, with their Rites and Ceremonies, by *Charters and Rescripts*, or Writs of summons, wee haue before described. Now heere at length I haue thought it good, to ioyne heereunto the manner of restoring of dignities & honours before lost. Such as haue by their owne or others fault, lost their honorable stiles and titles, are wont to bee vnto the same by petitions, exhibited vnto the Kings in full Parliament restored: which I would say, to be a confirmation of renewed or restored Nobility. Whereof the request of *Margret*, daughter to *George Duke of Clarence*, in Parliament, in the first yeare of King *Henry* the eight, (to omit others) may serue for an example. Whereby she is restored vnto the Stile, State, Name, Title, Honour, and Dignity of the Countesse of *Sarisbury*, frō which *Edward* her Brother Earle therof, had by his guilt fallen. The Petition it selfe is longer then is necessary to be heere inserted. It is in English extant in the Records, & is shut vp with these words.

Which petition beeing read, and to the full vnderstood, and consented vnto by our said Lord the King, by the aduice and assent of the Lords spiritual! and temporall, and of the Cominalty in the afore-saide Parliament being: and also by the Authority of the same Parliament, it was vnto the same Petition thus answered.

*Soit faitz come il est desire.  
Beit done according as it is requested.*

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Customes.*



Haue said *Politicall Nobility*, still subiect vnto the dispositions of Princes, and change of time; to rest alwayes vpon the customes of Nations.

For first of all, it is manifest, dignities which were but the bare names of personal Offices, to haue at length become hereditary and successory: and yet with diuers Lawes circumscribed.

For although women in *Germany* born of Dukes, Earles, or Barons, are according to the manner of the Empire stiled and called Dutchesse, Countesses, and Baronesse; yet by the Law of the Imperiall grant, the Principalities themselues, with the Fees thereto belonging, descend vnto the Males onely, who sayling, they reuert vnto the Emperor. Which thing, the most great Dukedome *Carinthia*, proeeth to be so. For *Ericus* the last Duke beeing dead without heires male, the dukedome by the Lawes returned againe vnto the Empire: which *Lewes* the Emperour afterward bestowed vpon *Albert Duke of Austria*.

*Sigismund* the Emperor also, the right line of the dukes of *Saxony* being extinct, gaue the dukedome in the yeare 1423. vnto the Marquesses of *Misnia*; and the Marquisat of *Brandenburg*, vnto the *Burgraues* of *Noriburge*: whose successors euen now at this day enjoy the same.

The same we reade to haue been done in *Italy*: For *Wenceslaus* the Emperour in the yeare 1490. graced the *Vice-county* of *Millaine* with the Title of a Dukedome: but so as that for want of heires male, it should together with that Dignitie, bee made a part of the *Imperiall* patrimony. And in the remembrance of our Grandfathers, we reade of certayne (as well at *Naples* as else-where,) to haue beene by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth created; but yet alwayes with that common Lawe of Reuerfion, that so soone as the

last

last of the male descent should dye, they should be made Imperiall dignities. Yet heere by the way we must remember, that the Emperors did not at all times doe all things according to the vttermost of the greatnesse of their power; but sometime by a new beneficiary or bountifull covenant, being requested so to doe, suffered those titles of honours to descend vnto the daughters (no heires male remaining) mittigating the extremity of the law, by wise mens interpretations thereof, regard being still had, cyther of the Commonweale, or of some former agreement, or of the time present.

In France, *Rematus Choppinus*, disputing of the Royall Demaine, maketh a distinction of dignities. For he affirmeth all Military and masculine dignities, by the Law *Salique* to be annexed vnto the *Fees Royall*, neyther by any meanes, by meere Law, to come vnto the Women, althogh that the heyres male faile; except by speciall and expresse words it bee before otherwise provided: which hee saith, himselfe to haue seene and read. Yet in the

meane time he affirmeth, priuate *Principalities* not to be denied to women: which hee manifesteth by the example of the County of *Arminiack*, by a womans right deuolued vnto the King of *Nauarre*, as by many others also.

And to mee, now writing and running ouer some few things concerning our owne affaires, it fortun'd a certaine most ancient writing to come vnto my hands, taken out of the ancient *Saxon Lawes*, and lent me by *William Lambert*, a great admirer of reuerend antiquity, and a most earnest restorer thereof. Which writing, although that both in tongue and character it meerey sound *Saxon* like, yet seemeth it in some things, to sauour of the *Danish* maters, as also of the ancient lawes cyther of the *Britons* themselues, or of the *Saxons*, shaken and rent in sunder, vnder the rule and government of the *Danes*.

But the writing it selfe written in the *Saxon* tongue, translated into English, word for word, & into Latine, according vnto the true sense and meaning thereof, here following is contained.

hit wes hwilum on Englalazum ꝥ leod 7 lazum for bezepincðum, And þa  
It was sometime in the English Lawes, that the people and lawes were in reputation. And then  
*Tempus erat olim cum Anglicis, legibus & populo suis ubique constabat honor. Qui ex*

þær on leod witan weorðscipe weorðe, ælc be his mæde. Eopl 7 Ceopl Dezn 7  
were the wisest of the people worþship-worþy, each in his degree. Eople and Choyle, Theyn and  
*populo prudentissimi erant, in honore fuerunt suo quisq; ordine. Comes & Colonus. Thaynus &*  
*opulentus*  
*ignobiles.*

Deoden 7 And zif Ceopl zepeah ꝥ he hefde fullice fif hida agenslande, Cipican 7  
Undertheyn. And if a Choyle so thziued that he had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church &  
*Sub-thaynus. Quod si Colonus ita rē fecisset ut habuerit plenè quinq; hidas propria terra adē*  
*sacram*

Cýcanan, belhur 7 buþzgat jetl 7 rundepno te on Cýnzer healle, þonne þær he  
a Kitchen, a Belhouse and a gate, a seate and a severall office in the Kings Hall, then was he  
*Coquinam, Campanile, & Portam, locum itē et peculiare munus in Regius Aula, tunc erat de-*

þannon forð Dezen nizhtesweorðe; And zif Dezn zepeah ꝥ he þenode Cýnzer  
thenceforth the Theynes right worþy. And if a Theyne so thziued that he serued the King  
*inceps pari cum Thayno dignitate. Si uero Thaynus ita prouectus erat ut Regi seruiert,*

7 his padſterne pad on his hipeſe, 7 if he þonne hepeð Dezn ðe him filizðe  
and on his meſſage oz iourney rode in his houſhold. if he then had a Theyne that him followed,  
*Et nunciuſ eius eſſet & equitauerit in familiâ, ſi tunc etiâ Thaynum ſibi famulantē habuerit,*

ðe to Cynges ut fan Fif hida hapde 7 on Cynges retl hir hlaforð. ðenode 7  
whoe to the Kings expedition ſiue Hydes had, and in the Kings Wallace his Lozd ſerued, and  
*qui ad Regiam expeditionem 5 hydas habuerit, eiufq̄, in Regia aula Domino ſeruerit, terque*

ðriþa mid hir æpendgefora to Cynges he moſt riððan mid hir foraðe hir hlaforð  
thrice with his errande had gone to the King, he might afterward with his foze Dath his Lozdes  
*eius nunciuſ ad Regem uenerit, hic deinceps data fidelitate Domini perſonâ ſuſtinere poterat*

applan at inſpican neoda; And þif Dezn geðeah þ he peande to Eople þonne þæt he  
part play at any néde. And if a Theyne ſo thriued that he became an Earle, then was he thence-  
*ſi opus fuiſſet. Quòd ſi Thaynus ita euectus erat ut Comes euuſerit pari erat deinceps*

riðð an Eople nihterpeorðe. And gif Warrene geðeah þ he ferde þriðe oſer  
forth an Earles right worthy. And if a Marchant ſo thriued, that hee paſſed thrice ouer the  
*Comite dignitate. Et ſi Mercator ita rem feciſſit, ut ter waſtum mare ſua peritiâ*

þio ða he hir azenum cnaſte, he pæl þonne riððan Dezne nihterpeorðe; And gif leon-  
wide ðea of his owne Craft, he was thenceforth the Theynes right worthy. And if a Schol-  
*traiccerit, pari tunc erat cum Thayno dignitate. Quòd ſi Literarum ſtudioſus litte-*

ner geðeah þuþhlare þ he had hepeð 7 þenode Xpe, he þæt þonne riððan made  
ler ſo thriued through learning, that he had degreé and ſerued Chriſt, he was thenceforth of dignity  
*ris progreſſum feciſſet, ut ordines habuerit & Chriſto inſeruerit, erat deinde uenerandum*

7 nuinde ſpa micelſepýrðe ſpa þæt to gebýreðe, buðon he forporhte þ he þæt had no  
and peace ſo much worthy as thereto belonged, unleſſe he forfeited ſo that he the uſe of his de-  
*& immunis quantum ad locum eius ſpectabat, niſi ita excidiſſet ut ſuo munere uti non*

te notian ne moſte;

greé ne might.

potuiſſet.

These ruines or rubbidge of antiquity, make shew of a perpetuity of Nobility, euen from the beginning of this Iland, but times are changed, and we in them also. For King *Edward the Confessor*, last of the *Saxon* blood, comming out of *Normandy*, bringing then in the Title of a Baron, the *Thaynes* from that time began to grow out of vse; so that at this day men remember not so much as the names of them. And at length, that name of Baronage began to be both in dignity and power so magnificent about the rest, as that in the name of the Baronage of England, all the Nobility of the Land seemed to be comprehended. As for Dukes, they were (as it were) fetcht from long exile, and againe renewed by King *Edward* the third. And Marqueesses & Vicounts, were altogether newly brought in by King *Richard* the second, and King *Henry* the sixt.

But our Kings descended of the *Norman* blood, together with the Crowne of the Kingdome, granted an hereditary & successory perpetuity vnto honourable titles, such I meane as are the Titles of Earldomes and Baronies) without any difference of sex at all. Which thing I thought good to make manifest, by the examples of the more ancient times. In the reckoning vp whereof, that I may the better acquit and discharge my selfe; in the very entrance of my speech, there be 3 things, whereof I would haue the Reader by the way, to be especially forewarned. First, concerning the disposition and inclination of our Kings, in the creating of the nobility. Secondly, of the custome of transferring of honours and dignities by Families. And thirdly, of the force of time, & the change and alteration of things. For why, our Kings (who only and alone, doe in their kingdome beare the absolute rule and sway) are with vs efficient causes of all *Politick Nobility*. The Titles of *Named Nobility*, by our custome, haue this naturall and common together with the Crowne it selfe, that the heyres male fayling, they deuolue vnto the Women, except in the first Charters it be by expresse words otherwise provided; and yet so, as that regard is alwayes to be had of the time, which is euery where wont to beare sway in the formality of things.

In this manner *William* the first, King and Conqueror, *Harold* being ouercome,

having obtained the Soueraignty, according to his pleasure bestowed dignities & honors vpon his companions and others, (viz.) some of them so annexed and conioyned vnto the Fees themselves, as that euen yet at this day, the possessors thereof, may seeme to be ennobled, euen with the possession of the places onely. As our Bishops at this day, as also certaine ecclesiasticall Abbots and Priors; who by reason of the Baronies ioynd vnto their Bishoppricks, enjoy the titles and preheminance of Barons in the highest assemblies of the kingdome in Parliament. Other some of the dignities and honors, he gaue and granted also, together with the lands and fees themselves. As he gaue to *Hugh Lupus* his kinsman and a *Norman*, the earldome of *Chester*. *Ad Conquirendum & tenendum sibi & heredibus, adeo liberè per gladium sicut ipse Rex tenuit Angliam per Coronam*. To conquer and hold it to him and his heyres, as freely by the Sword, as the King himselfe helde England by the Crowne. With the Earldome of *Richmond*, hee graced *Alanus Rufus*, his Nephew, and then Earle of *Britaine* in *France* and his heyres: *Ita liberè & honorificè vt eundem Edwinus Comes antea tenuerat*: so freely and honorably as Earle *Edwin* had before holden the same. And the Earldome of *Arundel*, which *Harold* possessed, he granted with a fee vnto *Roger* of *Montgomery*. The first two of which honors (the heyres male fayling) by women esfoones passed into other Families, but the latter Earldome, *Robert* the Sonne of *Roger* being attainted of treason, returned vnto King *Henry* the first, who gaue the same in dowry vnto *Queene Adeliza* his Wife.

The succeeding Kings more sparingly, bestowed such dignities to be holden of them in Fee, granting only for the better and more honourable maintenance of their stocke and honour, the third part of the Pleas of the County (as they tearme it) which they in their Charters called *Tertium Denarium*, or the third penny. So that hee which receiued the third penny of any Prouince, he the same man by the same ancient Law of succession, was called Earle of the same Prouince: and so by custome the women, the heyres male fayling.

The name of a Baron from whence and when it came in England.

Under. The things which be the rule in all things viz. Law, Custome, and Necessity.

And if any Earle or Baron dying without Sonnes, had many women his heires, howsoeuer order was, either by couenant, or by way of partition taken, concerning the Lands and possessions, according to the common Lawes of the kingdome, yet the dignity and honour, a thing of it selfe indiuisible, was still left to be disposed of, according to the Kings pleasure. Who in bestowing thereof, for the most part respected the prerogatiue of birth.

By which right, King *Henry* the third, after the death of *John* the Scot, dead without issue (other lands and reuennues being by agreement giuen vnto his three Sisters) vnitied the Earldome of *Chester*, with the honor thereof vnto the Crown. This is also manifest in the Earldome of *Arundell*: which (after *Robert* of *Bellisme*, Sonne to the aforesaid *Roger* of *Montgomery*, driuen out by *Henry* the first) King *Henry* the second bestowed vpon *William* of *Albinie*, Queene *Adeliza* his Mothers Husband, and by a new Charter, confirmed it in Fee, together with the inheritance to him and his heires, with the third penny of the Pleas of *Suffex*, whereof he created him Earle. But *Hugh* the great, Nephew of this *William* the first, being dead without issue, all the inheritance of the Earldome was diuided among his foure Sisters. Whose dignity and honour for all that, together with the Castle of *Arundel*, was by *Edward* the first, at length giuen to *Richard Fitz-Alan* (viz.) the Nephewes Sonne to *John Fitz-Alan* and *Isabell*, the second of the aforesaid Sisters.

Now let vs passe from *Henry* the third, vnto *Edward* the first his Sonne. When as for a time a great dissention was betwixt him and certaine of his Nobility (viz.) *Gilbert* of *Clare* Earle of *Hertford* and of *Glocester*: *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, earle of *Hereford* and *Suffex*, and Constable of England, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marshall of the kingdome, and that all those Noble-men, at length had lost their Earledomes and Offices, they being reconciled vnto the King, afterward by new Charters receiued the same againe in this manner.

The first of them, receiued the same vnto himselfe & *Ioane* the same kings daughter his second wife, for tearme of both their liues, and to the Children to bee by them two begotten (his two Daughters

by his first wife being excluded.) This *Ioane* (called *Ioane* of *Acon*) bare vnto her husband *Gilbert*, a Sonne called also *Gilbert*; but shee the second time, secretly married vnto one *Radulph*, of *Mont Hermeri* (without the King her Fathers knowledge) in her owne right, made also the same *Radulph* Earle so long as shee liued. But she at length being dead, *Gilbert* her sonne, by the aforesaid *Gilbert*, succeeded againe into the Earledome, *Radulph* his Father in Law being yet aliue. In the very same manner he restored the Earledoms and Office of Constableship vnto the aforesaid *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, vnto whom also he gaue in marriage *Elizabeth*, another of his Daughters, widdow to *John* Earle of *Holland*: and vnto the third, he restored the Earledome of *Norfolke*, and the office of the *Marescall*, with a yearely encrease of a thousand Markes; yet vpon condition, that the heires male of his body to be begotten, sayling, both of them should returne againe vnto the King. At length, this *Roger* dyed without issue, in the xxxv. yeare of him the said *Edward* the first viz. in the last yeare of his reigne: and King *Edward* his Son, the second of that name, both by a new Creation & Charter, gaue the Earledome and the Marshallship vnto *Thomas* of *Brotherton* his Brother, and his heyres male.

These things wee haue thus propounded, thereby to shew, how according to the diuers dispositions of Princes, & changes of times, it hath by little and little varied in the first bestowing of dignities and honours. Of which thing (that new Law) and to them of ancient time vnknowne, made by King *Edward* the first himselfe, seemeth afterward to haue beene of no small weight and moment, whereby, hee fauouring certaine priuate men, more carefull of their owne surname, then of their posterity, it was thought vnto him good, & so decreed, to make Fees to belong to men only. That law I say, which I would in Latine call *Gentilitium Municipale*, & which the Lawyers commonly call *Ius Talliatum*, and *Talliabile*: or the Law of cutting off: for that it cutteth off successions before generall, and restraineth them vnto the particular heyres of Families: which seemeth also to haue giuen an occasion of change in the giuing and bestowing of dignities and honors.

For

For euer since that time, in the creating of any new Earle, it is begunne to be altogether by expresse words in all Charters prouided, that it shall bee but for terme of life onely, or discend vnto the heires males alone, the Women being quite excluded. And this I need not by examples to prooue; for why, the thing it selfe prooueth the same. But the force and efficacie of this Lawe of *Entaile*, (or of cutting off) I haue thought good thus in few words to declare.

The Lands and Fees of the earledome of *Oxford* (*Robert Earle of Oxford* and *Duke of Ireland*, being condēned of treason) by that Law came to *Albericus Vere* vncle to *Robert*, who therefore in Parliament, requested of the King, the Title of the Earledome also, and obtayned the same. This is also most manifest, by the example of the Earledomes of *Arundell* and of *Surrey*, ioyned together in the family of *Fitz-Alan*. For *Edmund Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundell*, married the onely sister and heire of Earle *Richard*, and of her begot *Richard*, happy with his twice marriage. Vnto this *Richard*, the sonne of *Edmund*, and his heires male by *Alenor of Lancaster* (his second wife) begotten, and to be begotten, the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of *Arundell* were entailed in the one and twentieth yeare of *Edward* the third. And afterward (viz.) the same yere, Earle *John* his brother being dead without issue, enriched also with the encrease of the Earledome of *Surrey*, he was called Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey*. Of *Alenor Richard* begot a sonne, called *Richard*, at length Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey* also: and *John Fitz-Alan* his second sonne, in the right of his wife, called *Baron Maltreuers*, This *Richard* had *Thomas*, his onely Sonne, dead without issue; and foure Daughters his Coheires (viz.) *Elizabeth*, *Ioane*, *Margaret*, and *Alice*, who diuided the Earledome of *Surrey* amongst them. Howbeit the dignity therof was granted to *John Mowbray* duke of *Suffolke*, begotten of *Elizabeth* the eldest sister; who by the ancient custome of Succession challenged vnto himselfe the Earledome of *Arundell* also. But *John Baron of Maltreuers*, Nephew to the first *John Fitz-Alan*, and *Baron of Maltreuers*, by his sonne *John* opposed himselfe against this man, and withstood

him, challenging vnto himselfe the possession of that cattle and demaine of *Arundell*, as fallen vnto him by the good right of the Law of *Entaile*.

For *Thomas* the last Earle being dead without issue (as is afore-said, he alleaged the demaine of the Castle not to belong vnto the Sisters, but to discend vnto his heires male and kinsmen, of whom hee himselfe was nearest of kinne vnto the sayd Earle *Thomas*: of which Fee, seeing by Law he held the possession, he affirmed the Title of honour and dignitie more fitly to agree vnto himselfe then to lie in vaine, and to no purpose hidden in the Duke himselfe. Which thing, although hee could not obtayne, yet *John* his sonne, a most famous warriour, after the death of his Father, with the applause and good liking of all men, obtained by Acte of parliament, in the eleuenth yeare of King *Henry* the sixt. Of whom also, for his great deserts and most noble vertues, he was, the yeare after, rewarded with the dukedome of *Thurania* in *Fraunce*. And this *John*, both Earle and Duke, being dead, *Humphrey* his son, in short time after dead without issue (notwithstanding his sister) left the Earledome of *Arundell* entailed vnto *William* his vncle, in whom afterward it took such root, as that we haue seene it in the male line, to haue brought forth most famous and renowned Earles, euen vnto this our age.

And what wee haue sayd concerning Earles, the same be it said also of Barons created by Charters. But in Barons created by Rescripts or Writs of Summons yet resting vpon most auncient custome, not so.

For in them (one onely excepted, sent forth to *Henry Bromslet*, wherein it was prouided him, that same *Henry* and his heires male of his body lawfully begotten, only to be Barons of *Vesey*) women, the heires male failing, were not in ancient time forbidden or embarred, but that they might be accounted, and by name stiled honourable, with the præminence of the dignity and calling of Barons. And after they had borne a Childe, according to the auncient fauour of our Lawes, and the reuerend custome of the Kingdome, graced their husbands also with the same honour; & with the same by inheritance ennobled

ennobled their children; yea, euen without the possession of those places, from whence the names of such dignities and honours may seeme first to haue risen. For Fees and locall possessions, circumscribed by the Lawe, are translated and carried from one family to an other, and vsually enrich their Lords and owners the possessours thereof: but yet of themselues, neyther bring nor take away Nobilitie, either Datiue or Natiue. By Examples to manifest these things were but needelesse; for why, all the most auncient Baronies, and the more auncient sort of the Barons at this day, are in this poynt on my side, and giue voices with me. Now, if any man studious of these things, by chaunce meeting with some things of other nature, shall more curiously dispute against these matters, vnto him I would oppose, eyther the force of time, or the carelesnesse and lacke of looking vnto. But, Customes are still like themselues, neyther are we to detract from the authoritie of Kings, who although they haue such supereminent, and vnderminate prerogatiue, as that they may seeme sometimes to haue of fauour graunted, some things beside the Lawes; yet shall it not appeare them requested, to haue done, or yet suffered any thing to bee done, contrarie vnto the Customes of Stockes and Families. So they sometime not regarding the solemnities of Ceremonies and Charters, haue onely by their beκες (that I may so say) suffered dignities and honours to bee transferred, as in *Ranulph Blundenill*, Earle of *Chester*, and of *Lincolne* to bee seene. For the Earledome of *Chester*, he permitted after the manner, to discead to *John* the Scot his Nephew, by *Maud* the eldest of his Sisters. But the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (the King thereunto consenting) hee yet aliuie deliuered vnto *Hawisia* another of his Sisters, now married to *Robert Quincy*, by his deede, in the seuenteenth yeare of the reigne of King *Henrie* the thirde, in these words following.

**R** *Anulphus* Earle of *Lincolne*, vnto all men present, and to come, which shall see this present Writing, greeting. I would haue it to come vnto the generall knowledge of you all, mee to haue

giuen and graunted, and by this my present writing, to haue confirmed to the Lady *Hawisia* of *Quincy*, my most deare Sister, the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (viz.) as farre forth as it vnto mee belonged, so that she may thereof be Countesse. To haue and to hold the same of my Lord the King of *England*, and his heires, vnto the saide *Hawisia* and her heires, freely, quietly, fully, peaceably, and wholly by right of inheritance, with all the appuriances, and liberties vnto the aforesaide Earledome belonging. And that this present Writing may stand in force for euer, I haue thought it good to firme and strengthen the same, by the setting to of my Scale. These being witnesses.

*Hawisa* with this her brothers writing in this manner endowed, was forthwith Countesse of *Lincolne*, who yet liuing, presently gaue the same to *John Lacie* her sonne in lawe. So also I may not passe ouer *Hugh Courtney* the first of that family and name, in the time of King *Edward* the third: for he, when hee had for many yeares after the death of *Isabell de Fortibus* (whose sole heire hee was) quietly possessed the lands and Fees of the earledome of *Denshire*, without eyther the Title or Inuestiture of an Earle, and that at length contention arose betwixt him and the Kings officers of the Exchequer, for the repayment of the third penny, for that hee as yet vsed not the Stile of an Earle, hee hauing written Letters supplicatorie vnto the King, then busied in the warres in *Scotland*, receiued answer, That taking vnto himselfe the Name and Dignitie of an Earle, hee should cause himselfe, from that time forward, to bee named and called Earle of *Denshire*, in these words.

**T**He King to his welbeloued and faithfull, *Hugh* of *Courtney* the Elder, &c. Greeting, &c. Whereas you, as appeareth by your Petition exhibited before vs and our Councill, haue of long benee sued for the repayment of eighteene pounds, sixe shillings and eight pence, of the yearely Fee of the Earledome of *Denshire*, which *Isabell de Fortibus*, late Countesse of *Denshire*, whose heire you are, and the heires of her the said Countesse, and yours, Earles of *Denshire*, yearely

yearly received by the hands of the Sheriffes of that Countie that were for the time being, and which you likewise after the death of the aforesaid Countesse, as her heire for a certaine time received: And for that they have beene from you detained, because you have in no wise named and stiled your selfe an Earle: as by the Certificate of the Treasurer, and of the Barons of our Exchequer, by our commandement made into our Chancerie, more at large doth appeare. Wee, for that the inheritance which was the aforesaid Countesses, and the inheritance of her Predecessours, and yours, the Earles of *Denshire*; vnto you descended by hereditary right, and that you at this present hold the same inheritance; willing in this part to provide, as well for our owne Dignitie, and the equitie of our Kingdome, as for your honour: will and commaund you, in requesting you, that in taking vnto you the name and honour of an Earle, you from hencefoorth cause your selfe to be called Earle of *Denshire*, knowing that wee will make the aforesaid Fee to be yearly payed vnto you, as it hath beene wont to be payed vnto the Earles of *Denshire* your Predecessours. Witnesse the King at *New-castle vpon Tyne*, the two and twentieth day of February, & in the ninth yeare of our reigne.

Last of all, we haue seene this same not long since, in *Phillip Howard* confirmed. For hee, after the most auncient right of the Earledome of *Arundell*, tooke vnto himselfe the Title of *Arundell*, the *Queene* onely consenting thereunto, and approving the same; no forme of Charter repeated, or of any forme of his Creation being thereunto ioyned.

Hitherto it seemeth also to appertaine, that our most auncient Earles were of auncient time wont (according to the diuersitie of the places) where they for the most part chose to dwell, to be called by diuerse Titles of Dignities. For *Reynold* who was Earle of *Cornewall*, for his continuall dwelling at *Bristow*, was oftentimes called Earle of *Bristow*.

*Robert of Ferrars* the younger, Earle of *Ferrars* in *Normandie*, and of *Derbie* in *England*, sometime wrote himselfe Earle

of *Tutbury*, a Castle (videlicet) in the Borders of *Stafford-shire* built by his Progenitours. *Baldwine* and *Richard* of *Riuers*, were sometime called Earles of *Exceter*, and sometimes Lordes of the *Ile of Wight*, for their continuall dwelling in the same places; when as yet in the meane time, they were both Earles of *Denshire*. *William* also of *Albinie*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Sussex*, the first of that name, in the Letters of agreement betwixt king *Stephen* and king *Henrie* the second, set himselfe thereto a Witnes, by the name of *William* Earle of *Cicester*, for that he there oftentimes dwelt. Adde heereunto also if you please, the Earle of *Penbrooke* to haue beene called the Earle of *Strigulia*, of the Castle of *Strigulia*, built by *William Fitz-Osborne* Earle of *Hereford*, and the Seate of the Earles of *Penbrooke*.

These things (I say) were of olde and in auncient time, but now at this day, not so. For such is the force of time, and change in altering of the forms of things, as that it eating out of the olde, bringeth still in new. So vnto Earles, whom we said in auncient time to haue beene rewarded with the third penny of the Prouince whereof they were earles, to maintaine their Honour and Dignitie, a certaine summe of mony is at this day yearly payed them out of the Exchequer, and they enjoy the Titles of such places, as wherein they haue not any iurisdiction, administration, or profite at all. Barons also, who as the Fathers and Senators in auncient time among the Romans, were chosen by their *Sestertia*; were in like manner wont to be esteemed and valued by Knights Fees (for why, hee which had and possessed thirteene Knights fees, and a little more, was then to be accounted among the Barons) are now, more sildome times chosen for their vertue, their great wealth, and large possessions.

Neither is there any let, but that a man may hold and still retaine, the name and Title of a Barony, the head of which Barony (as they tearme it) he hath afterward sold or alienated to some other common person.

In brieft, our kings royall maiesty is alwayes like it selfe, constant, and the same; which hauing regard to the vertue, stock, wealth,

wealth, and substance of any man (whereby hee may with his Councillor seruice, profit the Common-weale) may in euery place freely giue and bestow Dignities and Honours, sometime chusing moe Barons then one, out of one & the same family, the custome of the succession of the former and more auncient Baron, beeing still kept whole, and not in anie hurt: as we see, *Edward* the sixt wisely to haue done in the familie of the *Willoughbies*; which family (that for breuitie sake I should not reckon vp moe) beside the most auncient Barony of the *Willoughbies* of *Eresby*, brought forth another Barony also of *Parham*. Wherefore wee acknowledge our Kings to bee the Fountaines of Politicall Nobilitie, and vnto whom we may with thankes, referre all the degrees of Honours and Dignities; wherefore I may not, without cause, seeme to reioyce on the behalfe of our Nobilitie of *Britaine*, which hath alwaies so had Kings themselues, Authours, Patrons, Governours, and Defendours thereof, that when Lands, Fees, and Possessions, subiect to Couenants or agreements, are still tossed and turmoyled with the stormes of the Iudiciail Courts, and of the Common Lawe; it is onelie vnto the Kings themselues beholden, and resteth vpon heroicall orders and institutions, proper and familiar vnto it selfe. So that

*Per titulos numerentur aui, sempérq; renata  
Nobilitate virèi, & prolem fata sequantur:  
Continuum propriâ seruantia lege tenorem.*

By Titles great, mens Auncestors  
were knowne still as they came,  
And so their owne posteritie,  
do still enioy the same;  
And flourish long without decay,  
with euerlasting fame.

For the Noble-men, for deciding of sutes concerning their Honours, and for the giuing vnto euery man that which of right belongeth vnto his Farme and Dignitie, haue their Tribunall or proper Martiail Court, which they are wont to call, The Court of *Chiuallry*: whereof, when wee shall come vnto the Order of Knight-hood, wee shall say somewhat more.

The Court of  
Chiuallric.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Noblemen of the lesser sort.*



He named Noble men which our Country of England beareth, and in honour excelling, I haue with as much breuitie as I could, declared, and in painting of it forth, proposed it vnto the eye: with what Lawes also they are created, and with what orders of successions they after our manner liue, I haue in few wordes briefly shewed. Now if I had vnto these also ioyned the Fellowes of the Order of the Garter, I might well seeme to haue ended this Treatise, beeing about to haue written nothing at all, of those whom wee call *Noble-men of the lesser sort*, or Vnnamed: but the earnest and continual calling vpon of certaine of my friends, ouercame mee. Wherefore, seeing that it is neither altogether strange from our purpose, and may be done without straining of the Methode of that I haue taken in hand, both the place, and the requests of my friends haue inuited mee by the way to ioyne heereunto these few things heereafter following:

The Noblemen therefore of the lesser sort, are in three sorts or rankes diuidedly comprehended.

The first ranke or order, is of Knights: The second is of Esquires: The third, of them we call onely by the name of Gentlemen.

Those whom the Frenchmen simplicie call *Gentilzhommes*, and wee in English Gentlemen, wee thus distinguish into three sorts:

First, hee which deriueth his Stocke with Armes from his Auncestors, is by bloud a Gentleman.

Secondly, hee which beareth Armes onely, although he be not yet by Stocke a Gentleman, is yet called a Gentleman, and giueth Gentry vnto his sonnes.

Third-

Three degrees or ranks of Noble or Gentle of the lesser sort.

Plaine Gentlemen, without anie other addition.

Thirdly, hee which is of reputation onely for his learning, or for some Office or function which hee beareth, hee onely for himselfe, is in common estimation accounted a Gentleman; although he had a common person to his Father, and leaue his Sonnes common persons also.

An Esquire, who sometime is also called *Scutifer*, or a *Shield-bearer*, and in ancient time *Homo ad Arma* (or a Man at Armes) in French *Escuire*, and in English a *Squire*, or an *Esquire*, is next vnto a Knight: as hee who in ancient time following a Knight, by his side bare his Armes, as a most faithfull Fellow-souldier with him, From whence perhaps, they whom wee at this day in our Kings houses, account Squires for the bodie, seeme to haue taken their beginning. But that which at first was by institution a militarie Office, is now become a degree of dignitie: whereof, Antiquitie it selfe, and the custome of our Kingdome hath brought forth vnto vs foure kinds.

The first doth comprehend all the younger sonnes of Barons, and of other Noble-men, and their first begotten Sonnes also; who together with their being first borne, make the dignitie of Esquireship successorie, so long as their issue male faileth not.

Another kinde (and that most ancient) is of them, which are borne the eldest Sonnes of Knights, and their eldest Sonnes also.

The third is of them, which of ancient time graced with Armes belonging vnto their Stocke and Family, are the first begotten and chiefe of their house and stocke. And these by a certayne prerogatiue of being the eldest or first born, goe before all the rest of the Gentlemen of the same Family aside descended, and are accounted Esquires.

The fourth kind respecteth the common-weale, and the Kings house. For they which beare publique Offices in the Common-weale, are of Gentlemen in reputation made Esquires. Such as are the Iudges, the Kings Attorney, and Prolocutor: the Sergeants at Law, and other Officers of like sort belonging vnto the Exchequer.

Vnto these also wee may especially ioyne, if not preferre, such as proceede

Doctors of Diuinitie, or otherwise in other professions in the Vniuersities. For Doctorship is a Title of Dignitie more noble, then they which are Gentlemen but by their stocke onely: vnto whom also after our manner, in the Kings Commissions concerning the publike affaires, so much præminence is giuen, as that they may well seeme in dignitie, to bee compared with Knights.

In the Kings house also, the Apparitors, commonly called Sergeants at Armes, Heralds, and all seruing in the Kings Court, whom for the præminence of their Offices, we also call Sergeants, are made Esquiers with chaines, (viz.) with a Collar made of Siluer and blacke S S put about their neckes by the Kings themselues.

Knights (in French called *Cheualiers*) are with vs called either Knights Bannerets, Knights of the Bath, or Knights Batchellors.

Other there be of the Garter also, but of another sort, then that they are to be comprehended in a kind, to be compared with these as in due place is to be shewed.

¶ *Banneret* is a degree of Honour, esteemed the last amongst the greatest (I meane *Nobilium maiorum*) or the first with those of the second ranke. Three formes of creations I haue obserued, as sometimes vnder the Royall Stander displayed: the person hauing the lower end of his Pennon cut off into a square (such as Barons vse) receiueth that Honour: Or as *Edward* the third enioyned *William de la Poole* by Patten, *Vt statum & honorem teneret & contineret Banneretti, To him and to his heires*: Or as *Nicholaus de Grey* was declared, by Writ of King *Edward* the second, to be, *De familia Regis tanquam Bannerettus*; thereby meaning, both Precedencie and Sallary accordingly.

The two other Knight-hoods *Batchellors*, and of the *Bath*, admit this difference betweene them, that to the one from electiue grace of the Soueraigne (to attend himselfe or Quene in their inaugurations, or his Childrens creations) there is annexed a Ministeriall ductie to their knightly dignities; the other, nothing being left but their bare Stile and proper Merite; and therefore they are eyther in the Record, mentioned by none o-

Knights.

Bannerets

Sir Rob. Cott.

Kol. Franc. 13.  
Ed. 3.

Ex comp. Garderob. 9. Ed. 2.

ther

*Ingulphus Croi-  
landensis Kol.  
Clauſ. 2. Hen. 2.*

ther name then *Milites ſimplici*, yet had in former ages (as well as other degrees of honour) many worthy and religious ceremonies, as alſo peculiar robes at their Creations (as appeareth copiouſly both in ſtory and record.) But they by iniury of times, and promiſcuous admiſſions (which ſomewhat declined their reputation) had bene fully loſt, had not the other preſerued the memory and uſe of ſuch venerable order.

As for right of precedency betweene theſe two; or whether ſuch temporall ſeruiſe enlarged to the one more then the other, inueſteth a perpetuall priority or no, I leane it to the diſcuſſion of thoſe, to whom in due of place, and depth of Iudgment, it properly belongeth.

No man is borne a Knight, but men vpon their knees receiue that Dignity (which is not but together with life loſt, or taken away) of the King, or his Lieutenant generall; hauing regard eyther to his ſtocke, his vertue, or his fortune, or his actes done at home or abroad; lightly ſtriking him that is ſo to be created, vpon the ſhoulder with a drawne Sword. The Prince ſpeaking theſe words in *French*; *Soyes bon Cheualier d'orſenauant au nom de Dieu*: (Bee from hence-forth a good Knight, in the name of God.) And they which are ſo made Knights, hauing kiſſed the Sword, and this word (*Sir*) being added vnto their names, for tearme of their liues, are euery where (after the French manner in calling of their Kings) diſtinguiſhed from other men; *Sir Iohn Norris*, *Sir Francis Drake*. A dignity indeede of it ſelfe ſo ſound, apparant, & ful of honor, as that it euery where beſemeth moſt great Dukes and Earles: and which euen Kings theſelues haue not diſdained kindly to thanke one another for. For ſo we reade our King *Henry* the ſecond of that name, to haue made *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, Knight at *Turwin* in *France*, for his good ſeruiſe at *Tholouſe*, in the yeare 1159. And *Alexander*, the Sonne of *William* King of the *Scots*, being not 14. years old, to haue receiued the order of knight-hood in *England*, in the yeare 1212. *Hugh Vere* reſtored vnto the Earledome of *Oxford*, was by the King made Knight. *Henry* of *Lacy* alſo in the right of his Wife, and by the reſignation of his Mother in law, promoted to be Earle of *Lincolne*, recei-

ued the third penny of his Earledome from the time he was made knight, about ten yeares more or leſſe before hee was created Earle. Beſide that, the ancient Register of the Church of *Abingdon* thus reporteth.

*Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, with his mother *Ermentrude*, lodged in the Towne of *Abingdon*; *Farritus* the Abbot, and the Counteſſe his Mother, earneſtly calling vpon him, confirmed for wel done, what-foeuer was done concerning the Land of *Wimondiſleie*, and with his writing ſtrengthened the ſame. Which writing, he appointed to bee ſealed with his Mothers Seale, for he being not yet knighted; all the Letters by him any whether directed, were cloſed with his Mothers Seale. And for this cauſe it is, that it is noted, the writing to be ſigned rather with the ſeale of the Counteſſe, then of the Earle himſelf. Of which writing, this is the forme; *Richardus Comes Ceſtria, & Ermentrudis Comitiffa Mater eius, Nigillo de Oylly, &c.* *Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Ermentrudis* the Counteſſe, his Mother, to *Nigill* of *Oylly, &c.*

This ſame thing doe alſo the ancient formes of the Parliament writs teſtifie. For it is manifeſt, Kings haue bene wont to ſummon the Nobility of the kingdom vnto their Parliaments. *Ioanni Marchioni de Monteacuto* Cheualier (vnto *Iohn Marqueſſe* of *Montacute* Knight: And *Henricus vi. Henrico Vicecomiti Bourchier Militi* (*Henry* the vi. vnto *Henry* Viſcount *Bourchier* Knight.) 1. *Edward* 4. &c. Which manner of calling, although it hath begun of long to grow out of uſe in others of the Nobility, yet eyther in calling out of new Barons, or in ſummoning of the olde, it is ſtill right ſeriously obſerued: as *Gulielmo Brooke de Cobham* Cheualier (vnto *William Brooke* of *Cobham* knight.) And *Gulielmo Cecill de Burghley Militi* (to *William Cecill* of *Burghley* knight) when as they both were commonly knowne and called Barons or Lords of *Cobham*, & of *Burghley*: ſo that a man would almoſt ſay, the order of knights to bee the Seminary of the Baronage of *England*.

I let paſſe in the meane time, with how great ſolemnity of the kingdom, and charges of the Subiects, Kings in ancient time were wont to conferre and beſtow this Military honour and dignity vpon their

their eldest Sonnes, (*viz.*) the Princes of *Wales*, and with what luster and magnificence, Emperours and Kings ioyned in league together, (by a certaine mutuall and as it were natural power of monarks among themselves, in bestowing Nobility according to the Lawe of Nations) haue dismissed one anothers Subiects & Ambassadors, graced with this Dignitie. I list onely heereunto to ioyne an auncient forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, out of an old Chronicle of a certayne namelesse writer; *Anno* (saith he) 1316. *Dominus Richardus de Rodney factus fuit Miles apud Keynsham die translationis Sancti Thomae Martyris in presentia domini Almarici Comitis de Penbroke, qui cinxit eum gladio, & Dominus Mauritius de Barkley super pedem dextrum posuit unum calcar: & Dominus Bartholomeus de Badelismere (Baro vterque) supposuit aliud super pedem sinistrum in Aula, & hoc facto, recessit cum honore.* In the yeare 1316. Lord Richard of Rodney, was made Knight at Keynsham, vpon the day of the translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr, in the presence of *Amaricus* Earle of Penbrooke, who girt him with the Sword: and the Lord Maurice of Barkley put one Spurre on his right foot, and the Lord Bartholomew of Badelismere (both of them Barons) put the other Spurre vpon his left foot in the Hall; and this done, he with honour departed. But now according to the maner of the time, we liue after another fashion; and in this, as in other things, the change and alteration of things hath taught vs, what an alteration of things the long continuance of time is able to make. So in thinking of the beginning of Knights, and as well of the antiquitie of the Order of Knighthood, as of the preheminance thereof aboue other dignities and honours, I can scarce resolue my selfe, but that this name of olde should seeme to make shew vnto me of some (I wot not what) magnificent and maiesticall things containd in the same, and more excellent then Nobility it selfe: and mounting (as it were) into the royall Throanes, sitteth as it were a Iudge in the Iudgement seate, and the Protectour of all ciuill Nobility. For the desciding of sutes concerning honours, and for the preservation vnto euery man the right of his fame or dignity, the natu-

rall tribunall Seate or Court for the Nobilitie, is euery where called *Militaris*, that is to say, the Martiall or Militarie Court, and commonly, the Court of Chivalrie: the forme whereof with vs is this. The appoynted place for the holding thereof, is the Kings Hall: wherein the Constable of the Kingdome, and the Marshall of *England* sit as Iudges, where any Plaintife, either in case of dignities or of Armes, or of any other sute or controuersie concerning Nobility and Honour, may sue the Defendant. But the forme wherein the Constable of *England* was wont to call the Nobility and Gentry vnto his Court or Iudgement seate, was on this sort:

*Iehan filz du Roy Constable d'Angleterre, &c.*

Iohn the Kings Sonne, Constable of *England*, and Warden of the East-marches toward *Scotland*, to our welbeloued Cozin, Sir Rafe Neuile, Earle of *Westmerland*, and Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge you, that you cause to come and appeare before vs at *Westminster*, the ninth day of May next comming, before Mounseur Edward Hastings, to answer to Mounseur Reynold Lord of Grey, and of Rutheyn, concerning that which he shall then charge him with in our court of Cheualry, concerning the full vsing and bearing of his Armes, and to that the Lord Grey saith, and as it shall be more fully declared at the same day; and further to doe and receiue that which the Lawe and the custome of our said Court shall in this part require. Returning before vs at the aforesaid day with this our Precept, al that you shall therein haue done. Giuen at *Westminster* vnder the Seale of our Office, the first day of May, in the reigne of my most dread Lord and Father King Henry the fourth, after the Conquest, the eight.

*Iehan filz, frere, e Vncle au Roys, Duc de Bedford, &c.*

Iohn, Sonne, Brother, and Vncle to Kings, Duke of *Bedford* and *Amou*, Earl of *Richmond*, and of *Kendall*, and Constable of *England*, vnto our welbeloued Cozin, Iohn duke of *Northfolke*, Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge

charge you, that you cause to be arrested, and to come before vs or our Lieutenant at *Westminster*, vpon the 15. of *S. Hllarie* next comming, *William Clopton* of the Countie of *Suffolke* Esquire, then to answeare before vs or our Lieutenant in the Court of Chivalrie, to *Robert Eland* of the County of *Lincolne* esquire, to that which he the said *Robert* shal then charge him with by the way of Arms, as hauing set and put to the Seale of his Armes to a false and forged writing, done to the hurt and danger of him the said *Robert* an hundred pounds, and more then that, as he saith. Returning before vs at the sayd day, with this our *Mandate*, all that which you shall haue therein done. Giuen vnder the Seale of our Office, the 23. day of Nouember, in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of our Lord the King, & since the Conquest of *England*, the hundred.

The forme of the prosecuting of the action, is on both sides tryed, by the looking into of Letters Patents, auncient Charters, and of Euidences (as they tearme them) and by Witnesses. All things are (for the most part) acted by their Aduocates, in Writings, in Latine or in French. At length the definitive Sentence, according vnto equitie and right, and our owne heroycall custome, and not after any strange maner, sealed with the publike Seale of the Office is openly read, and afterward is deliuered to the Earle Marshall, to be put into execution. If any thing chance to be vnprovidedly done, or vnadvisedly in the sute ouer-slipped on eyther part, it is lawful for them to appeale vnto the king, who is wont to referre the whole matter vnto the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, vnto the learned Lawyers, and others of most vpright life, to be diligently againe examined & expounded. And euen in this very manner it was argued, adiudged, and appealed, betwixt *Reynold* Baron *Gray* of *Ruthen*, and *Edward Hastings* Knight, concerning the Armes of the *Hastings*, in the reigne of King *Henry* the third. Likewise, betwixt the Barons of *Louell* and *Morley*, for the Armes of the familie of *Burnell*. And *Richard Scroope* Plaintife, against *Robert Grosuenour* Defendant, in an Action of Armes in the ninth yeare of the reigne

of King *Richard* the second.

But this I leaue to the iudicious labor of that noble person and excellent indgement, who now can onely repaire the lamented ruines of that Iurisdiction, hauing bequeathed vnto him the *Genius* of those his renowned Auncestours, that so many yeares filled vp with famous memory, the Iudgement Seate of this Royall Court, referring the eye of further search, eyther to the Kings Records, or to those Registers of Armes and Honor whome it concerneth most to seeke out such Monuments with the Genealogies of Families, and the Armes of Stockes and Kindreds to distinguish the same, to write things done, and to register them vp in Bookes, for the perpetuall remembrance thereof. And who themselves acknowledging the high Constable, and the Earle Marshall of *England* for their Patrons, receiue yearly pensions from the Kings. and are by them with notable priuiledges rewarded.

Heere at length I might haue a large occasion to speake of the solemne Ceremonies of the Heralds; of their institution, immunities (both in time of peace and warre) and of the auncient reputation had of them amongst all Nations: if it were lawfull for mee to roame at large beyond the breuitie I haue vnto my selfe propounded, and whom therefore I had purposed in silence to haue passed ouer. But, lest I writing of so many degrees of out Noblemen, and so great things concerning Politicall Nobility, (in leauing to be spokesmen for themselves) I might seeme to haue spoken vnadvisedly, and not indifferently, I thought it good briefly, and by the way, to touch these things concerning Heralds. They were in auncient time *Feriales*, or as Messengers of the publique faith and credit. But since the time Princes and Monarks, for dispatch of their affaires, first began to haue their Ambassadors stil resident one of them with another, the reputation of Heralds is so impaired, as that they euerie where liue as men neglected, & quite ouerthrowne. Yet what our Heraldes be, and in what houses, and vnder what Lawes they (by the fanour of our Kings) together with vs in safety dwell, I will heere, as it were, in a short Inuentorie, propound vnto the eye of the Reader.

Heraldes.

The

Three Kinges, which of their offices are called

Garter, who goeth first, as cheefe Ringleader of the all: not so much for the antiquity of his creation (for he was first created by King Henry the fift) as for the super-eminence of the Order of the Garter.

Clarentius. } Both of the ordained by K. Edward the 3. and are called Norroy. } Prouinciall kings of Armes.

The Collegiate society of Herald, consisteth of xiiij persons, (viz:) of

Sixe Heraldes, which by the names of their additions are called,

- Somer set. Chester. Windesor. Richemond. Lancaster. Yorke.

Foure Pursuiantes, which in Heraldrie you may call learners and followers, vnto whom other Names are giuen also, (viz:)

- Rougedragon. Portcullis. Blem-mantell. Rouge croix.

All those by the names of Kings, Herald, and Pursuiants, are by the Kings themselues immediatelic, or by the Constable of the kingdome, or the Marshall with the Kings Authority, crowned with Crownes, graced with Collars, attired with their rich Coates, named by their names of addition, and with certaine appointed Ceremonies created, receiue their yearely stipends out of the Kings Exchequer, to consult and meete together, about Armes and Authenticall Monuments, and helping and proficing vnto the Art of Heraldry. And they by the Kings Charter Incorporate, are endowed with a publike house in London, the cheefe City of the Kingdome: where (besides the Immunities and Priuiledges whereby they liue) they are with the preheminences of their degrees and functions, one from another distinguished.

Are set to pre-  
serue the digni-  
ty and reputa-  
tion of their so-  
ciety, and go-  
uerne the rest,  
as for example.

For some  
of them.

*Garter*, King of Armes, for the superminent Digni-  
ty of the Garter, is of the cheefe; whose peculiar  
Office it is, with all dutifull seruice to attend vpon  
the Knights of that order. To aduertise them which  
are chosen of their new election, to call them to bee  
enstalled at *Windsor*, and to cause their Armes to be  
hanged vp vpon their seates. At their burials, to haue  
a care of their Funerall Rites & Ceremonies. Where-  
fore, (beside the yearely wages giuen him by the  
Knights) he is by the King himselfe rewarded with a  
Salary double to the rest. In every new Emperour,  
King, Prince, Duke, Marquesse, Earle, Vicount, Ba-  
ron, or Knight, to be into this order enstaule, hee  
challengeth of him the vppermost Garment, which  
he on that day weareth. He also sheweth vnto every  
new Baron, called vnto the Parliament, the place  
wherein he is to sit among his Peeres, and ordereth  
other things concerning their order.

*Clarentius*, who is  
King of Armes of  
al the East, West,  
& South Prouin-  
ces of *England*, on  
this side of the Ri-  
uer of *Trent*.

*Norroy*, who is al-  
so acknowledged  
for king of Arms  
through the north  
part of the king-  
dom, beyond the  
Riuer of *Trent*.

These two haue by char-  
ter power to visit the No-  
blemens Families, to set  
downe their Pedegrees, to  
distinguish their armes, &  
in the open Market-place,  
to reprove such as falsely  
take vpon the Nobility or  
Gentry. And to order eue-  
ry Mans Exequies & Fu-  
nerals, according to their  
Dignity, & to appoint vn-  
to them their Armes or  
Ensignes, &c. And in all  
things govern the *Heralds*  
as well as *Garter*.

Other some  
are pointed  
to obey (viz.)

*Heralds and*  
*Pursuivants*

Who in all things endeuer themselues for  
the defence of their society, or to their own  
lawfull profite in priuate, and willingly de-  
pend of the commandements of the kings

And these onely are the Kings He-  
ralds, with vs so called, for that they re-  
ceiue wages of the kings, and with publike  
seruice, serue all the Nobility of the king-  
dome.

Howbeit, Noble-men and Peeres of  
this Land, in ancient time had their He-  
ralds peculiar vnto themselues. For  
*Chester* the Herald, and *Falco* the Pur-

suiuant, liued at the commaund of the  
Prince of Wales, and serued him. *Hum-  
frey*, Duke of *Glocester*, and Earle of  
*Penbroke*, had the Herald *Penbroke* his  
household Seruant.

*Richard* also, Duke of *Glocester*, hauing  
now obtayned the kingdom, wold needs  
haue his Herald *Glocester*, to bee called  
King of Armes for all Wales. *Charles*  
*Brandon*

*Brandon Duke of Suffolke*, retained *Suffolke Herald*, and *Marlcon* the Pursuiuant, his Seruants. The Marquesse of *Dorchester*, kept *Groby* the Herald. The Earle of *Northumberland* kept *Northumberland* the Herald, and *Esperance* the Pursuiuant. *Arthur Plantaginet, Vicount L'isle*, took vnto himselfe *L'isle* the Pursuiuant: and Baron *Hastings*, *Hasting* the Pursuiuant. These it pleased me to haue out of many others rehearsed, who serued Noblemen in their peculiar and domesticall seruices. But the condition of the Seruant is made better, by the dignity of his Lord and Master, so these forenamed Heralds liued not with like authority or priuiledges as with the Kings.

So I breefely touch all things, for the beautifying and setting forth of Politicall Nobility: Now at length (by the Heralds leaue) let it bee lawfull for mee to ioyne heereunto and insert some few things concerning Armes, whereby Noblemen are wont to be knowne from the vulgar sort, and to be among themselves by families diuided, being wont in ancient time to be more sparingly bestowed, then in this our age, and onely vpon such, as had with their good seruice deserued them.

But such kinde of Armes seeme not to haue taken beginning, but of such military rewards, as were wont to be giuen vnto well deseruing men, in the Roman Common-weale. For the *Romanes*, alwayes most strived for the obtayning of honor and glory, for the nourishing whereof, they with ornaments and rewards, laboured to stirre vp mens mindes, for the performance of noble actions, both at home and abroad. In warres flourished Military giufts, *Tropheis*, *Triumphall Arches*, *Letters Laureat*, &c. In time of peace, at home were shewed honourable Titles, Images, Statues, and such like. Things indeed wisely at first deuised, and afterward so together with the Empire encreased, that how many, and what manner of Crowns, Bracelets, Chaines, and Crests, euery mā had deserued; what manner of trappings, Speares, Darts, or Belts, they had gotten: these they were wont in their expeditions in the wars, to beare in their Targets and Bucklers, or set vpon their Helmets; and againe, returning home, in time of peace, euery good Seruitor did hang them vp in their houses; and those Ornaments they

by the name of Armes, were wont by long order of succession, to deliuer ouer vnto their posterity: and heereof those armes of Families, heere and there dispersedly by the Nobility, vsed in diuers kingdomes, were (if it please you so to thinke) of the *Germanes* called *Wapen*, in our language *Armes*, and in Latine *Arma*, for that with them the enemies were repulsed.

These things the ancient *Roman Coynes* declare, and the credible ancient *Romaine Writers*; the vse whereof, so at length preuailed in kingdomes, that as names distinguished men from men, even so Armes diuided Nations from Nations, and Families from Families: first granted by Kings themselves, but afterward by the Heralds (Kings of Armes) by a Royall transmissiue power granted vnto them, they euery where especially seruing the Politicall Nobility, vnto whom I willingly leaue these things. And therefore the name and office of the Heralds was euery where notable, and well befeeming an honest man; whom they of ancient time wer wont to call the *Fosterers of Politicall Nobility*, the Arbiters of Equity, the Protectors of Verity, the Ambassadors of Princes, and the Writers of mens noble actes.

But woe is me, that I, carried with a certaine winde of this Method, haue thus euen against my will landed vpon our Heralds, whom (I know not by what destiny) euery man sigheth and mourneth to see them working their owne destruction. Although indeed it be not so much to be maruailed at, seeing that the cause is right manifest (for lawfull bee it for mee to say the truth, which the thing it selfe speketh) (viz.) the want of the *Martiall Court*, or *Court of Chiuallry*, wherof I but now spake. For why, Nobility it selfe beeing oftentimes hurt or impaired, the Heralds themselves therewith languish also.

And yet for all that, heroycall truth wā-teth not her Patrones, euen amongst the most Noble and reuerend Antiquity, although as it were banished, and almost a stranger in her owne house, hath together with the Muses, her most louing, kinde and earnest Patrones, and who were not euen vnto my selfe also wanting in the perfecting of these my endeours & purposes.

*These are the Orders and Degrees, of both our sorts of Nobility, Named and Vnnamed. Now into what ranks they are among themselues diuided, and what honour they owe one of them vnto another (by a certaine right of precedence) receiue heere in brieve.*

- 1 THE Kings Maiesty.
- 2 The Prince of Wales.
- 3 Dukes descended of the Royall blood.
- 4 Dukes not descended of Royall blood.
- 5 Dukes eldest Sonnes descended of the Royall blood.
- 6 Marquesses.
- 7 Dukes eldest Sonnes.
- 8 Earles.
- 9 Marquesses eldest Sonnes.
- 10 Dukes younger Sonnes of the blood Royall.
- 11 Dukes second Sonnes.
- 12 Vicounts.
- 13 Earles eldest Sonnes.
- 14 Marquesses second Sonnes.
- 15 Barons.
- 16 Vicounts eldest Sonnes.
- 17 Earles second Sonnes.
- 18 Barons eldest Sonnes.
- 19 Knights Bannarets.
- 20 Vicounts second Sonnes.
- 21 Barons second Sonnes.
- 22 Knights Batchellors.
- 23 Esquires for the body.
- 24 Knights Bannarets eldest Sonnes.
- 25 Knights Batchellors eldest Sonnes.
- 26 Esquires.
- 27 Gentlemen.

The Sonnes of Knights, which are of the Kings priuy Councell, for the time, hold the places which their Fathers being knighted, were knowne to hold, beneath Barons Sonnes. But the antiquity of the creation of euery Knight is to be regarded: by which reasons, the Sonnes of the elder Knights, goe before the Sonnes of them that were more later created. Amongst Esquires, the antiquity of their Families, their wealth, and publike offices are considered; whereby it commeth to passe, that the wiues of them of the chee-

fer Families, or of such as beare great Offices take their places before others.

Howbeit, wee see no certainty to be heere set downe concerning the places of Esquires or their Wiues, neyther concerning the places of younger Brothers wiues forasmuch as many such things oftentimes chance, as cannot in any certaine rules be comprehended: like as it useth to happen in *Named Nobility* (viz.) in Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons.

*Now at last let vs passe vnto Knights of the Order of the Garter.*



As I said in the beginning, in the diuiding and reckoning vp of our Nobility, it not to be beside our purpose, if I should vnto them also ioyne the fellowship of the order of the Garter, of others (by farre) the most honourable. For that it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the lesser Nobility also, being me for their vertue and valour; both in peace and warre aboute others famous, not only equall vnto Noblemen at home, but almost euen vnto Kings themselues & Emperors. An order verily of all the orders of the Christian world (if it be to be compared with any other) most ancient and most famous, wherein the most true Nobility it selfe, together with Religion and vertue, attended vpon with fye and twenty most famous Knights, is seene that (I may so say) with vndefiled Maiesty to sit in the Royall Throne. Wherefore, seeing that it is an order of so great dignity, and more famous then any other Nobility; & greater, then that it can in ranke with the other orders be included, as which includeth all the other degrees of Nobility, I haue purposed as briefly as I could, here to set it downe alone, and there-withall to conclude this Treatise.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXV.

¶ *The Order of the Knights of the Garter, when, and by whom it was ordained.*



**E**dward the third, the most invincible King of England and of France, a Prince principally endowed with a manner of piety, magnanimity, and wisdom, in the xxij. yeare of his reigne, after he had oftentimes over the Frenchmen and Scots triumphed, vnto the honour of Almighty God, whereunto he (as beleeved a deuout King referred all things) in his Castle at Windsor, ordained the Military Ornaments and Ceremonies of the Knights of the Garter: whereunto he gaue the name of the *Blew Garter* (but commonly called the *Garter*) and wherein hee appoynted the Kings of England as chiefe, and five and twentie Knights or Fellowes and Companions together. Who being men both for their martiall prowesse and birth, most famous, and most chosen Chieftaines solemnely sworne, and binding themselues together with a bond of mutuall and perpetuall friendship, for the defence of the honour and dignity of their Colledge and Fellowship, refuse not to vndergoe any danger, no not death it selfe. And therefore they are called *Fellowes of the Garter*, for that they haue the Calfe of their Leg bound about with a little Girdle, set with precious stones, which we call a *Garter*: the speciall Cognisance of the order, whereon it is in French, in golden Letters thus writtē: *Hony. Soit. Qui. Mal. X. Pense.* All these Knights once yearely attired in the Robes and Ornaments of their Order, meete together vpon the 23. day of *Aprill*, a day dedicated to *Saint George*. The Rites and ceremonies, where-with they for the most great preheminance of their Order, are with most great solemnity chosen and entauled at *Windsor*, and the Statutes vnder which these Fellowes and Companions liue, seeing they can in iust Volumes be scarce contained, cannot heere in few words be expressed. Wherefore I list onely to rehearse the names of them, which from the beginning, or to-

gether with king *Edward* himselfe, were the Founders thereof, or else haue by our Kings from time to time, for some their vertue aboue others, bene still chosen to be Fellowes of that most honorable Order, in stead of them that were dead, euen vnto this our age.

*Edward the third King of England and of France, &c. Supream or Governour of the Order of the Garter, and with him the five and twenty first Founders thereof, which number they neuer exceed.*

**H**enry Duke of Lancaster.

**P**eter Captaine Bouche.

**William Montacute**, Earle of Salisburie.

**John**, Lord of the Iland, otherwise called *Lisle*.

**John Beauchampe**, knight.

**Hugh Courtney**, knight.

**John Grey** of Codnor, knight.

**Miles Stapleton**, knight.

**Hugh Wrothesley**, knight.

**John Chandos**, knight Bannaier.

**Otho Holland**, knight.

**Sanchio Dampredicourt**, knight.

**Edward** Prince of Wales, King *Edward* his eldest Sonne.

**Thomas Beauchampe**, Earle of Warwicke.

**Raffe Stafford**, Earle of Stafford.

**Roger Mortimer**, Earle of March.

**Bartholmew** of Burgherst, knight.

**John**, Lord Mohun, Baron.

**Thomas Holland**, knight.

**Richard Fitz-Simon**, knight.

**Thomas Wale**, knight.

**Neele Lorenge**, knight.

**James Audeley**, knight.

**Henry Esme**, knight.

**Walter Paveley**, knight.

¶ *The Founders of this Order being dead, these following were in the time of Edward the third chosen, and being elected into the places of the dead, supplied their roomes.*

**R**ichard, surnamed *Burdeaux*, eldest sonne of the Prince of Wales, who was also King of England, after *Edward* the

the

the third his grand-father, and was second of that name.

*Lionell*, surnamed of *Antwerp*, the son of King *Edward*, Duke of *Clarence*, and Earle of *Vlster*.

*John*, surnamed of *Gaunt*, fourth son of King *Edward*, first duke of *Richmond*, and after of *Lancaster*.

*Edmund* of *Langley*, fift Sonne of king *Edward*, first Earle of *Cambridge*, and afterward Duke of *Yorke*.

*John* of *Montford*, surnamed the valiant, Duke of *Britaine*, and Earle of *Richmond*, King *Edward* the third, his Sonne in law.

*Humsfrey* of *Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*.

*William* of *Bohun*, Earle of *Northampton*.

*John Hastings*, Earle of *Penbroke*.

*Thomas Beauchamp*, Earle of *Warwicke*.

*Richard Fitz-Allan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

*Robert Vfford*, Earle of *Suffolke*.

*Hugh Stafford* Earle of *Stafford*.

*Ingelram* of *Coucy*, Earle of *Bedford*.

*Guiscard* of *Engolesme*, Earle of *Huntingdon*.

*Edward* Baron *Spencer*.

*William* Baron *Latimer*.

*Reynold* Baron *Cobham* of *Sterborow*.

*John* Baron *Neuill* of *Raby*.

*Raffe* Baron *Basset* of *Drayton*.

*Gualter Manny*, Knight *Bannaret*.

*Thomas Vfford*, Knight.

*Thomas Felton*, Knight.

*Francis Van Halle*, Knight.

*Alan Baxhull*, Knight.

*Richard Pembruge*, Knight.

*Thomas Vtreight*, Knight.

*Thomas Bannester*, Knight.

*Richard la Vache*, Knight.

*Guy* of *Brianne*, Knight.

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**Richard**, the second of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. Soueraigne of the Order of the Garter, & they which by him were chosen into that Order.

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**T** *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, and afterward Duke of *Glocester*, sixt sonne to King *Edward* the third.

*Henry* of *Lancaster*, Earle of *Darby*, & Duke of *Hereford*, and afterward Duke of *Lancaster*, and at length King of *England*, of that name the fourth.

*William*, Duke of *Gelderland*.

*William*, surnamed of *Hennault*, was first Earle of *Ostreuant*, and afterward Duke of *Holland*, *Hennault*, and of *Zealand*.

*Thomas Holland*, Earle of *Kent*, and afterward Duke of *Surrey*.

*John Holland*, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and Duke of *Exceter*.

*Thomas Mowbray*, Earle of *Nottingham*, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*, and Earle Marshall of *England*.

*Edward*, Earle of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* his Father being dead, Duke of *Yorke*.

*Michaell de la Poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*, and Chancellor of *England*.

*William Scroope*, Earle of *Wilshire*, & Treasurer of *England*.

*William* of *Beauchampe*, Baron of *Bergaunenny*.

*John Beaumont*, Baron.

*William Willoughby*, Baron.

*Richard Grey*, Baron.

*Nicholas Sarnesfeld*, Knight.

*Philip de la Vache*, Knight.

*Robert Knolles*, Knight.

*Guy* of *Brianne*, Knight.

*Simon Burley*, Knight.

*John D'Euerux*, Knight.

*Brian Stapleton*, Knight.

*Richard Burley*, Knight.

*Peter Courtney*, Knight.

*John Burley*, Knight.

*John Bourchier*, Knight.

*Thomas Grandson*, Knight.

*Lewes Clifford*, Knight.

*Robert Dunstanill*, Knight.

*Robert* of *Namur*, Knight.

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**Henry** the fourth of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. chiefe of the Garter: and they which in his Reigne were chosen into the places vacant.

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**HENRY** Prince of *Wales*, the eldest Sonne of King *Henry*, who afterward (his Father being dead) was himselfe King, fift of that name.

*Thomas* of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Clarence*, King *Henry* his second Sonne.

*John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, third Sonne of King *Henry*.

*Humsfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, fourth Sonne of

of king Henry,  
*Thomas Beauford*, Duke of Excester, Son  
 to *John of Gaunt*, Duke of Lancaster.  
*Robert*, County Palatine, Duke of Bau-  
 aria.  
*John Beaufort*, Earle of Somerset, Brother  
 to *Thomas* Duke of Excester.  
*Thomas Fitz-Alan*, Earle of Arundell.  
*Edmund Stafford*, Earle of Stafford.  
*Edmund Holland*, Earle of Kent.  
*Rafe Neuil*, Earle of Westmerland.  
*Gilbert Lord Talbot*, Baron.  
*Gilbert Lord Roos*, Baron.  
*Thomas Lord Morley*, Baron.  
*Edward Lord Powis*, Baron.  
*John Lord Louel*, Baron.  
*Hugh Lord Burnel*, Baron.  
*John Cornwell* Knight, afterward Baron  
*Fanhope*.  
*William of Arundel*, Knight.  
*John Stanley* Knight, Steward of the Kings  
 house.  
*Robert Vmsfreuill*, Knight.  
*Thomas Rampston* Knight, Constable of  
 the Tower of London.  
*Thomas Erpingham*, Knight.  
*John Sulbie*, Knight.  
*Sanctius of Trane*, Knight.

Henrie the fift of that name, king  
 of England and of France, &c. Chiefe of  
 the order of the Garter, and the Knights  
 whom he graced with the Garter, in stead  
 of them that were dead.

*Sigismund* King of Hungary and Bohemia,  
 Marquesse of Madenburge, and Empe-  
 ror elect.  
*John* King of Portugall.  
*Christian* King of Denmark.  
*Philip* Duke of Burgundy.  
*John Holland*, Earle of Huntingdon, and af-  
 terward Duke of Excester.  
*William de la Poole*, first Earle, afterward  
 Marquesse, and at length Duke of Suf-  
 folke.  
*John Mowbray*, Earle Marhall, and after-  
 ward Duke of Norfolk.  
*Thomas Montacute*, Earle of Salisbury.  
*Richard Vere* Earle of Oxford.  
*Richard Beauchampe*, Earle of Warwicke.  
*Thomas*, Baron Camoys.  
*John*, Baron Clifford.  
*Robert*, Baron Willoughby.

*William Philip*, Baron Bardolfe.  
*Henry*, Baron Fitz-bugh.  
*Lewes*, Robsart Baron Bouchier.  
*Hugh Stafford*, Baron Bouchier.  
*Walter*, Baron Hungerford.  
*Simon Felbridge*, Knight.  
*John Grey of Eyton*, Knight.  
*John Dabrigecourt*, Knight.  
*John Robsart*, Knight.  
*Trank van Clux*, a German knight  
*William Harington*, Knight.  
*John Blount*, Knight.

Henrie the sixt of that name, K:  
 of England and France, &c. chiefe of the  
 Order of the Garter, and the Knights of  
 the Garter by him made.

**A**lbert, Duke of Austria, King of Hun-  
 gary and Bohemia, and afterward  
 Emperour.  
*Fredericke*, Duke of Austria, Emperour, &  
*Albertus* his Brother.  
*Edward*, King of Portingall.  
*Alphonsus*, King of Aragon, Naples, & Si-  
 cilie.  
*Casimire*, King of Polonia.  
*Edward*, Prince of Wales, King Henry his  
 eldest Sonne.  
*Peter*, Duke of Conimbria, *John* King of  
 Portingall his Sonne.  
*Henry*, Duke of Visontium, *John* King of  
 Portingall his Sonne.  
 Duke of Brunswicke.  
*Richard*, Duke of Yorke, Father to King  
 Edward the fourth.  
*John Beaufort*, Earle, and afterward Duke  
 of Somerset.  
*Edmund Beaufort*, Earle Moriton, after-  
 ward Marquesse, and at last Duke of  
 Somerset.  
*Isper* Earle of Penbroke, and afterward  
 Duke of Buckingham.  
*John Mowbray*, Duke of Norfolk.  
*Humfrey*, Earle of Stafford, and afterward  
 Duke of Buckingham.  
*Gaston de Foix*, Capitaine de la Bouche, earle  
 of Longeuile.  
*John de Foix*, Earle of Candalia.  
*Aluarus D'almada* Earle of Auercence.  
*John Fitz-Alan*, Earle of Arundell.  
*Richard Neuill*, Earle of Salisbury.  
*Richard Neuill*, Earle of Warwicke.  
*John* Baron Talbot, afterward Earle of  
 Shrewsbury. John

*John Baron Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury, his Sonne.*

*James Butler, Earle of Wilshire and Ormond.*

*William Newill, Lord Fauconbridge, afterward Earle of Kent.*

*Richard Woodwill, Earle Rivers.*

*Henry Vicount Bourchier, and afterward Earle of Essex.*

*John Beaumont, Vicount Beaumont.*

*John Sutton, Baron Dudley.*

*Thomas, Baron Scales.*

*John, Baron Grey of Ruthin.*

*Rafe, Baron Butler of Sudely.*

*Lionell, Baron Welles.*

*John, Baron Bourchier of Berners.*

*Thomas, Baron Stanley.*

*William, Baron Bonuill.*

*John, Baron Wenlocke.*

*John, Baron Beauchamp of Pawik.*

*Thomas, Baron Hoo.*

*John Ratcliff, Knight.*

*John Fastolf, Knight.*

*Thomas Kiriell, Knight.*

*Edward Hall, Knight.*

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**Edward, fourth of that name, K.**  
of *England and France, &c.* Supream  
Gouernor of the Order of the Garter,  
chose these Knights, into the vacant  
places of them that were dead.

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**F**erdinand, King of *Sicily* and of *Naples*,  
King *Alfonfus* his bale sonne.

*John*, King of *Portingall*.

*Edward*, Prince of *Wales*.

*Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*.

*Francis Sfortia*, Duke of *Millan*.

*Fredericke*, Duke of *Vrbina*.

*Hercules*, Duke of *Ferrara*.

*Richard*, Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings sonne.

*Richard*, Duke of *Glocester*, who afterward  
vsurped the Kingdome.

*John Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolke*.

*John*, Baron *Howard*, afterward Duke of  
*Norfolke*.

*John de la Poole*, Duke of *Suffolke*.

*Henry Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*.

*John Newill*, Marquesse *Mont-acute*,

*Thomas Grey*, Marquesse *Dorset*.

*James Douglas*, Earle *Douglas* in *Scotland*.

*William Fitz-Allan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

*Thomas*, Baron *Maltrauers*, the sonne of

*William*, and afterward Earle of *Arundell*.

*Anthony Woodville*, Baron *Scales*, afterward  
Earle *Riuers*.

*William*, Baron *Herbert*, afterward created  
Earle of *Penbroke*.

*John Stafford*, Earle of *Wilshire*.

*Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland*.

*John Tiptoft*, Earle of *Worcester*.

*Gallard Duras*, Lord *Duras*.

*John*, Baron *Scroope* of *Bolton*.

*Walter Deuerux*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*.

*Gualtier Blount*, Baron of *Montioy*.

*William*, Baron *Hustings*, the Kings Châ-  
berlaine.

*John Astley*, Knight.

*William Chamberlaine*, Knight.

*William Parre*, Knight.

*Robert Haricourt*.

*Thomas Mont-gomery*, Knight.

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**Edward, the first of that name, king**  
King of *England* and *France, &c.* Su-  
preame Gouernour of the Order of  
the Garter, vnder whom was no electi-  
on of new Knights of that order. For  
as hee had all the places filled with  
Knights by his Father, whilest hee yet  
liued, euen so he left them. Excepting  
onely the seates of the Prince, and of  
*John* King of *Portingall*.

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**Richard, the third of that name,**  
King of *England* and of *France, &c.*  
Cheefe of the Order of the Garter, &  
the Fellowes chosen into that Order,  
during the time of his Reigne.

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**T**homas *Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, and  
Duke of *Norfolke*.

*Thomas*, Baron *Stanley*, afterward Earle of  
*Derby*.

*Francis*, Vicount *Louell*.

*John Coniers*, Knight.

*Richard Radcliff*, Knight.

*Thomas Burgh*, Knight.

*Richard Tunstall*, Knight.

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Henry,

Henry, the seventh of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, chiefe of this most honorable Order, and the Fellowes chosen into the places of them that were dead, during the time of his Reigne.

**M**aximillian, king of the Romaines, & afterward Emperor, chosen, his Father *Frederick* Emperor then living.

*John*, King of *Portingall*.

*Iohn*, King of *Denmarke*.

*Philip*, King of *Castile*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Son to *Maximillian* the Emperor.

*Aphonsus*, Duke of *Calabria* and *Naples*, King of *Sicilia* and *Ierusalem*.

*Arthur*, Prince of *Wales*, the Kings eldest Sonne.

*Henry*, Duke of *Yorke*, & Prince of *Wales*, his Brother *Arthur* being dead, and he the same, afterward King of *England*.

*Vbald*, Earle of *Montferat*, and Duke of *Vrbis*, and of *Pesseran*.

*Edward Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*.

*Thomas Grey*, Marquesse *Dorset*.

*John Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*.

*Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland*.

*George Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

*Henry Bouchier*, Earle of *Essex*.

*Richard Grey*, Earle of *Kent*.

*Edward Courtney*, Earle of *Denshire*.

*Henry*, Baron *Stafford*, afterward Earle of *Wilshire*.

*Edmund de la Poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*.

*Charles Somerset*, Knight Banaret, and afterward created Earle of *Worcester*.

*Gerard Fitz-gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*.

*John Welles*, Vicount *Welles*.

*George Stanley*, Baron *Strange*.

*William Stanley*, the Kings Chamberlaine.

*Iohn*, Baron *Dynham*.

*Robert Willoughby*, Baron *Brooke*, Steward of the Kings house.

*Giles D'Aubeny*.

*Edward Poynings* Knight.

*Edward Wideuill*, Knight.

*Gilbert Talbot*, Knight.

*John Cheney*, Knight.

*Richard Guilford*, Knight.

*Thomas Louell*, Knight.

*Thomas Brandon*, Knight.

*Keynold Bray*, Knight.

*Ryce Ap Thomas*, a Welchman.

*Iohn Saunge*, Knight.

*Richard Poole*, Knight.

Henry, the eight of that name, K. of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*: Supream Governour of the Order of the Garter, notably chose & ascribed these of the Order of the Garter, into the vacant seates and places of the knights that were dead.

**C**harles the Emperor, fift of that name, king of *Spaine*.

*Ferdinand*, king of the Romaines, and hee the same king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Brother to *Charles* the Emperor.

*Francis* the French king, first of that name.

*Emanuell*, King of *Portingall*.

*James*, the fift of that name, king of *Scots*.

*Henry* the Kings Sonne, otherwise called *Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*.

*Iulian de Medices*, brother to *Leo*, the tenth Bishop of *Rome*.

*Edward Seymour*, Earle of *Hertford*, and afterward Duke of *Somerset*.

*Thomas Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, and at length Duke of *Norfolke*.

*Charles Brandon*, Master of the Horse, and afterward Duke of *Suffolke*.

*John Sutton*, alias *Dudley*, Vicount *L'Isle*, who was afterward Earle of *Warwicke*, & at length Duke of *Northumberland*.

*Annas*, Duke *Mont-morency*.

*Henry Courtney*, Earle of *Denshire*, and afterward Marquesse of *Excester*.

*William Parre* of *Kendall*, who was afterward Earle of *Essex*, & at length Marquesse of *Northampton*.

*William Paulet*, Baron *S. Iohn* of *Basing*, afterward created Earle of *Wilshire*, & at last Marquesse of *Winchester*.

*Henry* Earle of *Surrey*, Sonne to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*.

*Thomas Bullen*, Treasurer of the Kings house, afterward Vicount *Rochfort*, and at length Earle of *Wilshire* and *Ormond*.

*William Fitz-A'm*, Earle of *Arundell*.

*John Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*.

*Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland*.

*Rafe Neuill*, Earle of *Westmerland*.

*Francis Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

*Philip*

*Philip of Chabot*, Earle of *New-blanch*, Admirall of *France*.  
*Thomas Manners*, Baron *Ross*, who was afterward Earle of *Rutland*.  
*Robert Ratcliff*, Vicount *Fitz-Walter*, afterward Earle of *Suffex*.  
*Henry Clifford*, Earle of *Cumberland*.  
*William Fitz-Williams*, Treasurer of the Kings house, and afterward Earle of *Southampton*.  
*Thomas*, Baron *Cromwell*, who was afterward Earle of *Essex*.  
*John*, Baron *Russell*, afterward Earle of *Bedford*.  
*Thomas*, Baron *Wriothesley*, who was afterward created Earle of *Southampton*.  
*Arthur Plantagenet*, Vicount *Lisle*, King *Edward the fourth*, his base Sonne.  
*Walter Dencrux*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and afterward created Vicount *Hereford*.  
*Edward Howard*, Admirall of England, in *Brittaine America*.  
*George Neuill*, Baron of *Abergeueny*.  
*Thomas West*, Baron *de la Ware*.  
*Thomas*, Baron *Dacres* of *Gillesand*.  
*Thomas*, Baron *Darcy* of the North.  
*Edward Sutton*, Baron *Dudley*.  
*William Blount*, Baron *Montioy*.  
*Edward Stanley*, Baron *Monteagle*.  
*William*, Baron *Sands*.  
*Henry*, Baron *Marney*.  
*Thomas*, Baron *Audley* of *Walden*, and Chancellor of England.  
*John Gage*, Knight, Controller of the kings house.  
*Henry Guilford*, Knight, Master of the horse, & after Controller of the house.  
*Nicholas Carew*, Knight, Master of the Horffe.  
*Anthony Browne*, Knight, Master of the Horffe.  
*Thomas Cheney*, Knight, Warden of the Cinque-Ports.  
*Richard Wingfield*, Knight, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*.  
*Anthony Wingfield*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine to the King, Captaine of the Guard, and after Controller of the Kings house.  
*Anthony Saint-Leger*, Knight, Deputy of *Ireland*.  
*John Wallop*, Knight, Captaine of *Guynes* in *France*.

*Edward the sixt*, King of England, France, and Ireland, Supream Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

**H**enry the second, king of *France*.  
*Henry Grey*, Marquesse *Dorset*, after Duke of *Suffolke*.  
*Henry Neuill*, Earle of *Westmerland*.  
*Edward Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*.  
*Francis Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*.  
*William Herbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*.  
*Thomas Seymour*, Baron of *Sudely*.  
*Thomas West*, Baron *de la Ware*.  
*George Brooke*, Baron of *Cobharr*.  
*Edward* Baron *Clinton*, Admirall of England, and after created Earle of *Lincolne*.  
*William Paget*, Baron of *Beaufert*.  
*Thomas Darcy*, Baron of *Chiche*.  
*Andrew Sutton*, (alias *Dudley*,) Knight.

*Mary*, Queen of England, France and Ireland, and Supream Lady of the Order of the Garter, these men (for orders sake) the other Knights beeing dead, were preferred into their places.

**P**hilip, King of *Spaine*, husband to the Queene.  
*Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoy*.  
*Henry Radcliff*, Sonne of *Henry* Earle of *Suffex*.  
*Anthony Browne*, Vicount *Mount-acute*.  
*William Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*.  
*William Grey*, Baron of *Wilton*.  
*Edward Hastings*, Master of the Horffe, after Baron *Hastings* of *Loughborow*, and Chamberlaine to the Queene.  
*Robert Rochester*, Knight, dyed before the instalment.

*Elizabeth* of famous memorie, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Supream Lady of the most noble Order of the Garter, chose into that Order, these men following.

*Maximillian* the Emperor, King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*. 1568.  
*Charles* the ninth, King of *France*. 1564  
*Henry* the third, King of *France*. 1584  
*Fredericke*, King of *Denmarke*. } 1560  
*Adolph*, Duke of *Holsatia*. }  
*John Casimere*, Count-Palatine of *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bauaria*. 1579  
*Francis Montismorency*, Duke. 1572  
*Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*. } 1559.  
*Fredericke*, Duke of *Wittenberge*. }  
*William Parre*, Marques of *Northampton* }  
*Thomas Percie*, Earle of *Northumberland*. 1563  
*George Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*. 1561  
*Henry Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*. 1574  
*William Summerfet*, Earle of *Worcester*. 1570  
*Henry Manners*, Earle of *Rutland*. 1559  
*Henry Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*. 1570  
*Ambrose Sutton* (alias *Dudley*) Earle of *Warwicke*. 1563  
*Francis Russell*, Earle of *Bedford*. 1564  
*Henry Herbert*, Earle of *Penbroke*. 1574  
*Robert Sutton* (alias *Dudley*) Earle of *Leicester*. 1559  
*Walter Deucreux*, Earle of *Effex*. 1572  
*Edward Manners*, Earle of *Rutland*. 1584  
*Henry Radcliffe*, Earle of *Suffex*. 1586  
*Robert Deucreux*, Earle of *Effex*. 1588.  
*Gilbert Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*. } 1592  
*George Clifford*, Earle of *Cumberland*. }  
*Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland*. } 1593.  
*Edward Summerfet*, Earle of *Worcester*. }  
*Robert Radcliff*, Earle of *Suffex*. 1599  
*William Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*. 1601  
*Arthur Grey*, Baron of *Milton*. 1572  
*Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, and Admirall of *England*, 1575. after Earle of *Nottingham*.  
*Edmund Burges*, Baron *Chandoys*. 1572  
*Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunsdon*. 1561  
*William Cecill*, Baron of *Burghley*. } 1584  
*William Brooke*, Baron of *Cobham*. }  
*Henry Scroope*, Baron of *Bolton*. }  
*Thomas Sackuill*, Baron of *Buckhurst*, after Earle of *Dorset*, and Lord High-Treasurer of *England*. 1597  
*Thomas*, Baron *de Burgh*. 1593.  
*Edmund*, Baron *Sheffild*. 1593  
*Thomas Howard*, Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, 1597 after Earle of *Suffolke*, and Lord Chamberlaine to the Kings Maiefty, also Lord high-Treasurer of *England*.  
*George Cary*, Baron *de Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlaine to *Queene Elizabeth*. 1497  
*Charles Blount*, Baron *Montioy*, 1597. after Earle of *Deuonshire*.

*Henry Brooke*, Baron *Cobham*. 1592  
*Thomas Cecill*, Baron of *Burghly*. 1601  
*Henry Sidney*, Knight, President of the *Marches of Wales*. } 1588.  
*Christopher Hatton*, Knight, Lord Chambercellor of *England*. }  
*Francis Knolles*, Knight, Treasurer of the *Queens house*. 1593.  
*Henry Lea*, Knight, Keeper of the *Armory*. 1597

*James* the first, of *Great Brittain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Supreme Lord of the *Garter*: by him these men following, were admitted into the saide Order.

*Christiern*, fourth of that name, King of *Denmarke*. } 1603.  
*Henry*, eldest Son to King *James*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, & Earle of *Chester*. }  
*Charles* Duke of *Yorke*, second Son to the Kings Maiefty, after Prince of *Great Brittain*. 1611.  
*Fredericke*, Prince Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*. } 1613  
*Graue Morris*, after Prince of *Orenge*. }  
*Lewes*, Duke of *Lennox*, Earle of *Richmond*. }  
*Henry Wriothesly*, Earle of *Southampton*. } 1603.  
*John Ereskin*, Earle of *Mar*. }  
*William Herbert*, Earle of *Penbroke*, after Lord Chamberlaine vnto the Kings Maiefty. }  
*Fredericke*, Duke of *Wittenberge*, installed but elected in the yeare, 1597. 1604.  
*Vtricke*, Duke of *Alsatia*. } 1605.  
*Henry Howard*, Earle of *Northampton*. }  
*Robert Cecill*, Earle of *Salisbury*, after Lord high-Treasurer of *England*. } 1606.  
*Thomas Howard*, Viscount *Bindon*. }  
*George Hume*, Earle of *Dunbarre*. } 1608.  
*Philip Herbert*, Earle of *Montgomery*. }  
*Philip Howard*, Earle of *Arundell*. }  
*Robert Carre*, Viscount *Rochester*, after Earle of *Somerfet*. } 1611.  
*Thomas Ereskin*, Viscount *Fenton*. }  
*William* Baron *Knolles de grayes*, Treasurer of the Kings house, after Viscount *Wallingford*. } 1615  
*Francis*, Earle of *Rutland*. }  
*George Villers*, after Viscount *Villers*, Earle and Marquesse of *Buckingham*. } 1616  
*Robert Sidney*, Viscount *Lyle*, after Earle of *Leicester*. }

Commilitonum Garteriani Ordinis habitus, à fronte & à tergo.



Ornamentum tibiale (vulgo Garterus) gemmis & literis maiusculis aureis HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE. decoratum; quamvis Ordinis sit Symbolum peculiare, vestibus coopertum, ob oculos demonstrari nequivit.



## THE PERORATION, OR EPILOGVE OF THE WHOLE VVORKE.



Hus haue I at last concluded this Treatise of *Nobilitie Politicke, Dative, and Native*, as breefely as I could, and the greatnesse & dignity of the subiect would permit. First, generally; as applyed to the Customes of Countries, whereto the same is tide; then particularly exemplified, by the Rites and Ceremonies in vse among our selues. Wherein, if seeking to adorne the magnificence of so stately a Theame, with eloquence of words, and beauty of style, as it selfe doth deserue, I seeme to haue failed, I must plead for my selfe, as a plaine meaning man, that sometimes through zeale and deuotion to the Church, vndertooke to carue an Image, representing the Deity and greatnesse of his God, out of trembling and feare, was forced to craue ayde of skilfuller workmen, hauing nothing to excuse the weaknesse of his wit, and expiate withall, the horror of his worke, but pious simplicity. Euen such is my case; For I willingly confesse, that being doubtful of my selfe when I tooke this Taske in hand, yet my hope and comfort was, that howsoeuer I might erre, and heerein bewray my skill, my faults prouing veniall, I might giue occasion, to stir vp riper wits, to further the perfection of this rude and rough-hewd-worke, and Whetston-like at least, to set and sharpen others.

If now by the sight and view heereof, (such as it is) any like to take the paines from the sheathe, to the blade; from the

shape, to the substance; & from the shadow, to the body, to wade any further; the Volume now succeeding, aswell of all the Persons, as their atchieuements of honour, marriages, alliances, and descents, that euer this Monarchy hath inuested & ennobled with the titles and degrees of *Political Nobility*, from the Earles vpward. (*Vice-Contes* and *Barons* make a Volume of themselves) digested into Catalogues, will further declare.

A worke, though not so perfect as the time may make it proue, for at the beginning, what thing was euer so? (Without pride be it spoken) of extraordinary study, care, and industry. Wherein, if onely for the publike, I haue thus employed my life, and done my best endeauour, *To acribèd ouc hegeg x the set ai*. Let no mā take occasion to taxe me of double diligence, much lesse of affectation, selfe-loue, or flattery, that propounding thus a Pilgrimage pretended to bee generall, I haue spent my whole deuotion on the Saints of Great Brittain. I was to fit my mould to the matter already framed, and therto wholly bending and deuising with my selfe, I ayded withall, in secret to redeeme so faire a subiect (subsisting euery where on speciall Lawes and Rites) from the wandring *Ideas* of discoursing Philosophers, and contemplatiue Diuines to her owne proper Station, and peculiar Customes, that others else-where desirous of the like, I might seeme rather to giue, then to stay their good example.

It remaines then now, to make good my first diuision into Celestiall, Morall, and Politicall Nobility, that I lay downe

Haec professio  
semper intror-  
sum veri, Quod  
exitatur venil-  
lante Doctrina.  
Nam, currogati  
sponte recta  
causamus. Ni  
morfus al-o vi  
ruet somes  
corde?  
Boet.lib. 1.3.

Piety.

Probity.

Grace.

Eugencia.  
Eugenes.

Ingenuitie.

Generosity.

Christianity.

Ciuility.

the dignity of each by themselves, that by plaine demonstration and comparing of their Essences mutually together, the world may see, how euen this of Great Brittain (which heere I call Ours) is of it selfe absolutely, the most assured Pat-terne, and best ordered of all others.

By Gods eternall prouidence, it is so fore-ordayned, that for ornament and safety of humane life and Nature, we see and feele daily, some steppes as it were of diuine intelligence, and seeds of Morall vertue, still fostered vp within vs, euen in this lower world.

*Est Deus in Nobis agitante calefcimus Illo.*

Thar (diuine intelligence) by heavenly inspiration, doth teach vs to know God, and moues vs to serue him with all holi-nesse of soule, and religious obseruation.

This (vertuous disposition) by an inbred ingenuity, becomes the Mother of this our Positiue Nobility. For, as these two still ioyned together, first open the way by steps and degrees (though by diuers passages) to come to Kingly Grace, and Soueraigne *Eudochyst*, Datiuely; so *Ex Ingenuis fiunt Eugencia Eugenes*, from inbred Ingenuity, men first become Generous, which also leades them on in the selfe-same Nobility Natiuely. For as godlinesse or piety, by diuine inspiration, and in-bred Ingenuity, by vertues infu-sion, makes vulgar men exempted, and so honestly respected aboute their fellowes, that nothing may disgrace them, but iniquity and heresie, yeelding matter and occasion to this kinde of Nobility that subiects obtaine from Soueraigne grace & fauour, Datiuely: Euen so, where grace becomes so fixed in the person of any, that nothing can remoue it but Death or high-treason; it begets generosity by descending to posterity, Natiuely. So that, as to be gloriously happy in the world to come, by diuine inspiration from God to man, by the name of piety, proceeds from Christianity imputatiuely. And as to be honourably esteemed before God and man, for inbred ingenuity, by the name of probity, proceeds from ciuility infusiuely; so to be lawfully exempted from the vulgar sort, by the name of Generosity, proceeds from grace, Mediate or Immediate respectiuely al worthily ennobled in their feuerall kindes and places: whereby the meanest Subiect being thus made happy,

becomes aswell *Nobilis* (which wee call a gentleman, and the French sound *Gentilhomme*) as the Emperor himselfe, saying; *Foy\* de Gentilhomme*. And, *Me voycy Gentilhomme aussy bien que le Roy*. Though in English and in French, the word it selfe seeme straightened. For we call no man Noble, but from the Baron vpward, wher *Nobilis* in Latine, includes the meanest Gentleman, aswell as Lords and others. The names of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vice-Counts & Barons, &c. beeing titles of preheminance, to distinguish the celebrity of each mans place & function, for orderly precedence.

Thus then, though none become Christians by the rules of piety, carnally; and our inbred-ingenuity, proceed not from our Parents by the rules of probity, naturally; yet a Gentleman, one may be both reputed, and so called by the lawes of celerity, alias Cheualry, alias Heraldry, euen for humanity, and honest conuersation ciuilly, and so become ennobled in himselfe and his posterity Politically. For, *Est aliquid clarus Magnorū splendor Anorū* *Illud posteritas amula calcar habet.*

And as to be a Christian, is the glory of all Nobility, and to be an honest man, is of it selfe most honourable: so to bee aduanced by the eye of Soueraigne Ma-iesty, with such Ensignes of Nobility, as demonstrate his celebrity in himselfe and his posterity, is properly most Noble; Armes being in this respect ordayned to limit Families, as proper names do men. Wherby (this) stands distinguished frō the other (two.)

For the first, from religious imputation, being hid frō the world, makes Christians only glorious by faith, with God in heauē.

The second, from vertuous infusion, makes honesty most honorable, & vertue still admired by good works among men.

And this third, from absolute affection in Soueraigne loue and grace, makes sub-iects rise ennobled respectiuely abroad, but properly at home, for seruices performed in the Church and Common-weale.

Now, all that haue the happinesse to be glorified in heauen, or honoured vpon earth, or ennobled at the least, receiue it first or last from God, & his Lieutenants, whose infusue grace and greatnesse, are the grounds of all our credits.

The first, by Diuines, beeing religiously taught

Nobility, or  
Gentility.

\* The reaf  
perhaps wh  
in England  
our Nobil  
men, from  
Boion vp-  
ward, in  
points of  
nour, are  
to no other  
oathes, the  
by laying  
their hand  
on their  
breasts, pro  
test vpon  
their hono

Glory.  
Honour.

Noble.  
Armes.

Glorious

Honorab

Ennobled

taught, and the second by Philosophers, being morally disputed, like Twins of one birth, or cousin-germans at least, by piety and probity in a heavenly kinde of kindred, makes mortall men immortall, and by fame to liue for euer. But the third, which this Treatise hath begot, or gladly would restore; being meere possitiue with Kings; within their kingdomes, and Orphant-like committed to their care and speciall trust, depends vpon their wils, their Rites and Country Customes. From whence it is, we see such Rankes of Nobility, such feuerall names of dignities, and titles of honor, bestowed vpon Subiects for Piety and Probity, conspicuous in the world by Soueraigne grace and fauour. Who at first, being but meane, and of slender beginnings, become at last extolled to places of renoune, from the foot-stoole, aduanced to the type and top of honour, & the same like ebbes and floods, with time againe decline.

These kindes of Nobility thus feuerally laide open, and by a three-fold disposition made apt to be diuided, are not (notwithstanding) so at oddes within themselves, that their Natures and their Essences admit no reconcilment, or may not be vnited in one Person altogether.

For the first, being celestially, and meerly diuine, admits no worldly vanity, whose Soueraigne is God, and whose Robes of perfection wee shall then put on vpon vs, when wee come to bee presented before Christ our King in Heauen. This is our cheefest glory, our *summum bonum*, and highest blisse, whereto who striues to rise, and hopes to attaine, must worke it out by faith, and lay his foundation on the true Christian-Catholique and Apostolique-Religion; without which, euen Vertue her selfe, with all her Morall Lessons, auailles vs nothing, as pointing onely to this end, ayms at this happinesse, but obtaines it neuer.

And they that being heere conuersant with me on earth, haue their mindes so cleare and enlightened from aboue, that fore-seeing this end, they bend themselves thereto, and by a prudent care and constancy, still ayming at Iustice, seeke onely the good of the Church and Common-wealth. These (I say) by their vertues once conspicuous, become for euer famous, and worthily honoured with that

kinde of Nobility, which Philosophers so magnifie and extoll vnto the world.

Now, these also at length being nozed by their names, and made knowne to Soueraigne Kings (that as Gods with God-Almighty rule heere the earth in common) are by them ennobled; first Datiue-ly, with that Nobility, which descending to posterity, by right of inheritance, is Natiue of it selfe, and in all places subiect to peculiar Customes. From whence it comes to passe, that seeing Honesty, the height and type of honour, and vertue the way that leads vs thereunto; wee admire more Nobility Datiue, being truly deriued and raised for it selfe, then that which is Natiue, and descended from other, as whose person first for vertues sake, being for it selfe beloued, becomes withall illustrious, and layes the foundation of happinesse in others. *Nam Genus & Proauos, & Quae non fecimus Ipsi: vix ea nostra voco.* For though in Nobility Politike and Ciuill, Generosity by antiquity, seeme to be respected: and to be borne a Lord, be more Noble, then so to be created; yet is it not so honourable, though farre more generous. For Vertue of her selfe being euery way magnificent, first honours the Father, then dignifies the Sonne, & magnifies posterity, which by the *Grecians* is more significantly spoken, and better vnderstood, by their *Eugeneia* and *genaiion* applying this to Ingenuity, which belongs vnto the minde, and that vnto Celebrity more proper to the kinde.

This then at the last, is that Celestiall, Morall, and Politick Nobility, that at first I propounded: whereof, when Diuines in their Sermons seeme to speake, and Philosophers by discourses goe about to dispute, they demonstrate nothing but Allegoricall *Ideas*, and imaginary shadows, the substance whereof, wee must hope to finde in Heauen; when as heere euen on earth, for the good & furtherance both of Church and Common-wealth, it is cherished and dignified at the hands of Soueraigne Kings, and as fittest for graue Councillors placed next vnto themselves, whereof this rude Treatise contains the truest patterne that the world affords; namely, The Nobility of this Monarchy of Great-Brittaine. And therein as *Instar Omnium* and *Modell* of the rest, the most Honourably-Noble Order of knights of the

Nobility Politicall.

Honorable Generous.

Eugeneia Genaiion.

The Epitomy or Modell of all three kinds of Nobility, in one Order of the knights of the Garter.

inc.

Nobility Politicall

Nobility Philosophicall

there being nothing found recorded, for Religion, in shew more beseeching a christian; for Vertue more Heroicall; nor for Policy, more assured, then this Religiously most Honourable and most Noble Society. For whereas all other of like institution, by growing ouer-vulgar, are become the lesse esteemed; or prouing else but idle, are at all hands neglected: onely This is still so well supplied with the Flower of true Nobility, that euer fresh and springing, by yearely showes and lusters, it dismisseth the beholders with greater admiration, then the best words of my Pen are able to vtter.

For heere, all behold Maiesty her selfe, betweene Greatnesse and Decorum, descend from her Throne, to walke & talke kindly with her owne Nobility: and Nobility it selfe betweene Honour and Reuerence, ascending on the Seate of her own Soueraigne Maiesty.

Heere the Religion of our Church, the Wisedome of our State, and the Nobility of our Court, admiring Kingly Maiesty, meete all in one together.

And heere our King with his Prince, our Prince with his Peeres, and our Peeres with their Worthies, meete and march together in one Bond of Loue, in one Order of Chiuallry, for mutuall defence both of Church and Common-wealth, amazing the beholders with the stately sight and view of one personall Maiesty, in one fellowship of Honour, and one body of vntained and true Nobility.

Heere therefore to conclude, as the fittest place to end this weake and slender Treatise. If that which hath beene saide, deserues to be regarded (as Truth sayes it should) why do the Soueraignes and Monarchs of the world, then wrong themselves in their Greatnesse and Authority, giuing way to proud violence, and prophane intrusion, wherby Popes haue put downe Emperors, & Cardinals: presume to compare themselves with Kings? For whereas they alone by speciall Commission and Preheminence of place, and Vncommunicable power, and Prerogatiue of Grace, are made the Moderators of the vertuous endeouours, and onely Creators of all Titles of Honour, belonging to their Subiects, they suffer Nobility to be tied, as it were against her owne Nature, to Fees, Houses, Castles, Cities, and

Lands, sencelesse and transitory, that neither infuse Religion, nor administer Iustice, nor encrease eyther in their prophane Possessors, nor make vulgar Tenants more honest, or more noble. For *Ornanda potius est Dignitate Domus quam ex Domo Dignitas utcunq; querenda, neq; a Domo Dominus sed a Domino Domus est vbiuis honestanda.*

And thus hauing ended in the best sort I could, if I were to yeeld a reason of all that I haue done, in a word, it should bee thus: The glory of God, and my Countries honour, to whom all stand indebted in all that we are, or can bee of our selues. Allegiance & Seruice to my Soueraigne, and his Nobility, and affection by Alliance, to the memory of mine Vnckle and deceassed Friend, were the Motiues only moued mee to take this worke in hand.

Hauing therefore now both offered vp, and thus paide all my vowes: mine *Enthousiasme* compels mee to salute his blessed *Genius*, that by louing of Nobility, so hartily & so well, thus happily made happy, liues ennobled now in Heauen.

*Quod tua prima fides visa est tentasse, nec ultra  
In Patrie complere decus fera Fata sinebant:  
Ecce Opus exegi, nostrorum pignus Amorum,  
Quod neq; Lino edax queat aut abolere vetustas,  
Quam vis illa dies, que iam tibi corporis vmbra  
Abstulit, incerti spacium mihi differat aui:  
Parte tamen meliore tui, super alta perennis  
Astra fruatur.  
Quaque patet domitis Britannia potentia Terris,  
Docta per ora virum, perque omnia secula viues,  
Si quid habet grati Generosa propago virorum.*

What thou didst once attempt, our Countries worth to show,  
But couldst not bring to passe, the Fates so staide thy hand;  
Loe here, I haue perform'd that (All) our loue may know,  
Which enuy shall not eate, nor withering age withstand.

And though the day be past, that hath thy Soule remou'd  
From hence; and bodies mortall shape be parted cleane away,  
And threats the like to me: yet that I cuer lou'd,  
(I meane thy better part) I hope, I shall againe enjoy.

And now, as far as British power, by Fame it selfe is rais'd,  
Or taming Sword, or by the helpe of any learned Pen;  
Thy name shall liue, and Thou by future ages prais'd,  
If Honour dwell in Noble blood, or Honesty with Men.

All

{Efficient, as without which it hath no } For, and du-  
 Being, namely, soueraigne *Eudochy*, } ring life only  
 or Grace and Fauor, without which, }  
 as it could not subsist, so is it not }  
 lost, but onlie by *Leſe-Maieſtie*, high- } Or made  
 Treason. Therefore, from the soue- }  
 raigne, as from the fountaine, it is }  
 deriued both *Datiue* & *Natiue*, and } Hereditarie,  
 is bestowed, } either } & ſueceſſiue }  
 to the Parties ſhame.

*Regula Iuris.*

For, as to infamie &  
 baſeneſſe, the Gates  
 of dignitie are neuer  
 ſet open : ſo Honor  
 once beſtowed by  
 ſoueraigne grace, is  
 not to be detracted  
 to the Parties ſhame.

*All Nobility  
 political,  
 is deriued,  
 and beſt  
 knowne by  
 the cauſes.*

{Materiall, or the Sub- }  
 iect, wherof ſoueraigns }  
 create nobilitie, to wit, }  
 {Vertue, that of her }  
 ſelf is conſpicuouſly }  
 noted, } either }  
 {Fortune, or habilitie }  
 tr ſuſtaine Nobilitie, }  
 Namely, }  
 {Militarily, }  
 or, }  
 {Ciuilly. }  
 {Fees, or In- }  
 heritance of }  
 Landes and }  
 Goods. }  
 {Which albeit }  
 they become di- }  
 miniſhed and }  
 ſpent, yet is not }  
 Nobilitie withall }  
 loſt or extinct, }  
 that of her Na- }  
 ture is Heredita- }  
 rie.

{Formall, as how }  
 men beecome }  
 lawfully digni- }  
 fied according }  
 to rites and ce- }  
 remonies, and }  
 peculiar cuſtōs }  
 of Countries, }  
 either }  
 {Immediately }  
 by the Soue- }  
 raigne, }  
 Or, }  
 {Mediately by }  
 Commiſſion }

In *England*  
 nobility is  
 diſtingui-  
 ſhed into

{Greater, caled No- }  
 bles Titulary by }  
 Letters patents, }  
 or writs of ſom- }  
 nōs to the Par- }  
 liament, viz. }  
 {The Prince of Wales. }  
 Dukes. }  
 Marqueſſes. }  
 Earles. }  
 Vice-Counts. }  
 Barons. }  
 {Leſſer made by }  
 Commiſſion, }  
 or without Let- }  
 ters patents. }  
 {Knights. }  
 Eſquires. }  
 Gentlemen. }  
 {Banneret. }  
 Bath. }  
 Batcheller. }

{Finall, to what end, }  
 to wit, }  
 {Service done, and to be done, to }  
 the King, }  
 and }  
 Commonweale. }

**N**OBILITY *political*, is a Dignitie beſtowed by Soueraigne Grace, vpon  
 Perſons of Vertue or ability, for life, or for euer, whereby a Man exemp-  
 ted and raiſed by Degrees, becomes lawfully preferred aboue the vulgar  
 People, the better to doe ſeruice to the King and Commonwealth.

Eſt, aliquid clarus Magnorum ſplendor Auorum,  
 Illud Poſteritas æmula calcar habet.

The



THE SIXT BOOKE.  
 OF THE GOVERNEMENT  
 and Administration of Iustice, obserued in the  
*Common-wealth of Gennes or  
 Geneway.*

CHAP. I.



\* A Riuer  
 which diuides  
 Narbone frō  
 Liguria.

\*A riuer run-  
 ning out of  
 Apennin us, &  
 parting Ligu-  
 ria from He-  
 truria.

The situation  
 of the citie of  
 Geneway.

He people of *Liguria* are contain-  
 ed betwixt the  
 Riuer of \**Varus*  
 & \**Macra*, along  
 the Sea-coast,  
 & the downefall  
 of the *Apennines*.  
 Of all which  
 country, the city *Gennes* or *Geneway* (most  
 noble for antiquity and power) hath (for  
 the larger part of time) held the rule and  
 Soueraignty, because both for buildings,  
 as also in nobilitie of actions, and in re-  
 spect of valiant men, it hath euermore  
 bene very notable among all the rest of  
 former times. This Citie gracing the  
 South with hearbs, beauteous lookes, is  
 most proudly built vpon the Sea-coast,  
 and hath her backe vpon the North, at  
 the foote of a mountaine: euen as if she  
 were descended downe the mount, and  
 come to repose her selfe vpon a Plaine,  
 the mountaine remaining on her backe  
 part to defend the citie from the furious  
 North. It is not altogether plaine nor  
 mountainous, but participateth both of  
 the one and other giving about the com-  
 passe of sixe miles, so faire and goodly as  
 can be desired.

And because concerning her Antiqui-  
 tie, we can not deliuer any thing certaine  
 (in regarde some doe maintaine, that it  
 was built by *Genoua* or *Iuno*, the daugh-  
 ter of *Saturne*; others, by *Genuinus*, the  
 companion of *Phaeton*; and some by *Ia-  
 nus*, who was said to be *Noah*) it shall be  
 sufficient therefore to say, that it was  
 accounted a city two hundred and nine-  
 tie yeares before the comming of *Christ*  
 on the earth, as manifestly appeareth  
 (setting aside *Titus Linius* in the Decade  
 of his eight Booke) by a Table of Brasse,  
 found (no long time since) in the Valley  
 of *Pozzeuena*, and placed in the Church  
 of *Saint Laurence*: whereon is engrauen  
 in auncient Letters, That in the Consul-  
 ship of *Lucius Cecilius*, and of *Quintus  
 Manilius*, Iudges were sent from the Se-  
 nate of *Rome*, to discide the variance be-  
 tweene the *Vitturi*, and the people of *Ge-  
 neway*, concerning the neare neighbour-  
 ing valley. And because as well the sen-  
 tentiall execution, as the gaole deliuerie  
 of prisoners, which were in respect of  
 that strife maintained, was to succede  
 and follow in *Geneway*: therefore we may  
 heereby comprehend, that the City (vn-  
 till that time) consisted vpon some other  
 considerations.

Now,

Concerning  
 the antiqui-  
 ty of *Geneway*:  
 and by whome  
 it was first  
 founded.

A brasse table  
 found in the  
 vale of *Poz-  
 zeuena*.

Geneway  
afforded di-  
uers countries  
of the East  
part in for-  
mer times.

The people of  
this nation  
directed to  
merchandize  
easily.

The readines  
of the Gene-  
wes for all  
dangerous  
occurrents.

Andrea Doria  
Admirall to  
the King of  
France, and  
the liberer of  
Geneway fro  
French thral-  
dome.

Now, this so noble Cittie, in former times held a great estate, and was possessed of many Countries in the East parts: and now it is very powerfull by Sea in all respects, sometimes seruing the Duke of *Millaine*, sometimes the king of *France*, euer being traueled with much busines, either in regard of being an illustrious and famous Cittie, or because it is the passage, and (euen as it were) the gate for going from the mountaines into *Italy*. Whereupon some conceiue and are perswaded, that it was called *Ianua*, as a Gate for *Italie*, and not *Ianua* of *Ianus*, who was old father *Noah*. But let it be in maner howsoeuer, the men of this nation are industrious, euermore attentive to merchandize, whereby they attaine vnto great wealth, and as with other people it fareth, euen so amongst them, there is alwayes great plenty of money, because no one priuate man, but very many more beside, haue made passage of five hundred thousand ducats, euen after the best valuation.

And yet these men so great and wealthie, beeing molested by some parcialities, which diuers times haue endangered *Italie*; are now, and so haue beene for no small time, ready with their weapons in hand, expulsiuig now one familie, and soone after another, from the State; and now the Nobles gaining superioritie, afterward the popular sort; one side fauoring the *Alorni*, another the *Fregosi*, and at length reduced (by the benefit of prince *Andrea Doria*) to the present libertie which they now enioy. For *Geneway* being in the power of the *French*, and *Doria* departing from seruice to the King of *France*, to whom hee was Admirall: at one and the selfe same time, deliuered both himselfe and Countrey from seruilite to the King of *Fraunce*, and questionlesse with vnconquerable corage. For he might haue impatronised and possessed himselfe of the whole State, beeing entreated and euen (as it were) constrained by his friends, that he would vouchsafe to take the commaund of them: but he rather affected (setting aside all ambition) to restore them to their former freedom, with so much glory to him in future ages, as so rare an example in him did iustly merit: whereto (perhaps) hee might be the rather incited, by the enuie

he bare to *Christopher Columbus*, because, if he opened to modern people the other part of the world, which had for so many yeares bene shut vp from all other: to this other (with wel gouerned thoughts) spurning at all appetite of dominion, might open to his owne Citizens (with their libertie) the State so long lockt vp, by the discord of their owne opinions. Wherefore, deseruedly the *Genewayes* erected a Statue to his perpetuall glorie, and the memorable renoune of his immortal actions: as for his immense gift by his worthy industrie, was done to *Columbus*, by the Princes of *Spaine*.

*Geneway* thus receiuing in anno 1528. her nouell reformation; entred vpon the same forme of gouernement which it now maintaineth. A description was then made, and therein set downe all the Families of account, as well noble as popular, appearing as descended of fixe houses in *Geneway*: and the reckoning grew so, that in *Geneway* there were found 28. Families. All the rest remaining out of this account, and yet were of some consideration, but not deriued from those fixe houses: were aggregated and written downe in the aforesaide number of twentie eight families, by the title of Nobilitie, excluding the remainder of the people and Plebeians. And notwithstanding this entrance thus made, there was an addition to the number of these Nobles, of tenne persons in like sort ennobled, either for their riches or vertue, and these were made choice of euerie yeare, applying their paines still fro hand to hand.

With all this prouidence, they could not yet so well preuaile, but in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred seauenty and foure, a new tumult arose in the Common-wealth, and as in the wonted ciuile dissentions: so a diuision happened that yeare, betweene two factions, termed olde and new. The principall occasion which moued this contention, was, that the olde side, being not contented to haue the greater part of authoritie in the Common-wealth; did mortally hate the new side, abhorring & disdainig (albeit that the new side, both for auncient Nobility, and true vertuous merit, were equall to them in al respects) to ioyne in kindred with them. This was infinitely

Andrea Doria enuious of the honour of Christopher Columbus, in the restoring of his Countries libertie.

A Statue erected in honor of Andrea Doria.

An obseruation made concerning the best Families in Geneway, deriued of six and amounting to eight and twentie.

The noblemen more added to the former number of eight and twentie.

A new tumult between two factions, olde & new in the Common-wealth.

Mattheo Senarega a man of great account among the Genewayes, striving to aswage this perturbation.

There are none so violent as wilfull aged men, when they are grieved on an obstinate opiniō.

The new faction prevailed by generall voice against the olde, by the meanes of Senarega.

All stirres and tempestuous tumults calmly over-blowing, by the diligent endeavours of Senarega.

infinitely displeasing to *Mattheo Senarega*, a Citizen of most eminent authority, and who (at that time) was great Chancellor, and chiefe Secretarie of the Common-wealth; also had bene principall of the new side more then once, and both of the publike & priuate Councill; with very singular Eloquence hee intreated them, affirming, that it was not well, that such diuersitie of interests and priuate respects, should haue life in one and the same City: shewing also by liuely reasons, how auailable it was to euery man, and likewise profitable for the State, that all should conuerse and like mutually together.

But the words and euident reasons of *Senarego*, failing of sufficient efficacie, puffed vp the olde side with greater obstinacie, yet drew a farre better opinion of the new, prouoking so farre to defend them, that oftentimes he was in danger of his life among them. For the old side did greatly enuie, that the authoritie of *Senarego* should perch to such a height, that in him onely should be reposed, the efficacie of the publike and priuate gouernement. Neuerthelesse, *Senarego* opposing their pernicious demonstrations with wonderfull wisdome, moued especially (as the fame went) by a generous disdain, wrought in such sort, that the new side assumed the chiefe place in gouernement, excludng (well-neare) all the olde, constraying them to forsake their Countrey, if they attempted any Armes or violence against the new side.

These words would much haue stirred the Common-wealth, if *Senarego*, fore-seeing the weighty perill, and preferring the publique good of all (beeing most iustly to be affected) before any priuate respect whatsoever, had not bridled the head-strong course of intended hostilitie. Wherefore hee wrought so painfully with the *Genewayes* themselves, the Emperour, the King of *Spaine*, and especially with Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, all fauoring him with their helpfull assistance, as the tumults in the City were quieted, and after some few desperate accidents, the furie of Armes was quite blasted, wherein both the faithfulness of *Senarego*, and his admirable wisdome euidently appeared. Hee be-

ing appointed (by vniuersall consent) Ambassadour to *Rome*, with infinite prouidence and care (to the honour of the Common-wealth, and his owne great reputation) discretely qualified both factions, already growne to such a head on either side, both by power and maleuolence; as not onely threatned danger to the Countrey it selfe, but likewise to haue filled all *Italy* with innumerable calamities and confusions; whereof the Pope (by his Breues) deliuered most honourable testimonie, writing the actions of *Senarego* to the \* *Doye*, as also to the Procurators of the Commonwealth of *Geneway*.

### The great Councill.

FROM the whole bodie of the before-recited Families, is congregated a Councill of foure hundred persons yere-ly, who together with the Duke and the Gouernours, haue the charge of the Common-wealth in their power. This Councill maketh election of the Duke, and of the eight Gouernours, (because the Gouernours are the iust number of eight) and haue care of the State for two yeares continuance. They mannage matters of importance, and concerning generall good, as also for the conseruation of the Seignorie: and these Gouernours (with the Duke) are properly called the *Signoria*. But and if they are at any time to handle some occasions, which are not so important and weightie, but of meaner consideration: The *Signoria* haue a lesser Councill in readie seruice, consisting of an hundred men of the Nobilitie, elected by the *Signoria* by lotterie, and out of the maine bodie of the foresayd foure hundred.

### The Duke.

THE head or chiefe of the Common-wealth is the Duke, because he hath the Title and Honour which appertaine vnto him: and it is an auncient degree in the City, whereto by varietie of times, diuers persons haue attained, but not by any course of Lawe. He continueth for two yeares, and in all that time of his authoritie,

\* A Title belonging on to the Duke of Venice: Geneway.

A Councill consisting of 400. persons and what a thoritic they haue.

The Signoria or dominion of Geneway.

A lesser councell of a hundred Nobilitie men.

The most eminent Officer in the Commonwealth and his authoritie endure but 2 yeare

thority, he dwelleth in the publique Pallace, hauing five hundred high *Germaines* as his Guard, representing heere in the forme of an absolute Soueraignerie. At the beginning of the assumption of his magistracie, for two dayes hee is clothed in his Ducall ornaments; but afterward, and the whole consistence of his regiment, hee weareth other habites, but yet of Veluet or crimson Sattin, and sometime purple. His authoritie is very important, because hee onely, and not any other, may propound what cause he wil in Councel and in the Senate, which is forbidden vnto any other Senatour. Whereupon, whosoever would record any Lawe to the Common-wealth, or else propound a motion of some important matter, he must break it to the duke, and passe it by his meanes.

The manner of the Dukes elections is thus: The third day of the moneth of January, the Senate doth assemble with the lesser Councell, without the person of the passed Duke; because hee hauing ended his Office of two yeares, returneth the first day of January home to his own house as a priuate person, and remaineth a Procurator all his life time. The lesser Councell with the Senate, doe elect among them (by ballot) eight and twenty Noblemen, one for each Familie, who so soone as they are chosen, are called into the Pallace, and there shut vppe in a place by themselues, and there, together with those Senatours, who eyther in regard of age, or by contumacie of the Families are not capable of the dukedome: they elect eightene men amongst themselues, one for a Familie; and those eightene, together with the same Senatours, do elect another eight and twentie, which eight and twentie are called, and being lockt vp with the foresayde Senatours, they proceede by balloting them that are to bee propounded to the Councell to be Duke. But heere you must know, that they may propound no more to the great Councell, but foure persons onelie, and in the election of that number, it is necessaric, that the eight and twentie doe agree in two third parts among themselues, with the part of the foresaide Senatours. This being agreed between them, before they come forth of the Consistorie, they elect ano-

ther eight and twenty, one for each Familie, who returne together with them, from balloting the foresaid foure. And they rise from their Election with the two thirds, and put in place of him or them (not formerly approoued) one, or more, but of the number of the Senate: which being done, the Councell meete together, and they propound the names of the foure men concluded on and elected by the Electors: whereupon, hee of the foure that hath the most ballots, is named for Duke. And at the time when I wrote this discourse, in that honourable degree of Duke, was chosen the most courteous and famous Lord, *Paulo Baptista Caluo*, sometime a Iudge, a most worthy man, for goodnesse of life, and practise in the worlds occasions.

*Of the eight Governours.*

HERE sit vpon the Bench (with the Duke) eight Governours, as his counsellors, and their Office doth endure for two yeares: and they, with the duke are named the *Signoria*, and gouerne the Common-wealth. All these together cannot deliberate on any thing, wherein the interest of the people is concerned, or of any chiefe important busines; but they call for the ayde of the Great Councell. These Governours are elected by two at a time, at sixe and sixe months; and their elections made in this manner.

The lesser Councell and the Duke being assembled together, they elect eight and twenty men, one for euery Familie, who being chosen by the Senate and Duke, doe propound sometimes twelue, sometimes foureteene men to the great Councell; who (by balloting) do make election of one of them at a time. The next day following, they obserue the same order in electing the second, to wit, the lesser Councell do elect another eight and twenty, and that eight and twenty performe the rest as hath bene said. Euery one of the eight Governours ending his office, remayneth Procurator or Attorney for two yeares space: so that in the Colledge of the Proctors, there are alwayes eight, that stand for the gouernement of the Common-wealth; and all these come into the Senate with the duke, and with the eight Governours, delibera-

Paulo Baptista Caluo, elected duke of Genevay.

Councillors sitting on the Bench with the Duke.

The manner how the gouernours are chosen by the Duke and lesser Councell.

8. Procurators alwayes assisting the Common-wealth.

Wherein the dukes authoritie consists vnto all other.

What manner the Duke is elected on the 3. day

Balloting is a kind of choise by Bullers, or small ballies, which each man puts in for his behalf, so he would be in nomination.

deliberating together on important matters; and thus with these Governours & the Duke consisteth the whole summe of the State. Two of them haue abiding in the Pallace, the other keepe at their owne houses; and they change by turnes two at a time, at three months, and three months.

*Of the Procorators or Proctōrs.*

Concerning these Proctōrs, some of them liuing, doe come to be in the Office of Duke, and some doe remaine in charge but two yeares, and they are such as haue bene Governours. They haue care for procuring all publike occasions, collecting the rents and reuenues, and other such like businesse; being men of chiefe reputation, and of no meane importance.

*Of the Potestate or Proctōr.*

All the forenamed Magistrats, do onlie attend vpon the gouernement of the Common-wealth. Next now, concerning matters of Iustice and Iudgement (speaking first of criminall causes) they are guided and ordered in common by a forraine Potestate, who is a doctor, and they graunt him an honourable stipend. He hath his residence in a Pallace, which is neare to the Dukes, and he heareth and iudgeth all offences happening; but can assigne no capitall punishment, without consent of the Senate. Two other Doctors, being strangers also, doe assist him, whereof the one is called the Iudge of Malefactours, and the other Fiscall or Attorney generall: and by the ayde of these two Iudges, all processe and suites are formed against guilty persons, dealing also in cases of like nature. Beside these afore-named, the Potestate hath his Vicar, who attendeth vpon Ciuile causes, onely executiue.

*Of the extraordinarie Office.*

There is an Office of seauen men, called Extraordinarie, and these do represent (as it were) the Princes person, because he is busied in administration of the Common-wealth. Their care consisteth, in reforming and prorouging of

variances, and granting tutors to Schollers. And because contention is forbidden betweene Parents and Parents, and betweene poore and rich by ordination: these men doe appoynt what magistrate they meete, to heare offending parent and kindred, as also the strifes betweene poore and rich. Their Office continueth the space of sixe months, and is of much dignitie.

*Of the five supreme Sindicators.*

There is also a Magistracie, wherein are five men, called supreme Sindicators; They haue authority to arraigne, not onely the Duke, but the Governours also, after the expiration of their charge; and they haue the like power ouer all other magistrats of the Commonwealth, to punish both the Duke and Governours, finding them to bee delinquent.

And when the Duke is out of his Office, and that the Governours haue fulfilled their magistracie; a Proclamation is published by these Supreme Sindicators, That if any man haue ought to charge the Duke withall, or the Governours, let them appeare in their presence, and Iustice shall be done them. In which respect, the Duke and Governours haue eight dayes assigned them for this scindication; which being past, and they found in error, they are punished: but being innocent, they haue a Patent assigned them of their innocencie, whereby they are after called to be Proctōrs; because they cannot enter as Proctōrs, except they haue the Patent from those Supreme men, to allow their expedition. Finally, the greatnesse of this Office is such, that the Common-wealth elected for one of these Supreme Scindicators, the Prince *Andrea Doria*, the deliuerer of his Countrey. They are elected by the lesser Councill, with the Senate, and sit in the Pallace next to the Senate, for their respect.

*Of the Rota.*

Because wee haue formerly spoken of criminall occasions, now let vs say somewhat concerning ciuile causes. Wherein ye are to know, that the Common-wealth doe make choice of five doctours,

The Proctōrs come to the highest dignitie of al.

The Potestate is an Officer chosen abroad and not of the citty.

Two Iudges more as his assistants.

Seauen men termed Extraordinarie Officers, & what their charge is.

Such as trie and arraigne the Officers of highest eminence: for their offence.

The Duke and Governours haue eight dayes for the triall.

Other Doctors, being strangers, are pointed to sit in ciuile causes.

tors, forraignes or strangers, at every 2. yeares, which bodie of authoritie is called *Rota*. These men attend vpon Ciuile causes onely, and dwell in the Dukes palace: Al such matters as they censure on, are guided by ordinarie course of the Imperiall Lawes, forming their Proceffe and suite, according to the iudiciarie order appointed for the Cittie, which is after the auncient maner.

*Of the Censors.*

**N**OW, as concerning Arts, Trades and Mysteries, Censors are appoynted to that charge. These men do provide, that buyers, sellers, and all such as trafficke in handi-crafts, shall haue measures, weights, and all things else to them belonging, iust, and according to the auncient Lawes: And here we are to obserue, that every Art hath chiefe or head men, who are called Consulles, which make election of Artists amongst them. These Consulles haue authoritie in the matters of their Artes, and amongst these Consuls, such as deale in silks, may command much ouer their men: so that their power extendeth, to put them to the halter, to banish them, and perforce send them to the Gallies, or to giue other castigations to delinquents.

*Of forty Captaines.*

**I**N the Cittie of *Geneway* there are forty Captaines, of the number and bodie of the Nobilitie, and they are changed every yeare. These men haue vnder them an hundred men (for one) of the people, so that they make (in all) foure thousand persons, and the Common-wealth is serued by them at all occasions. For they make a garde in time of the least suspition; and when the *Signoria* is abroad, these fortie Captaines (bearing them company) are all clothed in Veluet, goodly and honourable ornaments, meete to attend on so great Lords. Moreover, all men in the Cittie, and the whole Burrough, that are apt to carrie Armes, are registred downe, from the age of twentie, to threescore, and are reduced vnder the government of those Captains, who (with them) stand alwayes obliged to be readily armed with weapons in hand, according to the auncient custome ordained.

*Of the Generall.*

**T**HE Common-wealth hath continually a Generall, who is appoynted for Armes, to serue in all occurrences, and in times of warre. At this instant it enioyeth (well deseruing such a degree, and to the satisfaction of all the Nobilitie, much pleasing to the whole hoast of Souldiers, and vniuersall liking of the people) the Lord *Augustino Spinola*, a most honourable and valiant Gentleman of that Cittie, full of incomparable bountie and knowledge, not onely in the occasions of Armes, but for all mannagements of the world beside.

*Of the Office of Saint George.*

**T**HE Office and Magistracie of Saint George, most noble among all the rest in the Cittie, was ordained in the yeare, 1407. It is now (by length of time) the conseruation of that Common-wealth, which, in those yonger dayes had not any naturall riches or wealth, fitting the qualitie of such a Country: yet notwithstanding, it wanted not men of quicke and apprehensue iudgement, to find out the way, and forme some means for procuring of moneys, that might arise to common vse: whereupon, they that liued in those auncienter yeares, and governed the publique occasions, tooke vp moneys of particular persons, some by constraint, others with much willingnes. And true it is, that in this money matter, such priuate persons as disbursed any summes, the publique vse payed them, tenne, nine, eight and seauen in the hundred, according to the varietie of times, to the end, that they might not suffer any endammaging, by such seruice as they did for publique benefit.

Proceeding in this course, it made men willing, ready and cautelous, in seeking security for their moneys, dayly put into the publique Banque, by selling to some (as for example) the power and iurisdiction of toll for meates; to others, the imposts of wines, and to others the taxations layd on corne. And these contracts made both in publique and particular, was teamed among them Bargaining and Buying, as when particular men bought any thing of the common sort, or in generall.

Augustino Spinola General of the Geneway forces.

At what time the Office of Saint George beganne.

Provision for money alwayes in bank for the citties vse.

Great stockes of coine arising out of meane and poore bsginning.

Ce for reliefmen & so as deale in all professtus.

Consuls the chiefe men of every trade.

In militarie garde & defence of the Cittie, and their ready preparation all times at occasions.

The begin-  
ning of tra-  
ding and So-  
cieties in Gene-  
way, onely by  
the Banquers  
that lent out  
monies to vs.

And it was ordained, that whosoever disbursed an hundred pounds, hee was said to hold one place among the buyers: he that disbursed two hundred, had two places; and hee for three hundred, three, and so it passed from hand to hand. So that this kinde of commerce and vsance multiplied greatly, and had names of diuers ordinations; as of the Capitoll, of Saint *Paule*, and others of their profession, by dealing in Salt, and diuers other beside, whose Titles and Names grew by their trading, and helde correspondencie particularly among the best Citizens, hauing care for iust payments, and the dues of the profites, with consideration of the Banquer, who alwayes ordered the contracts made publicly or privately. Heereupon, the number of dealers dayly encreasing, both by forraigne Nations and home-bred friends, which required diuersitie of Governours and Ouer-seers, and which else would grow to great confusion: it was therefore ordered by the *Signoria*, that all the Banquers should bee reduced and vnited into one absolute Societie, and named the Company of Saint *George*.

Eight gover-  
nors or Ouer-  
seers of the  
Banquer,  
both for len-  
ding and al-  
lowances.

Being thus ordained, they were also appoynted to bee governed by eight Citizens from yeare to yeare, who provided and gaue order, how the Banquers should let out their summes, and receiue in their interests and allowances, whereby they held the eminencie in the Office of Saint *George*. And in regard they perceyued, that this Office governed these matters with wisdom and iustice, businesse dayly encreasing, and the number of places supplied by new persons: alienation of profits grew among the Commons, and the charge of the Office euery way to be greater, by reason of lands and communities interestted with them, so that the Office attained to many priuiledges: first, by the *Signoria* of *Geneway*, and afterward of many Popes, Emperors and great Lordes, which came to dominion in the City: So that the Office of Saint *George*, although it depended on the common people, as also the *Signoria* of *Geneway*: yet all that came to the gouernement or Seignurie of the Cittie, were sworne to conserue the Priuiledges of the Magistracie of Saint *George*, and to maintaine it. And because (naturally)

The daily in-  
creasing of  
the Office of  
Saint *George*.

things take original of weake beginnings, and so in proceffe of time attayne to perfection: euen so did this magisteriall Office, being much better ruled now, then it could be at the beginning.

First, in answering the profites to all Banquers, they are not so determinate nor certayne, as at the originall: but yet according to the proportion of former allowances, lesse or more, and according vnto expences for the conseruation of things of especiall care, and according to the fruitfulnessse of tolles and taxation, beside diuers other benefites, assigned by the Commons to the Banquers: they are farre more secure, and more neatly qualified, concerning mens consciences.

Moreouer, this place hath obtayned Seignurie and dominion by many good and sufficient allowances, which it could not haue at the beginning. Beside, euery way are made new rules and orders, whereby there is farre better expedition of Causes, for the punishing of delinquents, and submission of the people to gouernement.

And whosoever doeth consider the high account of this Magistracie, shall finde the body of the Cittie; thereby to containe in it selfe two communities, the one great, the other lesse. The great is governed by the Pallace, and comprehendeth all the City; the lesser is governed by Saint *George* onely, as concerning the occasions before remembred, and comprehendeth all the Banquers and changers.

The first Communitie, or the greater, is subiect to variation, and is many times vnder regiment, rather to bee tearmed Tyrannicall then otherwise: but the lesser is alwayes free, firme, and vnder the Citizens. And certainly, which is a matter admirable, and rarely found, eyther by Philosophers or others, that haue discoursed on causes concerning Common-weales, to obserue: that within the circuite of one and the same wall, and all at a time, there should be tyrannie and liberty, life ciuile and corrupt, iustice and licence.

The begin-  
ning of any  
affaires mu-  
helpe it selfe  
by the succ-  
of times, as  
so attaine t  
true integr

Two Com-  
munities in G-  
neway, and  
how they a-  
gouerned.

A note well  
worth the o-  
seruation.

*Of eight Protectors of the Office of Saint George.*

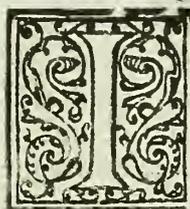
Concerning this Office of *S: George*, there are eight men appoynted to governe it, who are called Protectors. They continue for a yeare, and are elected every six months foure times, by the whole number of the Banquers, or Creditors for lands, & Creditors for letting forth certain sums, after this manner. Among the whole number of Citty Creditors, by lot are chosen 80. men, who meeting together soone after their election, they make a suruey among al those foure score, and select out of them foure and twenty by balotting, who being shut vp in a roome by themselves: they may not sunder or depart, till they haue ballotted for the eight Protectors, and in this ballotterie, fixeteene ballots doe confirme the election.

In the yeare 1444. an other Office was made of *Saint George*, consisting of men, which was then called the Office of foure and fortie, in regard of a thousand, out of which number they were created. The occasion of creating these eight men, was, that being the space of thirty seuen yeres, the Office so encreased and augmented, that the eight Protectors could not (in a whole yeare) terminate nor restrain the busie occasions happening, whereby the emoluments and interests of some creditors arose so great, and other moneys in diuerse manners: it was thought fit (for setting downe good order to such Remaines, which were (in effect) the riches and substance of the office) that a necessary participation of the gaires should be digested, for the creation of such as should helpe in this prouident care, for generall vilitie of the Office of *Saint George*, and yet to be carried in secret manner, for taking away all occasion of tyranny. And so eight Cittizens were chosen; of which two are changed yearely: and they take charge of collecting and gouerning such ouer-plusses as do arise yearely, by the managements of the eight Protectors.

This Office hath vnder protection the Isle of *Corfica*, and many other Citties and important places: and thence ensueth the expences layd out for their conseruation.

CHAP. II.

*An excellent Relation, concerning the estate of Religion and Common-wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.*



It is not to bee doubted, but by the singular counsell of our eternall God, the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who created mankinde, whereby a Church might bee assembled and congregated: a perpetuall historie concerning the creation of things, was giuen to men.

And although that the Philosopher *Democritus*, and others like to him, dreamed of an eternitie of a former world, or else of innumerable worlds, and made a mockerie at the beginning of things, and thought such a recitall to be but fabulous: yet notwithstanding wee holde them to be most true, considering, that Almighty GOD approoued the Writings of *Moses* by apparant testimonies, as by the rayeing vp of the dead and others.

Now, albeit wee receiue the auncient Historie of the Church, and singularly allow it for the Diuine authorities: yet there are many more Euidences of trueth besides; for, the auncient names of people, doe agree with the succession of the Fathers that related them, and the order of Empires hath bene such, as they were foretold to be, and so should be in their succeeding times.

The Propheticall Historie then is the truest, and the most auncient of all other; and the reason of that continued Historie, was, not onelie to let vs know the beginning of mankinde: but much more to notifie vnto vs, the Promises of the Sonne of God, and to giue vs certaintie of the first, and no way to be corrupted doctrine of God, and of the testifications so ostentimes rendred to other by that doctrine, what the gouernment of the Church hath bene; for it

Democritus dreaming of a former world, & of innumerable worlds

The auncient historie of the Church.

The propheticall Historie the truest and most auncient.

The manner of collecting the money of Protectors of Saint George.

Another Office called of foure and fortie being chosen out of a thousand.

Addition of eight Cittizens more to the Office.

In the Isle in the Sea Ligurianum.

was preserved in the diuersitie of tumults amongst Empires, like to a Shippe floating vpon raging and tempestuous billowes, what the battailes of the Church haue beene, and the exercises of Faith.

Now, it was a great blessing of God, that hee gaue a certayne seating vnto his Church, euen as an Academic, for more then sixteene hundred yeares in a commodious place; betweene two most potent Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, to the end, that throughout them both the voyce of his doctrine might be heard. There the Promises were repeated, and the Miracles adiuſted, which are witnesses of the presence of God: whose will was to haue those things set downe in writing, to the end that Posteritie might be informed by true doctrine, in the conflicts of the Church, and her manifold recoveries.

And although nothing is found in writing by publike authority, touching the last times; yet notwithstanding, our Lord was carefull to haue the latter Historic knowne, which hath beene declared partly by *Iosephus*, and partly by *Philo*, whereof I haue made a collection, because the more studious might enjoy a continuall Historic of the Iewish people, euen to the destruction of *Ierusalem*. And it pleased God, that a continued successe of histories should remaine to men: for seeing that Prophetical histories reached so farre as the reigne of the Persians, or to King *Cyrus*; the Greeke and Latine histories afterward, reported the great mutations of the following Empires, which also was seconded after by the Apostles writings, concerning the Sonne of God, borne of the Virgine *Marie*, crucified and raised againe; and after the Apostles, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Nicephorus* pursued in the Ecclesiasticall History. Wherein I make no doubt, but all such as are well aduised, will confesse, that the knowledge of the order of Times is necessarie, to vnderstand when the Doctrine was reuealed, the Sonne of God manifested, the Church congregated in diuers kinds, sometimes agitated by tempestuous stormes; and yet (after all) graciously deliuered. Wherefore, let vs giue thanks to God, for bestowing on men the continued Historic of his Sonne; and let vs keepe such Writings religiously: where-

in hauing taken some paines, I hope it will proue pleasing to all Christian Readers.

The beginning of the Catalogue is the continuation of soueraigne Sacrificers, or high-Priests that gouerned the Iewish people, after their returne from *Babylon*, with the princes issued of the race Royall.

## The first Familie being the Posteritie of Iesus.

### CHAP. III.

*A Catalogue of the High-Priests; or soueraigne Sacrificers, beginning with Seraia and his sonne Iosedech.*

**B**oth these were led captiue into *Babylon*, by *Nabuchodonosor* King of the Chaldeans, and dyed in exile.

*Iosuah* or *Iesus*, the sonne of *Iosedech*, came backe into *Iudea* with the Prince *Zorobabell*, five hundred and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. He liued vnder the Kings of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, euen to the twentieth yeare of *Artaxerxes*, *Long-hand*, and presided (as chiefe Priest) first sixe and thirtie yeares. Afterward, in regarde that the building of the Temple was hindered, he went into *Babylon* to *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, whom the Holy Historie nameth *Ahasuerus*, and was absent the space of eight yeares. After his returne hee was twenty yeares more in the high-Priesthood. *Philo* is of opinion, that he wrote the Historic of *Indith*, which others (neuerthelesse) holde to be more ancient.

The great blessings of God vpon his Church.

Concerning the historie of latter times.

Prophetical historie reached to the time of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*

The Church after many stormes happily deliuered

Seraia and Iosedech.

Iosuah sonne to Iosedech

Darius sonne of Hystaspes or Ahasuerus

The

*The sonne of Iesus was Ioachim.*

**I**oachim helde the Priest-hoode eight yeeres, in the absence of his brother, and eight and fortie yeres after his death. Hee liued vnder *Longhand*, and *Darius* the Bastard, vntill the twelfth yeare of *Artaxerxes Abassuerus*, who was also named *Mnemon*; hee did set downe in writing the Historie of *Hester*, and the memorie of *Phurim* was by him instituted, as *Philo* writeth.

*Eliasib* was his sonne, who was in Office of the Soueraigne Priest-hoode one and twentie yeeres, vntill the foure and thirtieth yeere of the reigne of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

*Iudas* or *Ioiada* sonne to him, was hie-Priest foure and twenty yeeres; vntill the third yeare of the reigne of *Darius*, who succeeded next to *Mnemon*.

*John* and *Iesus* were his sonnes, the latter whereof beeing fiered with ambition, insinuated himselfe (by the power of giftes) into the fauour of *Voges*, Satrape of *Persia*, to take (by his helpe) the chiefe Priest-hood from his Brother: But immediately hee payed the penaltie due vnto his wicked presumption; for in a debate and blowes being moued in the temple, he was slaine by his brother. Heere was the beginning of the euills in *Iudea*, about an hundred, sixtie and seauen yeeres, after the returne from *Babylon*.

*John* hauing murdered his brother *Iesus* in the Temple, was the cause of bringing the people into a miserable seruitude. For, the Satrape *Voges* being aduertised of the death of his friend *Iesus*, entred with a mightie Armie into *Ierusalem*, prophaned and pilled the Temple, saying, That he might aswell doe so, as the high-Priest to soyle it with the blood of his owne Brother: he collected the tribute money rigorously for the space of seauen yeeres together, proceeding therein so farre, as forcing the Iewes to pay an hundred crownes of the Sunne, for euery beast that they sacrificed. *John* held the high-Priest-hood foure and twenty yeeres, euen vnto the death of *Ochus*, and the beginning of the reigne of *Arsanes*.

*His Sonnes were Iaddus and Manasses.*

**M**anasses following the example of *Iesus*, to strengthen himselfe against his brother, made alliance with *Sannabalat* the *Chutteen*, sent *Satrape* by the last *Darius* into *Samaria*, and tooke to wife his daughter *Nicossa*. But in regard of this vnlawfull marriage, hee was repulsd from the Sacerdotall Office, with diuerse others for the same cause. Being bereft of the Priest-hoode, hee made his recourse to his Father in lawe in *Samaria*, who after he had obtayned leaue of *Alexander* the Great; builded a new Temple vpon an high mountayne in *Samaria* called *Garizim*, shaping it after the forme and magnificence of that at *Ierusalem*, and there hee caused his sonne *Manasses* to preside.

This diuision of High-Priests, was afterwards the cause of great tumults in *Iudea*; for, as all they which were expelled from *Ierusalem*, for transgressing the Ceremonies of *Moses* Lawe, as also for some other offences, betooke themselves to this new Temple: in a short time after, they grewe to such an head and strength, that inciting those Sacrificers, Apostates and Samaritans against the Iewes: it likewise gaue occasion to many riotous courses and theueries on either side.

Nothing was found by posteritie of this *Manasses*: but two hundred yeeres after, the Temple on this Mount of *Garizim* was destroyed from the toppe to the bottome, by *John Hircanus*, sonne vnto *Simon* the *Asmonean*, and Successor to him.

*Iaddus* administrd the hie-Priesthood for seauen and twentie yeeres, vnder *Arsanes*, and the latter *Darius*, euen to the time of *Alexander* the Great. He depriued his brother *Manasses* (and the rest) of the right of Priesthood; because (contrary to the Law of Almighty God) they had married with strange women. While *Alexander* the Great besieged the Cittie of *Tyre*, hee demaunded aide and tribute of this *Iaddus*, such as the Iewes had formerly payed to the Persians. Whereto he returned answer, That in the life time of *Darius* (to whom hee tooke his oath)

Iaddus and Manasses sons to Iohn.

A new Temple built on mount Garazim in Samaria.

Great strifes and contentions betweene the two Temples.

Iaddus depriued his brother Manasses of the Priest-hood.

The answer of Iaddus to Alexander the great, concerning aide and tribute.

Ioachim the sonne of Iesus of Iuda.

Eliasib the sonne of Ioachim.

Iudas or Ioiada sonne to Eliasib.

John and Iesus sonnes of Iudas.

Voges entered with an Armie into Ierusalem, & pilld the Temple.

he neuer acknowledged any other Lord, because that the Iewish Nation had been tributarie to the Kings of *Persia*, almost euer since their returne from *Babylon*. *Alexander* growing angrie at such an answer; after the taking in of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, mounted vp to *Ierusalem* with his Armies, intending to subiugate the Iewes by strength of Armes.

But *Iaddus* being thereof admonished in a dreame, tooke his Priestlie garments, and went to meete him in great humilitie, accompanied with all the Sacrificers and Citizens. *Alexander* beholding the Soueraigne high Priest, alighted on his feete, and gaue vnto him reuerend adoration. Being demaunded what should mooue him to reuerence an enemy, that came with submissiue entreatie vnto him: hee replied: *At the time of my abiding in Macedon, and thinking on the Empire of Asia. a man was presented to mee in my sleepe, in the same or like habite as the High Priest weares, who perswaded mee to undertake the expedition of Asia, and gaue mee good hope of prosperous successe.*

When hee was entred the Cittie, he was so farre from offering the least taste of an enemy, that, after hee had sacrificed, he adorned the Temple with magnificent gites, and at his departing hee gaue them libertie to vse the Lawe of their Fore-fathers, and the immunities of the seauenth yeare, wherein the fields were not sowne.

*The sonnes of Iaddus were Onias and Manasses.*

Concerning *Manasses*, wee read not any thing, but that hee succeeded next to his Nephew *Eleazar*, and was a friend to *Seleucus Gallinicus*, and that vnder his gouernement, the Samaritanes being displeased at the Iewes in despight of the Temple, and seruices there performed, they put to fire and sword the whole territory of *Ierusalem*. Some are of opinion, that this man was not the brother to *Onias*, but rather the brother vnto his wife, and make thereabout some controuersie.

*A Catalogue of the High Priests Onias called the Auncient.*

IN this mans time, *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagus*, desiring to make the people of the Iewes become tributarie; as hee entred vpon a Sabaoth day into the Citie of *Ierusalem*, to offer Sacrifice (the Iewes not daring to take Arms, for feare of doing contrary to the Law) vsed great cruelty against the Inhabitants, of whom he led away into *Egypt* some thousands, as captiues and hostages.

*The Sonnes of Onias were Simon and Eleazar.*

*Simon* was named *Iustus*, for pietie and benignitie towards his Nation. The Iewes enioyed peace vnder him, all the while as the Successours of *Alexander* the great, *Antigonus*, *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and the rest, fought in *Asia* and *Greece* for the Monarchie.

*Eleazar* succeeded after his brother *Simon*, as Tutor to *Onias* the second, being as yet a childe. In his time, *Ptolomie Philadelphus* enfranchised aboue an hundred thousand Iewish slaues, led into *Egypt*, partly by the Kings of *Persia*, partly by his father *Ptolomie* the sonne of *Lagus*.

Moreouer, he sent Ambassadors with magnificent Presents to *Eleazar* the high Priest, requesting to haue threescore and twelue Iewes, that could translate the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, out of the Hebrew language into the Greeke. Which being done, hee sent them backe agayne with great gites, and a Table of golde dedicated to the Temple, and other Presents of especiall value. His vnckle *Manasses* succeeded after his death; vnckle by the mother only, according to some: for the Greeke word signifieth vnckle both by father and mother.

*Simon* had three sonnes; *Tobius*, whom *Philo* and Saint *Luke* in his third chapter calleth *Mattathias*; *Ioseph*, that pacified *Ptolomie*. And *Annas Hyrcanus*, the last Prince of the Iewish people, of the Linage of *Iuda*, and house of *David*: who slew himselfe, for feare of *Antiochus* the Noble.

After this man, the high Priests drew vnto themselues the gouerning in all affaires.

The daughter of *Simon* the high Priest

Iaddus meetes Alexander with all submission.

Alexanders repetition of his dreame.

Manasses Nephew to Eleazar.

The cruelty of Ptolomie against the Iewes.

Simon from Iustus was gracious to his nation.

An hundred thousand Iewes kept in slaues, set at libertie by Ptolomie Philadelphus.

The 3 sonnes of Simon, and a daughter also.

Priest, was married to *Tobias*, of the house of *David*.

*Onias* being left a childe by his Father, at last, in his age succeeded to *Manasses* in the High-Priest-hood. By his avarice he offended *Ptolomy*, King of *Egypt*, and raised him in rage against the *Jewes*, because he refused to pay the ordinary tribute. For the high-Priests were wont to pay their reuennues yearely to the Kings of *Egypt*, for their Cittizens, amounting to twenty Talents, that is, twelue thousand crownes of the Sunne. But *Ioseph* afterward appeased *Ptolomy*, who was Nephew to *Onias* by the Sisters side, a Prince of the posterity of *David*.

*Onias* succeeded his sonne *Simon*.

*Philo* saith, that he was surnamed *Iustus*. Vnder him, *Iesus* the Sonne of *Syrach* wrote his Book called *Ecclesiasticus*. And that *Simon* had three sonnes also, who (each after other) obtayned the Priest-hood, which *Iosephus* testifieth apparantly. The Sonnes of *Simon*, were,

*Onias*. *Iesus*, otherwise called *Iason*. *Onias*, also called *Menelaus*.

The great *Onias* is commended in the second Booke of the *Machabees*, for his piety and iustice, and is saide, that hee was a friend to *Seleuchus*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble; who sometimes furnished all necessary affaires in the Temple, with the reuennues of the Realme of *Syria*. But afterward, another man, called *Simon*, who had the charge of keeping the Temple, hauing conceyued malice against *Onias* the high-Priest; reported to King *Seleuchus*, that there was an infinite masse of gold hidden in the Temple, which the Priests applied to their own priuate vses. And this was the cause, that the king wold no longer furnish the Temple with the wonted monyes; but also sent *Heliodorus*, to make seizure on the wealth, and commit it to the Kings Treasury. But as hee would haue audaciously haue entered (with his followers) into the secret place of the Temple, he was smitten downe, & very neere dead, yet recovered againe by diuine mercy, and by the prayers of *Onias*.

Afterward, the discord so encreased be-

tweene the Prince of the high-Priests, and the Traitor *Simon*; that many murders were committed by the friends of *Simon*: which made *Onias* to retire himselfe towards the King *Seleucus*, and gaue way to the fury of his enemies. But before *Onias* could get thether, *Seleuchus* was dead, and *Iason*, Brother to *Onias*, had obtayned by bribes and gifts to *Antiochus* the Noble (succeeding the deceased King) the administration of the high-Priests office. Whereupon, *Onias* doubting King *Antiochus* as much as his Brother; durst not go to him, but went to a free place, neere to *Daphne*, a city of *Syria*, & being drawne thether by deceitfull meanes, was also slaine by *Andronicus*, Lieutenant to the King, and at the request of *Menelaus*, whō *Iason* hauing expulsed, possessed himselfe of the high-Priests Office, as heereafter shall be declared.

The Sonne of this *Onias* the Great, was *Onias*.

*Onias* beeing left young at his Fathers death, and afterward growing to more ripeness of yeares; standing in feare of *Alcinus* the high-Priest, he fled into *Egypt* to *Ptolomy Philometor*, accompanied with some of his fellow-cittizens. There *Ptolomy* gaue him permission, to builde a Towne and a Temple, in the Territory of *Heliopolis*, in resemblance of that at *Ierusalem*; which was called *Onion*, five great miles from *Memphis*, now called the great *Cayro*. For in regard that *Ptolomy* waged warre with *Antiochus* the Noble, & stood in need of his neighbours succors, he was perswaded by *Onias* to build a Temple, as if by that meanes, all the people of the *Jewes* would league with the Kings of *Egypt*, & take their part. About 230. yeares after this Temple was built, at the same time as the City and Temple of *Ierusalem* were ruined; it was also despoyled of all her Jewels, and shut vp by Ediēt from *Vespasian* the Emperor.

The Sonnes of this *Onias*, dwelling in *Egypt*, were *Helchias* and *Ananias*.

These two Brethren, beeing Colonels of the *Egyptians* Army, ayded valiantly *Cleopatra*; so that her Sonne *Lathurus* being excluded, she obtayned the kingdom.

But

*Iason* getteth the High-Priests Office from his Brother *Onias*.

The murder of great *Onias*.

*Onias* flyeth into *Egypt*, to *Ptolomy Philometor*.

The building of a new temple in *Egypt*.

The two brethren Commanders of the *Egyptians* Army.

King *Ptolomy* engaged against the *Jewes* about tribute-money.

*Ioseph* in *Antiquities* 2. cap. 16

*Onias* was commended for piety and iustice.

*Heliodorus* endeavored to seize on the wealth and treasure of the temple.

But after that *Ptolomy* had recollected his forces, and passing into *Egypt* through *Judea*; *Helchias* putting him to flight with his Army, died in *Syria* of a sharpe disease. For the rest, wee reade nothing of the posterity of the high-Priests of *Egypt*.

*Iesus*, named *Iason* also, second Sonne to *Simon*, after the death of *Seleuchus*, bought of *Antiochus*, brother and successor to *Seleuchus*, the high-priesthood, for five hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of gold, as wee speake vūlgarly; promising him beside as an ouer-plus, forty eight thousand crownes of the Sun, as an annuall tribute. And to gaine himselfe more grace with this wicked King, he builded places in *Ierusalem*, for the exercising of young people, in such pastimes as he had instituted, and these were to bee performed, at such times as the people v-sed to meete in the Temple. He receiued and magnificently entertained *Antiochus Epiphanes* with his Army, with Lamps and flaming fires, & songs composed in praise of the King: and this was at such time as the King departing thence, planted Garrisons of strength in the Fortresses of *Ierusalem*, and this was but a beginning to the intollerable seruitude which afterward followed.

*Iason* hauing enioyed the high-Priesthood three yeares, sent his Brother *Menelaus* with gold and great charge to *Antiochus*: but now hee prooued to be payed with coyne of the same stampe, as before he had done to his brother *Onias*; for by the same crafty contriuing, *Menelaus* set him quite beside the Priesthood. And *Iason* standing now in feare of *Menelaus*, with-drew into the land of the *Ammonits*, where he closely concealed himselfe, vntil a false rumour ran abroad, that *Antiochus* entring *Egypt*, dyed. These newes so cheered vp his drooping spirits, that being accompanied with a thousand men in arms, he intruded vpon the Citty, where being faouered by the inhabitants, for the rapines and cruelties committed by *Menelaus*; he slew many of *Antiochus* his faction, and compelled *Menelaus* to saue himselfe in the *Syrians* Garrisons kept in the Forts.

But hearing the returne of *Antiochus* from the Land of *Egypt*, and losing all hope of the Priesthood, againe he retired among the *Ammonites*, of whom he could

not now be receiued, standing in feare of *Antiochus*, who was neere at hand with his army. Expulsed also (for the same reason) by *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, out of his marches, and hauing no accessse into *Egypt*, & lastly, forsaken of all; he passed by Sea to the *Lacedemonians*, among whom hee was concerned in kindred: and yet, as a iust punishment for his ambition, he dyed verry poorely in banishment.

*Onias*, named *Menelaus* also, the third Sonne of *Simon*, according to *Iosephus* (albeit in the second Booke of the *Macchabees*, he is not said to be the Sonne of *Simon* the High-Priest, but brother to one *Simon*, of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, who had charge of the Temple, as we saide before in speaking of *Onias*) being sent to King *Antiochus* the Noble, by *Iason*, Prince of the sacrificing Priests, with money and commission about important affayres; did so cunningly insinuate himselfe, into the good grace of the King and his Courtiers: that by promising three hundred Talents (which is an hundred and four score thousand crownes of the Sun) more then all that which *Iason* payed, and accusing him of diuers crimes beside: he preuailed so farre, that the Soueraigne Priesthood was taken from *Iason*, and conferred on him in his stead.

This dignity thus obtayned, he pursued the same impieties as *Iason* did, in the customes and manners of the Pagans, & farre exceeding him in rapines and cruelties. For at the entring into his gouernment, to make himselfe the surer of so ill-gotten honour; he slew *Onias*, eldest Son to *Simon* his brother, as *Iosephus* affirms, who being exiled, kept close in a franchised place neere *Daphné*, a Towne in *Syria*; there hee caused him to bee murdered by *Andronicus* (Gouernour of *Cælosyria*) by fraud and treason, and for which offence, *Andronicus* was sentenced with death by the King.

Afterward, being vnable to furnish the great payment of money hee had promised to the King; he solde many vessels of gold, which he had couertly stolne out of the Temple: which sacriledge comming to be knowne, great mutinies were moued among the people. At length, *Menelaus* was accused and conuined by three Ambassadors, sent from *Ierusalem* to *Tyre*. But by the meanes of a Courtier, named

*Ptolomy*

The High-Priests Office bought for 500. Talents.

The entertainment of king *Antiochus* into *Ierusalem*.

*Iason* is iustly required for treachery to his brother *Onias*.

*Iason* soone encouraged, and as quickly daunted againe.

The miserable and wretched end of *Iason*

2 *Macchab.* cap. 2. 3.

*Menelaus* cunningly insinuating with the King and Courtiers.

*Menelaus* more wicked then his Brother *Iason*.

*Menelaus* sacrificed iournebeth the Temple, and yet carrieth away by corruption.

*Ptolomy* (soundly corrupted with money) hee was absolued and the King pacified, preuailing withall so farre, that his accusers were executed for calumniators: and he returning backe to *Ierusalem*, began againe to tyrannize ouer the Cittizens.

Much about this time, for the space of forty dayes, there appeared in the Hea-uens, hoasts or bands of men, fighting both on horsebacke and foote: which prodigious signes, prognosticated the horrible calamities which soone after were to follow. For as *Antiochus* was leading his Army (the second time) into *Egipt*, purposing to vsurpe the Country by open warre, seeing he could not do it vnder colour of Guardianship, because *Ptolomy Philometor* (his Nephew) was yet but young: *Iason* rushed into the City with his Army, againe to repulse his brother from the Priesthood, ouer-comming a great number of the Inhabitants, that tooke part with *Antiochus* and *Menelaus*. Who finding his strength too feeble, fled to the Fortresses and Garrisons of the *Syrians*, dispatching messengers vnto *Antiochus* for better ayde.

And now *Antiochus* being vrged there-to by the rigorous command of the Ro-manes, and deliuered by *Popilius*, left *Egipt*, comming thence in a raging madnes, fearing a further reuolt of the Iewish Nation. Hauing brought his Army be-fore the City, hee found the Gates fast shut, and the inhabitants ready to defend themselues. Whereat being vexed, he forced into the City without any great difficulty: because *Menelaus* with his faction, and the *Syrian* Garrisons ran vp and downe in the City, and put to the Sword many Cittizens, and giuing entrance to the enemy at the Gates. Being entred, *Antiochus* charged his people to kill all that they met with in Armes, and not to spare eyther age or sexe: so that within three dayes space, fourescore thousand men (or thereabout) were slaine in *Ierusalem*, beside diuers thousands ledde away captiues, and sold for slaues.

The King, conducted by *Menelaus*, entered into the most holy part of the Temple, touching with his polluted hands the sacred Vessels, which he caused to be carried thence into *Syria*, with a thousand, eight hundred talents of treasure, as much to say, as eleuen Tuns of gold of our mo-

nie: which treasure had bin partly giuen to the Temple, and partly was put there in trust for the benefite of widdowes and orphanes, as into the onely surest place both for reuerence and sanctity. So, after *Antiochus* had restored *Menelaus* to the high-Priesthood againe, and had planted strong Garrisons in the City (wherof *Philip* of *Phrygia* was Captaine, a man very bloody and cruell) hee returned backe to *Antioche* again with his great booty. Two yeares after, fearing a reuolt of the *Iewes*, he sent the Colonell *Appolonius* to *Ierusalem*, with two and twenty thousand men, who expressed no countenance of an enemy, but encamped without the City, attending for the Sabboth day, and then giuing the determined signall, hee slew & massacred the vnarmed multitude, that came foorth to behold the Campe of the *Syrians*. Then entring violently into the City, hee put all to the edge of the sword that withstood him, robbing, spoyling, & burning it in many places, throwing downe the walles and fortifications: yet rampairing the Walles and Bulwarks, in that part called, *The City of Dauid*, and planting there a potent Garison.

This was a preparatiue, to attaine (in time) to the Kings full ayme, who purposing to turne (perforce) the *Iewes* from the Law of their fore-fathers (a thing which he knew they would withstand to their vttermost power) first of all he gaue order, to dispossesse them of Armes and Weapons, leauing them naked of all munitions, succour and resistance. This discomfiture made by *Appolonius* in *Ierusalem*; soone after the King sent thither *Athenus*, another of his Colonels, with an especiall Edi&ct, whereby he commanded all Nations that were in subiection to him, to vse (in euery kingdome) the same Religion which the *Greekes* did: prohibiting expressely to the *Iewes*, the vse of circum-cision, & other ordinances commanded them by God. He likewise planted Garrisons aswell in *Ierusalem*, as in other Cities and Townes of *Iudea*, to inflict cruell punishment on al them, that did not obtemperate the Kings Edi&ct. Beside, the Temple was prophaned by the Kings Command, and the Image of *Iupiter Olympus* worshipped in the Sanctuary, euen in the *Sanctum San&ctorum*, and many pail-lardizes and whoredomes committed with-

Menelaus restored to the High-Priesthood againe, by Antiochus and Catious planted in the City.

The City of Dauid in Ierusalem.

The Iewes left naked of all meanes whereby to vse resistance, or helpe themselves.

A cruell Edi&ct sent out by Antiochus against the Iewes.

Prodigious signes scene in the ayre, & telling lamentable events that followed.

Antiochus entered to de-stroye from Egipt, cometh to Ierusalem.

Prodigious scene of blood in the City, & many slain into slaues.

within the circuite of the Temple. Moreover, by the same Edict Royall, the holy Bookes were forbidden ingenerall, and that man iudged worthy of death, with whom the Booke of the Law should be found; yea, and seuerer inquisition made for it euery Moneth.

As thus the Cittizens of *Ierusalem* were disarmed, oppressed, & very strong Garisons planted ouer them: euen so were they destitute of any Captain, not daring to vse force or opposition, against the wicked commands and excessiue tyrannies of *Antiochus*: considering also, that *Menelaus* the soueraigne High-Priest, had formerly instituted the behaiourss vsed among Pagans in *Ierusalem*, to keepe himselfe in his dignity, & in the Kings fauour, approuing and assisting all his enterprizes; in which respect, many that made vertuous profession of the Law giuen by God, were most inhumanely murdered by the Soldiours of *Antiochus*, and their goods confiscated. Others (in great number) forsaking the City, and leauing all their goods behinde them, went to hide themselues in Caues and desert places, as *Mattathias* the *Asmonea* withdrew (accompanied with his children) into the little Village of *Modin*.

In the second Booke of the *Macchabees* is described the horrible punishing of two women, who were accused to the Lieutenant of *Antiochus*, that they had circumcised their children, contrary to the Kings Edict. Whereupon, they were condemned, and (for a terror to other) they were led naked through the streetes of the City, their infants strangled, hanging at their breasts, and afterward throwne downe from the top of the City wall. There is also set downe, the seuen Brethren & their Mother, tormented with most exquisite tortures; and yet they helde fast the profession of the Law. By which horrible cruelties, judgement may be made, aswell of the extreme rigour of *Antiochus*, as also the miserable estate of Gods people: of whom, some reliques were yet referued, by meanes of the *Asmoneans*, raised vp by God, to repress the rage of *Antiochus*, & to maintaine the Law of God by Armes, as heereafter shall be declared.

In the meane time *Menelaus*, Author, beholder and promoter of these inflictions vpon the people; retayned still the ti-

tle of Soueraigne high Sacrificer, euen then when *Iudas Macchabeus* tooke (by power) the City and the Temple: he being then hid in the Fortresse, vnder the protection of the *Syrians*, vntill that after the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, hauing seized on *Ierusalem*, concluded peace with *Iudas Macchabeus*, and by the perswasion of *Lysias*, brought him captiue into *Syria*, as the firebrand of all the warre, and of the overthrowing of the *Syrian* Armies by the *Asmoneans*, and there he was also slaine, after he had held the high-Priesthood twelve yeares. This was the last Sacrificer of the posterity of *Aaron*, to whom the diuine right appertained, for administration of the Soueraigne Priesthood. For *Antiochus Eupator* appointed in the place of *Menelaus*, a certaine man named *Alcimus*, who might bee of *Aarens* posterity; but not of the Family of that *Iesus*, who with *Zorobabell* had returned from *Babilon* into *Iudea*. This *Alcimus* presided foure yeares, and then dyed of a sudden sicknesse, two yeares after the death of *Iudas Macchabeus*.

*Alcimus* being dead, the Temple and the people was seauen yeares without a Soueraigne high-Priest, vntill such time as the power of *Ionathas* encreased, who was the Brother of *Iudas*: when the dignity of the Priesthood was transferred (by consent of the people) into the Family of the *Asmoneans*; where it remained so long, as to the beginning of the Reigne of *Herod*, about 116 yeares.

### CHAP. III.

#### *Of the Asmoneans, being the second Family.*

As much to say, as them of the posterity of *Simon*, to whom the principality, as well of the High-Priesthood, as also of the *Iewish* people being transferred, it continued from the time of *Antiochus* the Noble, vntill the Reigne of *Herod*.

*Simon. Iohn. Mattathias.*

THE Sacrificer of the Family of *Iorab* of *Ierusalem*, dwelling in the Village of

The Cittizens of *Ierusalem* durst make no opposition in their owne defence.

The horrible punishment inflicted vpon two women.

The *Asmonean* raised by God to repress *Antiochus*.

*Menelaus* taken and led Captiue in *Syria*.

The last high Priest of *Aarens* posterity.

*Alcimus* succeeded in the high-priesthood.

The High-Priesthood translated the family the *Asmoneans*.

The first opposition of the high Priest against King Antiochus.

Mattathias saw a Jew for sacrificing a forbidden beast on a Pagan Altar.

Mattathias with the people from the Idolatries of Antiochus.

The death of the reverend old man Mattathias.

Eleazar surnamed Amaran.

of *Modin*, did first oppose himselfe against *Antiochus* the Noble; who, by horrible torments constrained the *Jewes* to transgresse their Law, and to deale in those behaviours vsed among the Pagans; in the hundred, forty and five yeares of the kingdome of *Syria*, an hundred fifty and nine yeares after the death of *Alexander*, and an hundred sixty and five yeares before the birth of *Christ*. For *Mattathias* seeing a certaine *Jew*, who (to please the King) sacrificed a forbidden beast vpon a Pagan Altar, it being prohibited by the diuine Law: enflamed with a iust and holy zeale (in the presence of the Cittizens of his owne Nation, suffering such a wicked acte to be done, as also of the Kings Lieutenant) slew the offender, and then beating downe the Altar, deliuered arms to all them, who (making more account of the word giuen by God, thē the threatenings of a Pagan King) had forsaken their goods, and liued in the Deserts, frō whence many returning daily; hee leuied a great Army, by whose helpe he deliuered worthily the neighbouring Townes, from the Idolatries of *Antiochus*, and replanted the seruice and ordinances commanded by the Law diuine.

But this valiant man, deeply steeped in age, after hee had (for a yeares space) led this banished wandring troope, and after he had exhorted his Sonnes to the study of piety, as also the valiant defending of the Law giuen by God, against the wicked Edicts and torments of *Antiochus*, reconciling them all to concord and mutuall reuerence, dyed peaceably, in the yeare 146. of the Kingdome of *Syria*; 160. after the death of *Alexander*; and 164. before *Christ* was borne.

*Mattathias* had five Sonnes. *Judas*, *Ionathas*, *Simon*, *Iohn*, and *Eleazar*.

*Eleazar*, otherwise called *Amaran* or *Anaran*, a very hardy young man, after he had performed many valiant deeds; in the fift yeare after his Fathers death, going to finde out *Antiochus Eupator*, Sonne to *Antiochus* the Noble, with his brother *Judas*; he saw (among other) a goodly Elephant, exceeding in greatnesse & rich furniture. Whereby, hee imagining that the King should be vpon him, ran towards him ouer-boldly, and slaying many Soldiours

euery where about him, got vnder the Elephant, and giuing a deadly stabbe in his belly, the Elephant fell downe vpon him, and thereby was the death of *Eleazar*.

*Iohn*, surnamed *Gaddis*, after the death of his brother *Judas*, was sent by *Ionathas* and *Simon* his other brethren into *Arabia*, with the Iewels & precious things which they had conquered in warre, to place them in the custody and guard of the *Nabatheans*: but the *Ammorites* layed ambushes by the way for him, and hauing slaine him, tooke also the spoyles away from him and his traine.

*Judas*, was surnamed also *Macchabeus*, which diction in Hebrew is written *Miccabai*, wherof each letter signifieth a word, taken from the Song of *Moses* in *Exodus*, in these expresse words: *MECAMOCHA BAILEM IEHOVA?* That is to say: *Who is like vnto thee (O Lord) among the Gods?* *Judas* vsing this sentence for his Motto or deuice, and making one phrase of the first Letters of the foure words, caused himselfe to bee surnamed *Macchabeus*. His father being neere his death, appointed him the cheefe guide & Leader of the poore and miserable multitude: who had rather endure all afflictions whatsoeuer, then renounce the doctrine giuen them by God. Soone after the death of his Father, he ouercame the Army of *Apollonius*, and made vse of his Sword in all the battailes he fought afterward with a smal band of men; he vanquished the Army of *Saron*, Governour of *Syria*, who was slaine in the field, and with him 8000. men. These victories obtained the first yeare, made *Judas Macchabeus* highly renowned. The yeare following, which was the 147. of the *Greekes* reigne, *Antiochus* went into *Persia* with his Army, and left in the kingdome of *Syria* *Lyfias*, as Regent and Governour to his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, giuing him expresse charge to destroy the *Jewes*. For the execution of which command, *Lyfias* sent into *Palestine*, forty thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, vnder the conduct of *Ptolomy*, *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* his Colonels, who entred hostilly with their Armies into *Iudea*, and encamped before the Village of *Emaus*. *Judas* perceiuing perill, led his Army into *Maspha*, a place (long agoe) built before the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and very famous for Religion.

Eleazar slain by an Elephant falling vpon him.

Iohn slaine by the Ammorites.

The name of Macchabeus. Exod. 15, 11.

Micamocha Bailem Iehoua.

Judas made Leader of the people.

The valiant actes of Judas Macchabeus.

Lyfias made Governour of young Antiochus Eupator.

There

The small Army of men that Iudas had with him.

The wonderfull successe of Iudas against Gods enemies.

Lysias cometh with a mighty Army against the Macchabees.

Iudas encourtreth the great Army of Lysias.

Antiochus repulst at his besiedging Persepolis.

There he publicly commanded a fast, giuing charge, that by earnest and hearty prayer they should craue of God, that so small a handfull of men (for hee had but three thousand apt for warre with him) might valiantly defend themselues against so great a power of enemies. Which being done, he removed his Campe, and went directly to confront the hoast of his aduersaries, and setting vpon them in the night season, droue them to flight, & slew three thousand with the Sword. Vpon the successe of this exploite, hee went to seeke the other part of the Army, which was guided by *Gorgias*, who intended to steale vpon the *Iewes* in the dead time of night. But *Gorgias* hearing the former defeature, and perceiuing the smoake of lighted fires in the Campe of the *Iewes*; fled away in haste with his forces. So *Iudas*, with so silly a power of people, enforced the huge hoasts of his enemies vnto flight, and got very great booties from them.

*Lysias* hauing intelligence of his mens ill successe, being mad with anger, leuied a farre greater power, to make fresh warre vpon the *Macchabees*. And the yeare following, which was the 148. of the *Greekes* reigne, himsele in person (for hee grew distrustfull of his Captaines) accompanied with threescore thousand foote, all of them pickt and chosen men, & siue thousand horse, inuaded *Iudea*, by passing thorow *Idumea*. And as he was encamped in *Bethsura*, on the Frontiers of *Iudea*, *Iudas Macchabeus* came to meete him with ten thousand men (so much was the number increased, of them that detested *Ethnick* Idolatry) and after hee had inuoked publicly the ayde of God, hee fought with the enemy.

*Lysias* perceiuing how couragiously the *Iewes* fought, as men that meereley despised death, breaking furiously through his ranks, his men beginning to turne their backes, and siue thousand of them hewen in peeces; rallied together his scattered troopes, and led them backe to *Antioche*, hoping to speede better at another time with a new expedition. Wherein he was preuented, by the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, who being repulst frō besiedging *Persepolis*, as hee led backe his Army in ill order by *Babylon*, and beeing informed (by the way) what bad successe

his Armies had sustained in *Iudea*: he fell first into a greuous vexation of spirit, & afterward of body, so that his intestines were smitten with horrible diseases. Yet being nothing the milder by this visitation, but rather more vehemently provoked against the *Iewes*: after his returne, he purposed a speedy iourney to *Iudea*; there to raze their Citties, especially *Ierusalem*, and vterly to extirpate the Iewish Nation. But as he proceeded on in this violent resolution, and making too much haste on the way; the Chariot (wherein he lay sicke) was ouerturned, and his body so bruised against the ground, also the extremity of his impatience so violent; that his blood pouer-boyled, his entrailes putrified, and his flesh outwardly rotted, yeelding forth a most loathsome and intollerable stinke, so that in wonderfull torments, he gaue vp the ghost, acknowledging the diuine vengeance of Heauen. Thus died this most cruell Tyrant, in the 148. yeare of the *Greekes* reigne; of his owne the 12. and the fourth, after those many robberies, as well of the Temple, as the City of *Ierusalem*.

*Iudas Macchabeus*, much encouraged by this so notable a victory, conducted his Army to *Ierusalem*; where he cleansed the Temple, formerly defiled and profaned by the seruice of Idols, and offered sacrifices according to the Law, in the yeare of the *Greekes*, 148. before Christs Natiuity, 162. the 25. day of the Moneth of *Chisseu*, that is to say, Nouember; the very same day; that (three yeares before) it had beene robbed & profaned by *Antiochus*, placing therein Images and Idols. He builded also *Sion*, and strongly munited *Bethsura*, that it might serue as a Fortresse against the *Idumeans*.

Hauing done this, he kept his Armour daily on his backe, because he was still assayled by the *Idumeans*, *Ammonites*, and other, who laboured to ouerthrow the power of the Iewish Nation, which began to exalt it selfe in some good measure. But the brethren of the *Macchabees*, repelled those insulting Nations worthily, diuiding their Armies, & fighting fortunately in many places at a time, yet vsing their victories rudely enough. In the 150. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Iudas* laide siedge before the Forts of *Ierusalem*, which from the Garrisons made many courses; killing such

The great & horrible iudgment of God declared in the death of Antiochus the Noble.

The returne of Iudas to Ierusalem his purifying the Temp

Iudas wear daily with Armour o

Antiochus  
Eupator gi-  
th aide to  
Menelaus.

such as would sacrifice in the Temple, & very much molested the Cittizens. But *Antiochus Eupator*, being vrged by *Menelaus*, to send him aide, for reliefe of them that were besieged in the forts; sent an army into *Iudea* by *Lysias*, consisting of 10000. foote, and 20000. horse, and besieged *Bethsura* a long time. In the meane while, *Iudas* being aduertised of the Kings coming in person thither, raised his siege from before the forts, and went to meet the enemy with his Souldiers, of whom he made some slaughters in diuers skirmishes. Yet finding himselfe to be oppressed by so ouer-great a multitude, retired into *Ierusalem*, where being enclosed within the munitions of the Temple; he endured a long and difficult siege, enforced (vpon the coming thither of *Antiochus*, who folowed after *Lysias*) to play vpon aduantages.

Antiochus  
Beth a very  
dangerous  
ledge to Ie-  
rusalem.

So long lasted this sharpe besieging, vntill the King, being certified of *Phillips* coming, who, vnder colour of reducing the *Persians* vnder the awe of *Epiphanes*, sought to possesse himselfe (as the same went) of the Kingdomes both of *Asia* and *Syria*: offred peace to them that were besieged in the Temple, with libertie of liuing according to the laws of their forefathers. But after that *Iudas* had brought his garrison out of the Temple, the King being amazed at the fortifications, beat downe their walls, contrary to the accord made at the Temple, and led *Menelaus* the Soueraigne Sacrificer captiue away with him (according as we haue saide already) instituting *Alcimus* in his stead, who also was named *Ioachim*, and so took his way home againe to *Syria*.

CHAP. V.

*Antiochus and Lysias are put to death by Demetrius; the wicked behaiour of Alcimus the high-Priest; the death of Iudas, and the successtion of his brother Ionathas.*

IN the 151. yeare of the Greekes, *Demetrius* flying from *Rome*, where hee had bin detained in hostage, made seizure on the kingdome of *Syria*: putting to death the sonne of *Epiphanes*, named *Antiochus*

*Eupator*, and his Gouvernour *Lysias*. Now *Alcimus*, coueting to retaine still the dignitie of the High-priesthood, conferred vpon him by *Eupator* and *Lysias*: went to *Demetrius*, and there accused all his nation (especially the *Asmoneans*) as Authors of the tumults, and perturbers of the peace of *Iudea*, & that they had throwne him out in banishment. Heereupon, the King sent *Bacchides* with a maine army, to reseate *Alcimus* in his office. Being entred *Ierusalem* with his power, by fraude hee slew many innocent Cittizens, & leauing strong forces with *Alcimus* to safe protect him, returnd back into *Syria*. While thus *Alcimus* abused the power and fauor of the King, for putting many to death that were contrary to him: *Iudas* finding these courses to be intollerable, & taking to heart so great cruelty in the soueraigne Sacrificer; vnderooke the defence of innocents, putting all them to death that tooke part with *Alcimus*. Whereupon, *Alcimus* fearing the vertue and power of *Iudas*, fled the second time to *Demetrius* at *Antioche*, and there formed a criminall accusation against *Iudas*.

The greedie  
desire of Al-  
cimus for stil  
enjoying the  
Priesthood.

Bacchides en-  
tred Ierusa-  
lem with his  
Armie.

Iudas vnder-  
taketh to re-  
uenge the  
outrage of  
Alcimus.

*Nicanor* then was sent with a puissant Army, who thought craftily to surprize *Iudas*, vnder a colour of kind conference, and so leade him along to the King. But this compact being discovered, he entred into open armes; and being fought withall by *Iudas* in plaine battell, was constrained to retire to the fort of *Sion*. Afterward, issuing forth of *Ierusalem* in great anger, all his forces assembled together; hee threatned all the sacrificing Priests with death and vtter destruction of their Temple, if they did not deliuer *Iudas* a-liue to his hands. But *Iudas* hauing reinforced his Armie, encountred againe with *Nicanor* at *Bethsura*, in which battaile he slew the captaine *Nicanor*, & discomfited the whole army, being aboute 9000. men. This hapned the 13. day of the moneth *Adar*, which is February; and that day was afterward solemnely obserued, in regard of such a notable victorie.

Iudas fights  
with Nicanor  
in plaine bat-  
telle.

Nicanor slain  
by Iudas in  
the second  
battelle.

After these successfull aduentures, *Iudas* perswading himselfe, that *Demetrius* would seek reuenge on the Iewes for this his great ouerthrow; deuised to strengthe his power by the assistance of strangers. Heereupon, hee sent Ambassadors to the *Romanes*, to capitulate vpon confederacy

Menelaus led  
away captiue  
vpon Antio-  
chus into  
Sia.

Iudas craueth  
ayd and fauor  
of the Ro-  
manes.

Bacchides &  
Alcimus sent  
with an Army  
into Iudea.

The valiant  
death of Iu-  
das Maccha-  
beus.

Alcimus stri-  
ken with a  
sudden palfie  
dyed.

Ionathas fol-  
lowed next in  
degree to his  
brother Iudas

with them, requesting (among other particulars) that the Senate would forbid *Demetrius*, heereafter to molest and afflict the *Jewes*. But (as humane succors are deceitfull) so the alliance of the *Romanes* was more discommodious to the *Jewes*, then if they had giuen them no ayde at all: because it made them the more sleepey and negligent, and also was more offensiuē to the enemy. Whereupon it hapned, that the yeare following, being the 152. of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* sent *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* with a potent army into *Iudea*. There *Iudas* met them with two thousand men onely, and although the most part of the slipt away, and forsooke his company, eyther thorow wearinesse of so long a war, or fearing the enemies power, or by the practises of *Alcimus*: yet notwithstanding, he ventred on the Army of *Bacchides*, with eight hundred braue Soldiers, and fighting valiantly, there he dyed with the al, in the sixt yeare after his fathers death, good old *Mattathias*, and before the Natiuity of Christ, 158. yeares.

The yeare following, which was the 153. of the *Grecians* Reigne, *Alcimus* caused the walles, of the inner house of the Temple to be destroyed, which the ancient sacrificing Priests had builded: to the ende, that not any munition should remaine, which might serue to retreat the aduersaries to the Kings of *Syria*. And hardly had they begun to beate it downe, but he was smitten suddenly with a Palsy, and therein surrendred vp his soule: but he had continued dumbe some long time before; and this was in the fourth yeare of his Priesthood.

*Ionathas the second Sonne of Mattathias.*

*Ionathas*, or *Ionathan*, succeeded in the principality to his brother *Iudas*, and by this occasion. After the death of *Macchabeus*, while the *Jewes* (which had embraced the manners and religion of the Pagans) grew to be more emboldened, and sought for all those well disposed people, that had followed *Iudas* & his Brethren, sending them to *Bacchides* to bee cruelly murdered; adding also the famine, which greatly encreased, because, during these continuall warres, the fields had bene left without any tillage, so that the best persons, and which had most vnderstanding in religion, were extremely anguished: they made their recourse to *Ionathas*, en-

treating him to vndertake the defence of the poore afflicted, and to imitate therein the vertue and piety of his brother. *Ionathas* consenting to the; soone after made head mainly against *Bacchides*, and hardly escaping, retired his Soldiors into the desert, where *Bacchides* made no account to pursue them; but fortiesied some Townes, and planted strong Garisons in them, daily to torment the *Jewes* by sallies & courses. Which being done, he retreated back his Army into *Syria*, after the death of *Alcimus*. By which meanes, the *Jewes* had some relaxation from warre, for about the space of two yeares, to wit, the 154. and 155. of the *Grecians* reigne.

In the yeare, 156. *Bacchides* was againe incited by the apostate *Jewes*, to surprize (by some sudden aduantage) the two brethren of *Iudas*: but the ambushes being reuealed, hee came and openly assaulted them in the Towne of *Bethessen*. Neuerthelesse, perceiuing the Towne to be well munited, and the *Jewes* furnished with all fitting matters, as fully resoluē to defend themselues valiantly: he made peace with *Ionathas*, and the captiues beeing surrendred on eyther side, tooke his way backe to *Syria*, which was the cause that *Iudea* had some time of repose and quietnesse.

The yeare 160. *Alexander* the Noble, who sought to possesse himselfe of the kingdome of *Syria*, which was then vsurped by *Demetrius*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble, and vnderstanding the power of *Ionathas*; sent Ambassadors to him with worthy presents, to practise with him for to ioyne in his intention, offering him (moreouer) the Soueraigne Priesthood, on condition, that he would ayde him against *Demetrius*. Beside, he solemnly inuited him to the mariage, which hee had purposed in the City of *Ptolomais*, with *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Ptolomy Philometor*. *Ionathas* being allured by these offers, vnder hope of enioying (by this meanes) two neighbouring Kings to bee his friends; went to be present at the royall wedding, and carryed gifts of great value with him. He was entertained by the two kings, so honorably as possible might be, and afterward sent backe againe, with confirmatiō in the high-Priesthood, as also the principality of *Iudea*, for the people (after the deceasse of *Alcimus*) had remained 7. yeares without a Soueraigne Sacrificer.

By

Ionathas v  
dertaeth t  
cause again  
Bacchides.

Bacchides  
made a pe  
with Ionat

Ambassad  
sent to Ion  
thas by A  
ander the  
Noble.

Ionathas c  
rayned the  
High-Prie  
Office, an  
the Princ  
lity of Iud

By this meanes, came the dignity first of High-Priesthood to the *Asmoneans*, the ninth year of the principality of *Ionathas*; of the *Greekes* 160. as hath bene saide; and before the birth of Christ, 150. But 5. yeares after, as *Ptolomy* had caught the kingdom of *Syria*, with his daughter *Cleopatra*; so he gaue them both to *Demetrius Nicanor*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, & then *Ionathas* had work enough to do, to enter into the good grace & fauour of the new King. Neuerthelesse, by gifts and offrings he preuailed so well at last, as vpon the auouching of his grace towards him, hee recovered a great part of *Iudea*, & wonne among his own people, no meane power and credite. In the latter dayes of his principality, he fortified the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and renewed alliance with the *Romaines*, contracting kinde friendship also with the *Lacedemonians*. Soone after, he was surprized in *Ptolomais*, by the fraud & treason of *Triphon*, who, although he had promised to release him, if he might haue his two Sonnes sent him as hostages, and an hundred Talents (whereof his brother *Simon* made satisfaction, sending both the money & the children) neuerthelesse, the most cruell Tyrant murdred both the Father and his sonnes. Hauing done this abominable deed, and thinking no way to be resisted in his wicked courses; by treachery he slew *Antiochus*, surnamed *Sedetes*, Sonne to *Alexander* the Noble, to whom he was Tutor, & for the restoring of him to his Fathers kingdom, hee had euided *Demetrius Nicanor* out of *Syria*, but got it into his owne possession. In this manner *Ionathas* held the principality of the Iewish people eightene yeares, and was the first administratour of the Soueraigne Priesthood of the *Asmoneans*, which hee held ten yeares.

*Simon the third Sonne of Mattathias.*

*Simon* succeeded his Brother *Ionathas*, in the year of the *Greekes*, 170. & before the Natiuity of Christ, 140. being elected (by common consent of the people) Duke & Soueraigne Sacrificer: because he had valiantly assisted his Brethren *Iudas* and *Ionathas*, for maintaining the doctrine giue by God, & the repressing of persecutions. At the beginning of his gouernement, he surprized some Forts from the *Grecians*, among which was that of *Ierusalem*, which till that time had bene held by the *Syrian*

*Garisons*, & had wonderfully tormented the Citizens. He furnished them in such sort, that they were constrained to yeelde themselves, and afterward purified prophaned places, the 23. day of the second Moneth, in the yeare, 171. Vnder him, *Iudea* began to respire and breathe a while; which for the space of 25. yeares after *Antiochus* the Noble, had bin terribly shaken and wasted with continuall warres. The fields began again to recouer their former nature; places burnt and destroyed, to be re-builed; and those prophaned with Idols, to be neatly cleansed: In brieft, the voyce of heauenly doctrine began againe to bee heard and deliuered in the Temple and Synagogues. In the third year of his Priesthood, *Simon* renewed alliance with the *Romanes*, and by a Decree from their Senate, was confirmed Soueraigne Sacrificer, & to be styled Prince of the people.

Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*, brother to *Demetrius Nicanor*, preparing war against *Triphon*, who vsurped the Kingdom of *Syria*: labored *Simon* with great promises for alliance, as doubting least hee would giue hinderance to his enterprize. But hauing conquered the Kingdom of *Syria*, and *Triphon* chased thence, in the yeare, 174. he falsified the former alliance, & redemanded diuers Townes and Citties in *Iudea* of *Simon*, as also the Fort of *Ierusalem*, and a great summe of money beside; or else he would denounce warre against him, if he did not yeeld to what he demanded. Now in regard that *Simon* refused to grant so vniust a demand, *Cendebeus* was sent into *Iudea* with an Army, whom *Iohn Hyrcanus* and *Iudas*, Sonne to *Simon*, discomfited, as he was wasting the champain Country: and hauing destroyed the Forts built in the Marches of *Iudea* by the enemy, they returned backe with great glory.

Three yeares after, to wit, the 177. of the *Greekes*, and 133. before the birth of Christ, as *Simon* (growing now auncient) returned, visiting & ordaining the Churches, and the dissipated pollicies in *Iudea*; he arriued (with his Wife and two of his Sonnes, *Iudas* and *Mattathias*) neere to his kinsman *Ptolomy*, the Sonne of *Abobus*, whom he had constituted Gouernour of the whole Region about *Iericho*. But he wickedly murdered him, sitting at the Table of a Banquet, whereto (most traitorously) he had inuited him, onely for that bloody purpose.

Ccc2 Thus

Iudea began to recouer breathing & quietnesse.

Simon renewed alliance with the Romanes.

Antiochus Soter vsurped the Kingdome of Syria: labored Simon with great promises for alliance, as doubting least hee would giue hinderance to his enterprize.

Antiochus breaketh his amity plighted to Simon, and vrgeth vniust demands.

Simon groweth auncient in yeares.

Simon murdered at a banquet by his Sonne in law.

Ionathas accepted into the fauour of Demetrius Nicanor.

Ionathas take his two Sons prisoner and afterward sent them with his two Sons.

Triphon made himselfe King of Syria.

Simon elected Duke and High-Priest by the people

Simon the Governour of Syria

Four Asmoneans, the Father and his three sonnes.

Iudea not wholly recovered from Paganisme, & the reason why.

The writings of the Prophets safely preferred among so many persecutions.

Iudas and Ionathas left not any issue.

Thus foure *Asmoneans*, namely, the Father *Mattathias*, and three of his Sonnes (each after other) fighting valiantly three and thirty yeares, in defence of the Law giuen by God, against the persecuters of his people, ended their liues. And although they could not so compassse the matter, as to cleanse *Iudea* wholly of Pagan Idolatries, because many among the people were (openly) Epicures, and many mightily dejected, by seeing the woful calamities of the people, and others inueigled by the Gentiles prosperities; did willingly renounce the first received doctrine of their Fathers, and embraced the impieties of the Paganes: yet notwithstanding, they preuailed so well by their power, that the writings of the Prophets were preferred, the seruice ordained by God, not abolished, nor the Iewish pollicy any way dissipated. All which ensued by the singular goodnesse of God, to the end, that the pollicy and ministry appointed by him (in some good measure still maintained) should continue to the time of Christ, that men might know, when & how the Messias was to be sent. The principality and high-Priesthood continued (sometime) in the Family of the *Asmoneans*, to the successors of *Simon*, because *Iudas* and *Ionathas* had not left any issue of theirs.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the imprisonment of Simons two Sonnes and their Mother, by their cruell Vnckle Ptolomie; and lastly, their lamentable death. The valiant actes of Iohn Hyrcanus, Sonne to Simon. The destruction of Samaria, &c.*

The Sonnes of *Simon*, were *Iohn Hyrcanus*. *Iudas*. *Mattathias* his successor.

A Daughter, married to *Ptolomy*, the sonne of *Abobus*, Governour of *Iericho*; who murdered his Father, as also his Wife & two of his Children.

*Iudas and Mattathias.*

The government of *Iericho* giuen to *Ptolomy* by *Simon*.

HAVING accompanied their Father, going with his Wife to see *Ptolomy* their Sonne in law, to whom he had formerly spoken, to giue him the gouerne-

ment of *Iericho*: they were imprisoned with their Mother, by their Vnckle *Ptolomy*, who before had slaine their Father at a Banquet. Now, while *Hyrcanus*, seeking to reuenge so horrible a deed, had besiedged a small Towne, whereto *Ptolomy* had withdrawne himselfe: the Tyrant caused them there to bee pittifully dismembred, as also their Mother; vntill such time as *Hyrcanus*, moued with compassion, & not able to endure the torturing of his brethren and Mother, raised the sledge, albeit his captiued Mother, still vrged him earnestly, to maintaine the assault.

*Iohn Hyrcanus.*

In the life time of his Father, hee discomfited the Army of *Antiochus Soter*, which was conducted by *Cendebeus*. Next after the death of his Father, and the taking of his two Brethren, himselfe hardly escaping from the ambushes of the murderer *Ptolomy*: hee came to reuenge his Fathers death, and besiedging the Towne whereto *Ptolomy* was returned, being ouercome with pittie, by seeing the torments which his Mother & Brethren suffered, at euery time when hee gaue the assault, considering also, that the seuenth yeare of rest was neere at hand; he retreated his Army. Afterward, *Antiochus Soter* made warre vpon him, so that he was shut vp within the City of *Ierusalem*, which *Antiochus* besiedged in seuen places all at one time: being pressed with famine, hee yielded vp the City, vpon condition, that he would beate down the Fortifications of the City, deliuer hostages, & fine hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of Gold.

But as he was in want of money, or accidentally seeking for some by vrgent necessity, or admonished so to doe by a dreame: he opened the Sepulcher of *Dauid*, wherein he found three thousand Talents of Gold, which amounteth to 18. Tuns of Gold. Being thus readuanced, he not only made peace with *Antiochus*, but also entred into amity with him, so that he entertained him into the City with his Army, and being well prouided of mony, he was the first (of the Iewes) that had strange Soldiours vnder his pay. With whom he accompanied King *Antiochus*, he going in warre against the *Parthians*; and yet his company was but slenderly beneficiall to the King. For although by the valiancy

The two of *Simon* and their Mother cruelly tormented.

The Army of *Antiochus Soter* vanquished by *Iohn Hyrcanus*.

*Iohn Hyrcanus* besiedged in *Ierusalem* and the City yielded vpon agreement.

Three thousand Talents of Gold found in King *Dauid*s graue.

*Hyrcanus* and *Antiochus* against the *Parthians*.

valiancy of *Hyrcanus*, he ouerthrew a part of the *Parthians* Army, yet soone after, when *Arfaces*, King of the *Parthians*, came with a new Army, & he should then haue met and ioyned with him: Religion hindered *Hyrcanus* and the *Iewes* from going to the fight, because it was then the Feast of *Pentecost*. By which meanes, *Antiochus* being destitute of the *Iewes* helpe, was slaine, with a great number of his people.

After the death of *Antiochus Soter*, *Hyrcanus* began to make small account of the Kings of *Syria*; as being men, that (by ciuill warres) had broken the forces of their kingdomes. Wherefore, bringing back his hoast from *Asia*, he tooke many Cities and Townes in the kingdom of *Syria*, which had in former times appertained to *Iudea*. He razed also the Temple of *Garizim* in *Samaria*, builded by *Sannabab* the *Cutthean*, (as hath before bin remembred) two hundred yeares after it had bin builded in fauour of *Manasses*, Brother to *Iaddus*, in the time of *Alexander* the great. He compelled also the *Idumeans* (after he had giuen them many chastenings) to receiue circumcision, and other ceremonies of the *Iewes*. And to strengthen himselfe the more against the Kings of *Syria*, who he thought not fit to make any more surprizing of Citties; hee renewed alliance (by Ambassadors) with the *Romanes*, in the fourteenth yeare of his principality, and the 191. of the kingdom of *Syria*: *Cneus Domitius Barbarossa*, and *Caius Flaminius* being Consuls, an hundred and 19. yeares before the Natiuity of Christ.

Afterward, as *Demetrius Nicanor* had bene restored to his Kingdom by *Arfaces*, and as quickly againe repulsed from it by *Alexander Zebena*, when he prepared himselfe to make warre on the *Iewes*: so *Hyrcanus*, allying himselfe with *Alexander* the victorious, had sustained as little ioy thereof, if an admirable accident had not corrected their error. For *Antiochus Gryphus*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, seeking to recouer his Fathers kingdom, slew *Alexander* in battraile, and (after that victory) purposed to inuade *Hyrcanus*, the leagued friend to his enemy. But hearing of another preparation of warre against himselfe, by his brother *Antiochus Cyzicenus*; he was glad to keepe at home still in *Syria*. So, while the two bretheren did wel-fauouredly contend with one another ( a long time)

for the kingdom of *Syria*; *Hyrcanus* and *Iudea* remained in quietnes, during which time, *Hyrcanus* well fortified himselfe by strong Castles newly builded, re-enforcing al his most commodious munitions, collecting vp great summes of money, & providing other necessary matters, to exploit his warre affaires.

Finally, hee laide siedge to the most strong City of *Samaria*, and left there his two Sonnes *Antigonus* and *Aristobulus* to continue it, while himselfe attended to the administration of more important Oeconomica l'affaires. Heereupon, the *Samaritaines* called to succour them *Antiochus Cyzicenus*; who repulsed the tonnes to *Hyrcanus*, and chased them so farre as to \* *Scythopolis*. Againe, the two brethren brought their Army before *Samaria*, and againe *Antiochus Cyzicenus* (being requested) entred into *Iudea*, pilling and spoiling wherefoeuer he came. But being repulsed, hee gaue the charge of his Army to two of his Captaines; one of them being slaine by the *Iewes*, and the other corrupted with money, surrendred (by treason) *Scythopolis*, and the other neighboring Citties. So the City of *Samaria*, hauing endured (in great misery) a whole yeares siedge, was at the last forced and quite destroyed. Such was the ending of this most mighty City, which (for a long time) had paragond it selfe equall with *Ierusalem*; but about an hundred yeares after, it was builded againe by *Herod*, who named it *Sebasta*, in the honour of *Augustus Cesar*.

Samaria besieged by Hyrcanus and his forces.

\* A City of Syria, neere to Iudea, called also Decapolis.

The City of Samaria razed and destroyed to the ground.

CHAP. VII.

*How the rest and prosperity of Iudea, begat sundry Sects among the people, especially of the Pharises, Sadduces, &c. The diuersity of their opinions: and a breefe narration of the Doctrine, in vse among the first Fathers.*

THE Country of *Iudea*, being thus reduced to repose & quietnes, & by the paines of *Hyrcanus*; her prosperity procured enuy & distaste, aswel toward her own people, as (more especially) to the *Pharises*. For factions grew thē in great esteem among the meaner people, by simulation of sanctity,

Of the Sect of the Pharises and their dispersed holiness.

The Feast of Pentecost and Hyrcanus from the battraile.

The Temple of Garizim in Samaria razed.

The Idumeans receiue circumcision.

Alliance made with the Romanes.

Hyrcanus makes an alliance with Alexander the victorious.

Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus fight for the kingdom of Syria.

sanctity, and great swarms of deuised traditions, concerning some kindes of bodily exercises: so that (whensoever they pleased) they could cause the common people to mutiny against the Princes and the High-Priest. *Hyrcanus* had sometime bene a curious fauourer of this Sect; in which regard, the Pharisies did beare him great affection: but at the last, he estranged his kindnesse towards them, finding himselfe offended at the punishment of *Eleazar* the Pharisee, by some outrage offered him. And this was the reason, that hee tooke part with the *Sadduces*, who sharply reprobued the traditions of the Pharisies, and in hate and spight to the Pharisies sect, hee abolished (by publike Edicts) many of their traditions, which made him and his Sonnes to be mortally hated, aswell of the Pharisies, as of the people. Whereupon ensued great mutinies among the people: which his Sonne *Alexander* very hardly appeased, but not without great effusion of blood.

Now, because mention is here made of these two Sects, both of the Pharisies and Sadduces, whereof more will be spoken in the following Histories, as likewise is in sacred Writ: I thinke it not amisse to make some addition, of matters found in authentick writings, concerning the variance and difference betweene them. For in speaking of their originall, we can but follow coniectures onely: except this infallible certainty, that both the one and other Sect were newly forged, by leauing the ancient and pure doctrine of the Prophets. This firme rule ought euermore to be held in the Church, that there is one sole true doctrine, of the diuine essence & will, made manifest of God by certaine and vndoubted testimonies, and was giuen to the first Fathers and Prophets: but much more enlightened afterward, by the voyce of the Sonne of God, our Lord Iesus Christ, dead, and raysed vp againe for vs, as also by the voice of the Apostles. And no opinions ought to be embraced, contrary to that first Prophetical doctrine and voyce of Gods owne Sonne: because many sayings of the Prophets do witness this rule to be true. As *Esay* condemneth those Doctors, which propose (as the doctrine of God) opinions forged in their owne braines, and such as neuer were giuen of God. Being armed then, and well

warned by this rule, wee may the better iudge of these Sects.

But in making this recitall, I may not forget that most lamentable complaint, which the so mighty infirmity of mankind ought much to bemoane, because euen then, when the Church consisted of so small a number, to wit, in few Tribes of *Israel*, poorely impayred, and shut vp in that narrow country neighbouring to the *Phœnitians*, and that then (with so small pollicy) discipline could scarcely maintaine it selfe peaceably, or doctrine be kept in good concord: such horrible furries being prepared against it, yea, & they embraced by the greater part of the Gouernours, publishing them wholly, without dissembling any thing, although they were plainly repugnant vnto the Law of God. The Sadduces acquitted themselves of sacrifices, and neuertheless affirmed publicly, that after this present life, there remained no other, nor any iudgement; and that the soule (being separated from the body) should haue no more life, and that men should not rise againe. But the Pharisies were a little more modest, and yet notwithstanding they had as well corrupted the doctrine giuen by God, as we shall haue better occasion to speake of hereafter.

Neuertheless, God had a true Church all this while, which still retayned the light of his doctrine: and yet, was it not greatly to be lamented, that in one & the same company, which bare the name of the Church, among a troope that called vpon God in truth; such errors should not onely bee dispersed, but also allowed by the authority of Princes and Doctours? Beside this, the assured and prophaned arrogancy of many (euen in our times) ought greatly to be reprehended, who dreaming of no dispersion of errors in the Church, eyther for satisfaction of their owne ambition, vnder colour of religion seeking after kingdomes, or by heaping superstitions one vpon another, thereby to fit and furnish their owne auarice; doe neuer thinke on (in this case) the ancient and old examples of the Pharisies & Sadduces, who declared sufficiently, the very like euils crept into the Church, euen as apparantly then, as those of other times. It is therefore very necessary, to haue one certaine rule, in listening to the voyce Euangelicall,

Hyrcanus a fauourer of the Pharisies, leaneth afterward to the Sadduces.

Hyrcanus & his Sonnes hated of the Pharisies and vulgar people

The difference betweene the Sects of the Pharisies and Sadduces.

Testimonies of Gods will giuen to our first Fathers.

Esay 29, 24.

The poore, small beginning of the Church in few Tribes *Israel*, and continuance thereof in many troubles.

Concerning the opinion of the Sadduces.

The Pharisees more modest than the Sadduces.

God always had his true Church, retaining still the light of his Doctrine.

The errors of elder times very apparant to be discerned.

uangelicall, according as Saint Paul said: *If any man preach any other Gospell to you, let him be accursed.*

Furthermore, consideration is to be had, of the time of that first Doctrine, agreeing with the voyce of the Prophets, the Sonne of GOD, and the Apostles: and next, of such perswasions as haue crept into the Church, some whereof haue bene confirmed by the superstition of men vnlearned, others haue bene voluntarily receiued, as seruing the ambition of the mightie, and for benefite to the kitchin. Acknowledging then, and bewayling the harmes of the Church; let vs seeke after the springs or fountaines of true doctrine, to the end wee may truly call vpon God, who hath alwayes preserved some part of mankinde, where his true knowledge might shine, to be the Temple of God, and afterwards partaker of his glorious company, because mankinde was not created in vaine. But before I discourse on the originall of Sects, and Diuisions of the Church, it is needfull first to say somewhat, concerning the first true Church or Schoole, which from the beginning of mankinde, hath bene gardian and keeper of the true doctrine: from whence hath issued many, who (as seditious) haue scattered diuers corruptions among the truth of doctrine.

Mankind was not borne by accidentall chance, neither created without cause: but it pleased God, that he should haue a reasonable nature, embelished with a bodie, wherein the knowledge of him might shine, and to whom he might communicate his wisdom and goodnes, & that hee should enioy his company once and for euer. Now, although God expressed his wisdom and goodnesse, by creating the great workmanship of the world: yet notwithstanding, his goodnes made it selte much more apparant, in that (after the fall of *Adam* and *Eue*) he sent from his secret seate, that infinite mercie for their recouery, by giuing them the promised Seede to come. And to make it the better knowne and vnderstood, hee would haue men to heare the sound of that sweete voice: *The Seede of the woman shall breake the Serpents head.* Such as receiued graciously this consolation, were receiued of God, and made members of the eternall Church of God. Thus first of

all, the Church was created, and the Schoole instituted, wherein our first Parents taught the doctrine of God to their children: concerning the creation of all things; concerning their owne fall; the paines and punishments to ensue; the trecheries of the diuell; the causes of death and all humane miseries; the promise of the Seede to come, whereby the great and iust anger of God was to be appeased. Also, how sinne was to be defaced, eternall life restored, the difference of good and euill works, and that such a difference being imprinted in the soules of men, was truly the Lawe diuine, agreeing with the intelligence and diuine will; so to shine in the spirites of men, that it might be a testimonie of God to men, that he was one God, and how to be adored: admonishing likewise, that hee would iudge the actions of men, because conscience would else exercise a burdensome iudgement in vs.

There they were taught the difference betweene this naturall knowledge, and the other of higher qualitie; the pronounced promise of the secret bosome of the eternall Father, touching the Seede; the future iudgement of all mankinde: and that such as (by faith in that Seede) attained to beleue therein, were acceptable to God, and in that faith had recourse to him, striuing to order their manners by the rule of the diuine Lawe, should liue eternally in the most sweete company of God. Others, who arrogantly contemned God, & the promised Seede to come, running furiously on the bridle of their wicked desires; were like vnto diuels, enemies to God, and after death should liue in horrible torments, whereof they discerned some resemblance in this life, by the terrours of such, whose bodies were adiudged to terrible punishments.

Those first Fathers declared, how God had clothed them with the skins of beasts, to signifie, that (after death) they should be denested of their corrupted bodies, and put vppon them (as the garment or roabe of the Lambe) that is to say, the promised Seede, which was to be sacrificed, that all mankind might be saued by him. They taught the will of God to be such, that by this meanes it should be sought, knowne and called on, as it was made manifest: and that our mindes leaning

The first creation of the Church by God, instructed to our first Parents, and so to their posteritie.

The difference betweene heavenly knowledge, & that which is naturall.

The despisers of God and the promised Seede.

The clothing of our first Fathers in the skins of beasts had a further relation.

Clath 1.9.

The time of the first doctrine, and superstitions by the encrease.

The harmes and euills of the Church ought much to be moaned.

The first true Church or schoole.

The reason of Gods creation of mankinde.

The great mercie and promise of god to man after his fall.

Gen. 3.15.

ning vpon his promise, gaue vs to vnderstand, that then wee are in the grace of God, when (by fayth) wee relie vpon his promises, and that hee would haue no other gods to be receiued, or Sacrifices offered by them that forgot or reiected this doctrine giuen by God. They also manifested, that God would haue one sole and certaine assemblie, which should be consenting in doctrine, gathered together by inuocation and sacrifices: in which sole assemblie, should be the future heires of eternall life with God.

As an Interpreter to their Sacrifices, this predication was often repeated; *This manner of behauour, and these publique assemblies are instituted, to the end, that this doctrine should be sent to Posteritie.* In them the voyce of the diuine Promise, and the doctrine declared by vs, was to be heard: for god would haue his voice to be heard of all men. In which respect, it was and is requisite, that there should bee honest assemblies; and although the Church will be alwayes tormented with great calamities: yet shall she be exalted as a Castle on a high mountaine. These our Sacrifices which you see, are the chaines and linckes of such assemblies, and no other paintings haue we to admonish vs, then the diuine Promise so graciously giuen vnto vs.

Hauiug entrusted their children in these great matters, they added, concerning the Seede to come, That that Lord, who should breake the head of the Serpent; was already (and euen then) assisting to his Church, although he was not (as yet) reuested with humaine flesh. That he was the Image of the Eternall and only Father, begotten of him, who prayed to his Father for the Church, and defended it, and (with the Father) comforteth the hearts of Beleeuers, euen in their greatest feares, by his Promises, and kindleth in them the light of the blessed Spirit, for the beginning of eternall life. Which Spirit proceeded from the Father, and from this promised Lord. By this meanes they taught to know the only true God, wise, good, iust, true, chaste and pure, Creator of heauen and earth, of Angels, and of mankinde; to the end, that all might vnderstand, there was one only eternall Father, who had created all with this promised Lord, who is his I-

mage, and with the blessed Spirit, so that no other Diuinitie was to be imagined.

Moreouer; in this holy Schoole, the first fathers taught the doctrine concerning the nature of things, giuing to vnderstand; that there were certayne lawes of Celestiall motions, to deliuer testimony, that this world was not made by aduventure, but created by the intelligence of a super-excellent workeman. They taught beside, the course of the yeare to be ordained, because God would haue men to know the order of times; thereby also to vnderstand the order of diuine promises, and how they were to be reuealed, as to know what the first giuen doctrine was, thereby to iudge of the newer afterward. And because men might cōprehend, that all things were created by the Diuine Councill and Prouidence: they shewed diuerse vses of Plants; to what end they were created, and for the vse of man. Heereupon they expressed, how God assisted the nature of man by those remedies; thereby also enstructing, that oftentimes Innocents are holpen of God by admirable meanes, and yet without the ayde of creatures.

That this was the doctrine of the first or Primitiue Church, the narration of *Moses* sufficiently declares, in *Genes.* And it is not to be doubted, that the wisdom of the golden Age, before the Floud, was much greater then that after the Floud, whē nature became more weak & feeble. And though that many, both before and after the Floud, might forget or misprize true doctrine; yet notwithstanding, God would not suffer his true Inuocation to be quenched among men: but euer more referued som company that kept this doctrine, (from one time to another) renewed & dispersed it further off by nouell testimonies. Againe, when after the Floud, the multitude of men began once more to encrease, though the light of true doctrine might be extincted in *Babylon*: yet notwithstanding the studie of Astrology remayned, touching the motions and effects of the Starres, with the knowledge of things growing in the earth.

And in this meane while, the promise of God was still preferued and kept, renewed and illumined in the posteritie of *Noah*. Afterward, when this pollicie became to be so well ordayned among the

One sole and certaine assembly instituted by God to bee his Church.

The reason why ancient ceremonies were instituted.

What the Sacrifices did represent.

Christ was assisting to his Church long before his Incarnation.

The first meanes of knowing the blessed Trinitie according to the instruction of the first Fathers.

Other doctrines instituted by the others concerning policie

The course of the yeare, the knowledge of Plants.

The wisdom of the golden Age before the Floud.

God euer more continued the inuocation vpon his name.

people

people of *Israel* : all the Colledge of the *Leuites* was as an Academie and place of exercise. There, some Sacrificers and Prophets taught againe the auncient and vn-corrupted doctrine.

But afterward, when the tenne Tribes were cut off by the Kings of *Juda* : then great confusions (both in Religion and Doctrine) followed. And yet neuerthelesse, God raised in the dismembred part of *Judaes* Kingdome, *Elias*, *Eliseus*, and other Prophets, to draw diuers there to the truth of knowledge : which was the reason that the Prophets had great troupes of Auditours, in regarde that *Elias*, *Eliseus*, and the rest had deliuered (from hand to hand) their sacred preachings and interpretations. Some did leaue theirs written, as *Esay*, and they that followed after. This custome did alwayes continue in this people, and especially in the Temple, where the sacrificing Priests gaue the interpretations, or else-where among the Doctours, and such as were interpreters of the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets.

But in the latter times, after the returne from *Babilon*, and after the Prophet *Zacharie*, when the High-Priests beganne to affect familiarity with the kings of *Juda*, and sought to make themselues great and powerfull, the study of true doctrine became contemned, and after that *Iudea* was spoiled by *Antiochus*; many places were lost, the companies of Students, and their Maisters scattered, and discipline being thus neglected, it is very likely that the studies became to be wonderfully changed. Howbeit, that alwayes some of the Colledge of the high-Priests, and of the people, kept some sparks of the true doctrine liuing among them : as *Simeon*, *Zacharie*, *Anne*, and other, whose youth neighboured to the warres of *Antiochus*. Notwithstanding, many audacious Expositions of the Propheticall Bookes, wandred farre off from the auncient doctrine.

It is very likely, that at the beginning, the name of Interpreters was common to some men of the best iudgement, and likewise to other, that transfigured the doctrine of the Church into Philosophie. By succession of times, as this new Philosophie was most pleasing, and many earnestly fauouring it : the

Schooles began to be so much the more frequented, and a kinde of doctrine was then concluded on. In this manner a profession or Sect (which then was in admiration) was ordained; without changing the name of Pharisee, asmuch to say as an Expounder, as nowadayes the title of Doctour, is the name of a most honest Office and Profession : for many learned men doe conceiue the Pharisee to be named, rather for Interpretation or Exposition, then by separation or diuision.

*Iosephus* reporteth some of their opinions, but they are better to be vnderstoode in the Euanglicall Historie, and what their principall errours were. For, although they carried themselues as interpreters of the Prophets : they auouched the Bookes not onely of *Moses*, but also of the other Prophets, adioyned to the holy Histories by publique authoritie of the Ancients, to remaine in their credite and integritie. Neuerthelesse, they helde false opinions concerning the vse of the Lawe, and transferred the promises of the *Messias* Kingdome, to politicall vse. They helde exterior Discipline, for Iustice satisfying to the Lawe, and denied that wicked affections were sinne, or doubting of God, or courage enkindled by hatefull or lustfull desires : provided that they proceeded not to outward offence. These corruptions are expressly reprooued in Saint *Matthew*, where it is said; *whosoever looketh on a woman, to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart*. And although that many vnlearned men in the Church, read these Sentences as Paradoxes of the Stoicks, who painted the Ideaes of the vertues, to the end that men should strue to come nere to them (which is impossible for any man in this world to do) yet are they propounded to the Church to other ends.

The Sonne of God knew, that in the imbecillitie of this nature, no man can be without bad desires; therefore hee would haue the preaching of repentance to be dayly sounded among men, that acknowledging our corruptions in due manner, wee should confesse our owne guiltinesse, and make our recourse to the Sonne of God. The Philosophie of the *Pharisees*, obscured this auncient Prophe-

The name of Pharisee is an Expositour.

The errours of the Scribes and Pharisees, and in what manner they held them.

Math. 5. 28.

No man in this life time can be free from corrup and vnlawfull affections.

The ten Tribes cut off by the Kings of Iuda, and yet the truth of Doctrine still encreasing.

Cases, how the truth of doctrine grew contemptible by the assistance of the Kings.

Some remembrance of Gods name at all times remaineth in the hearts of men.

Concerning the name of interpreters.

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ticall doctrine, as it had beene in all times after *Caine* and his Posteritie.

In like manner, the other part of heauenly doctrine; to wit, the promised *Messias* was also obscured. The Pharisees knew and celebrated the magnificent Promises made to *Abraham*, recited by *Iacob*, and often repeated by the Prophets: but they maintained, that they spake only of a politicall kingdome. They dreamed also, that the *Messias* should come like vnto an other *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, to vse the whole Empire of the world, the people beeing subiected vnto him: and yet notwithstanding, that this Empire should be more iust, milde and peacefull, then any of them before. They affirmed, that the *Messias* should reigne a thousand yeares; that the Israelites should liue three or foure hundred yeres without feare of warres, seruitude, or famine, or any other great calamities: And that there should bee no other nature in the *Messias*, but humane.

In these idle imaginations, all the doctrine of the Sonne of God, of anger against sinners; of the sacrifice and death of the *Messias* was buried. And yet neuertheless, truth was not wholly quenched in the Church, but (as I haue said) some sparkes remayned with *Simeon*, *Zacharie*, and many such like, who read the Prophets without corruption.

After that the Pharisee had corrupted the words of the Lawe, and the promises thereto appertaining: they dreamed that sinnes were to be pardoned by ceremonies and slaughter of beasts, ordained in the Lawe. This perswasion brought in great gaine, for the people (being thus perswaded) multiplied the more their sacrifices. These so thicke mistes of darknesse had some apparance of wisdom and pietie; which neuertheless are oftentimes reprehended of the Prophets.

Ceremonies growing to great augmentation and encrease, many questions (as in the like cases happeneth) were moued, touching the manner of performing them, & other circumstances, which (indeede) required many declarations. And as Monks heaped vp together great summes of money, by the buying and selling of humane traditions, with their annexed circumstances: euen so the Pharisees would locke vp and let loose the ce-

remories of *Moses*, at their pleasure; and adde to them their owne nouell deuices, as well for the confirmation of superstition, as their owne gaine. Saint *Matthew* telleth vs, that the lucratiue tradition is reprov'd: that it was much better to giue somewhat to the Temple, then to norish and relieue their owne poore parents: euen as now adayes it is maintained, that a number of slouthfull idle Monkes, should rather enjoy great reuenues, then any thing spared for the reliefe of poore Schollers.

The tradition of the Sabbath was also in great vse, as *Hierome* alledgeth: for *Alziba* and *Hilletus*, both *Rabines*, do say, a Sabbath dayes journey is but two halfe miles. Beside, in this Sect remained some studies of doctrine, and some care of governing the discipline. They could well conclude, that there was an eternall and intelligent God, true, good, iust, chaste, well-doing, and a reuenger of offences: whereby they confessed all things to bee created, the heauens, the earth, Angels, men and other creatures. They affirmed also (by opinion of philosophy) that there was but one person in the diuinitie, boldly reiecting the Primitiue and Prophetical doctrine concerning the Sonne of GOD and the blessed Spirit: although they had apparent testimonies of the Son of God in *David*, *Esay*, *Micheas* and *Daniell*; and of the Holie-ghost, in many Sermons of the Prophets.

Moreover, they confessed, that God the Creator of all things, was manifested by his Promises, and by publishing his Lawe: surpassing all other in goodnesse, with a most goodly pollicie, ordayned and warranted by many testimonies of his presence. Wherefore they would not haue any one to call in doubtfull question the prouidence of God, nor to doubt that the posteritie of *Abraham* (to whom God had giuen this ordayned pollicie) should bee any other then the people of God, or the Church whereof God had a peculiar care. They taught them that God governed the principall mutations which happened in this life, as the encreasing and diminishing of Empires, the ruine and building againe of great Citties; because they knew their euent to agree with the prophecies of empires, which are in *Moses*, *Esay* and *Daniell*; adding

The Pharisees celebrated the promises made to Abraham.

The carnall opinions of the Pharisees, concerning the Messias and his Kingdome.

Sinnes to be pardoned by ceremonies and killing of beasts ordained in the Lawe.

Questions concerning the acting & performing of deuised ceremonies.

Matth. 23.6

Tradition of a Sabbath dayes journey halfe mile appointed the Pharisees

The Pharisees allowed but one Person onely in the Godhead.

Of the Lawe of Moses, what they thered they

Particular matters taught by the Pharisees

ding withall, that they knew that their Citie *Ierusalem* had beene diuinely builded.

And yet (for all this) they affirmed, that the affaires and liues of all men, were gouerned by humane councelles; and they magnified the libertie of mans will, as also the faculty of Free-will: yea, and in such sort, that they held a man might satisfie the diuine Lawe, and be iust by his diligence, meriting all goodnesse both present and heauenly. And contrariwise, that such as offended the diuine Lawe by exteriour transgressions, should be punished both in this life and the other: For their opinion was (that the soule separated from the bodie) should liue, and that there should bee a resurrection of the dead, wherein God would reward the iust, and send into euerlasting punishments, such as had soiled themselues with execrable vices. And yet they held withall, that he would punish many crimes by present calamities, adding also; that some might be defaced by sacrifices, and the penalties due to them, made more milde or lessened.

Now, although this doctrine was very passable in appearance; yet notwithstanding, they abolished the true vse of the Law, and with the benefites of the *Messias*, the doctrine of free pardon. Wherefore, cyther they confirmed trust in mens owne iustice, or left their consciences in pittifull doubts: in regarde that mens minds being thus ouerthrowne, fled from God, and trembling against him; neyther durst approach neare him, nor call vpon him truly

For the more sure maintaining these their disciplines, they had instituted many exercises; the most part whereof serued rather for ostentation, then any restraint to their owne bad desires. The manner or forme of their garments was notable; for they wore great long cloakes, with fringes about them, inter-wouen with the words of the Lawe. Oftentimes they vsed to wash themselues, hauing at the entring into their houses holy-water, wherewith they sprinkled themselues. They obserued choice of meates in their fasts, muttering long prayers to themselues, which Saint *Matthew* calleth *Batologie*, much babbling.

Their sacrifices and apparence of piety, attracted greatly the familiarity of wo-

men, which was the cause that adulteries and diuorces grew to be very frequent among them; and to enioy therein the more liberty, they enlarged the law of diuorces. For the auncient custome of diuorces implied; that they were not to be done, but vpon knowledgc of the cause, and the instruments to effect them, was, with the knowledge and consent of the magistrate, and seperation might not be graunted for light causes and disturbances; but by good reasons induced to the Iudges, who were knowne to bee graue men, and of great integritie.

But the Pharises (vicerly disannulling this auncient custome) made diuorces vpon their priuate authority, either without cause, or for causes of no moment: so that the lawe of diuorce serued onely as a baited hooke, to allure and betray other mens wiues; as among the Pagans, and as at this instant with the Turkes, it is in vse.

By this kind of proceeding, men might reiect their wiues when they thought fittest, without any reasonable cause, and contrary to the nature of mariage, which God himselve instituted at the beginning, to the end, that it might be the aliance of an inseparable company when hee saide: *They shall be both one flesh*; that is to say, a male and female shal be ioyned together inseparably. In like manner, the Lawe of *Moses* did not permit diuorce without cause; but rendred a reason whereby separation might be allowed, to wit, *if any wilnesse were found in her*. And the ancient *Atticke* custome intended, that no diuorce should be granted, without knowledge of the cause. Since when, by succession of times, the bands of discipline haue been let loose, by the encrease of lewdnes and incontinencie: so that the auncient *Atticke* custome became quite changed. And so in the latter times of the Iewes, all grauity for the maintenance of aliance in mariage, grew greatly extenuated. For shee could not be saide to be a true wife, whom the husband might cast off at all times, and whensoever such giddines intoxicated his braine, and without anie wighty cause. This vniust custome of the *Pharises* was the cause of that question in *S. Matthew*, where mention is made concerning the aliance of mariage, and the first institution therof repeated: also by a seuer

Women familiarly allured to their Sacrifices.

The auncient manner for granting the bil of diuorce.

The law of diuorce serued for the betraying of mens wiues.

Gods first institution of marriage.

Genesis 2.24.

Moses lawe for diuorce.

Deut. 24.1.

The Atticke custome concerning diuorce.

The latter times of the Iewes much negligent in marriage cases.

Math. 19.6,7.

The Pharises maintained the freedom of mans wil.

They allowed the resurrection of the dead.

The true vse of the Lawe vicerly abolished by them.

Institution of many disciplines for ostentation.

Ceremonies vsed by the Pharises.

Math. 6.7.

The vniust  
custome of  
the Pharises.

Vices frequēt  
and common  
to superstiti-  
ous natures  
in al ages and  
nations.

Juggling tricks  
of the Phari-  
ses.

Most of the  
Pharises were  
of one molde.  
Execrable er-  
rours held by  
the Pharises.

Their pride  
in opinion of  
themselues,  
and their acti-  
ons, excelling  
all, and none  
good enough  
to be equall  
with them.

seuere declaration, light and triuiall separations of marriage, vsed both among the people of the Iewes, and Pagans likewise, are forbidden and condemned.

It hath beene common to all superstitious natures, in all ages and nations, to peruert the order of precedent actions; yea, & in such sort, that they grow to be very difficult and rigorous exacters, of multitudes of their owne deuised ceremonies: being (in the *interim* time) very carelesse for the necessary seruices of life, whereof the Decalogue giueth cōmands, and letting loose the bridle to infinit lewd affections. And many of them appeare meerely as Jugglers, such as are described in our Satyres, who (by counterfeited grauitie) disguise great vices, whereof is said; *That they shew themselues to be wise men, and yet liue in dissolution.*

And although among the *Pharises*, some were more modest then others, as *Gamaliel*; some also vnderstanding the doctrine more purely, renouncing errors, as *Nichodemus*; yet notwithstanding, the most part of them were of this coyne or flampe. They had execrable errors (concerning the Diuinitie) engrauen in their spirits, and touching the political Empire of the *Messias*. They vnderstood nothing of the promise for remission of sins, nor of the true Inuocation. They had a false opinion of the *Moisaical* ceremonies, and of their owne. Moreouer, they added other enorme vices to these; as to esteeme wel of themselues, for they reputed themselues to be wise, iust, princes and pillars of Gods Church; preferring themselues before al modest and religious people indeed, because they affected to haue their carriage more seene and obserued, themselues to bee more honoured and feared, then any other. Neuerthelesse, they were in continuall debates and variances, as well among themselues, as the Citizens, feasting together for pride, ambition, enuy, contempt, hatred, euill speaking and venomous iniuries. So that through their priuate couctousnes, they moued not only many domesticall tumults, but aymed at the yoake of strangers; for they were skilfull in those artes (wel knowne among themselues) in seeking to compasse a tyrannicall power.

First of all, they strengthened themselues by the fauors of neighboring kings,

of high Courts, mighty men, and planting factions among the people; forgetting to imitate the ancient saying; *If the Serpent doe not cate a Serpent, hee will neuer become a Dragon.* And either by calumnies, or other like means, they oppressed all such, as (in emulation) were hinderers to their power. Aboue all, they were very spleenatiue against the professors of true doctrine, carefully seeking all occasions whereby to spoile them: as it is said, they slew *Zachary* the Father to *Iohn Baptist*.

Now although (as I haue formerly said) that among the *Pharises*, some were more modest then other, & some (being there-to admonished) forsooke their errours, and embraced the true doctrine: yet notwithstanding, the following Histories of the Iewish people, and the Euangelicall narrations doe testifie, that the opinions and behauiour of this troupe, and all such as made profession of this Sect, partaking with them in their rites and ceremonies, were none other then as I haue heere set downe.

## CHAP. VIII.

¶ *Concerning the originall of the other Sect, tearmed Sadduces, contrary in nature to the Pharises, and what customes were obserued among them.*



Haue beene the larger in discoursing on the *Pharises*, in regarde that this Sect dazled or deceiued mens sight, by an apparence of farre greater superstition, then that of the *Sadduces*, and going beyond them in authoritie. Now I shall (in brieft) say somewhat of the *Sadduces*, in so much, as this Sect received no originall from superstition; but rather from contempt of God, sauouring to be Epicurian.

Forasmuch as the *Pharises* charged men with numberlesse ceremonies, that neither their bodies or consciences could bear any more; like to some other in these later times, whose lawes and impositions haue growne beyond all measure, that many

What man-  
and practi-  
were in ob-  
seruation:  
mongst the  
Pharises.

The follow-  
ing histories  
make more  
apparent  
proofe of  
these peop-

From where  
the Sadduc-  
had their o-  
ginall.

fired (with tears) to be disbursed: so started vp other profane people, who, without any true iudgement, loosing the bāds of all restriction (by an *Epicurian* audaciousnes) instituted another Sect contrary to that of the *Pharises*, naming themselves *Sadduces*. For, to cary some esteem before the people, they tooke this honorable title, deliuered from Iustice: For *Zaddikim* signifies Iustnes, & this name was opposite to that of the *Pharises*, who were termed Interpreters, and disputed on many things. Now it was a matter more notable and glorius, for men to be stiled Iust, and doers of the Law, then Interpreters and Disputers. Others deduce the name from *Sedak*, a *Chaldean* word, which signifies to part or diuide. Bicause they vnderstood the *Sadduces* to be termed (according as we speake) Schismatickes, diuided from sentence with the rest of the church; but I guesse that their aduersaries forged that Etymologie.

It is no great matter, whence the appellation came, let vs rather consider the deed it selfe, & be terrified withall, in thinking on so horrible an example. VVherein plainly appeared the power of the diuell, forraging in this company, which bare the name of the church of God; considering, that (euen then) in people very well conditioned, among whom discipline was easily entertaind, because their extendure was so smal, & where there were no strangers to intermeddle; many durst (by public authority) propound most execrable errors, and erect, euen in the midst of the Church, a Schoole like that of *Epicurus*. Let vs consider on this also, that after these Churches were spread abroad farre & wide, many mighty errors were sowne in & by them; as namely the confusion of the Empire, and the conuerfation of Pagans, among whom they liued. Wherefore, let vs not flatter our selues, by a vain assurance of the name of the Church, as if that all had bin, or were without sinne.

And although it is not possible to report all the mad pranks of the *Sadduces*, without great grieve and anguish; yet notwithstanding, it is necessary the Historie should be written. For, it plainly appeareth, that some profane Iewes brought a monstrous audaciousnes into *Iudea*, and such wicked opinions as they had learned of Pagans, meerey Epicurians, by haun-

ting to them familiarly; for they carried no meane resemblance with them. The Sect of the *Sadduces* retained the name of God, for feare lest it should appeare, that they would dissipate the pollicie, which was singularly maintained by the bands of Religion. But they endeouored to efface out of mens vnderstanding, the true inuocation vpon God, and the true feare of him.

They maintained, that mens soules being sundred from their bodies, should neuer rest, and that men should reuiue no more after death: neyther that any other iudgement was to be expected, wherein the iust were to be discerned from the vniust. The names of eternall life, & of hell, were to this Sect as meere fables and terrors to affright young children. And because they would make their intention knowne, that it was to ease the mindes of men, from the burden of Pharisaicall traditions, and to teach liberty: they feigned, to recall men back to the writings of *Moses*, and therefore alleadged his saying, where it is forbidden to adde to the Law. By this meanes they frustrated all the writings of the *Pharises*, with all their interpretations and traditions: the release and discharge whereof was pleasing, and affected by many, because that the number of them was well-neare infinite.

From thence, and there framing their beginning, they went on further vnder the same colour, & reiected all the Bookes of the Prophets (the bookes of *Moses* onely excepted) auouching, that he neuer meant or spake, but of this present life onely. To maintaine the forme and order of their Commonwealth, they sayd; That the law ought to be obeyd, & sacrifices to be performed, because God punished great offences in this life. Contrariwise, for good actions and obedience, he gaue peace & abundance of goods: confirming al their fancies by the words of *Moses*, where hee speakes both of blessings and cursings.

The breuitie of this Doctrin, agreed and contented light headed spirits highly; and profane persons were not a litle delighted with these opinions: which were confirmed by the iudgement of sense onely, because euery man thought that an intollerable burthen, and hardly gaue credite to those Articles, which were out of his present sight & comprehension. And

Furious and most monstrous blasphemies held & maintained by the Sadduces.

All the Pharises writings made voyde and of none account.

All the books of all the prophets reiected by the Sadduces, onely the books of *Moses* excepted.

The Sadduces doctrine confirmed by the iudgement of sense only.

What manner the Sadduces began to sinuate themselves.

The name of the Sadduces had to become more glorious than that of the Pharises.

The diuells mightie power in those wicked times.

How arose from these dissenting churches, by means of the S. S.

Monstrous opinions brought into Iudea by the profane Iewes.

therefore this Sect (how wicked soever it were) wanted not store of followers.

Now although it be true, that God is the gardian of politicall societie, and that he punisheth vniust murders in this life; lest the companies of men should be consumed, as also to the end, that they may be manifest signes of his diuine Iustice to euery eye: yet notwithstanding, God in meane while (by an admirable councill best knowne vnto himselfe) suffereth many iust persons to be slaine by the wicked; as *Abell*, the children of *Israell* in *Egypt*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and innumerable other. These examples doe testifie, that there remayneth another Iudgement, wherein God will declare his iustice, by bringing the iust and vniust into iudgement: and the wicked, being sent into torments, shall shew the iust to be victorious, although it continue some time after death. For, seeing that God declared, that he had a care of *Abell*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, and *Jeremy* during their liues: if after death he should haue made no account of them, it had much dissented from his præscience; yea, and from his iustice also. It is then most euident, that the *Sadduces*, who denyed any other iudgement to remaine after death; did cut off the diuine and iust prouidence, from a great part of mankind, and especially from such as haue excelled in righteousnesse.

The sacrificing Priest of the *Sadduces*, beeing at the Altare, conceiued, that the *Israelitish* Nation was not chosen of God (who onely had the true knowledge of God on earth;) because they had been so often oppressed by Kings of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* & *Syrians*; and, euen when their neighbors (being dispersed throught *Iudea*) spoiled many thousands of iust persons, compelling them that suruiued, to feed on the slaughtered bodies of their fellow-Citizens: in this case, shall there bee no attribution of iustice and prouidence to God, if instantly hee shewe not himselfe to haue a care of his, and that (therefore) there remayneth no immortality? Thus vnder the shadow of ceremonies, were mens soules abused, by outward and apparant Legier-dumaines, the diuine Prouidence being exactly taken away, euen as the *Epicurians* did.

Now, considering there were these debates between the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*,

in such great matters, let such as reade, conceiue, not onely how great and frequent the tumults and perturbations of this people haue beene; but also, how rudely both the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, and diuers other with them (being manifestly Atheists) vsed the true Church, as *Simeon*, *Zachary* and their poore flocke. But as then (among so many wolues and lions) some faithfull guardians of the true doctrine were reserued; so (no doubt) but God will stil continue it to all succeeding times; and as hee did to *Simeon* and the rest, so he will euermore stand in the iust defence of his Spouse the Church, supporting her against all miseries whatsoever:

### CHAP. IX.

*Of a third Sect, contrary to the Pharises and Sadduces; who termed themselues by the name of Essæans: their originall Religion and maner of life.*



Ordinarily happeneth, that when seditions haue once gotten themselues into actiue motion: many partialities and diuisions will thrust in after them. As *Homer* feigned, that the Storehouse or Armory (wherein *Aeolus* had locked vp the winds) being broken open: the Sea became troubled every where, the windes flew abroad with such extraordinary violence; euen so in kingdoms & Empires, after that politicall order cometh to bee once troubled and disioyned; many diuisions must needs follow after. Many Sects exalted themselues, during these debates betweene the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. For some, detesting the profane doctrine, and Ethnicke licence of the *Sadduces*, and seeing Religion and piety masked by the *Pharises*, and that, to disguise great and grosse vices, such as were whoredome, ambition, malice, enuy, cruelty, lying, rapine, and the like, they set before mens eies (as a cloude of dissimulation) dreadfull seueritie, and and some seuerite ceremonies; beganne

to

A refutation of the grosse and abominable errors of the *Sadduces* Sect.

The *Sadduces* denyed any other iudgement to ensue after death.

The reason why the people of *Israel* were condemned by the *Sadduces*.

Matters by the Author to the Readers consideration.

Sects and visions be once in force do beget ny more follow.

Distaste in some at bo Pharises and Sadduces.

to diuide themselves from both one and other.

And these Seperatists & diuided people, formed a name for themselves, called *Essæans, workers*; by which title, they gaue me to vnderstand, that which they reproued in others, & wherin they would seem more excellent then they : namely, that they fled from the profane libertie of the *Sadduces*, & allowed not the hypocrisie of the *Pharises*, disguised in so many kindes : but that they would doe deeds or workes profitable to other, and commaunded by God, hauing alwayes this vsuall sentence in their mouths; *Euery word without work, is meere vaine and vnprofitable.*

There is no mention made of them in the Ecclesiasticall history, either because they had not inuêted any new kind of doctrine, but retained the doctrine of *Moses* & the *Sacrificers*: or in regard they dwelt at th'end of *Iudea*, toward the lake *Asphaltida*, as in a retiremēt, & neuer intermeddled with the government of affaires, thunning the contentions of the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. Their maner of life was like to that of the *Monkes*; for, either they were not married, or if they were, they abstained from their wiues; hauing their goods in cōmon, doing such busineses as were inioyned thē. They sought not after riches, voluptuous pleasures, or honors; but digd and delued in gardens, as in a life of solitude, seeking carefully for knowledge in the nature of Plants, and their iuyces, stones and animalls, learning their remedies, and exercising Phisicke faithfully, which serued more then all other Artes for the life of man.

Moreouer, they practised many vertues, as beneficence, patience in visiting sicke persons; such as were not able to helpe themselves, they would feed them, carry them, wash and bathe them, neuer shrinking at grosse fauors, coming either frō wounds, sweats, or other annoyances. Their cunning, faith & diligence was very commendable, in knowing wel how to prepare medicaments; to know the kindes of diseases; what remedies were apt for them; to know also times & seasons, when phisicke ought to be ministred. In brieft, the vertues & welldoing of a learned, industrious and faithful Phisition appeared in the most of them.

And as it is a good thing, that youth

should be enstructed in learning, the doctrine of good maners, the Art of phisick, and to accustome their tender spirites to discipline, & the vnderstanding of virtue: euen so in the assembly of the *Essæans*, the very skilfullest were chosen by a certaine number, who instructed many throughtout *Iudea*. For al modest men, & such as thunned the managing of affaires in ciuile dissentiōs, affected rather to haue their children taught by the doctours of this Sect, then any other, which they held in horror, & would haue no acquaintance with them, seeing them so tempestuous in the Common-wealth; by their owne particular couetous desires, and continually mouing vnecessary contentions.

The *Essæans* addicted their life and religion principally to two heads or points, to wit: In calling vpon God in a priuate kind of life, and in honest bodily labours, which were the expulsion of vices, and profitable to other men. And for satisfaction both to the one and other, they had partition of times, so that they might attend on busines till the fift houre of the day, that is to say, to eleuen houres before midday. Their labor ending at that houre, certain numbers of people (round about) met there together, according to the places distributed to euery one. In this assembly, some passage in *Moses* and the Prophets was read, the Auncients that sate as Presidents, gaue addition of the exposition: which they would not haue to be written, but retained in the minde, and so transferred to the government of manners, admonishing (according to the exigence of time) what they thoght profitable for peace and tranquillitie, for they would haue none of their followers to meddle in the Common-wealth.

After this reading & exposition, they inuoked Gods assistance both in publike & particular. They held those times to be most meet for meditation & praier, when the body was not charged with meats & fumes, & that inuention is most sprightly in them, whose mindes were fasting from worldly cogitations. Two or 3. houres being employed in reading and prayer, euery one went to supper, or walked in company, or alone by himselfe, according as it stooode with his good liking, or as his heart required. The rest of the day, vntill the Euening came, was spent in

The Art of Phisicke is meet and profitable to be learned by yong people.

The doctrine and life of the Essæans aimed only at two especial ends

Concerning their meetings and assemblies.

What times they reposed most conuenient for meditation and prayer.

Essæans, workers, or reproers of other is, in regard of their owne excellencie.

no mention made of the Essæans in the Ecclesiasticall storie.

The maner by they lived far from the fashion of other men.

Vertuous and admirable qualities exercised by the Essæans.

The exercises  
after receiuing  
sustenance.

Discipline ec-  
clesiastical or  
dayned for  
such as offen-  
d. For inst  
the Lawes of  
their colleges.

Matth. 18.17.

The princi-  
pall parts of  
the doctrine  
taught by  
the Essæans.

Ioseph. in An-  
tiq. lib. 3. cap. 9.  
Plin. in l. 5. c. 2.

The habitati-  
on of the Es-  
sæans.

learned discourse and talking of God, of Plants, of medicaments, and their experience in euery thing: or else of the historie of their owne nation, and what miseries had beene common to them. Before the darke houres of night, they met together againe, and went to prayer.

Now, although the order of their behauiour and actions were wisely gouerned, and many (in their Colledges) liued modestly; yet notwithstanding it came to passe, that some of them (wonne by their owne couetous desires) forgot the Lawes diuine, and (in the neighbouring towns) fell to voluptuous pleasures. But the rigour of each Colledge was such, as if any one had defrauded another, if hee had lied, or had infected himselfe with whoredome: immediately (by common sentence) hee was excommunicated out of the company. For (among them) was kept the most ancient custome of the Synagogue, whereof is spoken in Saint *Matthew*, Because there might no question be vrged, for instituting any new forme of Iudicature; but the playne auncient fashion, recited as it was giuen by the Fathers, the traces whereof are remaining in the Church.

This pollicie of the *Essæans*, comprehended the principall parts of their doctrine, to wit; the study of learning, the exercises of Inuocation, reuerence to their Gouernors, bodily labors, temperance, and modest maners according to the Decalogue, the nourishing of youth; who were instructed in learning, and the Art of Physicke; paines and punishments also appointed for delinquents. *Iosephus* commended the Colledge of the *Essæans*, comparing them to the Schoole of *Pythagoras*. *Pliny* also makes mention of them in very honorable maner, terming them *Essæneans*, as (since then) diuers other did; for there he speaketh of no other people, but onely the *Essæans*. Hee placeth their dwelling towards the Lake *Asphaltida*, on the west side, not farre from the City of *Iericho*, where were the gardens of Balm. It may be, that this place was chosen to study the Art of Physick, as not being the like in all the world, for abounding in all the principall medicines. By this passage of *Pliny*, and by *Iosephus*, it appeareth, that the colledge of the *Essæans* continued to the time of *Vespasian*: besides, *Iosephus* re-

porteth, that they carried themselves very valiantly in warre.

Now wil we returne to *Hyrcanus*, who after he had held the gouernement, and the High-priesthood 31 yeares, died, leauing 3. children. Hee was accounted singularly happy in 3. things; to wit, that he had bin so long a time a peaceable prince of the people, and the soueraigne Sacrificer: adding thereto, that he was beleued to haue the spirit of Prophecie, & knowlege in things to come, by the gift of god.

## CHAP. X.

*Having briefly discoursed on the 3. severall Sects, of the Pharises, Sadduces, and Essæans: we go backe againe where we formerly left, to speake of Hyrcanus and his Sonnes.*

**I**ohn *Hyrcanus* had five sonnes, *Aristobulus* the first, *Antigonus* the second; a graue yong man, who in his life time, accompanied with his brother *Aristobulus*: expelled *Antiochus Cyzicenus* out of *Iudea*, and tooke *Samaria*. The father being dead, his brother also was crowned King. But soone after, when hee had exploited the affaires in *Galilee*, he went vp to *Ierusalem*, accompanied with braue Souldiers, to be present at the Feast of *Tabernacles*. His brother growing suspitious of him, and causing him to be entrapped by his warlike troupes; he was slaine by them neare to the Temple.

*Alexander* the third, called *Iannes* also, had two sons, namely, *Hyrcanus* the first, *Aristobulus* the second, *Absolon* the fourth; being of a most milde and peaceable spirit, liued by himselfe priuately. A daughter of his was married to his cosin *Aristobulus*. The fift sonne of *Hyrcanus* is not named at all, and yet was slayne by his brother *Alexander*: because that (after the death of *Aristobulus*) he affected the kingdome.

*Aristobulus*, after the death of his father *Hyrcanus*, being the first that changed the Principalltie into a dignitie Royall; imposed on himselfe the diademe, and sent also for his brother *Antigonus*, whom he loued. He put his other three brethren in prison, and that which is much more, he starued his owne mother to death in prison; because she demaunded

The Authors  
returne to the  
former Histo-  
rie.

The valiant  
actes of An-  
gonus.

Antigonus  
slaine by his  
brothers  
meanes.

The fift son  
of Hyrcanus  
slaine.

Aristobul  
crowned h  
selfe king  
of Iudea.

ded the succession and gouernement of the principallitie, which *Hyrcaanus* had left vnto her on his death-bed.

Afterward, he caused his brother *Antigonus* to be slaine, he being a braue man, and a bolde Warriour, laying diuerse ambushes for him, as hee returned victoriously from *Galilee*; only because he suspected that he affected the kingdome.

Immediately, beeing highly distastd by this murdering of his brethren, he became seized with a grienous paine in his entrails, and hauing cast vp a great quantitie of bloud by vomiting, the Page that carried the Bason from him, fell (accidentally) in the same place, where the ground remained as yet infected with the blood of mured *Antigonus*, and there he spilt the cast blood of *Aristobulus*: which hee vnderstanding, and falling into acknowledgement of the diuine iust vengeance; in excessiue torments both of soule and body, yeelded vp the ghost. After he had reigned one whole yeare onely, and during which time, hee had augmented the kingdome of *Iudea*, and constrained the *Itureans* to vndergoe Circumcision, hauing formerly vanquished them. He was called *Philellin*, because hee vted greatly the familiarity of Pagans.

*Alexander, called also Imnes.*

**H**is father *Hyrcaanus* neuer saw him, for as he was in great care about the succession of his children: it was foretolde him in his sleepe, that his riches and principallitie, should fall into the power of that new borne babe, whereat hee growing greatly offended, commaunded, that hee should be nursed in *Galilee*, like to a simple priuate person.

After the death of his father *Hyrcaanus*, he was clapt vp in prison (with his two other brethren) by *Aristobulus*. But *Aristobulus* dying at his yeares expiration, hee came to the Crowne, by the means of *Alexandra*, wife to *Aristobulus*, to whom he had promised marriage.

Soone after he was crowned King, he slew one of his brethren, who practised novelties; and entertained the other (named *Absolon*) honorably, because he was of a peaceful spirit. Then taking order for publike affaires, hee besieged the cittie of *Ptolomais* round about. The citizens seeing all hope of succour voyde from *Syria*, in regard of the ciuile warre, which made

mighty haucke there; called from *Cyprus* *Ptolomie Lathurus*, expelled by his mother *Cleopatra*. He coming to them with 3000 men, *Alexander* retired his army into his countrey, and dispatched a messenger secretly into *Egypt*, desiring ayde of *Cleopatra* against her son *Lathurus*. Publicly he capitulated aliance with *Lathurus*, promising him 24 tuns of gold, if, expelling the tyrant *Zoilus*, who vsurped *Doris* and *Cæsarea*, he would render those Seignories to the Iewes.

But *Ptolomie* being aduertised of *Alexanders* secret machinations, breaking all alliances, inuaded *Iudea* with his Army, where *Alexander* mette him with his forces well appoynted, and after a rude encounter, *Alexander* was put to flight, and lost 30000. of his men. *Lathurus* not a little glorying in this victory, made mightie wattle in *Iudea*, lacking & spoyling all places where he came, killing both women and children in euery village; and after he had sliced them in peeces, he caused their limbes to be boyled and eaten by his souldiers, to make them the more terrible to the Iewes. Very soone after, *Cleopatra* chased this Tyrant out of *Iudea*, as doubting lest if he should grow any greater, the he would further insult vpon *Egypt*. *Alexander* went to visite her at the siege which she maintained before *\*Ptolomais*, where he gaue her great gifts: and after he had bin royally welcomed by her, and combined alliance with her, he tooke his way homeward againe.

Much about this time, while *Lathurus* returned to *Cyprus*, and *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, *Alexander* tooke *Gadera*, *Amathunta* and *Anhedon*, and hauing held a long siege before *Gaza*, with losse of a great number of his men: finally, by the treason of *Lysimachus*, he entred it, & slaying the Citizens most inhumanly, he rased it to the ground. Nor would he pardon 500. of the principall persons, who labored to yield the city to him: but drew them from foorth the Temple of *Apollo* (whereunto they had fled for freedom) to put them to death. But these iocund prosperities were ouertaken with a domesticall sedition: for, in the Feast of *Tabernacles*, hee was iniured by the people, as vnwoorthy of the Priesthoode, because hee was borne of a slaue: And hardely it happened, that (in his sacrificing) he was not slayne

An Ile in the sea Carpathium, betweene Cilicia and Syria.

A country of Greece, neere the gulfe Meleaus.

The greatest cruelties of Lathurus against the vanquishd Iewes in Iudea.

Tolomira by the red Sea.

Citties of Decapolis in Syria.

The barbarous butcheries of Alexander the High priest.

Algonusthe  
son of  
Hecanus  
the c.

Arrange  
ment of  
Glouly the  
w vpon A-  
ribulus, &  
nelepaire.

Peple of  
sy Caes  
nee Arabia,  
ve expert  
n ouing.

Medition  
n to Hyr-  
ca in his  
the c.

Axander  
at neth to  
the Crowne.

Axander  
kild his bro-  
ther.

Alexander hardly escaped killing, & bloodily reuenged it on the people.

The Moabites & Galaadites conquered.

The Iewes entred into ciuill warre gainst Alexander.

Alexander findeth helpe in his heauy extremity.

The most part of the Iewes in Armes still again't Alexander.

Eight hundred cheefe Iewes crucified by Alexander, while he banqueted with his Concubines.

by the multitude then about him, who smote him with the boughes and branches, which the *Iewes* vsed to carry at that Feast. Not a little enraged at this wrong, he called his souldiers together, and entering vpon the vnarmed people, slew about sixe thousand of them: calling diuers strangers from *Persia* and *Cilicia*, to serue as a Guard about his body. Afterward, marching forth with his Army, he vanquished the *Moabites* and *Galaadites*; compelling them to pay him tribute.

Shortly after, to his great misfortune, hee encountred with *Oboda*, King of the *Arabians*, fell into his ambushes, and his Army being hewen in pieces, he escaped with much difficulty. Vpon this bad successe, the *Pharifies* (enraged with hatred against him) tooke occasion to raise the most part of the *Iewish* people likewise in mistlike of him, with whom he warred (very hardly) sixe whole yeares. For the *Iewes* that were his aduersaries, drew *Demetrius*, the Sonne of *Gryphus*, to oppose his forces with such troopes as hee had called from *Damas*, where hee reigned: against whom *Alexander* fought to his great losse, for all his strange Soldiours lay slaine in the field, & he had no means to saue himselfe, but by flight. Yet, notwithstanding his instant calamity, some of the *Iewes* were hartened to take his part, in turning requitall vpon *Demetrius*: and being assisted with some sixe thousand men, he made a smal recovery of his former losse.

Now, albeit vpon this victory, *Demetrius* (perceiuing the reuolt of the *Iewes*) retired his hoast home into his kingdom: yet notwithstanding, the most part of the *Iewes* (who were coniuered against *Alexander*) continued in Armes still, whose power *Alexander* brake by little and little, aswell through industry, as by vertue. And after he had sped well in some skirmishes, hee shutte vp his very mightiest enemies, in the Fort belonging to the Towne of *Behom*, which he enforced with great difficulty, & vsed extreme cruelty vpon his captiues. For he tooke eight hundred of the principal *Iewes*, causing them all to be crucified, while he sate banquetting at a Table with his Concubines, and in the presence of al his inuited guests, hauing formerly commaunded their wiues and children to be miserably

murdred. The rest (affrighted by this cruell example) fled out of *Ierusalem* in the night time, being about eight thousand of his enemies.

By this meanes, that dreadfull ciuill warre was appeased, which had continued more then sixe yeares; and wherein, aboue fifty thousand *Iewes* were slaine. After these domesticke troubles, by continuall courses hee reuenged himselfe on strange aduersaries, who had giuen succour and retreat to the seditious *Iewes*, winning from them many Townes and Citties. Returning home againe, through his intemperance, hee fell into a Feauer quartane, which held him for the space of three yeares. And yet, hating to abstaine (all this while) from trauaile and war, dyed in besiedging a Castle on the Mount of the *Gergefenians*, in the nine and fortieth yeare of his age; of his reigne and Priesthood, the seuen and twenty. Before his death, he left his kingdomes government to his wife *Alexandra*, and gaue her charge to pacifie the *Pharifies*, whom he and his Father had offended, vnto their great detriment.

He left two Sons: *Hyrcanus* & *Aristobulus*.

Of whom we shall haue leysure to speak heereafter; because first of all, we are to say some-what concerning *Alexandra*, the wife of *Alexander Iannes*.

*Alexandra*, wife to *Alexander Iannes*.

After shee had instituted in the High-Priesthood her eldest sonne *Hyrcanus*, who desired nothing more, then to leade a priuate life: she succeeded in the kingdom after her husband *Alexander*, being especially aided by the power of the *Pharifies*, to whom she gaue authority, to reuocate and erect their ancient traditions, which *Hyrcanus* (her father in law) had abolished, & granted to them many other fauours beside. So that the *Pharifies* administered the whole Regiment of the Kingdom at their owne pleasure; onely the bare name of Queene remained to *Alexandra*. Finally, as they vnderooke the boldnesse, to execute (vnder colour of iustice) the cheefest Councillors to the deceased King *Alexander*, who they suspected to haue incited him against the *Pharifies* Sect: so they proceeded on in many inhumanities. The friends of *Alexander* going to *Rome* with his sonne *Aristobulus*, obtained (by fauor of the Court)

to

Sixe yeares ciuill warre the Iues of more then fifty thousand Iewes.

Alexander ed in war, besiedging a Castle.

Hyrcanus, deist sonne Alexander created high Priest.

A woman reigneth of the Iewes.

Alexander friends goe with Aristobulus to Rome.

to goe as Captaines of warlike troopes, to the Castles.

At this time, *Tygranes* King of the *Parthians*, made seizure on the kingdome of *Syria*; because the *Syrian* Kings had consumed all their strength and power by domesticke warres. And being entred also into *Iudea*, planted his Campe before the City of *Ptolomais*: whereof (neuerthelesse) Queen *Alexandra* bought the peace by liberall bounty of gifts. After the taking of *Ptolomais*, *Tygranes* returning with his Army to his Countrey: heard newes concerning the victory of *Lucullus*, and the flight of *Mithridates*.

Within a while after, *Alexandra* being fallen into an extreme sicknesse, her Son *Aristobulus*, taking in ill part the dominion of the *Pharises*: fled to the friends of his Father, who had the guarding of the castles, by whose assistance, he got possession of the principall Citties in *Iudea*. In this feare of the *Pharises*, and no great assurance of *Aristobulus*, who (neuerthelesse) approched neere with his Army; *Alexandra* was called out of this life, in the ninth yeare of her Reigne, and the Lxxv. of her age, which brought peace to the Land of *Iudea*. But because she had encreased the power of the *Pharises*; it was the reason of many troubles which followed.

*The sonnes of Alexander Iamnes, and of Alexandra, were (as hath bene said)*

*Hyrcanus the second.*

*Aristobulus the second.*

*Hyrcanus* the second, naturally peacefull, and a louer of quietnesse, was enstalled by his Mother *Alexandra* Soueraigne Sacrificer, in the place of his deceased Father. And moreover, after the death of his Mother, by hereditary right he obtained the kingdome. But being vanquished by his Brother *Aristobulus* in battel, he was glad to saue himselfe in the Fortresse of the Temple; commanded there to leade a priuate life, the kingdome and High-Priesthood beeing quitted to his Brother. For some time he endured these conditions, but beeing afterward moued by some accusations, which *Antipater* the *Idumean* (father to *Herod*) put into his head, as also the frauds and fetches of his brother *Aristobulus*; hee was induced to flye thence into *Arabia*, to king *Aretas*, whom *Antipater* had won by liberall pro-

mises, to attempt the restitution of *Hyrcanus* to the kingdome of *Iudea*.

*Aretas* inuading *Iudea* with a potent Army, and hauing *Aristobulus* at the encounter; ouercame him, and taking the City of *Ierusalem*, held him so long besieged in the Temple, vntill by the command of *Scaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he was forced to retire with his Army into *Arabia*, and so the enterprize for *Hyrcanus* proued to none effect. After that *Pompey* had vanquished *Tygranes*, & was come into *Syria*, the two brethren, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, accused each other before him, touching their right to the Kingdom and High-Priesthood. But *Pompey*, more enclining to the part of *Hyrcanus*, by the prouidence and seruices of *Antipater*; released *Aristobulus* vnder certaine conditions. Neuerthelesse, *Aristobulus* meaning nothing but meere mockery to all commands, and trusting to the munitions in the City of *Ierusalem*: *Pompey* (in reuenge) entred it violently, and won the Temple so strongly defended, where were slaine of the *Iewes*, about the number of two and twenty thousand, and the City (with the most part of *Iudea*) rendred tributary to the *Romaines*. Which tribute they payed for a certaine time, as *Iosephus* confesseth, amounting to the sum of 10000. Talents, which is 60. Tuns of gold. *Pompey* hauing walked in the Temple, and entred into the holiest part of all, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*: at his departing, restored *Hyrcanus* to the Soueraigne Priesthood, but not the kingdome. Also, he led along with him to *Rome*, *Aristobulus* as prisoner, with his two sonnes, *Alexander* (who neuertheles escaped by the way) and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters likewise.

Thus *Hyrcanus*, being possessed of the soueraigne Priesthood, about foure yeares after the death of his Mother *Alexandra*, succored *Scaurus* (left in *Iudea* with two legions) when he besieged *Petra*, a City of *Arabia*. Afterward, he fel into the fauor of other *Romain* Lieutenants, sent into *Iudea* only by the perswasion and friendship of *Antipater*; as with *Gabinus*, *Crassus*, *Cassius* and *Iulius Caesar* himselfe, to whom he sent aid, vnder the conduct of *Antipater*, when he was much hindred in the war of *Egypt*. And because *Antipater* had caried himself valiantly, *Cesar* confirmd the high-Priesthood to *Hyrcanus*: & appointed *Antipater* to be

*Aretas* inuadeth *Iudea* to restore *Hyrcanus*.

The two brethren pleade their cause before *Pompey*.

*Iudea* and *Ierusalem* made tributary to the *Romans*.

*Iosephus* in *Ant. Iud. lib. 3. cap. 7*

*Aristobulus* led prisoner to *Rome* by *Pompey*.

*Hyrcanus* in good fauor with many of the *Romane* Lieutenante.

*Tygranes* King of *Parthians* vsurpeth *Syria*.

*Aristobulus* a great enemy of the Sect of *Pharises*.

The death of *Alexandra*.

War between two Brethren, *Aristobulus* conquered both kingdome and Priesthood.

*Hyrcanus* his flight into *Arabia*.

Antipater  
protector of  
all Iudea.

Antipater  
poisoned by  
Malachus a  
a Iew.

Malachus  
slaine by He-  
rode Antipa-  
ters sonne.

Antigonus e-  
scaped the  
Roman pri-  
sons.

Herode and  
Phaselus Te-  
trarches in  
Iudea.

Determinati-  
on for the ar-  
mies meeting

be Tutor, Curator, or (as we vse now a-  
dayes to speake) Protector of all *Iudea*.  
At the same time also, *Cæsar* permitted  
to *Hyrcanus*, to re-establish the fortifica-  
tions of the City of *Ierusalem*, which had  
beene beaten downe by *Pompey*.

After that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine by  
the conspirators, a powerfull Iew, named  
*Malachus*, being offended at the encreas-  
ing greatnesse of *Antipater* the Idumean,  
and that the whole administration of  
affaires should be in his hand; surprized  
his life by poisons. But thereupon, *Iudea*,  
beeing destitute of so wise and valiant a  
Gouernour, fell to very miserable condi-  
tion. For *Malachus*, tempesteing his  
thoughts with mounting hopes, to be-  
come sole maister and commander; was  
slaine euen in the entrance to his enter-  
prises, by *Herode* sonne to *Antipater*, to  
whom (though he was as yet very yong)  
his father had giuen the charge of *Galilee*.  
On the other side, the brother of *Malach-  
us*, desirous to reuenge the death of his  
brother, theetued in the manner of an e-  
nemy. Also, *Antigonus* the captiued son  
to *Aristobolus*, escaping from the prisons  
of *Rome*: leuying men of arms, made him  
seife maister of a great part of *Iudea*.

After that *Herode* had imbarred his  
proceedings, *Antigonus* vnder promise of  
a thousand talents, which value fixe tuns  
of golde, and of siue hundred most noble  
women; procured *Pacorus* and *Barzaph-  
ernes*, Satrapes in the Kingdome of  
*Persia*, to enter with a maine army into  
*Iudea*, to ouerthrow *Herode* and his bro-  
ther *Phaselus*, whom *Anthonie* (one of the  
three Monarches) had before made Te-  
trarches of *Iudea*. Which beeing done,  
they should perforce render the kingdom  
of the Iewes, to the sonnes of *Aristobu-  
lus*. *Pacorus* thinking it best, that *Herode*  
should bee surprized rather by subtiltie,  
then by violence; sent *Antigonus* on be-  
fore with some bands of men, to get pos-  
session of *Ierusalem*; and he (in the meane  
while) would follow with his Armie by  
Sea, so farre as to *Ptolomais*, where he had  
ordered, that *Barzaphernes* should meete  
him with a passable Army. Many gaue  
kind welcomes to *Antigonus*, running af-  
fectionately to him, and promising their  
ayde against *Herode*. Neuerthelesse, *He-  
rode* and his brother found themselues  
the stronger in many encounters, not on-

ly within the Citty, but also without the  
walles.

Finally, *Antigonus* distrusting his for-  
ces, called *Pacorus* into the Citty, vnder  
pretence, that (as an Arbitratour) hee  
should compound the difference for the  
Principalitie, which was betweene him  
and *Herode*, vnder conditions more tol-  
lerable: but his purpose was indeede, to  
surprize *Herode* vnprovided. Moreou-  
er, hee laboured with his vnckle *Hyrcan-  
us* and *Phaselus*, worming it so into their  
heads, to go in embassie to *Barzaphernes*  
(remaining in *Galilee* with his army) and  
to preuaile so farre with him by rich pre-  
sents, that he should reite his power  
into *Syria*. To which counsell *Hyrcanus*  
the High-priest, and *Phaselus* (brother to  
*Herode*) yeelding, without suspect of ill;  
were taken by the *Parthians*, (euen as the  
matter was in monopolizing) contrary  
to the right of Nations, and deliuered as  
captiues to *Antigonus*.

*Herode* being formerly aduertised of  
these plots and compacts of *Antigonus* &  
*Pacorus*; went soorth of the Citty in the  
night season, with all his family, some  
friends, and 800. women, rich and excel-  
lent in beautie, and left the persons and  
their goods in custody of *Massada*, a well  
defenced Citty of *Idumea*: which being  
done, he went thorow *Egypt* to *Rome*, e-  
uen in the worst time of all the world.

*Phaselus*, brother to *Herode*, doubting  
the cruelty of *Antigonus*, because he was  
without armes, and bound; ranne his  
head (with great violence) diuers times a-  
gainst the wall, and by that meanes slew  
himselfe.

*Antigonus*, not contented with the dis-  
poyling *Hyrcanus* of the High-priest-  
hoode, caused him beside to become  
deformed, by cutting off his eares, fear-  
ing lest he should afterward attain to the  
Priesthood againe. For it was not law-  
full, that any gelded man, or defectiue in  
any limbe or member of body, should ad-  
minister in sacrificing. Moreouer, distrus-  
ting that he had not sufficiently enough  
provided for his owne security; hee deli-  
uered *Hyrcanus* captiue to the *Parthians*,  
to carry him out of *Iudea*, as farre as pos-  
sibly they could.

The flight of *Herod* being come to the  
notice of the barbarous vnciuile people,  
and they singularly displeased for the wo-  
men,

Antigonus  
praesisteth by  
cunning to  
compas that  
which he aim-  
ed at.

Hyrcanus ar  
Phaselus tak-  
en prisoners

Herode esca-  
peth, and go-  
eth secretly  
to Rome.

Phaselus de-  
sperately kil-  
himselfe.

The cruelty  
of one bro-  
ther to ano-  
ther.

The spoyle  
haucke of  
the barbarous  
multitude, &  
Hyrcanus le-  
away captiu

The spoile & hock of the barbarous multitude, & Hyrcanus led away captiue.

men: which *Antigonus* formerly had promised to them; pill'd and spoyled the city and the pallace royall. And yet not satisfied with this booty, robbed many places about *Ierusalem*, without leauing any thing behinde them. And after they had ordained *Antigonus* King of *Ierusalem*: they withdrew their armed troups home into their owne countrey, leading *Hyrcanus* (the soueraigne Sacrificer) along with them captiue.

Hyrcanus deler'd by King *Phraates*, and sent into *Babylon*.

It was not long after, that *Phraates* king of the *Parthians*, beeing informed of the nobilitie whereof he was descended; did set him at libertie, and sent him into *Babylon*, to be President ouer the Iewes inhabiting there, where, for about fīue yeares he was in great honor. But hauing heard, that not onely *Herode* obtained the kingdome of *Iudea*, by *Augustus Caesar*; but also, that he was conioined to him in affinitie, because hee had taken in marriage his Niece *Mariana*, the daughter of *Alexander*: he thought on returning him backe againe, promising him mountaines and meruailes, for the goodwill of *Herode*.

*Herode* wrought with the King of *Parthia*, for the return of *Hyrcanus* into *Iudea*.

About this time it fortun'd, that *Herode*, desirous to beget vnto him the courage of the Iewes, whom hee knew to beare great affection to *Hyrcanus*: repealed him backe by Lettets and Ambassadors, and foorthwith sent great Presents to the king of the *Parthians*, to pay the ransome for his captiuitie. Whereupon, *Hyrcanus* thinking there would not be any further question of deferring; contrary to the councell of al the Iewes which were in *Babylon* (who entreated him earnestly to stay there, as fearing that which followed after) returned into *Iudea*.

*Hyrcanus* honourably entertained by *Herode*.

*Herode* wellcom'd him very magnificently, and (for some time) vs'd him honourably; euen to the appealing of his father, and often conferring with him on the very principall affaires. Notwithstanding, he would not surrender to him the principality of the high-Priesthood, for the defect of his eares: but, instead of *Antigonus* (slaine before) substituted a certaine man, named *Ananelus*, come from *Babylon*, to enioy the Priesthood. Soone after, he gaue manifest signes of his deadly hatred, against all the posterity of the *Asmoneans*. As, when (by a close ambush) he slew *Aristobulus*, nephew to *Hyrcanus*, and his most dearely affected wife *Maria-*

The cruel and bloody murdering of the *Asmoneans* by *Herode*.

*na*, Niece also to the said *Hyrcanus*.

Finally, after the ouerthrow of *Marke Antony*, one of the 3 chief rulers, to whom *Herode* had beene companion, and sent him succors diuers times in war; as some sad thoughts ouertooke him, for feare of *Augustus*, being Conquerour, and of his aduersaries thorow the country of *Iudea*, but especially fearing the people (who loued him not) should mutiny by this occasion, & transferre the kingdom of their Ancestors to *Hyrcanus* (who only remained of the roiall family of the *Asmoneans*) began to lay snares and close contriuings against the life of the miserable old man. For, he impos'd a false crime vpon him, that hee would haue vsurped the Kingdome: and to make it probable, he compos'd counterfeited Letters; whereupon he being condemned by sentence of the great Consistory, was executed, albeit he was about 80. yeares olde. All his life time was troublesome vnto him, being agitated with infinit accidents of fortune, yet he (naturally) affecting quietnes, and a meane estate. Only heerein reprehensible, that he was too facile, in listening to such as prouok'd him on to the attempting of fond nouelties.

*Hyrcanus* only left of the noble *Asmoneans* family.

*Herode* caus'd *Hyrcanus* to be most wrongfully put to death.

*Aristobulus the second.*

**B**Rother to the aboue named *Hyrcanus* the second, and sonne of *Alexander*: As young a man as he was, and of hote and liuely spirit, yet notwithstanding, for nine yeares space, he left to his Mother the administration of the Kingdome, which *Alexander* (dying) gaue to hir; contenting himselfe with a priuate life. But at the length, his mother being detayned by a long sickenesse, and very dangerous, and he (not a little offended) that all matters were guided according to the fancie of the Pharises; by stealth made his recourse into the city, and conferred with the friends to his deceased father, who had the keeping of the Castles. Being ayded by them in bountifull maner, he gathered an army; by whose assistance, hee possessed himselfe of diuers neighboring places about *Ierusalem*.

*Aristobulus* had a gallant, youthfull and hote disposed nature.

His strengthening himselfe by his fathers friends.

His mother *Alexandra* dying, vpon this his preparatiue for warre; *Hyrcanus*, who all the life time of his mother as Queene, had held the High-priesthood: being

Hyrceanus is overcome by Aristobulus in battell.

The hope of Hyrcanus to recouer the Kingdome againe from his brother Aristobulus.

Scaurus raised the siege which was laid to Ierusalem.

The coming of Pompey to Damas.

Pompey entred into Iudea with his Arme.

being the eldest son, made himselfe King by right of inheritance. And to defend his right by Armes, hee went to affront his brother neare to *Iericho*, with an army ordred in good equipage. But being left of his people, who revolted to *Aristobulus*, vnder hope and perswasion of better recompence; he had no other helpe, but to shield himselfe in the munition of the Temple, where he was for some time besieged by his brother, and finally deliuered, vpon condition, that he should leaue the Kingdome and High-priest hooode to his brother, and leade a priuate life by himselfe.

Some while after, hee conueyed himselfe couertly into *Arabia*, by the perswasion of *Antipater*; as hoping to regaine the Kingdome from his brother, by the meanes of king *Aretas*. *Aristobulus* knowing the comming of *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, with *Hyrceanus* and *Antipater*, went forth to meete them: and beeing vanquished in a day of warre triall, hardly fled backe againe to *Ierusalem*, where hee was (for a time) besieged by the enemies, that closely followed his footing, vntill such time, as hauing promised 300. talents to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he preuailed thereby so well; that *Scaurus* sending in the name of the *Roman* people to *Aretas*, commanded him to auoyd out of *Iudea*, except hee would be enemy to the *Romans*. By this meanes the siege was raised; and *Aristobulus*, desirous to be reuenged, assembled men, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*, of whom he slew sixe thousand in one fight.

While these things were thus in working, *Pompey*, hauing pacified the East parts, came to *Damas*, where *Aristobulus* sent him a magnificent Present, accusing his brother *Hyrceanus* very strongly to be a perturber of the common peace. *Pompey* heereupon appointed, that at the Spring time, both the brethren should be personally present, before him at *Damas*. Where *Pompey* vnderstanding the difference betweene them, was more inclined to the case of *Hyrceanus*; as well for the equitie of his cause, as for his loue vnto *Antipater*. Neuertheless, he suffered *Aristobulus* to depart, vnder conditions, which he cared not to keep, but (by machinations) made a mockerie at the matters commanded him; and (indeed) did

nothing at all. Heereat *Pompey* beeing highly offended, entred into *Iudea*, with the Army which he had brought against the *Arabian*\* *Nabathæans*. And because *Aristobulus* had againe mocked *Gabenius*, one of the Lieutenants to *Pompey*, not furnishing him (according to promise) concerning the deliuering of certaine summes of money: *Pompey* beeing much incensed by the disloyalty of *Aristobulus*, brought his Army and Engins before *Ierusalem*, and because the Iews would not yeeld themselues, he tooke the Citie by force, ayded by the councell of *Hyrceanus*, on the fasting day of the third month before *Pentecost*; and in the year when *Marcus Tullius Cicero* confounded the Conspiracie of *Cataline* in *Rome*.

In the surprizall of the Citty two and twenty thousand Iewes were slaine by the Souldiers, and *Pompey* (with his friends) entred into the place called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and intruded to see such things as were not lawfull, but onely for the Soueraign Sacrificer. And vnderstanding that there were great summes of Golde and gold money in the Treasury, and twelue runs of siluer coyne; without taking anie thing, he departed thence, and commanded the place to be purified againe. Hee restored *Hyrceanus* to the high-priesthood, and caused the authors of the warre to be beheaded, who had bene motiues to the rebellion of *Aristobulus*. Afterward, he demolished the walles of *Ierusalem*, and made all *Iudea* tributarie to the *Romaine* people. Also he adiudged to the Empire of *Rome*, the Citties and Townes of the *Asmoneans*, which were takē before from the Kings of *Syria*: restoring also such to libertie, as in times past had liued in freedom. By this meanes hee locked vp the nation of the Iews within narrow limits, that before had extended their dominion very farre.

At his departure, hee left two legions in *Iudea*, vnder the conduction of *Scaurus*, taking *Aristobulus* captiue, with *Alexander* and *Antigonus* his two sonnes, to leade them home in triumph: but *Alexander* (hauing deceiued his keepers) escaped by the way. Here was the beginning of the seruitude of the Iewish nation, who were thus enthralled to the power of the *Romaines*. The discord of two brethren gaue the first occasion of this calamitie: three-

\* People of Arabia Felice betweene the Persian Sea and the red Sea.

Ierusalem purified by Pompey and his power.

The Sanctuarie polluted and profane by the Romaines.

The Citties and Townes of the Asmoneans adiudged to the empire of the Romaine people.

Iudea brought into slavery by the discord of 2. brethren.

three score yeares before the natiuitie of Christ; foure yeares before that *Aristobulus* (his Mother dead, and his Brother *Hyrchanus* deieeted from the seate Royall) had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea*. Saint *Ierome* writeth, that *Iakin*; father to the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, was borne the same yeare that *Ierusalem* was surprized.

I thought it fit also, to insert heere the sad issue and successe of *Pompey*, considering, that it seemed to be done diuinely, that hee should be murdered face to face the place which hee had profaned, as well by effusion of bloud, as by foolish audaciousnesse. For, foureteene yeares after the taking of *Ierusalem*, being vanquished by *Cesar* in the battaile of *Pharsalia*, and thinking to saue himselfe by flying to the Sonne of *Ptolomie* the Fleutster, whom he had recommended to the Romaine Senate, when he was chased and banished out of his Kingdome neare to \* *Pelusium*, coming foorth of a small Barke, and aged about three score yeares; he was slaine by the command of King *Ptolomy*, in the presence of his wife *Cornelia*. And, as it is thought, *Virgill* wrote these verses on his death:

*A great Trunck lying upon the Sea shore,  
A bodie without head; a head lying  
Farre from the shouldders.*

*Pelusium* is distant from *Ierusalem*; a little more then thirtie *Germaine* miles, but iust confronting it, according to the calculation of *Ptolomie*. Seauen yeares after the surprizing of *Ierusalem*; *Aristobulus*, being escaped from imprisonment at *Rome*; came into *Iudea* with his other Sonne *Antigonus*, where againe he fortified the Fort of *Alexandriou*, which *Gabinus* had destroyed. Many *Iewes* (affecting nouelties) ranne to him; so that being accompanied with eight thousand chosen men; hee dared to encounter with the *Romaines*, which *Gabinus* (then Proconsull for *Syria*) conducted, who, but a little before, constrained *Alexander*, the other sonne of *Aristobulus* (thinking to possesse himselfe of the kingdome) to deliuer him vp those Fortresses, and to craue peace. But *Aristobulus*, sustaining the worst in a sharpe fight, retired with two bands of men, into the most strong towne of *Macheron*, scituated on the Lake *Asphaltida*, somewhat a little lower then the place where *Iordaine* entrech into it. In

which towne Saint *John Baptist*, beeing a long while imprisoned, was finally beheaded. In two dayes the *Romaines* conquered the towne perforce, and *Aristobulus* taken, was led to *Gabinus*, wounded as he was; and so the second time sent bound to *Rome*, with his two children.

Matters thus pacified in *Iudea*, *Gabinus*, attended by his Gendarmery, reseatet *Ptolomie* the Fleutster in his Kingdome, he being expulsed thence by them of *Alexandria*; in which exploite he was assisted by *Hyrchanus* the soueraigne Sacrificer, and *Antipater* the Idumean. At his returne, he found all in *Iudea* and *Syria* full of troubles and tempests, for *Alexander* rauaged againe throughout *Iudea*: but *Gabinus* ouercame him in a day of battell (where he had worke enough to doe) and chased him quite out of *Iudea*; hauing massacred ten thousand *Iewes*.

Afterwards hee continued two yeares in the Prouince, gouerning all matters quietly, according to the testimony of *Iosephus*. And hauing repayed many Townes, which had beene much spoyled in the precedent warre; he left the Army in the power of *Marcus Crassus*, a verie greedy and couetous man, who attempting warre against the *Partians*, arriued there in *Syria*, in the yeare after his second Consulship; one and fiftie yeares before the birth of Christ.

This man hauing intelligence, that there was a great masse of money locked vp in the Temple of the *Iewes*, went to *Ierusalem*, and was admitted to the most secret place of the Temple; from whence (contrary to his former faithfull promise) he carried away more then ten thousand talents, that is to say, three score tunnes of golde; beside a beame of gold, which weighed three hundred Minaes, or (as *Iosephus* expoundeth it) seuen hundred and fifty *Romaine* pounds weight, amounting to five *Quintalles* and more then an halfe of our weight. *Eleazar*, Guardian of the Temple, deliuered that beame to *Crassus* very willingly, because he had promised and protested by oathe, that hee would not touch any treasure of the Temple, no more then *Pompey* had done tenne yeares before.

Now, concerning this auaritious Proconsull, soone after, he dearly payed for his wilfull periury and sacrilege; beeing miserably

Ptolomie the Fleutster restored to his Kingdome by *Gabinus*.

Ios. in Ant. Iud. lib. 9. c. 15

Marc. Crassus receiue the charge of the Armie.

Crassus breake his faith plighted to *Eleazar* guardian of the Temple.

The iustice of heauen on *Crassus* for his periury & sacrilege.

The iust iudgement of heauen inflicted vpon *Pompey*

Answer on the edge of *Egypt*.

The death of *Pompey*.

The fort of *Alexandriou* newly strengthened.

Whereon the place where Saint *John the Baptist* was put to death.

miserably slaine by the *Parthians*, with his son *Publius*, an excellent towardly yong man, and wel-neare thirty thousand *Romaines*, that rather would bee slaine, then taken; *Crassus* was then threescore yeares of age.

In the meane while, one *Pitholaus*, a very powerfull Jew, and friend to *Aristobulus* the captiue; after his second surprizall, beganne to raise tumults in *Iudea*, and weakened the side of *Hyrchanus* and *Antipater*. But after the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthians*, when *Cassius*, Questor to *Crassus*, re-assembled the rest of the *Romaine* Armie, who had fled away, and brought them backe into *Syria*, and as he ranfacked the Cities of *Iudea* for want of mony: he was perswaded by *Antipater* and *Hyrchanus* the High-priest, to make triall of his forces against *Pitholaus*, whom he vanquished in the field of battell, and brought him captiue with the *Romaine* army into *Syria*, so that thereon ensued peace in *Iudea* for some time.

Five yeares after, the warre was kindled betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*; and *Cesar* comming to *Rome* (forsaken of *Pompey*) tooke *Aristobulus* out of prison, and sent him into the East with two Legions, to subdue *Syria* & *Iudea*. But being poisoned by the way, by them that tooke part with *Pompey*: hee remayned long time in the Ile of *Malta* vnburied, vntill *Marke Anthony*, one of the three Monarchs, sent his body into *Iudea*, and commanded that he should be interred in the Sepulchre of Kings.

Such was the end of *Aristobulus*, after many mutations of fortune, hauing been twise taken and sent to *Rome*, where hee was almost foureteene yeares prisoner. He was of a factious and seditious spirit, for, being moued with ambition, he quarrelled for the kingdome of *Iudea* with his brother *Hyrchanus*: vntill such time as hee caused his death, and brought his Countrey into miserable seruitude, which proued the ruine of all his nation.

He had two sons, and as many daughters; *Hyrchanus* the second his first sonne, foueraigne Sacrificer, who had a daughter named *Alexandra*, married to his cousin *Alexander*: a woman wise, but very vehement, whom *Herode* afterward put to death. *Aristobulus* the second had *Alexander*, *Antigonus* the second, *Alex-*

*andra*. First married to *Phillippion*, sonne to *Ptolomy*, king of *Chalcis*, which is a Region on the coast of *Libanus*. Afterward, *Ptolomie* (inflamed with the loue of his daughter in lawe) slew his sonne *Phillippion*, and tooke her in marriage. And after succoured and defended his brother *Antigonus*, against *Herode* and the *Romaines*.

*Alexander the second.*

Surprized with his father *Aristobulus* by *Pompey*; before he arriued at *Rome*, deceiued his guardes, and escaped. Five yeares after, assisted by an Armie, hee inuaded *Iudea*, expulsed his vnckle *Hyrchanus* from *Ierusalem*, repayed the destroyed munitions, and planted there a Garrison. But *Gabinus*, Proconsull of *Syria*, being called thereto by *Hyrchanus* and *Antipater*, hauing fought with him in battell; held him a long time besieged in the City of *Alexandriion*, vntill such time as he was constrained to yeeld himselfe, and put downe the chiefest fortifications. Being pacified by the entreaties of *Alexanders* mother (who always condemned the foolish enterprises of her sonne against the *Romaines*) shee obtayned pardon for *Alexander*. Neuerthelesse, *Gabinus* sent him to *Rome* with his father *Aristobulus*, and *Antigonus* his brother captiues: yet writing to the Senate, that it might stand with their good liking, to send backe the children of *Aristobulus* to their mother, because he had made such a promise in name of the Senate; in regarde that that valiant woman, had euermore takē good part with the *Romaines*.

The Senate was willing heerein to gratifie *Gabinus*, but *Alexander*, being returned into *Iudea*; returned bad recompence to *Gabinus*, and the Senate, for the great grace which they had granted him. For, seeing *Gabinus* to be hindred in *Egypt*, by much trouble (as hath already beene said) being fauored with thirty thousand men: againe he stroue to subiugate *Iudea*, and cruelly murdered all the *Romaine* Souldiers, that he could finde in the garrisons of the surprized Cities. For which cruelty, hee payed the iust punishment about five yeares after.

*Gabinus* being returned into *Iudea*, laboured first to appease these matters with *Antipater*: but no way preuayling, he vniited the forces of the *Romaine* Armie, giuing

Pitholaus a Jew raiseth tumults on the behalfe of Aristobulus.

Cassius takes Pitholaus prisoner.

Aristobulus poisoned and buried in the Sepulchre of Kings.

The seditious spirit of Aristobulus.

The Sonne murdered by his owne Father, to enioy his wite.

Alexander escaped fr his keeper before he cam to Ro

The explo of Gabinius Syria.

The kindr of Gabinius for the for of Aristob

The ill rec tall of Alexander to Gabinius and the Romaine Senate.

uing a violent and dangerous encounter to *Alexander*; wherein ten thousand *Jewes* lost their liues, and the rest driuen all in route. *Alexander* struiuing to saue himselfe, and seeing his attempts so often times frustrated, and his forces broken; lay close hidden for a while, vntill he vnderstoode, that ciuile warre was kindled betweene *Pompey* and *Cesar*, and his father *Aristobulus* (deliuered out of prison) came thither with two legions. Then he bestirred himselfe to leuy Souldiers also; but was taken in *Syria*, euen vpon the very beginning of his enterprise, and led to *Antioche* to *Scipio*. Before him the *Romanes* accused him of cruelty, which he had vsed against the *Romaine* Souldiers in the Garrisons: whereuppon, by Commaund receiued from *Pompey*, hee was beheaded before *Scipio*, who then helde *Syria*, some few months after the death of his father *Aristobulus*; forty sixe yeares before the Natiuity of Christ; and the selfe same yeare as *Pompey* was slaine in *Egypt*, as hath bin sayd.

This *Alexander* had these children by *Alexandra*, daughter to *Hyrchanus* the second.

*Aristobulus* the third,  
And  
*Mariana*, whom *Herod* after espoused

But we shall speake hereafter of *Alexanders* children, because I am desirous first to relate somewhat, concerning the actions & fortunes of his brother *Antigonus*.

*Antigonus*, the last sonne to *Aristobulus* the 2. was twice taken with his father, and sent to *Rome*: once by *Pompey*, and another time by *Gabinus*. But then (by the fauour of the Senate) he was returned into *Iudea* with his brother *Alexander*; & spent some time with his Mother in the City of *Ascalon*. Then hee went to *Ptolomy*, (Lord of *Chalcis*) his kinsman, who refused to assist the fool-hardy and vnhappy attempts of his brother *Alexander*, for feare of the *Romanes*. But after the death of his father and brother, when as *Iulius Cesar* had finished the war of *Alexandria*, & was come into *Spaine*: he presented himselfe before him in al humility, and made a great complaint, aswell of the pittifull ouerthrow of his father *Aristobulus*, as also of his brother ther *Alexander*, both being cruelly slaine by the partakers with *Pompey*.

He further proceeded, and taxed *Antipater* with vniust gouerning, who beeing but of a meane descent, and a stranger: had (neuerthelesse) vsurped the kingdome of the *Jewes*, and had left nothing to *Hyrchanus*, but the silly name of Soueraigne Sacrificer, doing all at his owne pleasure, to establish the power of his children, and pretending to take away the principallitie from the *Jewish*: the people (of the royall family of the *Asmoneans*) thereby to transferre it to his Sonnes. He said, that himselfe was the onely man left, to whom the lawfull succession of the kingdome appertained; who notwithstanding, being spoiled of his hereditarie dignity, was forced to wander as a vagabond, a banished man and left to all distresse. Concluding finally with humble intercessions, hee requested, that the administration of the *Jewish* principality might be restored to him, and *Antipater* dismissed.

Whereunto *Antipater* answering, began to accuse *Aristobulus* and his sonnes before *Cesar*, because (contrary to all right and equity) he had violently rent the kingdome from *Hyrchanus* his eldest brother, and alwayes beene disloyall and an enemy to the *Romaines*: wherein, his sons had well followed his example, filling *Iudea* and *Syria* with tumults and blood: that being the maine reason, why *Aristobulus* was so long detained prisoner, and *Alexander* had his head smitten from his shoulders, for the cruelties he vsed to the *Romaines*. Afterward, hee procured faithfull witnesses, how modestly he had carried himselfe in gouerning, and what fauors he had euer extended to the *Romane* Captaines. *Cesar* beeing thereto moued by these iust causes, licenced *Antigonus* to depart, and confirmed the High-priest-hood to *Hyrchanus*; and ennobling *Antipater* with new titles of Dignity, he constituted him Tutor of all *Iudea*.

*Antigonus* much displeas'd with this refusall, returned to his kinsman the king of *Chalcis*, where he contayned himselfe almost foure yeares space, vntill *Iulius Cesar* was murdered by the Conspiratours. For then, when all the world was vp in mutinie, and that *Cassius* (who was foraging in *Syria*, impeaching the warre against *Marke Anthony*) had retired the *Romaine* Armies out of *Syria*: *Antigonus*, assisted by his kinsman *Ptolomy*, and other

E e e neigh-

Tacherie  
at disloyal-  
ties in wait  
for opportu-  
nity.

Alexander  
caused of  
the elctie be-  
the Scipio,  
beheaded.

Alexanders  
children.

Antigonus  
his wife sent  
prisoner to  
Rome.

Antigonus  
displayed  
Julius Cæ-  
sar against  
the gouerne-  
ment of Anti-  
ter.

The allegati-  
ons inferred  
against Anti-  
pater by An-  
tigonus.

Antipater ac-  
cuseth Aristobu-  
lus and his  
sons before  
Cæsar.

Antigonus  
dismissed  
from Cæsar  
without any  
successe.

Ancionus invaded Iudea agayne with fresh forces.

neighbouring kings, inuaded *Iudea* with his Army againe; where *Herode* (his father *Antipater* being dead) being very powerfull and strong, repelled and gaue him sharpe repulse, after the fighting of a battell with him.

Some yeares after, when *Anthony* one of the three Monarchs, had encreased the power of *Herode*, hauing ordayned him (with his brother *Phaselus*) Tetrarches of all *Iudea*: *Antigonus* enraged with anger, thought it not tollerable, that the kingdome of *Iudea* should bee deuolued vnto strangers in this manner. Wherefore, to leuy a new Armie, hee had found out a yong man of a fiery temper, named *Lysanias*, his kinsman and hoste; into whose hand the kingdome of *Chalcis* was fallen, by the death of his father *Ptolomy*, vnto whom (as hath afore beene sayd) *Alexandra*, the Sister of *Antigonus*, was giuen in marriage. As they were working vpon these conclusions, another occasion (very apt and opportune) offered it selfe, because (as then) the *Parthians* insulted ouer the Prouince of *Syria*, vnder the conduct of *Pacorus* and *Barzaphernes*. *Lysanias* hauing sent great presents to them, and a thousand Talents promised by *Antigonus*, as also fivie hundred women, excellling in nobility and beauty; they were heereby incited, to reseate *Antigonus* in possession of his fathers kingdome.

Before, in the life of *Hyrcanus*, we haue expressed the stratagem of the barbarous people, to surprize *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus* (being Ambassadors) captiues, and how wickedly *Antigonus* did cut off his vnckles eares, sending him also captiue into *Parthia*, to the end, that hee might the more safely enjoy the High-priesthood and the Kingdome. But this authoritie, gotten by such wicked cunning and practises, could not keepe firme, or last any long while. For soone after, *Herode* going to *Rome*, declared there to *Marke Anthony*, his flight and calamitie, complaining on the outrages and disloyaltie of *Antigonus*. In brieft, hee sped so well in his purpose, that instead of Tetrarch, he was proclaimed King of all *Iudea*, by consent of *Augustus*, *Anthony* and the Senate, and *Antigonus* adiudged enemy to the people of *Rome*. And although some *Romane* Captaines, being sent with Legions into *Syria*, had charge to expulse *Antigonus*, and

put *Herode* in possession of the Iewish kingdome: yet notwithstanding, by bribes and gifts, *Antigonus* kept them off from coming into *Iudea*.

At length, *Anthony* vndertaking warre against the *Parthians*, *Sosius* was sent into *Iudea* with a potent Army, to replant *Herode*; wherefore he and *Herode*, their forces being ioyned together, besieged some few moneths the Cittie of *Ierusalem*. Finally, they tooke it by force, the seuenth yeare after the death of *Cesar*, or of the Empire of *Octavius Augustus*, and the selfe same day that *Pompey* (seauen yeares before) had taken it.

At that time, as the Souldiers (indifferently on either side) slew and murdered one another, without sparing eyther age or sexe: *Antigonus*, not able to endure the sight of such a slaughter among the Cittizens, came willingly forth of the munitions of the Temple, and fell before the feete of *Sosius* the *Romane* Captaine, craving pardon for his offences, and desiring (aboue all else) that hee would remit the common people, who were no warriours, and to spare the Temple. But the proud Conquerour, making a mockerie of the suppliant King, called him oftentimes (in derision) *Antigonas*, and after sent him captiue into *Syria* to *Anthony*, who was returned from the warre of the *Parthians*.

*Herode* being possessed of the whole Kingdome, was aduertised, that *Anthony* purposed to leade *Antigonus* with him in triumph to *Rome*. And fearing with all, that in due consideration of his nobilitie, or in compassion of his miserie, *Augustus* and the Senate would free him from imprisonment, and send him backe agayne into *Iudea*: with much ado, he obtained of *Anthony*, by many reasons alleadged, and great gifts bestowed, that *Antigonus* was flaine.

The principal argument that made *Anthony* yeelde thereto, beyond all other, was, that *Iudea* would neuer be peaceable, so long as *Antigonus* liued. Considering, that many *Iewes* were so displeased by being subiects to him; as it was not possible, by horrible and extreamest torments, to force them acknowledge him the name of King. And therefore hee conceiued, that there would neuer want companions in seditions and mutinies, where such a Commaunder as *Antigonus* should beare rule,

*Sosius* sent with an army to reseate *Herode* as King of *Iudea*.

*Antigonus* yeeldeth himselfe to *Sosius* who sent him captiue into *Syria*.

*Herode* solicitious of the re-advancement of *Antigonus*, woeleth his death.

The reason that procur the death of *Antigonus*.

An office for gouerning the fourth part of the Realme.

New deuises and machinations of *Antigonus* to compass his intent.

What cannot gold and women procure?

Authoritie gotten by vnjust meanes must needes inioy the lesse continuance.

*Antigonus* bribes the *Romane* Captaines.

rule, against the liking of the people.

And thus *Antigonus* the last King of the *Asmoneans*, was slaine by the *Romaines* in *Antioche*; after that *Herode* had expelled him, and led away his vnckle *Hyrcanus* hauing obtayned about fise yeares the kingdome of *Iudea*, by helpe of the *Parthians*: twelue yeares after the death of his father *Aristobulus*, and of his brother *Alexander*; thirty foure yeares also before the Natiuitie of *Iesus Christ* our Sauior.

Afterward, the Principallitie of the Iewish people, taken from the Sacerdotal Familie of the *Asmoneans*, and especially, from the nation of the *Iewes*: fell into the hand of *Herode* the sounce of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, and of his sonnes, and sonnes sonnes. So that from the first yeare of *Iudas Macchabeus*, whom his Father *Mattathias* (dying) appoynted Duke of the warlike troupes, vntill this yeare that *Herode* beganne to reigne, after the taking in of *Ierusalem*, and death of *Antigonus*, was an hundred and thirty yeares. *Antigonus* left not any heire male, but only one daughter, who afterward was wife to *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*. But his brother *Alexander*, by *Alexandra*, the daughter to *Hyrcanus*, had these children:

- { *Aristobulus* the the third
- { *Mariana*.

This *Aristobulus*, was but foure yeares olde, when his father *Alexander* was beheaded at *Antioche* by the *Romaines*: Afterward, coming to the age of 17. yeares: hee obtained at the beginning of *Neroes* reigne, the hie-priesthood by this occasiō:

*Herode* beeing fully confirmed in the kingdome, would not establish in the hie-priesthood, his brother in law *Hyrcanus*, reuoked from his banishment in *Babylon*: as fearing to contrary the Lawe of God, that denied imperfect or dismembered people, to minister in the holy Temple, and such a one was the care-lesse *Hyrcanus*; but exalted to the dignitie of Soueraigne Sacrificer, another Iew of meane condition, named *Ananelus*, who was lately come from *Babylon*. *Alexandra* daughter to *Hyrcanus*, taking it to heart, that *Herode* made none account of her father, nor of her sonne *Aristobulus*, but had conferred the high-priesthood vpon a strange man; laboured by letters and gifts, to in-

cite *Cleopatra*, that by the means of *Marke Anthony*, the High-priesthood might be conferred vpon her sonne *Aristobulus*.

*Herode* hauing intelligence heereof, & receiuing letters from *Anthony*, whereby he was charged to send him *Aristobulus*; fearing lest *Anthony* (although a wicked minded man) wold be inueigled with the beaurtie of the youth, and iudge him, not onely worthy of the Priesthoode, but likewise of some portion in the kingdome; made a modest denyall to *Anthony*, vnder colour, that if *Aristobulus* should be sent out of *Iudea*, it would be the occasion of many mutinies to arise in the kingdome, as in hope to enioy a new King: Neuerthelesse, to pacifie *Alexandra* and *Mariana*, who he sawe trauelled so earnestly on the behalfe of *Aristobulus*, and to the end, they should compasse no more contriuings, with working new cases to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*: of his owne goodwill, hee depofed *Ananelus* from the High-priesthood, and inuested therein *Aristobulus*: Notwithstanding, being highly offended against his mother *Alexandra*, for working such close and vnder-hand practises: he gaue order, that shee should be arrested, and more warily attended within the Pallace, because (hereafter) she should not attempt any thing in the like maner.

Shee beeing a Lady of great resolute, scorned this suspition and distrust in the King, holding it most dishonourable in him, to be so watchfully kept and obserued: by a faythfull and secre: Messenger, signified all her misfortunes to *Cleopatra*; who againe commaunded, that *Alexandra*, accompanied with her sonne *Aristobulus*, should be sent to her in *Egypt*.

To compasse her intent the more cunningly, *Alexandra* had caused two Coffins and Beeres to bee prepared, such as the dead are vsed to bee carried vpon into buriall: wherein shee and her sonne should bee carried to the Sea side; and there a Shippe attended ready for them, for transporting them thence to *Cleopatra*.

*Alexandra* imparted this deuice of her owne wit, to a certayne Courtier, named *Sabbion*, whome shee knew to bee farre out of fauour with *Herode*: because hee stood suspected as one consenting to the death of *Antipater*, father to *Herode*, who formerly had beene poysoned; and therefore shee made no doubt, but

Antigonus was the last King of the Asmoneans.

The Sacerdotal Familie of the Asmoneans ended.

Herode the 17. yeares.

Aristobulus, together with his brother, the hie-priesthood.

Ananelus a Iew of meane condition.

The practises of Alexandra to escape from the custody of Herode.

Herodes cunning denyall to Marke Anthony, for not sending Aristobulus to him.

Alexandra kept with watch and ward.

The subtil deuice of Alexandra, to escape from the custody of Herode.

*Sabbion* would bee the more sure and secret, in furthering of her escape from thence.

But hee considering, that now hee had an apt occasion thrust euen into his hand, whereby to treade downe the conceiued suspition of poysoning, and make good proofe of his loyaltie to the King; declared the whole intent and purpose vnto him, and how it was to be performed.

Especiall Spies and Guardes were appointed, to take knowledge of anie appearing accident, but most of all, when the Coffins and Beeres, should be transported away, and in such artificiall order euery thing was carried: that *Alexandra* and her Sonne were both surprized, euen in the very bearing thence in the Beeres. Sharpe and seuerer threatnings were vttered by the King, to the no small affliction of *Alexandra* and *Aristobulus*, to be so treacherously preuented in the verie height of all their hopes: yet pretending pittie and commiseration, hee promised his free and gracious pardon for this offence, prouided, that (afterward) they should not practise any such attempt againe.

This clemencie hee then vsed, fearing lest if he should haue inflicted any other execution on them: hee might thereby runne into the displeasure of *Cleopatra*, who was consenting to the manner of their escape. And yet hee would gladly haue punished this feminine boldnesse in her, but (about all) faine he would haue *Aristobulus* dispatched out of the way: because hee was the High-priest, and highly affected of the people, in regard of his Royall discent, and many singuler graces in him.

In the proiecing of these his wicked deuices, it chaunced to be the Feast of Tabernacles, when *Aristobulus*, being richly adorned in his Priestly garments, performed the office of soueraigne Sacrificer, with such extraordinarie grauitie and decencie: that both in respect of his age, stature, and beautie of body, he appeared wonderfully pleasing in euery eie, so that the people standing about him, showed out aloud with ioy, applauding euery gesture, and any thing that hee did or said, with clapping their hands, expressing the fauour and inclination of all the

people to *Aristobulus*, and what desire they had, to enioy a King of their owne Nation, in regard that their hatred to the present estate of the Kingdome, therein plainly appeared.

*Herode* ill digestling this loue to his enemy, which he imagined would increase daily more and more; began to seeke into all contriuings, whereby he might (forthwith) compassse the death of *Aristobulus*. And it came to passe, that the Feast being ended, *Alexandra* feasted him in the citie of *Iericho*, as hoping to qualifie all displeasure in the King. *Herod* there shewed him selfe so chearefull and gracious to the women, as possibly might be, and (about all) to the youthfull Lord,) so that the whole day was spent in sports and delights of diuers kindes. At euening, *Aristobulus* walked with his company in the Kings Garden, where (after he had somewhat extraordinarily heated himselfe with running and leaping) the Guard of *Herode*, thereto appointed by the King; prouoked *Aristobulus*, to coole his sweating by swimming in a fish-pond neare adioyning.

Such was his gentle & flexible nature, and no way suspitious of anie intended treacherie, as hee was thereto soone perswaded. And as he came swimming neere to the banckes side: they threw water on him in ieausting manner, holding his head diuers times vnder water, vntill at last he was quite stifled thereby, while *Herode* (walking by himselfe alone) seemed not to thinke on any such matter. But when one of the guard came, and informed him thereof, and in what maner it happened, without any mallice intended towards him: one while he griued, another while raged, threatning the guard with death, for being so ouerbold with him. Before the Mother and Sister of *Aristobulus*, he presented himselfe in most wofull maner, wringing his hands, and tearing the haire from his head, as if he had truly mourned for the Princes death; preparing a most magnificent funerall for him, and whereat there wanted no cost and pompe. By this hellish fraude in *Herode*, was *Aristobulus* the third innocently murdered, aged 18. yeares; and after hee had one yeare enioyed the High-priesthood, which *Herod* restored *Ananelus* againe vnto, *Hyrceanus* the second, yet liuing, who remayned the onely masse of the *Asmonean* race, and

*Sabbion* proved false, and betrayed *Alexandra* to *Herode*.

No miserie more, then to finde treason where trust is faithfully reposed.

*Aristobulus* highly pleases the people in the feast of Tabernacles by euery thing that hee did or said.

*Herode* conspireth the death of *Aristobulus*.

Outward shewes are at all times to be trusted honest meaning.

*Herodes* coming treach in procurer the vntimely death of *Aristobulus*.

*Pompe* at cost do sometimes count monstrous horrid actions.

The last masse of the *Asmonean* race was

was not fit to administer the Priesthoode, as hath already beene declared.

Mariana.

Sister to this Aristobulus, daughter to the second Alexander, the youngest sonne of the second Hyrcanus, was most excellent both for beauty and chastity. Herode espoused her, after he was declared King by the Romanes, a little before the surprizing of Ierusalem, and the death of Antigonus: hee hauing repudiated his wife Doris of Idumea, by whome hee had a sonne named Antipater. This diuorce was the cause, that Mariana was continually in the dislike of Cipris, mother to the King, of his sister Salome, and of some other women beside. Herselfe also (afterward) encreased this hatred, because she, standing vpon the Nobilitie of her race, being issued and descended from Kings: despised the Mother and Sister to the King, they being strangers, and deriued but from meane condition.

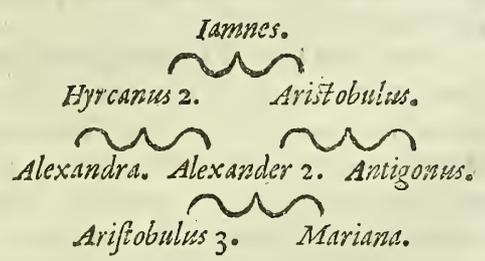
It may be, that shee grew the lesse familiar with the King, acquainting herselfe but seldome in his company; because hee had taken the Kingdome of Iudea from her father Alexander, and put to death her vnckle Antigonus, and had also (by treason) murdered her brother Aristobulus the third, a worthy innocent yoong Prince: Adding withall, that he had executed her grandfather Hyrcanus, a good olde man, imposing vpon him, that hee affected the Kingdome. It was no great matter of maruell then, if this noble and high spirited woman, disdaind amiable conuersation with him, who had giuen her so many occasions of extreame affliction; considering also, that the eares of this yoong Lady were daily pestered, with shamefull iniuries and complaints, which her Mother Alexandra continually made against the house of Antipater.

Finally, she grew to be suspected by the King, for matter of adultery (as I shall heereafter more at large relate in the life of Herod.) And Salome the Kings sister, confederated with other Ladies of the Court (abounding in hatred more and more against her) maintayned strongly the suspition; adding moreouer, an intent of impoysoning him. Wherein she

taking no care to cleare herselfe, relying vpon Herodes intimate loue vnto her, and her owne innocencie: shee was accused by Herode before his friends, and slayne by the sentence of them. Shee left fise children liuing, which shee had by Herode, three sonnes, and two daughters, of whom afterward came the two Agrippaes, to whom the Royall power in Iudea remayned, vntill the destruction of Ierusalem.

All the other race of Herode, which he had by nine other wites, and in great number, fayled, as shall be declared in their due places.

Almost all the whole family of the Asmoneans, beeing thus expressed, there remaineth now for me, that I should write of the posteritie of Antipater: but Alexandra yet resteth of the Asmoneans, who was daughter to the second Hyrcanus, and wife to the second Alexander. And although we haue already sayd somewhat of her, and are yet to speake of the actions of Herode: yet notwithstanding, I haue thought good to descipher heere summarily, the wofull misadventures of this Ladie: for, amongst all other miserable women that we reade of, she seemeth to me the most vnfortunate, as well by accident, as thorrow her owne defects. And that they may be the better vnderstood, I haue in order here inserted her parentage.



First of all, this Alexandra beeing but a young maid, saw, after the death of Alexandra her grandmother (who reigned but nine yeares after the deceasse of her husband) the hereditarie Kingdome and High-priesthood, taken perforce from her father Hyrcanus, by his brother Aristobulus, who had long time besieged him in the munition of the Temple.

Afterward, being very young, she was married to his cosin Alexander; and the Cittie of Ierusalem beeing surprized by Pompey: she saw the pitifull fortune of her father, most unhappily performed, to the

The death of Mariana.

Herodes issue by nine wites viterly failed.

Alexandra remained of the race of the Asmoneans, and most vnfortunate.

The kingdom and High priesthood taken from her father.

Mariana wife to King Herode, and his other wife Doris put away.

Reasons alleged why Mariana did not affect King Herode, or his mother and sister

Mariana most suspected with many complaints.

Mariana suspected by Herode, and accused of adultery.

The diuers  
aduersities &  
calamities  
happening to  
Alexandra.

A second sub-  
iection of A-  
lexander to  
the flauerie of  
the Romaines

His expulsion  
out of Iudea  
like a poore  
exile, and  
shamefull ex-  
ecution.

Hard and wo-  
full extremi-  
ties for a La-  
die to suffer  
and endure.

Her imprison-  
ment with o-  
ther Ladies  
in Idumea.

great harme of the country and her selfe, being accomplished with horrible massacres, foule prophanation of the Temple, slaughter of infinite Citizens, beside robberies of their goods. Moreover, the destruction of the Cittie walles, insupportable exactions, with a perpetuall yoake of most seuerer dominion of the *Romaines*: beside the captiuitie and transport of her vnckle *Aristobulus*, her husband *Alexander*, and her cosin *Antigonus*, to be led villainously (in derision) through the Citie of *Rome*, to grace *Pompeys* triumph. No doubt but these mighty misfortunes, were causes of no meane grieffe to *Alexandra*.

Shee likewise beheld the escape of her husband *Alexander* by the way, who came to make new tumults in *Iudea*: but being ouerthrowne in many encounters, and beside despoyled of allenabling forces: she sawe him againe sent captiue to *Rome* by *Gabinus*, with his father *Aristobulus*, and his brother *Antigonus*.

Againe, shee sawe him sent into *Iudea*, where growing as tempestuous and troublesome as before: he was agayne chased out of the Countries limits, wandering from thence as a poore vagabond and banished man. At length, she heard that (by the commaund of *Pompey*) he was shamefully executed at *Antioche*, and that (but a little before) his father *Aristobulus*, after a long detention of his person, being (with great difficulty) deliuered from imprisonment, was poysoned.

Next, shee sawe the Cittie of *Ierusalem* taken by the *Parthians* treacherie, and her father *Hyrchanus* (by fraude and deceite in *Aristobulus*) apprehended, his ears cut off, and led away into the enemies land. She, in this perillous surprisall of *Ierusalem*, got forth by night with her Mother, the wife, the sister of *Herode*, and many other Ladies, hauing her son with her, aged a dosen yeares, and her daughter little more then he: but both exposed to infinite injuries, as well of Souldiers violence, as of great wrongs to their tender yeares, the barbarous people spoyling and rauishing all wheresoeuer they came.

From thence she was sent (with the other Ladies) to a strong fortresse in the City of *Massada* in *Idumea*, in great feare and danger of *Antigonus*, then reigning: where shee remayned about two yeares, vntill such time as *Herode* (hauing obtai-

ned the title of King by the *Romaines*) returned into *Iudea*; and finding there his power to be strongest, deliuered her and the rest from imprisonment.

A third time also she sawe the City of *Ierusalem* taken, ransacked, and filled with murders, by the Souldiers of *Herode* and *Sosius*: her cosin *Antigonus* led prisoner to *Marke Anthony*, and afterward put to execution.

*Alexandra* sawe and felt all these extremities, before the Kingdome of *Herode* could be confirmed: which beeing once effected, she likewise beganne to breathe, seeming fully acquitted from all calamities. Nay, which is more, she might haue setled hir estate in the height of happines, if shee could haue made vse of Fortunes fauours, as they showed themselues in plentifull manner vpon her.

For *Herode* being King, had diuorced his first wife *Doris*, and defeated his sonne *Antipater*, from all hope of succeeding after him; hauing married *Mariana*, the daughter of *Alexandra*, whom hee most singularly affected, as wel for her beautie, as many other graces of spirit wherewith she was plentifully endowed. Hereupon ensued, that her Mother *Alexandra*, being called to the Court, was worthily respected, and had great credite with the King and all other. Her Father *Hyrchanus* also (already returned from exile) was reuoked home into his countrey: to him *Herode*, and the rest (by the Kings example) yielded great honour, as vnto their Father.

But *Alexandra* ouerthrew all this happines, by her vehement ambition, fierceneesse and impatience; so that (at length) she became to be enuveloped with mighty calamities, and was the cause of her owne death. For, taking in high displeasure, that *Ananelus* was authorized with the High-priesthood, without any regard of her sonne *Aristobulus*, to whom it appertained by hereditarie right: she grew to machinate many dangerous matters, to exalt her sonne to that dignitie of the Priesthood, procuring (by the meanes of *Cleopatra*) to incense *Marke Anthony* against *Herode*. Which being discovered, she yet attayned the felicitie, that her son was made soueraigne Sacrificer: but her selfe was not in so noble estate as before, because shee was heedefully guarded, as

*Ierusalem* sur-  
prized a third  
time.

The gifts of  
fortune should  
haue some vse  
made of them

The great fa-  
uours and ho-  
nour done to  
*Alexandra* in  
the Court.

*Alexandra* o-  
uerthrew all  
her faire for-  
tunes, & cau-  
sed her owne  
vntimely  
death.

*Aristobulus*  
aduanced to  
the hie-priest  
hoode.

one dangerously enclined, and much suspected by the king.

She, not able to endure this intollerable rigor of the King, being shut vp from the vse of her libertie; practised secretly to escape to *Cleopatra*, as hath already bin said, and being taken with her sonne in the very act, wel vnderstood, that she was then runne into the vnreouerable hatred of *Herode*. Shortly after, the extreame sorrow she suffered, to see her sonne *Aristobulus* so treacherously murdered, might well haue admonished her: that it much better auayled, to conquer Iniurie by Patience, then roughly to wrastle with a Kings courage, naturally addicted to wickednesse.

Then againe, bringing *Herode* into danger, by accusing him before *Anthony*, for the murdering of her sonne: she won nothing thereby, but much more contempt and hatred in the King. Insomuch, that her daughter (otherwise choicely cherished by the King) found his affection to waxe coole; but not without cause and suspition, in regarde of her Mothers cunning contriuings. Adding withall, that her father *Hyrcanus* was not so much honoured, neither respected by the king, as he was wont to be. Whereby *Alexandra* tooke occasion, to incite her father against *Herode*, aduising him to flie to *Malchus*, King of the *Arabians*, euen then, when (after the battaile of *Actium*) the King was in great danger, standing then in no meane feare, because *Augustus* was Conquerour. For the wily woman did thinke, that if she could procure displeasure in *Augustus* against *Herode*, for his friendship to *Marke Antonie*; the Scepter would be taken from the *Idumean*, and restored to the true heires of the house of the *Asmoneans*.

This vnhappy councill being discouered, by the meanes of intercepted letters; was the cause of putting to death the good olde *Hyrcanus*, aged foure score yeares, and bringing *Alexandra* into the very depth of sorrowes. Neuerthelesse, her stomak stroken with so many wounds; and, euen hardned (as it were) against all grieuances whatsoever, was scarcely sensible of any of these oppressions; after the losse of so many neare kinred, dispatched by diuers kindes of strange and vnworthy deaths. Among whom, her husband *Alexander*, and *Antigonus* his brother were beheaded. Her vnckle *Aristobulus*, who was likewise her father in law, was poisoned: her onely sonne *Aristobulus* trayterously drowned, by the procurement of *Herode*. Her father *Hyrcanus* (so neare to his graue) dispatched by an ignominious infliction.

Her onely daughter *Mariana* remayned, who beeing married to the King, might somewhat comfort her in these extremities. But this violent woman, swelling in hatred against the King, declared herselfe most strangely troublesome vnto her husband, by continuall reproaching the *Idumean* house, and complaying of the Kings horrible cruelties: So that, after she became to be suspected of adulterie; and a false crime imposed on her, that she practised to poison her husband: *Herode* was the easier wonne to her death, albeit he loued her intirely, and she had borne him fise children.

Now, notwithstanding so great calamitie, in the miserable & vnworthie death of her daughter; *Alexandra* could not yet be conquered, neyther vnderstand, how many incumbrances her attempts turned by misfortunes to her and hers; yea, to many other that truely pittied her indiscretion. Nor could she be admonished, moderately to beare precedent and present mishaps (whereof continually shee gaue the occasion) but rather prouoked nouell extremities, by her impatience and peeuish folly: for, after the execution of *Mariana*, *Doris*, mother to *Antipater*, and formerly diuorced: six yeares after was recalled to the Court, and her wonted lodging in the Kings Chamber, and it appeared, that her sonne *Antipater* was now become accepted, and entertained by the King, in hope of succeeding after him, and the sonnes of *Mariana* excluded quite.

*Alexandra* perceiuing, that she onely remayned of the *Asmonean* royall family, and that she was to take care of hir daughters children: affected rather to runne into extremity, then after such frequent causes of griefe, to liue in the despite and contempt of *Doris*, *Salome* and *Antipater*, who was to reigne after his father, and to see the same *Antipater*, borne of *Doris* the *Idumean*, and not noble (euen when *Herode* liued but in priuate condition) to be preferred

The kinred of *Alexandra* put to death in diuers man- ners.

*Mariana* most iniurious against the king her husband.

A woman of an vdaunted and vnconquerable courage.

*Herode* recalled home to Court his former diuorced wife *Doris*.

Such yekesom and offensive fights as *Alexandra* and a was not able to indure

er secret a life of light to *Cleopatra*, and scouerie.

er accused Herode before Marke *Anthony* for his murder.

er counsel- led her father flight from *Herode*.

er *Augustus*; con- queror in the battaile at *Actium*

er *Hyrcanus* put to death, being aged .80 yeares.

preferred the sons of *Mariana*, who was a Queene, and they borne in the time of *Herodes* reigning. Hereupon, she began to consider on some apt opportunitie, to exploit a certaine desseigne, which shee imagined to be diuinely instructed to hir soule; in regard that the King (being very greatly perplexed in mind, grieued extraordinarily for his wifes execution) was sicke; euen to death, in the city of *Samaria*: which made her (by faire promises) sollicite the Kings Garrisons to reuolt from him, whereof there were two, one in the Cittie, the other in the Temple, and these beeing reduced to partake with her, it would be a very easie way for her to enjoy the Kingdome.

*Alexandra* exhorted those warrelike bands by faithful messengers (considering the incertitude of the Kings life, or rather the assurance of his death:) to possesse themselues of the Pallace, before that *Antipater*, or any other should inuade the kingdome, and to preferue the succession thereof, for the sonnes of *Herode* by his Queene *Mariana*, till they came to lawfull age, because they were the legitimate heires, and the Kingdome (by right) belonged to them. But the Souldiors, hauing duely considered on the matter among themselues: concluded, not to follow the perillous and ill-aduised councill of this audacious woman, whom they knew to be most maliciously enclined to the King. For (indeede) they greatly feared the Kings dangerous nature, most couetous of reigning and commanding, and accustomed to reuenge (very seuerely) any attempts, in such as hee held the least suspition of, beeing any way affected to the kingdome: as he witnessed most euidently, in the punishments inflicted vpon his owne children.

One of the Souldiers thinking, that by reuealing the aduice of this woman, hee should winne great grace and fauour of the King: poasted to *Samaria*, and there disclosed to the sicke King, all the machination of his mother in law: which grew the more tedious to *Herode*, in regarde of very impatiently enduring the anguish of his disease: and therefore (wholly overcome with rage and choller) hee sent instant commaund to *Ierusalem*, forthwith to put his mother in law *Alexandra* to death, as a trayterous conspirator against

his life; and it was accordingly perfourmed.

Thus after infinite calamities, *Alexandra* ended her dayes in this tragicall manner; for, being neuer contented with any present fortune, she daily begate nouell miseries, one still in the necke of another, only through distasting any instant condition. Otherwise, she was a woman graue, discreet and ingenious, but ouer violently giuen vp to ambition, hatred and anger (very vile and bad councellers) more then needed. She had out-gone the compassse of three score yeares, when she was thus put to death; and so became the family of the *Asmoneans* quite extinct: but onely what remained in the heires of *Mariana*, deriued from an *Idumean* father.

Let this Discourse suffice, concerning the noble house of the *Asmoneans*, which from a small beginning (in the defence of a most honest and good cause) became exalted to soueraigne glory and dignity, by their owne industry, but (more especially) the helpe of heaven. Afterward, hauing left the principall cause, they began to seeke after power and riches, according to the fashion of Pagan Kings, and to stirre in many vneccessarie matters: partly trusting to their owne might, and partly relying on the assistance of strangers. Whereon ensued, that, being first distracted by domesticke discordes, and next, admitting entrance to strange enemies: they beganne (by little and little) to diminish; and finally, to leaue the whole possession of the *Iewish* kingdome, to the dominion of strangers. Euen after they had held the principality of the people, from *Iudas Macchabeus*, vnto the beginning of *Herodes* kingdome, for an hundred and thirty yeares, and had kept the High-priesthoode an hundred and seuenteen yeares.

## CHAP. XI.

*Abriefe entrance into the description of the posteritie of Antipater, holding the principallitie of Iudea, but not the High-priesthoode.*

**N**ow wee should come to describe the third Family, that contained the posteritie of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, who (in different-

She laboured the kings garrisons to reuolt from him

Her endeavors for aduancing her daughters children to the kingdome.

Herode verie ialous of any that affected his kingdome

The enterprise of *Alexandra* was disclosed to the King, and she put to death.

The follies & errors too much ruling in *Alexandra* which shortened her daies

Concerning the noble Familie of the *Asmoneans*.

The whole possession of the *Iewish* kingdome giuen ouer to strangers.

The High-priesthood could not be administered by strangers.

differently) held the principallitie of *Iudea*, but not the soueraigne Sacrificers Office (for it was not lawfull, that so sacred a charge should bee administered by strangers) vntill the destruction of the Cittie, and the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

The High-priesthood was counted by four or reuerends.

For the High-priesthoode was in the hands of others, who indeed were *Iewes*; but yet of diuers and obscure Families, enstalled by *Herode* and the *Romaines*, eyther by fauour or rewards.

It is no easie matter to describe their succession, neither doe I hold it any way necessary for this discourse: considering that afterward, the soueraigne Sacrificers were neuer potent or powerfull; and beside, the soueraigne gouernement remained in the hands of *Romaine* Captaynes and Princes.

Taxation laid vpon Iosephus the high-priest, for not only nūbring the soueraigne sacrificers.

*Iosephus* also was not very carefull, curiously to number the soueraigne Sacrificers; but rather satisfieth himselfe, with declaring, that in the kingdom of *Herode*, accounting from his reigne, vntill the destruction of the *Iewish* nation; there had bene nine and twentie High-priests, which space of time continued litle more then an hundred yeares. For, from the beginning of *Herodes* reigne, vnto the second yeare of the Empire of *Vespasian*, I finde by computation, an hundred and sixe yeares.

The first familie of *Iesus* the sonne of *Ioseph*, and how they held High-priesthoode.

But in the first Familie of *Iesus*, which held the High-priesthoode, after their returne from *Babylon*, vntill the time of *Antiochus* the Noble; there are accounted fiftene soueraigne Sacrificers onely, although the time was thrice as long as the latter. For, as we haue already elsewhere related, that from the first yeare of *Cyrus*, vntill that of *Alcimus*; are found three hundred eightie and sixe yeares, or thereabout. The cause of this multiplicite of High-priests, grew by so often and frequent changes, one still defeating and ouerthrowing another: one while by the power of money, fauour, or both; another while by might, and assistance of enemies.

The reason for which a multitude of High-priests.

### The third Family.

#### CHAP. XII.

*Concerning the Posteritie of Antipater the Idumean of Ascalon, transferring the High-priesthoode (at their pleasure) to strangers: hauing violently got it from the Asmoneans, and held the principallitie of the Iewish people, vntill the destruction of Ierusalem, vnder the reigne of Vespasian.*



**I**dumea is the vtmost part of the Land of *Canaan*, confining *Egypt* and *Arabia*, and closing vp the coast of *Iudea* towards the South, holding on that part, which the Tribe of *Iuda* had by lot in their inheritance. In elder times, it was inhabited by the posteritie of *Esau*, (brother to *Iacob*) who was also named *Edom*, that is to say, *Red-hayred*. Of him they came to be called *Idumeans*, and hauing lost the true doctrine, and holy seruices commaunded them by God: they fell to the worshipping of Idolles, with their neighbouring nations.

A description of the situation of Idumea.

The Idumeans descended of *Esau* brother to *Iacob*.

King *Dauid* first of all brought them into subiection, and made them tributarie to the Kings of *Iuda*.

*Dauid* first made the Idumeans tributarie.

About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, they reuolted agayne vnder *Ioram* King of *Iuda*, sonne to *Iehosaphat*, and rebelled against the *Iewes*, diuided into two kingdoms. And although the succeeding Kings compelled them diuers times, to vnder-goe againe their former seruilitie: yet notwithstanding, they defended their libertie by armes, vntill such time as *Iudas* was led captiue into *Babylon*. And then, they tooke many Citties from the *Iewes*; which afterward (by the Edict of King *Darius*) they were enforced to restore vnto them agayne, when they were returned from *Babylon*.

Diuers reuolts and rebellions of the Idumeans.

Not long after, *Iohn Hyrcanus*, sonne to *Simon* the *Asmonean*, hauing overcome them in a very difficult warre: constrained them, to make profession of the same doctrine and religion with him, causing them

The Idumeans vanquished by *Iohn Hyrcanus*.

them to vndergoe Circumcision. Heere-  
hence it ensued, that they trafficked the  
more freely with the *Iewes*; so that they  
were called to their warres, and to the  
Courts of the Iewish kings.

*Antipater* came of this *Idumean* nation,  
whose sonne, named *Herode*, hauing after-  
ward obtained the Iewish kingdome, and  
fearing to vse himselfe with them as a  
stranger: would be esteemed a Iew, be-  
cause (as hath bene said) the *Idumeans* had  
received Circumcision vnder *Iohn Hyrcanus*.  
*Iosephus* thus recordeth this family.

*Antipas the Father*



Cephalon slaine in warre by *Aristobulus* 2.  
*Antipater* the familiar of *Hyrcanus* Turour of all Iudea.  
Cypris an *Idumean* woman.

*These children came of Antipater.*

Phaselus Herode Sospippus Pheroras Salome a  
gouernour King of Sospippus Pheroras Salome a  
of Ierusa- Iudea. gouernour Tetrarch. daughter.  
lem. of Iudumea.

*Antipas the Ascalonite*, father to *Antipater*, was appointed *Gouernour* of his  
Countrey of *Idumea*, by *Alexander Iannes*, and beside afterward enjoying it still  
(sometime) vnder the Queene *Alexandra*; he gathered great store of wealth, and ob-  
tained the principall authority in that Re-  
gion.

*Antipater.*

Succeeded in the government of *Idumea*, after his deceased father, during  
which time, he not only wonne the hearts  
of his owne nation, augmenting and con-  
firming his wealth, by aliance with neigh-  
boring Kings, and Cities; but also strong-  
ly insinuated himselfe into good grace  
with *Hyrcanus* the second, by many ac-  
ceptable seruices. For he being instituted  
Soueraigne Sacrificer by his mother, who  
then ruled the kingdome. *Antipater* had  
great hope, that the fauour of *Hyrcanus*  
would (in time) aduance him to higher  
degree. Now, he perswaded himselfe, that  
the mother being dead, hee should come  
to inioy the kingdom by hereditary right.  
Wherefore, *Antipater* was very diligent  
towards him in all kindes of courtesies,  
making no account at all of the yoonger  
brother: which made him wonderfully

hated by *Aristobulus*, as it fell out after  
in open apparance. For, their mother be-  
ing dead, *Aristobulus* hauing fought with  
his brother *Hyrcanus* in a field of battell,  
& afterward held besieged in the temple:  
he was at length constrained, to disstaine  
himselfe, both of the kingdome and high-  
Priesthood. And then (by slowe and po-  
litike degrees) he deposed *Antipater* from  
the gouernement of *Idumea*, for his so  
many good seruices to *Hyrcanus* in war.

This iniurie more and more enflamed  
the hatred of *Antipater* against *Aristobu-  
lus*, and because hee could not reuenge  
himselfe by power: hee incited the great-  
est Lords of the Iewes against King *Ari-  
stobulus* by secret accusations. Aboue all,  
he handled *Hyrcanus* in diuers kindes (hee  
beeing of his owne nature, modest and  
temperate) one while terrifying him  
with strange feares, another while chear-  
ing his hopes, with vndoubted comming  
to his Crowne againe. He told him that  
his brother *Aristobulus*, (a man merely  
vile by complexion) sought all occasions;  
either by close contriuings, or open vio-  
lence, to preuaile against his life: for his  
more secure enioying of the kingdome,  
whereto hee had aspired by such wicked-  
nesse. Hee auouched, to haue certayne  
knowledge, of diuers enterprises in *Ari-  
stobulus* by euidet signes: either because  
they were truely so indeede; or for the  
more prouoking *Hyrcanus* against his bro-  
ther. Moreouer, he shewed the meanes  
and wayes, whereby *Hyrcanus* might re-  
gayne the Kingdome belonging to him,  
to wit, if they both fled thence to *Aretas*,  
king of *Arabia*, with whom he had ancient  
amitie and alliance, and who (he doubted  
not) could satisfie their desires.

*Hyrcanus* was at last wonne by these  
speeches, being formerly wounded with  
the wrongs which his brother had offered  
him; so that accompanied with *Antipater*,  
and some other, who not a little despised  
the dominion of *Aristobulus*; he secretly  
went to *Aretas* in the city of *Petra*. There  
humbling himselfe before the King, hee  
desired assistance of him against his wic-  
ked and cruell brother, who not only had  
deprived him of the High-priesthoode,  
(contrary to all right and equitie) which  
hee had peaceably enioyed nine yeares in  
his mothers life time; and not onely also  
berest him of the kingdome, which by the  
lawe

Antipater fa-  
ther to King  
Herode.

The issue of  
Antipater the  
father.

Antipaters  
issue.

Antipater go-  
uernour of  
Idumea.

The reason  
why Antipa-  
ter laboured  
to keepe him-  
selfe in fauour  
with *Hyrcanus*.

Antipater  
deposed from  
the gouern-  
ment of Iu-

The cunning  
dealing of  
Antipater  
with  
deiected  
*Hyrcanus*.

Incitation  
flight to  
*Aretas* king of  
*Arabia*.

*Hyrcanus*  
geth with  
*Antipater* in  
secret maner  
to *Aretas*, as  
maketh his  
complaint  
to him.

law of Nations belonged to him, as being the eldest sonne: but (beside) layed daily trappes and traines for his life. Whereupon he promised, that if hee should be restored to his Kingdome; he would surrender to him ten Citties, which his father *Alexander Iannes* had taken from the Realme of *Arabia*, and other honourable recompences beside.

*Aretas*, more moued by the perswasions of *Antipater*, then all the praies and promises of *Hyrchanus*, inuaded *Iudea* with fiftie thousand men. *Aristobulus* encountering with him, was vanquished, chiefly by the valiancie of *Antipater*: and being abandoned of his souldiers, the most part yeelded themselues to *Hyrchanus*. *Aristobulus* got closely into the Citie, and there (with some of the Sacrificers and Cittizens) kept within the fortresse of the temple, being prouided of all things necessarie to endure besieging. But yet before this extremitie, he had sent an ambassage (in great haste) to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant, abiding then in *Syria*, intreating succour of him against the *Arabes*: promising him foure hundred Talents, that is, two hundred and fortie thousand crownes of the Sunne.

*Aretas* pursuing *Aristobulus* with his Armie, entred into the Cittie, to lay his siege before the Temple; the Cittizens yeelding themselues to *Hyrchanus*, and the Cittie also. But some Iewes foreseeing, that this debate betweene the brethren, about possession of the kingdome, would cause the ruine of the whole country; left there their goods, and fledde into *Egypt*. Other of the Cittizens ioyned with the *Arabes*, besieging the munition, and pressed the inclosed Sacrificers very narrowly; yea, much more nearely then the enemy, vsing deceits and subtilties with their crueltye. For they drew out of the secret Sanctuarie (where this ciuile warre was most vnciuilly maintained) a holy man, named *Ouias*, who in an extreme drought and dread of sterilitie, made his prayers to God, desiring raine in that needefull season: and would haue compelled him, to curffe and damne the besieged to the diuell, because they would not yeelde themselues. But hee (on the contrary) made his prayers aloud to God, that he would neyther heare the Sacrificers, or Priests besieged against the people, nor

the people besieging against the Priests, for which cause the Iewes stoned him.

And when the feast of Easter was come, when there was neede of many beasts for Sacrifices; the Priests required, that such store might be deliuered them, as was necessarily to be vsed in such solempne Sacrifices, agreeing to pay a thousand drachmes for each beast; that is to say, an hundred crownes of the Sunne. But after that the Iewes had receiued so great a summe from the Priests: they descended from the walles, and would not performe a iote of that which they had promised, but mocked the sacrificing Priests, who were ouer credulous in beleueing them.

But the Lord God being offended with this wickednes, and taking vengeance for their foule transgressions; sent a sharpe winde on the Corne then almost ripe, which being vterly spoyled, the famine was so great, that a bushell of wheate was solde eleuen times more deare, then vsually it was wont to be; to wit, at cleauen drachmaes, whereas before (in euerie year) it was sold for a drachma, and lesse.

The besieged beginning to feele the want of foode, and that nothing hindred them from yeelding, but onely to heare an answer from *Scaurus* (vnder the hope whereof, *Aristobulus* encouraged the Priests, to endure all difficulties of the siege:) it fortuned (very successfully for them) that *Scaurus* sent Ambassadors to King *Aretas*, that he should withdraw his Army out of *Iudea*, except hee meant to prooue the displeasure of the *Romaine* people. *Aretas* obeyed this commaund, and so much the rather, because his army was in great distresse for foode. By which meanes, (without doing anything else) *Hyrchanus* and *Antipater* returned backe to *Arabia* with the King.

Soone after, *Pompey* came out of *Armenia* into *Syria*, whereupon, *Antipater* procured many of the most potent Iewes, to accuse *Aristobulus* before him. Himselfe likewise, as an Ambassador sent from *Hyrchanus*, went to *Pompey*, and pleaded the cause of *Hyrchanus* against *Aristobulus*, and entred into such respect with *Pompey*; that after the surprizing of the Cittie, *Hyrchanus* was restored to the High-priesthood, but not to the Kingdome. And from thence forward, *Antipater* beganne to grow great, gouerning (well neare) all occasi-

Falle and fraudfull dealing in the Iewes with the sacrificing Priests.

The iustice of heauen on the Iewes for their wickednes.

Ambassadors sent from *Scaurus* to King *Aretas*.

*Antipater* procured *Aristobulus* to be accused before *Pompey*

*Aretas* inuaded *Iudea* with fiftie thousand men

*Aristobulus* required succour of *Scaurus* against the *Arabes*.

Some Iewes tooke their goods, & fled to *Egypt*.

*Ouias* a holie man, extreme wronged by the Iewes and stoned.

occasi-

The cunning insinuations of Antipater with the Roman captians.

Antipater procured peace betwixt Scaurus and Aretas, king of the Arabians.

Rich Crassus, and his general Cassius.

The actions of Antipater in Egypt, and his faithfull seruice to Iulius Cæsar.

Antipater made a Romaine Bourgesse by Iulius Cæsar.

occasions whatsoeuer, because *Hyrcanus*, (being a louer of quietnesse) left all to his rule. And so gracious was he with the *Romaine* Captaines, in all such seruices as possibly he could do for them: that he insinuated farre into their friendship, causing *Hyrcanus* daily to bestow magnificent gifts, and himselfe receiued all the thanks and profite for them.

First, he was very diligent, to furnish *Scaurus* with all kinde of munition, when he was left in *Iudea* with two legions, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*. Next, being sent in embassage by the same *Scaurus* to the king *Aretas*: hee procured peace, in regarde of his auncient amitie with the King, and perswaded *Scaurus* to bring his Army out of *Arabia*, after he had receiued of the King three hundred Talents, as much to say, as an hundred and fourescore thousand crowns of the Sunne. Afterward, he assisted *Gabinus* against *Alexander*, sonne to *Aristobulus*, but especially in the restitution of King *Ptolomey* the Fleutster: where he made passage for *Gabinus*, to goe from *Iudea* into *Egypt* by *Idumæa*.

By the like subtile and cunning means, he qualified rich *Crassus*, and his General *Cassius*, being remoued from the *Parthian* warre; fearing lest any thing should bee attempted, that might be hurtfull to *Hyrcanus*, who (from time to time) was accused to the *Romaine* Captaines, as well by the sonnes of *Aristobulus*, as by diuerse powerfull Iewes, that were of the same faction.

But, for the more sure establishing of his power, hee ayded *Iulius Cæsar* more then all the rest, to whom he performed faithfull seruice in the *Alexandrian* warre, in bringing him three thousand Iewes, & procuring the *Arabes*, *Idumeans*, and *Jews* dwelling in *Egypt*, to be his companions in that warre. And when *Mithridates* of *Pergamum* (who went with a great Armie of *Cilicia* and *Syria* against *Cæsar*) was repulsed in *Egypt*: *Antipater* (*Darnieta* being subdued) brought helpe to *Cæsar*, and faued him by the way; when he was compelled (in an encounter) to giue place to the enemy, his men being ready prepared for flight.

For these deserts (the *Alexandrian* war being ended) *Iulius Cæsar* confirmed the High-priesthood vnto *Hyrcanus*, permit-

ting him to builde vp the Citty walles a gayne: Moreover, he appoynted *Antipater* to be Tutour of all *Iudea*, and sent him into *Iudea*, honoured with the title of a *Romaine* Bourgesse, and perpetuall immunities beside.

*Antipater* seeing himselfe exalted to such dignitie, deuised also how to aduance his sonnes. Whereupon, *Phaselus* (being the eldest) he appointed him to be gouernour of *Ierusalem*, and the neighbouring places about it: in regarde of the negligence and carelesnesse of *Hyrcanus* in the gouernement. Next to him was *Herode*, and he as yet but yoong: yet he gaue the charge of *Galilee* to him. Both of them verily commendably performed their seuerall offices, which caused their father to bee much more esteemed generally, and won the fauour of many powerfull persons, by both his owne, and his sonnes liberalitie.

Hereupon it hapned, that some Iewes grew iealous and suspitious of *Antipater*, seeing him (purposly) to maintaine the remissenesse of *Hyrcanus*, onely for the exaltation of his owne sonnes: abusing also his riches and reuenues, to bestow great fauours and gifts vpon the *Romains*. In this respect, some of the best aduised Iewes, and of the better sort, feared not to reprehend *Hyrcanus* publicuely, for his neglect and slouthfulnesse, in referring the totall administration of all things, onely to *Antipater* and his sonnes, who were scarcely started out of childhood. Hauing already gathered such heaps of wealth and cheuifance, onely to curry fauour with the *Romains*, that they were become dreadfull to the whole nation. They bad him to be well aduised, whereto tended this power in the *Idumeans*, shewing him withall, that he dealt vniustly and indiscreetly, hauing so many Iewes, excelling in valour and expertnesse of armes: to reiect them from managing publike affaires, reposing his whole trust in the defence of a stranger, who intended no profit to the Iewish nation, but only how to leaue the kingdome of *Iudea* to his owne sonnes.

Now, albeit these speeches did a little moue *Hyrcanus*, himselfe also fearing the power of *Antipater*: yet notwithstanding, he could not forget, what benefits he had receiued by him, and what loyalty he had declared towards him, hauing alwayes kept him in extreame dangers. Beside, he feared

Antipater aith his to seuerall dignities.

Diuers Iewes began to be suspitious of Antipater.

*Hyrcanus* reprehended some of the best Iewes for his great negligence.

feared *Aristobulus*, and his sonnes, against whom he thought he stood in need of a powerfull defender, which made him answer; that he could not dismisse *Antipater* from governing the generall affaires, in regard he had received his authoritie from the *Romaines*; who he might by no meanes offend, without both hazarding himselfe, and the whole Country to vnaavoidable dangers.

When the accusers of *Antipater* perceived, they could worke nothing on the slow and neglect nature of *Hyrcanus*, they began to consider on some subtile means, whereby they might put *Antipater* to death. And one of them being named *Malichus*, excelling all the rest in wealth, wisdom, and corage, sought how to intrap *Antipater*, by secret plots and ambushes prepared. But *Antipater* getting intelligence thereof, withdrew himselfe beyond *Jordane*, where he leuied an Army, by aide from King *Aretas* his deare friend, with full deliberation to reuenge this injury. Neuerthelesse, he was appeased by *Hyrcanus*, because *Malichus* purged himselfe by oath, that he neuer intended any treason against him.

This hapned immediatly after that the Conspirators had slayne *Iulius Caesar* in the Senate house, when *Cassius* (Author and chiefe in the coniuration) was come into *Syria*, and from thence into *Iudea*: where he villainously ransacked the Cities and Townes, onely to get money, so that he sold the Magistrates of some places, with their whole families, and pillaged foure great citties in *Iudea*, selling all the Citizens for slaues: because they had made refusall, to giue such a large summe as this insatiable beast demanded. As he asked of the *Jews* seven hundred talents, (which summe amounted to foure tunnes of gold of our coyne, and twenty thousand Crownes of the Sunne :) *Antipater* gaue charge to leuy this money, partly of his Sons, and partly of the most powerfull *Jews*; so that the whole summe being suddenly payd in: *Antipaters* sonnes were the better welcomed among the *Romans*. And so farre it proceeded, that *Cassius* (euen then) made promise of the kingdom of *Iudea* to *Herode*, who ouer & aboue the summe whereto the taxation mounted, carried store of gold to the campe in *Syria*) when he had ended the war against

*Marke Anthony* and *Octauus*. But for the present he commanded the Prouince of *Syria* to *Herode*, and the Army by Sea.

*Malichus* well obseruing, that the power of *Antipater* so mightily encreasing, was not (by any patient meanes) to be indured; practised & dealt with the Taster or Cup-bearer to *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, by great gifts and summes of money: so that one night, as *Antipater* was at Supper with *Hyrcanus*, the Taster poysoned him; albeit the sayd Taster had twise bin deliuered from death by *Antipater*, & held his life of him. Thus was *Antipater* murdered, in the yere following the death of *Iulius Caesar*, he being (vndoubtedly) a man very excellent, wise, and prouident. Some imagined, that *Hyrcanus* was not ignorant of the deed doing, or (at least) it was not doone in any despight of him: although *Antipater* by the means of *Pompey*, got him restored to the Soueraigne Priesthood, and afterward (for the space of 22. yeares) alwayes kept and defended him against the violence of his enemies.

Perhaps one way he had offended *Hyrcanus*, that (to satisfie the couetous desires of *Cassius*, and to forestall perills incident to himselfe) he was somewhat ouer-rude in vrging money from him, he being an old man, sparing by nature, and the more gripple in holding, in regarde of his age. For which fault, *Hyrcanus* declared no great distaste in the murdering of his Benefactor. Because many times it comes to passe, that some men, hauing received good benefites for a large length of time, and yet growing (at length) to be displeased: they forget all good deseruings past, and resting not so contented, proceed to diuers dangerous practises against them. Of such ingratefull men, *Philip Melancton*, my worthy master, & good father, wrote certaine Verses to this effect:

Some men there are, if thou transport their states  
With pompe to Rome, and plant them in the gates;  
Such fauour they require not with due grace,  
But (like ingratefull wretches) all deface.

Not long after, *Hyrcanus* payd dearly for this his foolish ingratitude, because (the yere following) *Antigonus* compassed the meanes to bring the *Parthians* into *Iudea*; when *Hyrcanus* being taken, & led into a strange land by the enemy: well found (but ouer-late) what defence he had lost by the death of *Antipater*, and then in

*Hyrcanus* arefull of *Aristobulus* and his sons.

Conspiracie w to comisse the death of *Antipater*, by *Malichus* a Jew.

The horrible cruelties of *Cassius* in *Iudea*, to possesse himselfe in a poeuey.

readines *Antipater* please the *Romaines*.

*Antipater* being at supper with *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, was poysoned by his Taster.

Some reasons wherby *Hyrcanus* might be offended with *Antipater*.

*Philip Melanctons* verses on ingratitude.

*Hyrcanus* payd dearly for his ingratitude to *Antipater*.

vaine lamented his owne folly, in listning to Malichus, and other Boute-feux, against so deare a friend as Antipater had alwayes bin to him.

CHAP. XIII.

A further entrance into discourse, concerning the race and Posteritie of Antipater, for the better clearing of some obscure doubts in diuers Authors, and full satisfaction of the Reader.

Of the Sonnes of Antipater.

Phaselus the eldest.

He being constituted by his Father, to be Gouvernor of Ierusalem, and the round neighbouring places, to assist Hyrcanus (carelesse, and very vnapt for administration) in regard of his age; discharged his Commission

most commendably for sixe yeares space, during the life time of his father. He being dead, hee appeased (by his vertue) a great trouble arising in Ierusalem, in regard that a certayne man, named Faelix, driuen by Cassius into Ierusalem with Soldiours, being corrupted with mony from diuerse Iewes; laboured to ouerthrow it. But this Faelix was vanquished by Phaselus, and for a while kept in prison; but afterward released vpon certayne conditions.

Next, it was no little ioy to him, to see Malichus (the murderer of his father Antipater) punished for his wickednesse: who labouring to inuade the Principality of Iudea, was slayne by the Souldiours of Cassius, and by the industrious meanes of Herode.

Cassius being conquerd, Marke Anthony came into Syria, and made Phaselus & Herode Tetrarches of Iudea: notwithstanding all the criminall accusations, alleadged by the Iewes against them. But Phaselus enioyed not that dignity any long while; for the yeare following the death of his father, the Citty beeing surprisid by the Parthians and Antigonus: he was (by subtilty) taken with Hyrcanus, and slew himselfe remaying prisoner, as I haue already related in the life of the second Hyrcanus.

Faelix labored to con found Ierlem.

The death seditious Malichus.

Phaselus Herod made Tetrarches Iudea by Marke Anthony.

The worthie performance of Phaselus in his charge.

Phaselus left a sonne named

Herode King.

Mariana the Asmoncan.

Phaselus, to whom Salome, daughter to Herode and Mariana was married, by whom he had these children.

Antipater, of whom we reade nothing.

Herode and Alexander, both dying young children.

Alexandra, married to a Iew of Cyprus, afterward married to king Agryppa. barren.

Iosippus the third Sonne of Antipater.

Herode commeth next after Phaselus, in respect of his age. But I holde it more conuenient to speak first of his brethren, whose actions were of lesse fame and esteeme.

Iosippus (called by some Gisippus) the third sonne of Antipater, was appoynted Gouvernour of Idumea by his father, who

had obtained the Principallitie of Iudea. After his fathers death, he valiantly defended the family and affaires of his brother Herode, they being driuen into exile by Antigonus and the Parthians: withdrawing them into the City of Massada, against the sayd King Antigonus, enduring there a very difficult siege, vntill that his brother

Concerning the brethren of Phaselus.

Iosippus defended his brothers cause and his friend

brother *Herode* (being returned out of *Italia*) deliuered him and them; and was afterward proclaymed King by *Octavius Augustus*, and by *Marke Anthony*.

Within a while after, when his brother *Herode* went to *Marke Anthony*, who besieged the City of *Samosata*, neare vnto *Euphrates*; the charge of the Army was giuen to him. But going inconsiderately foraging for Corne, with sixe silly bands of Souldiers: he was taken in the Straits of the mountaines neare to *Iericho*, and there slain with all his men by *Antigonus*, about foure yeares after the death of his father.

His head being smitten off, was carried vp and downe in a mockery, and finally bought of *Antigonus*, by his brother *Pheroras*, for fifty Talents, that is, 30000 Crownes of the Sunne. He had a sonne named *Iosippus* also, to whom his vncle *Herode* gaue in marriage, *Olympia*, the Sister of *Archelaus*, of whom he begat *Mariana*, afterwards marryed to *Herode* the lesse, King of *Chalcis*.

*Antipater*

*Iosippus* Prefident of *Iudaea*. *Herode* King of *Iudaea*. *Marthaca* a *Samaritane* his wife.

*Iosippus*, his wife *Olympia*.

Of them was borne *Mariana*, wife to *Herode*, son to *Aristobulus*, King of *Chalcis*.

*Pheroras*, the yongest sonne to *Antipater*, when his brother *Iosippus* was slain; being as yet but young, he continued alone, yet ayded his brother *Herode* valiantly, managing dangerous warres (on his behalfe) against *Antigonus*. At the request of *Herode*, *Augustus Caesar* made him *Tetrache*, and vsed him very honorably; yet returning but bad recompence therefore to his brother. For, hauing procured him, to put his wife *Mariana* to death, and his two sonnnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*: he at the length compacted with *Antipater*, to compasse the death of his brother also. But being preuented by sudden death, hee escaped punishment. He dyed some few yeares before his brother *Herod*, and left two sonnnes, to whom *Augustus* marryed two daughters of de-

ceased *Herode*, *Roxana* and *Salome*; endowing each with fise and twentie thousand Crownes of the Sunne. Hee had a daughter also, marryed to the sonne of *Antipater*, yongest sonne of King *Herode*. *Salome*, daughter of *Antipater*, Sister to *Herode* King of *Iudaea*.

IN her first marriage, shee was giuen to one named *Iosippus*, who being constituted guardian of *Mariana*, wife to *Herod*; was slaine by the Kings commaund; because hee would not reueale some matters of secrecie. Afterward she was marryed to *Costabarus*, Gouvernor of *Idumea*, from whom she seperated her selfe by diuorce; contrary to the Lawe of *Moses*: which permitted Husbands to leaue their Wiues for some cause of importance; but not Wiues to leaue their Husbands. Neuerthelesse, *Salome* vsed this licence, confiding in the power of her brother: and afterward was the cause, that the sayd *Costabarus* dyed miserably. Finally, in despite of her selfe-will, *Herode* made her marry one *Alexas*: although she was almost made in loue with a potent *Arabe*, named *Syleus*, an ytter enemy to *Herode*, and one that would not be circumcised.

This *Salome* was a meere Fury in the Court of her brother, and a flaming firebrand of domesticke discordes, whereon many murders ensued. For, being wholly ouercome with hatred against *Mariana* the *Asmonean* (who despised her, because she was not nobly borne) she ceased not to enflame the spleene of her brother: contriuing false crimes of adultery and poysoning against her, vntill *Herode* had put his dearly affected wife to death. Which being done, and *Salome* fearing some reuenge to be inflicted on her: beganne to prouoke the father against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, the sonne of *Mariana*, seruing her turne heerein with *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*, who stood in feare, that these two yong men should be adianced and preferred before him to the kingdome.

She preuayled so well by her cunning plots and practises, that they both standing accused, for affecting the Kingdome, and preparing of poysons, they were condemned; and, notwithstanding all their excellent partes and perfections, they

Iosippus take  
beheaded  
ough his  
ne wilful  
igligence.

Herod  
ught his  
others head  
Antigonus.

Herod  
ed his bro-  
er in warre  
ainst Anti-  
nus.

He sought the  
ath of his  
other He-  
de.

Her first hus-  
band slaine  
by Herodes  
commaund.

Salome sepe-  
rated hirselfe  
from her hus-  
band.

Salome thwar-  
ted in her  
third marriage

Salome a fire  
brand of con-  
fusion in the  
Court of king  
Herode her  
brother.

Alexander &  
Aristobulus  
both execu-  
ted.

were strangled by their fathers commaund.

Moreover, by her secret and subtil reports, she wrung Antipater into his fathers ill opinion and disgrace, although hee had bene her companion in all her wickednesse; plotting and preparing all the treasons against his father, whereof he had falsly accused his most innocent brethren, the sonnes of Mariana, vntill himselfe was caught in the same snare, and (by his fathers commaund) dispatched also.

Shee, the minister of so many monstrous cruelties, did suruiue her brother Herode; who left her (by his last will and testament) three most opulent Citties, to wit, Iamnia, Azot and Phaselis; beside two millions and an halfe of siluer coine,

which amounts to fifty thousand crowns of the Sunne.

Moreover, she being familiar (by Letters) with Liuia, wife to Augustus (whom Iosephus continually calleth Iulia) the said Augustus gaue her the Castle royall in the City of Ascalon. And she receiued annually out of the fore-named Citties, three score Talents, which arise to thirtie fixe thousand crownes of the Sunne.

Hauiug lined twelue yeares after the death of her brother Herode; shee dyed a yeare before the departure of Augustus out of this life, and left (by her testament) to Liuia, wife to Augustus, those Citties which she formerly held. She left a sonne named Antipater, and a daughter singularly beautifull, called Berenice, of whom came these children following.

Antipater disgraced by her means, and brought to his death.

The bountie of Herode to his sister at his death.

The royall castle of Ascalon giuen to Salome.

The death of Salome, and what issue she left.

Castabarus President of Idumea.

Salome sister to King Herode.

Cypris daughter Antipater espoused to king Herode by sed her, albeit she Mariana the Asmonean. was his cousine.

Berenice married Aristobulus Son to her cousine Aristobulus. the Asmonean.

Cypris. Alexas son in law to Salome, sister to Herod, by the 3. husband. Agrippa King of Iudea. Herode King of Chalcis. Aristobulus. Herodias mentioned in the gospel.

Cypris. Agrippa The second, succeeded in the Kingdome of Chalcis, after his Vnckle Herode.

Herode, the second sonne of Antipater, whom some doe call the Great, was the first King of Iudea, being of a contrary Nation.

Herode being as yet but young, was ordayned President of Galilee, by his father Antipater, soone after Iulius Caesar had finished the warres in Egypt. He gaue immediate probation of his industry and valour, hauing destroyed and slaine Ezechias the Jew, and a troop of theues that wasted Syria: for the which being highly commended by the Syrians, hee found great grace and fauor with Sextus Caesar, who then gouerned the Prouince of Syria. It fortun'd, that by the instigation of them that enuyed Antipater, Hyrcanus the

Soueraigne Sacrificer (contrary to his will) gaue personall summons to Herode, in regarde of the Jewes by him taken and slayne in Syria: without listening to the sentence of soueraign Iudgement, which then was tearmed Sanhedrin, of the Greek word Synedrion, as I conceiue, and consisted of seauenty and two Iudges, who were called the seuentie Ancients. Philo writeth, that before the kingdome of Herode, the Iudges of that Councell were chosen out of the posteritie of David only. Herode hauing aduertisement (by Letters)

Ezechias the Jew and his complices vanquished & slayne by Herode in his yong dayes.

Herode summoned to personall appearance by Hyrcanus.

ters from his father, appeared at *Ierusalem* on the day of Assignation, accompanied with a reasonable guard, and recommended by *Sextus Casar*.

*Hyrcauus* perceiuing, that the Iudges were heauily incensed by the aduersaries of *Antipater*, and that they would not faile to giue sentence in sharpe manner: desiring to gratifie his friend *Antipater*, he secretly admonished *Herode*, to withdraw himselfe out of the city, before he were condemned by the *Iewes* sentence; and thereupon conuaied to punishment. The yong man returned backe into *Syria*, very impatiently bearing the iniurie; which he conceiued to be doone him by the Iudges, declaring to *Sextus Casar* the treacherie of the Cittizens, and hauing receiued from him part of the *Romaine* Army, and the regiment of the lower *Syria*: hee resolu'd to reuenge the wrong which the Councell had offred him: So, going vp to *Ierusalem* with a maine Army, hee could hardly be with-held by his father, and his brother *Phaselus*; who met him by the way, and made him to retreat his army into *Syria*. But yet he could not remooue his mallice, which still he continued against the Consistorie: and which he vtterly quailed and ouerthrew, after his coming to the Crowne.

Not long after the death of *Iulius Casar*, by a close ambush, and ayde of *Cassius* his Souldiours; he procured *Malichus* to be slaine, being the murtherer of his father *Antipater*. Which beeing done, once more hee expelled out of *Iudea* *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Aristobulus*, whom he ouercame in warre, albeit he had recovered part of *Iudea*.

After that *Cassius* and *Brutus* were vanquished neare to *Philippi*, when *Marke Anthony* was come into *Syria*; Ambassadors went from the *Iewes* to meete him at *Bithynia*, accusing there *Phaselus* and *Herode* to him, because the lawfull heires of the kingdome were expelled; and they (by force) holde the whole gouernement of *Iudea*. *Herod* also met them there, wel furnished with rich and sumptuous gifts, to bestow on *Marke Anthony*: of whom he was entertained most benignely; for the loue he had borne to his father *Antipater*, when being Lieutenant to *Gabinus*, hee was still in warre, during the peace of *Syria* and *Iudea*. Wherefore,

howsoever he listened to the *Iewes* accusations; yet he ordained *Phaselus* and his brother *Herode* Tetrarchs of *Iudea*. And because the *Iewes* ceassed not to send Embassie vpon Embassie, and continually in great number, amounting to a thousand men in the end. *Marke Anthony* punished them with imprisonment. And because they neuer would giue ouer, but daily intreated, that (by no meanes) they might be subiected to *Herode*; hee caused some of them to be put to death.

*Hyrcauus* descended to *Anthony* in *Syria* (already conioyned with *Herode* in affinity, to whom hee had giuen his younger sister *Mariana*, daughter of *Alexander* and *Alexandra*:) who was honourably entertained by *Anthony*, and confirmed in the possession of the High-priesthood: and obtained those cities and persons (reduced by *Cassius* into seruitude) to be deliuered and enfranchised; and that the rapined goodes should be restored to their first owners.

The yeare following, *Pacorus* hauing subdued *Syria* (attracted by great promises) brought *Antigonus* backe againe to *Ierusalem*; as hath formerly beene sayde. Where *Herode* (hearing that his brother *Phaselus* and *Hyrcauus* the soueraigne Sacrificer were detained prisoners, contrary to the lawes of Nations, knowing also, that the *Iewes* were affected to *Antigonus*, fearing both his enemies and the Cittizens) he departed foorth secretly in the dead time of the night, with his Mother *Cypris*, his wife *Doris*, his sister *Salome*, his affianced *Mariana*, his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and eight hundred other women, beside a great company of friends, and (with much adoe) got to safetie into *Iulmea*. For his mother was fore wounded by the way, by reason of the Waggon ouerthrow vpon her: so that *Herode* (as halfe desperate) thought to haue slaine himselfe, because he was ouer-closely pursued by the barbarous people, whom (neuerthelesse) hee valiantly droue backe, and quite ouercame.

There he left al his company, and such goodes as they carried with them; in a strong Cittie named *Massada*, vnder the charge and protection of his brother *Isippus*: and went very secretly (attended but with a few Souldiours) to king *Artas*, relying vpon the loue and friendship

he kindnes  
Hyrcauus,  
shielding  
m from the  
Iudges sen-  
nce.

erod goeth  
ith an army  
gainst Ier-  
lem, but is  
uerled by  
s father &  
other.

erod reuen-  
d the death  
his father.

utus and  
assius foiled  
Philippi.  
erode bri-  
eth Anthony  
gainst the  
ambassadors.

Anthony, im-  
prisoned and  
pur to death  
the Iewes Am-  
bassadours.

Hyrcauus go-  
eth to An-  
thony in Sy-  
ria, & is kind-  
ly welcomed  
of him.

Herod saueth  
himselfe by  
flight in the  
night, and a  
great compa-  
ny with him.

Herode lea-  
ueth his com-  
pany in Mas-  
sada, and go-  
eth secretly  
to King Artas  
in Arabia.

which was betweene him and his father *Antipater*. But being hindered from entering into *Arabia*, hee passed (with great difficultie) into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, who furnishing him with needfull things: hee tooke shipping in the worst season of all the yeare, and shaped his course directly for *Rome*; where being arriued, he acquainted *Mark Anthony* with the fraud of *Antigonus*, his owne flight, and perill of the people hee had in charge; humbly entreating him, that hee would not suffer him to be thus trampled on by his enemies, to whom he had expressed kinnesse, and oftentimes exalted them.

*Anthony* reported the complaint and request of *Herode*, to his companion *Augustus* in the Empire, and both they together commended their suppliant friend to the Senate: remembring the perpetual deuotion & loyaltie of his father *Antipater*, towards the Captaines and Souldiours of *Rome*, and especially to *Iulius Caesar*. In brieft, they preuailed so farre, that (by common voice) *Antigonus* was iudged enemy to the people of *Rome*: and the kingdome of *Iudea* conferred on *Herode*, the seauenth day after his coming to *Rome*. He was conducted to the Senate house, going in the middle betweene *Augustus* and *Anthony*; *Domitius Caluinius*, and *Asinius Pollio*, Consulles, going before him, accompanied with other Magistrates and Senatours, euen all the way thence to the Capitole, where the Sacrifices were perfourmed. And this beeing the first day of his reigne, hee was magnificently feasted by *Marke Anthony*: foure yeares after the death of *Iulius Caesar*; two yeares after them of *Cicero*, and thirty seuen before the birth of our Sauiour Christ.

*Herode* being returned into *Iudea*, had a very difficult warre against King *Antigonus*, which continued the space of foure yeares: because that the *Romaine* Captaines (as *Ventidius*, *Silo* and some other, who had the charge of placing *Herode* in full possession of the kingdome) were corrupted by gold sent from *Antigonus*, desiring nothing more then deferring, and neuer earnestly assisted *Herode*. Besides, many *Iewes* (ill affected to the house of *Antipater*) moued many troubles against him.

The beginning then of *Herodes* reigne

was wonderfully difficile, and yet (notwithstanding) by his industrie, diligence and vertue, and softly, steppe by steppe; he ouercame all hinderances, and possessed himselfe of *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and the very greatest part of *Iudea*.

Afterward, *Ventidius* sent some bands to succour him, conducted by one named *Macheras*; but *Herode* perceiuing him to be dull and slowe, and that hee went but coldly about the businesse, as expecting, that *Antigonus* should still furnish him with fresh handfulls; without expecting any further ayde from such Captaines, he vndertook great iournies, to encounter with *Antigonus*, who besieged *Samosata*. And (by the way) sped very successfully, against diuers theues that hindered his passages.

As thus he drew nearer to his enemy, *Marke Anthony* came to meete him, and did him such honour as became a King, with the greater part of his Armie. After hee had heard his complaints, concerning the disloyaltie of some Captaines, who (corrupted by the gifts of *Antigonus*) had executed no part of the commaund from *Augustus* and the Senate: hee sent two legions of olde Souldiours into *Iudea*, and commaunded *Sosius* (one of his faithfull Captaines) to follow them with an other Armie, so soone as the City of *Samosata* was surrendered.

In the absence of *Herode*, his brother *Iosippus*, fighting to his owne disadvantage; was slaine with his Armie, by the Souldiers of *Antigonus*, neare to *Iericho*. Also, the *Galileans* reuolted, and many rebelled in *Iudea*: wherefore *Herode* returned with those olde bands, and hardly appeased them of *Galilee*. Afterwards, by many encounters, wherein hee had one while the best, and another while the worst, he so weakened the forces of *Antigonus*: as (at length) hee withdrew into the fortresse of *Ierusalem*.

*Herode* brought his Armie against the Cittie, and after he had raised his munitions, and builded diuerse engines needfull for batterie: hee left the Armie vnder certaine Captaines and iournied into *Samaria*, to espouse *Mariana* the *Asmonean*, who (as I haue formerly tolde you) was daughter to *Alexander*, the yongest sonne of *Hyrchanus* the second, who (foure yeares before) was affianced to *Herode*, that

The arriual of *Herode* at *Rome* with *Marke Anthony*.

The grace & fauour that *Herode* found with the *Romaine* Senate.

*Antigonus* declared enemy to *Rome*, and *Herode* proclaimed King of *Iudea*.

The *Romaine* captains corrupted by golde from *Antigonus*, still hindered *Herode*.

*Herode* ouercame all his hinderances whatsoeuer.

*Herode* went against *Antigonus* besieging *Samosata*.

*Marke Anthony* meets with *Herode*, and vsed him very honorably.

*Herodes* brether *Iosippus* slaine, and *Galilee* reuolted from him.

*Herode* went to *Samaria* to marry with *Mariana*.

that is to say, before that the *Parthians* had invaded the Countrey.

In the meane while, *Sosius* being sent from *Anthony* with his Souldiers, marched on diligently, and ioyned his armie with the other belonging to *Herod*; whose nuptialls being ended, and he returned to *Jerusalem*: the two Captaines beganne to assaile the Cittie manfully in diuers places. The besieged *Jewes* had great want of principall munitions, and yet notwithstanding, hauing embraced an imaginary hope, they thought, that they should be diuinely deliuered. For they continually vsed to say, that they fought for freedom of the people for their lawfull king against strangers, for the Temple and Religion against Pagans; sustaining (for some length of time) a very sharpe besieging, and much molesting the enemy by their sallies. But finally, the City was surprized in the moneth of Maie, the very same day as (seuen and twenty yeares before) *Pompey* had conquered it, as hath bene said, *M. Agrippa* and *Cauidius Gallus* being then Consuls.

The *Romaine* Souldiers being much displeased at so long a siege, and losse of many of their people; made pittillesse slaughter, not onely of the armed *Jewes*, but also of such as had no defence at all. King *Antigonus*, throwing himselfe at the feete of *Sosius*, humbly desired pardon: but he was iniuriously reiected, and being strongly bound, sent to *Marke Anthony* at *Antioche*, where, at the request of *Herod*, he was slaine.

In this Militarie furie and combustion, *Herod* had worke enough to do, to hinder the *Romaines*, from entring into the most secreet place of the Temple, to robbe and carry thence the sacred treasures. Moreover, hee was glad to promise an infinite summe of mony, to obtaine such fauour, that the goods of the Citizens might not bee imbezeled, and borne away by the Souldiours. And in this troublesome tempest, we will giue conclusion to this Chapter; because we enter now into the reigne of *Herode*, and are to speake of matters concerning those times.

CHAP. XIII.

*How Herode, after all these tumultuous troubles and molestations, attained to the sole Governement of the Kingdome of Iudea.*



After that the Cittie was taken in this manner, and *Antigonus* (the last King of the *Asmoneans*) slaine: *Herode* enioyed the Kingdome of *Iudea*, three and thirtie yeares before the Natiuity of *Christ*. Hauing taken order for the Realmes affaires, hee cruelly murdered all those great Lords, that had ioyned themselues with *Antigonus* against him. And seeing that hee had consumed and wasted all his goods, as also those of his kinred and friends, in gifts and charges of the warre; by an especiall Edict, he compelled the Citizens, to bring all their Jewells of gold and siluer to the kings castell, and all such money as they had beside. He appoynted likewise Guardes at the gates, to search all such as passed in or out: yea, such as carried the dead to buriall, fearing lest (in any manner) they should conuey thence coine, or any precious thing whatsoever.

At this time happened a famine, in regarde of the seuenth yeare of rest, wherein it was not lawfull to sowe the grounds. And in the former yeares past, the fields remayned (in many places) vntilled, by reason of the continuall ciuile warres. So that the estate of the Cittie was very miserable, being fallen into woful seruitude; whereof the better sort of people, as *Simon*, *Zachary*, *Ioseph* and some such other tooke part: who neuertheless, in these sad spectacles and miserable calamities, cheared vp their drouping spirites, by hope of the *Messias* his comming, who should saue them. And they perceiued it to draw neare, because they obserued, that the Scepter was now wholly taken from the house of *Iuda*.

*Herode* standing in feare of the displeased people, by his horrible rapines and cruelties: to appease and quiet them, repealed

At what time the reigne of King Herode beganne.

Herods cruell exaction for money vpon the people.

A great famine among the people.

Hope of the comming of the *Messias*, a great consolation to the faithfull.

*Sosius* ioynes his forces with *Herods* army.

A foolish hope and persuasion in the *Jewes* for their deliuerance.

*Jerusalem* conquered by *Herode* and *Sosius*.

*Antigonus* sent to *Antioche*, & there slaine by *Herodes* instigation.

The furie of Souldiers is easily induced to robbery and spolie.

Hyrceanus recalled from banishment by Herode, & highly honored.

Ananclus deposed, and Aristobulus made high-priest.

\* Towne and Promontorie of Epire, where Augustus, after hee had conquered Anthony and Cleopatra built the citie Nicopolis.

Fortune both favourable and adverse to Herode.

An earthquake, which killed many people in Iudea.

repealed (by his letters) from banishment *Hyrceanus* the second, who lived then in *Babylon*, because he had married the daughter of his daughter, and sent presents to the king of *Parthia*, for the ransom of his captiuitie. When he was come to *Ierusalem*; hee did not make him soueraigne Sacrificer, because hee was mutilate or imperfect: but in recompence thereof, bestowed great honours vpon him, so that in publique assemblies, he caused him to sit in the highest roome. At the same time he substituted (in stead of *Antigonus* in the High-priesthood) another *Iew* come from *Babylon*, named *Ananelus*, a matter greatly offensive to him and the people. Which *Herode* perceiuing, hee deposed *Ananelus*, and placed in his stead *Aristobulus*, brother to his wife *Mariana*: whom hee caused to die by detestable fraude a yeare after, rendering the High-priest-hood to the sayd *Ananelus* againe. Whereupon, *Alexandra* accused him of this crime to *Cleopatra*, and he being appealed by *Anthony* to *Laodicea*, to render an account for this imputation; rather pacified him by golden giftes, then any vaine and vnaudible excuses.

The warre at \* *Actium* being now on foote, as *Augustus* and *Anthony* prepared themselves, to contend who should remaine the master: *Herode* conueyed himselfe to *Anthony*, and voluntarily made him offer, of whatsoeuer he could doe against *Augustus*, hauing forces in readines for him. But *Anthony* made him answer, that he had not any neede of such succour; giuing him charge (by the perswasion of *Cleopatra*) to make warre on the *Arabes*, who would not pay the annuall pension of two hundred Talents, whereof, he had made promise to *Cleopatra*. At the very entrance into this war, he ouerthrew the *Arabes* in one day: but Fortune afterward changing her fauour, hee lost (well-neare) all his armie, and was taken likewise in the field.

Beside this calamity of the *Iewes*, a sudden Earthquake happened, which slew aboue ten thousand persons in *Iudea*: euen when the Armies by Sea of *Augustus* and *Anthony*, encountred together at *Actium*, in the seventh yeare of *Herods* reigne. Hee hauing (so well as he could) vnited his forces together againe; repulsed the *Arabes*, and compelled them to returne

home into their countrey: which otherwise had conuerted to the *Iewes* heanier calamitie, because they (encouraged by their wofull miseries) put all to fire and sword throughout *Iudea*. And this earthquake, as also the inrodes of the enemies were followed by a dreadfull pestilence: which made lamentable spoyle and haucke, both in the fields and citties, and likewise in the Kings campe.

After these apparent and publique calamities, meeting together in such grievous manner; *Herode* fell into a great personall danger. For, after the day at *Actium*, wherein *Anthony* (the chiefest friend to *Herode*) was foyled, and dying thereupon: *Herode* was in no meane dismay, for feare of *Augustus* the Conquerour; and the people well perceiued his feare, because hee knew not how to determine of himselfe. Whereupon, some of the people (vnable to endure this dominion of a stranger) beganne to exalt their spirits, vnder hope of some sudden nouelty, and ioyed at the danger wherein *Herode* was. Aboue all the rest, his mother in law *Alexandra* (imagining the time to be now come, wherein shee might reuenge the death of her sonne, and retreat the kingdome againe to her own family) solicited very strong and firmly her father *Hyrceanus* (now very aged and decrepite, and one that alwayes affected quietnesse) in regarde of his many iniuries; to flie into *Arabia*, to the end, that if *Herode* were ill entreated by *Augustus*; he might the easier inuade the kingdome, beeing assisted by the *Arabes*.

*Dositheus*, a most disloyall seruant, deliuered the Letters (intended for this purpose, and sent by him to the King of *Arabia*) to King *Herode*: who desiring to be more fully informed in the fact, sent *Dositheus* into *Arabia* with the Letters, and after hee had receyued answer from the King, concerning the Letters sent vnto him: he caused *Hyrceanus* to be condemned, by the sentence of Iustice as a traitour, and so put to death. Some others write, that *Herod*, fearing the peril wherein hee sawe himselfe to be fallen, and the multitude of the *Iewes* (of whom he was deadly hated) might easily be moued by such an occasion, to transferre the Kingdome to *Hyrceanus*, who onely remayned of the *Asmoneans* race: imposed a false crime

One miserie following in the necke of another.

*Herode* lost Mark Anthony his best friend.

*Herode* in great feare of *Augustus*.

The proceeding of *Alexandra* against her sonne in law *Herode*.

All her hope frustrated by *Dositheus* vnfaithfull seruant.

*Hyrceanus* condemned and executed as a traitour by the cunning treachery of *Herod*.

crime vpon him, and preuayled so well by counterfeited letters, that the good olde man was condemned to death.

This being done, hee sent his mother, his sister, their other kinred, and all their attendants, as also his brother *Pheroras*, to a strong munited Cittie in *Iudaea*, called *Massada*. But withdrew his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and his wife *Mariana* (who hee thought could not well agree with the other women) to another Fort, named *Alexandriou*; giuing the charge of them to *Iosippus*, Generall for the finances of the kingdome, and to *Soemus* his most certaine and singular friends. And this trust also he imposed on them, that if *Augustus* offered any ill to him: they should kill the two women instantly, and conferue (so much as in them possibly lay) the kingdome for his sonnes, vntill they were come to age, by the assistance of his brother *Pheroras*.

These matters being thus ordered and appoynted, he travelled on to *Augustus*, who then heard all Ambassadors in the Isle of *Rhodes*, where, leauing off his diadem and kingly robes, keeping all the rest of royall liberty, as trusting in his cause and the Emperours clemencie; he confessed, that hee had beene a friend to *Marke Anthony*, and would haue sent him succour, if he had required it; but that he was diuinely withdrawne from his company (in how miserable condition soeuer) by the warre which hee then made vpon the *Arabes*. Wherein he had sustained so many losses and misfortunes, that he was sufficiently punished for his friendship to *Anthony*, and for the seruices he had done vnto him. But if now it pleased *Augustus* to experiment his faithfulness; hee would make it apparent vnto him, by as true seruices.

*Augustus* tooke such delight in the magnanimous confession of *Herode*, that hee embraced him amiably, restoring him to his Crowne, and assuring him, to expect as many kinde beneuolences from him, as euer hee had received by *Marke Anthony*.

*Herode* finding *Augustus* so gracious, tooke courage from the former despayre wherein hee was, assuring now the possession of his Kingdome the more firmly to him. Wherefore hee exceeded his abilitie in gifts to *Augustus*, as also to his

friends and the Army. Hee bare the Emperour company beside, at his sayling into *Egypt*; and when he came into *Syria*: hee receyued him with entertainment more then royall, hauing borrowed all necessarie prouision, throughout all the parts of *Iudea*.

*Augustus* finding so many great respects, meerey flowing from *Herode*; restored that part of *Iudea* to him, which *Anthony* had giuen to *Cleopatra*: adding thereto likewise *Samaria*, and other Citties on the Sea-coastes, whereby the wealth of his kingdome was greatly augmented.

*Herode* hauing mette with all this happiness and felicitie abroad, at his returne home into *Iudea*, found all things there very bitter and troublesome, by priuate and domesticke hatreds. For, his wife *Mariana* had already gotten intelligence (two seuerall times) by the Guardes, that they had charge to kill her and her mother; if eyther *Anthony* before hand, or *Augustus* now in this doubtfull time, disposed otherwise then well of him. Whereupon, at their meeting, *Mariana* by no meanes would come neare him, notwithstanding all the flatteries or signes of ardent loue hee shewed to her: reproouing him for such cruell commaunds, and plainly telling him, that they were no testimonies of a true husband. *Herode* entred into suspition, that it was not possible for him to be disclosed, or his secrets knowne to the Guardes: but eyther it must be by *Iosippus*, or lastly, by *Soemus*, wherefore he grew very chollericke, and studied how to taxe and punish her for adultery. And yet such was the power of his loue, that he could not credite all that he suspected, neyther exercise any crueltye against so faire a woman, of great Nobilitie, endowed with all graces belonging to a body of such singularitie.

At length, his sister *Salome* remooued all these hinderances in him, and prouoked him on to an execrable execution; for, finding apt occasion to reuenge her owne contempt, she kindled a fierce fire in him of suspition, namely, in the matter of adulterie, adding withall, an intent of poyson prepared for him, which shee approoued to the King, by testimonie of his owne Taster or Cup-bearer, whome she had wonne thereto by liberall gifts of money.

Herods bountie to Augustus, farre beyond his power & ability.

Augustus enlarged the power and authority of Herode.

Mariana informed of Herodes intention by the Guardes.

Herodes suspicion of his secrets disclosing, and practising against his wife.

Deadly is the malice of one woman to another.

Alexandra and Mariana sent to the fort Alexandriou, and his seat for the

He coming Herode to Augustus, and voluntary confession he made before

What gracious and honorable man Augustus was to Herode.

Mariana the wife of King Herod wrongfully executed, for which he repented heavily afterward.

A grievous pestilence in Iudea, King Herode himselfe lying deadly sicke in Samaria.

The death of Alexandra.

Herode cruel to his familiar friends.

Theaters erected in Ierusalem for Jewd and dissolute sports.

money. Heereupon, the King grew outrageously incensed against her; and having caused her to be condemned by the sentence of his friends; commaunded her to be immediatly executed, although she had bene the mother to him of five children. But soone after hee repented his vnaduised rashnesse, and so extremely desired his wifes company agayne; that he fell into an extraordinary languishing, shunning all societie whatsoever. And, vnder colour of riding on hunting, hee would secretly steale into Caues and Dennes in the Forrest, as hoping there to finde some asswaging of his sorrow; and being vnable to withstand the extremitie of melancholie, hee fell into a deadly disease.

At the same time, there was a great plague or pestilence in *Iudea*, whereby multitudes of people were consumed: so that many men were perswaded verily, that God had sent this punishment for the Kings cruelties. And as the King himselfe lay extremely sick in *Samaria*, where euery one was in mightie despaire of his life: *Alexandra* (his mother in law) stroue by large promises, to winne the Guardes of the Temple and Cittie to partake with her. But the conspiracie being reuealed, *Herode* gaue order for her sudden execution. The King then seemed outwardly to be somewhat recovered, but yet carried himselfe most cruelly against those friends, that were of greatest familiaritie with him; because his sicknesse (howeuer shaddowed) encreased daily impatience, which made him the more inclined to all vilenesse and tyrannie.

When he perceiued, that there remained not any one of the *Asmoneans* Family, or of any other side, to interrupt him in his power, onely the multitude excepted; hee grew to such assurance of himselfe, that he did many things repugnant to the lawes of God, and the customes receiued by the *Iewes*. For, in the Citie of *Ierusalem* it selfe, he builded a Theater and an Amphitheater, wherein were performed foule and disioiute playes, huntings, and combates of Fencers, according to the maner of the Pagans. He instituted also (at euery five yeares end) a Ioust and Tournament, in the honour of *Augustus*, proposing there publicly the *Cesars* Images, and the Victories ob-

tayned by them. But vnderstanding, that the people were greatly offended with these vn-vsuall things, prohibited by the Lawes of God; and prouoking many to practise his killing, as also conspiring meanes whereby to effect it: he fortified diuers places very respectiuey, against all ambushes and seditions; as *Alexandriou*, *Herodion*, *Hircanion*, and others, and planted strong garrisons in the most commodious places:

He builded also newly (or else magnificently repayed) diuerse Citties and Townes, which he stiled by the names of Emperours, or of his friends: the principall whereof was the Tower of *Straton* on the Sea side, which hee called *Cesarea*: and *Samaria*, distant a dayes iorney from *Ierusalem*, which he called *Sebasta*, that is to say, *Augustus*, according to the Emperours name. Also, he repayed *Athedon*, which he called *Agrippion*, of *Agrippa*, the kinsman to *Cesar*. Hee builded *Antipatrida*, by the name of his father, in the field of *Capbarsalania*. Also *Phaselida*, by the name of his brother, neare to *Iericho*: and *Herodion*, by his owne name, on the Marches of *Arabia*.

In the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, there happened a great dearth throughout the Land, by reason of an extraordinary drought; which was the cause, that a great famine did accompany the preceeding mortalitie of men and beasts: during which time, *Herod* caused diligent search for corne, & brought great quantities out of *Egypt*, and other neighbouring Regions beside, which he distributed (by the poule) to the people. But, because money grew short for such a distribution, in regarde that the royall treasure had bene wasted, about those sumptuous and excessiue buildings; hee employed all his vessells of golde and siluer, and all his Jewells besides, in the buying of corne. By which bounteous liberality, hee not onely redeemed the losse of his credite, by the offences done to his people, but also drew great fauour and affection from them.

In the seuenteenth yeare of his reigne, *Augustus* comming into *Syria*, gaue the Kingdome of *Chalcis* to *Herode*; adding also thereto \* *Drachositis*, and \* *Batanea*. Moreover, he gaue him power, in this his long sicknesse, to appoyne and leaue

Fortification of Herode, standing in feare of his life.

Citties and towns newly builded or repaired by Herode.

A wonderfull famine, together with pestilence, men & beasts.

Herode spent all his Plate and Jewels for buying corne to feed the people.

\* A Region in *Syria* betwixt *Libanus* and the *Tiberias*. \* A place neare to *Phrates*.

which

which of his sonnes he pleased, to be his heire and successour. In recompence of which large bountie, *Herode* dedicated a goodly Temple to *Augustus*, which hee builded in *Panæada*, neare to the sources that feede the riuer *Jordane*. Which Pagan flattery of his, estranged agayne the multitude of the *Iewes* from him; and therefore to please them, hee quitted the third part of their taxations. Notwithstanding, as he could not containe some of them, crying out incessantly, that it was intolerable, to erect temples to mortall men in *Iudea*, and there to reuerence them as Gods: so hee sought to restraine other by violent torments, sending Spies and Picke-thanks into publique and private Assemblies, who reported vnto the King whatsoeuer was spoken of him. It is further reported of him, that himselfe (sickely as hee was) in a common habite or disguise, would often walke abroad in the night time, listening in such companies as conferred together, to know what they said, concerning the present estate of the kingdome.

At length, finding neither loue nor fidelitie in the people, hee stroue to binde them fast to him by oath; wherein hee preuayled, attracting some by large and goodly promises, to giue him their oath of Allegiance and Loyaltie: others hee constrained by feare of torments, putting some to death in diuers kindes, that peremptorily refused to sweare. Onelie the *Pharises* stooode excepted, whom hee pardoned, in loue to a few aged men, that hee reuerenced for their sanctitie of life, and which made them deare to the people. Neuerthelesse, he condemned them in great fines and ameracements, which were payed by the wife of *Pheroras*, to binde that Sect in loue to her. He quitted also the *Esseans* from taking the Oath, holding them in no meane admiration: as following a manner of living most holily, and farre exceeding humane nature; beeing singular in fore-telling things to come.

In the eighteenth year of his reigne, beeing desirous to vnite his subiects to him by farre greater benefites, and to abolish the remembrance of his precedent excesses: hee vndertooke to builde the Temple of *Ierusalem* most magnificently, the former building (if heerein wee

may beleeuë *Iosephus*) beeing vtterly beaten downe, which building had continued siue hundred yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*. This worke, admirable in greatnesse, sumptuousnesse and cunning, was finished in eight yeares, and dedicated with great solemnitie: wherein hee gaue three hundred Oxen for the Sacrifices, seauen yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ.

Afterward, the Disciples declared the magnificence of the building. And, as Christ fore-tolde, after that the Temple had continued about foure-score yeares; it was vtterly ruined by the *Romanes*, from the top to the bottome.

The building of the Temple being ended, he would needs be carried to *Rome*, to salute the Emperour *Augustus*: From thence hee brought with him his sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, whom he had by his murdered *Mariana*, and had sent them tenne yeares before to *Rome*, to be brought vp in the house of *Asinius Pollio*. And the reason of his bringing them thence into *Iudea*, was, to quicken and cheare their hopes; that they were to succede him in the kingdome. And first of all, he bestowed wiues on them; giuing to *Alexander*, *Glaphira*, daughter to *Archalaus*, King of *Cappadocia*; and to *Aristobulus*, *Berenice*, daughter to his sister *Salome*.

These yoong Lords and Ladies, were very gracefull both in minde and bodie, which made them the more choicely affected of the people. But *Salome*, and some other (who had induced *Herode* to murder his wife, fearing if they should come to the Crowne, they would reuenge the death of their mother) laboured, by little and little, to kindle hatred in *Herode* against them, deliuering aspersions abroad; that they disdayned their fathers company, because he had put their mother to death.

*Herode* growing into health, by weake degrees, and these wicked deuices proceeding on; newes came, that *Agrippa* (neare kinsman to *Augustus*) was arriued in *Asia*, and *Herode* journeying to meete him, quickly perswaded him to visite *Iudea*. Having giuen him there most honourable entertainment, and shewne him the munitions and other buildings; he returned to his Campe, making

Temple dedicated to Augustus.

Spies and Intelligencers appointed to spyt the people what speeches were vnder of him.

The oath of obedience & fidelitie exacted by Herode of his subiects.

The Pharises accepted of the Oath.

The Esseans so discharged of the Oath.

The Temple of Ierusalem newly builded by King Herode.

Matth. 24. 1. Marke 13. 1. Luke 21. 5.

Herode is carried to Rome to see the emperor.

Asinius Pollio a noble Romaine.

The mariages of Herodes two sonnes.

They that haue once dealt in blood, are alwayes suspicious of themselves.

Agrippa kinsman to Augustus came into Asia.

king great haste in going thither. The winter being ouer-past, *Herode* followed him, when he crossed to *Pontus* his armie by sea, and kept him company during the time of that expedition. Returning soon after to his owne home, hee found all in disorder, by domestick hatreds purposefully prepared. For his sister *Salome*, and his brother *Pheroras*, immediately accused *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* (beeing the sonnes of *Mariana*) affirming, that they had openly complayned on the vniust death of their mother, and threatened to be reuenged for it. Heere to they added, that winning the Vulgars fauour without any dissimulation; they had prepared a traine for their auncient father: trusting to the power of *Archelaus*, father in lawe to one of them, and to the friendship of the *Romaines* on the other side, which they had long both wrought to this intent, with the very mightiest in the Court of *Augustus*.

*Herod* enduring continually any thing, much rather then the least suspicion of vndermining his kingdome; became amazed mightily at these allegations, appointed some of his intimate friends, to be present at banquets, and other familiar conferences with his sonnes, to be the better assured of their words & attempts: When (perchance) the yoong Lords (neither proiecing or suspecting any ill) might vtter some one word more liberally then other (being thereto prouoked by crosse language in the vrgers) purposely deliuered forth, to draw somewhat from them, in extolling the nobilitie and vertue of their Mother, which is the bounden duty of any childe to doe. But this serued the turne sufficiently, for *Herode* to credite, that whatsoeuer his sister had reported, was true. First of all therefore, he reprehended them very seuerely; next, to induce their better modesty and reuerence to their father, by feare and ielousie; he beganne to countenance, and carefully respect his sonne *Antipater*, (who was borne of *Doris*, when she liued a person of priuate condition) that they might thereby gather his intention, for making him to bee his successour in the kingdome.

This did more vehemently distaste the yoong Lords, and made them now to complaine more bitterly of their father,

as also of their owne vnappineffe and ill vsage; all which behauiour in them, was imparted to their father by the afore-sayd intelligencing spies. Beside, *Salome* compelled her daughter *Berenice* (by frequent iniuries incited betweene her and her husband) to disclose what secrets passed betweene the two brothers, and what priuate conferences they had together. All which she made in much greater manner to the King, then they were indeed, onely by hir vile additions, and falsifications, incensing him still so extremely against them, that he tooke them both with him to *Rome*, and accused them of treason before *Augustus*.

There, after the infortunate Gentlemen had made satisfaction to *Augustus* and some other Iudges, by euident purgations, teares and intreaties, they were reconciled again into their fathers grace, and returned home with him to *Iudea*: where the Multitude beeing met together, he declared before them the cause of his iourney, and to what happie successesse it had sorted. Adding withall, that (by the liking of *Augustus*) *Antipater* was next to succede after his death, as being his eldest sonne; and then afterward, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* should enioy their right, in reigning each after other; all which hee reported to the people in a long discourse, which we haue formerly related in our Militarie Orations.

From this time forward, *Antipater* insisted the more audaciously, in whetting the fathers spleene against his brethren, by false, forged and crafty calumniation; beside diuers other reports of nouelties, meerely deuised for the purpose. He being highly displeased, that they should haue any title or claime at all to the kingdome: as fretting extremely, that their credite held more specially with the people then theirs did, for the mothers sake of whome they came. In brieffe, he neuer ceassed, till (by the helpe of *Pheroras* and *Salome*) till he had perswaded his father, that his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, were growne prowde vpon their reconciliation, and practised (instantly) to possesse themselues of the Kingdome. *Herode* beeing further informed of those accusations, by such as were employed for the purpose; by racking, torturing and other cruelties, put to death many of his

Falſe accusations imposed on Alexander and Aristobulus; by Salome and Pheroras.

Herode layes traines to en trap his innocent sonnes vpon the treacherous speeches of his brother and sister.

A man willing to credit lies is soone perswaded of their truth in any thing to his owne advantage.

A mother worketh a daughter against the li of her owne husband.

Augustus reconciled the sons to their father.

Antipater worketh maliciously against his brethren, a hating that they should liue.

Herod putte to death many friends of his owne, as of his sonne vpon false reports.

his owne friends, and of his Sonnes. And yet no other harme could bee approved against them, but onely youthfull and vnaduised complaints, of excessive cruelty in their father; and his ouercasie facilitie, in lending eare to false reports, only through the detestable impietie of their brother *Antipater*, and them of his linage.

*Herode* impatient at so many suspitions, and fiered hourelly with the diuells of his house; *Salome*, *Antipater* and their complices: once more, by his letters sent to *Augustus*, he flatly accused *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* of treason. Now, because *Augustus* had giuen hiu permission, to punish his sonnes according to the exigence of their crimes: hee accused them before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, Gouvernours of *Syria*, and other *Romaine* Cittizens his friends there present, whom he had caused to come from *Iudea* to *Beritha*, a Cittie of *Syria*. After that they were condemned by pluralitie of voyces, he sent them to be strangled in *Sebasta*: where likewise were executed three hundred persons more, who were said to giue consent, to an imaginarie flight imposed vpon the two innocent Princes. *Aristobulus* at his death left three sonnes and two daughters, which hee had by his wife *Berenice*; and *Alexander* two sonnes by *Glaphyra*, besides some daughters, whereof we will speake in their due place and time.

From this time forward, *Herode* beganne to be very vnfortunate, because all his Court was troubled with bitter hatreds, disdaines, suspitions and treasons: so that *Antipater* (compacting with *Pheroras* and some other Courtiers) determined to kill the King his father. And as hee was plotting priuily, how he might be called to *Rome* by *Augustus*, for better strengthening himselfe with the Emperours power, and winning friends in his Court by gifts: it came to passe that *Pheroras* dyed, whose wife was accused before *Herode* by some of her owne friends, to haue poysoned her husband. *Herode* making inquisition after this offence by tortures, chaunced (by little and little) to come to the knowledge of farre greater crimes, and the treasons of his sonne *Antipater* plainly appeared.

Heereupon, the King being extreamply

enraged, spared not any of his Court from torturing cruelly; no not so much as the women and their daughters, very neare in loue and kinred to him, if hee could suspect them in the very least manner. And as hee stroue to informe himselfe, by all his best and diligent meanes, so much the more hee grew to be hated of all his followers, so that (consequently) he became worse then miserable.

Onely his Sister *Salome*, was faithfull to him, who compassed the meanes by craftie Spies, to finde out the plots of all the Conspiratours, which shee still reuealing to her brother, enflamed his fury extraordinarily: making him to distrust them that were most familiar with him, by forged tales and faithlesse suspitions. So that *Herode* accused *Antipater* (who was taken with the poyson readily prepared for his father) before *Quintilius Varus* (who was slayne by *Arminius Cheruschus* in *Germanie*, twelue yeres after with Legions) and beeing conuicted of the sinne of parricide, and condemned; hee commaunded him to bee kept prisoner, vtill by Letters and Ambassadors, hee vnderstoode the will and pleasure of *Augustus*, concerning his punishment.

In the meane while, hee executed many, both men and women, as beeing consenting to *Antipaters* attempts: amongst whome were diuerse innocents, wrongfully accused by malicious enemies, and meerey swallowed vp in *Herodes* furie; as in the roaring billowes of the Sea.

Soone after, beeing about the age of seauentie yeares, quasht and confounded with domesticke calamities: his former sicknesse grew now to farre greater violence vpon him, which made him ten times more cruell towards his subiects. For now hee was verily perswaded, that the Iewes reioyced as much at his homebred miseries, as they did at the extremitie of his disease. Wherefore hee deuised very cruell punishments, for matters of silly or small offence: for hee burned alie fortie yoong Schollers, of the very chiefest houses in *Iudea*, with two Maisters that were excellent men: because (being moued with iust griefe, to see the Temple of God prophaned) they had ouerthrowne (somewhat violently) an Eagle of golde, placed in the Portall of

Herod tortu-  
rerh his cour-  
tiers cruelly.

Salome only  
constant to  
her brother  
Herode.

Antipater ta-  
ken with poy-  
son prepared  
for his father.

Mallice will  
hardly want  
matter to  
worke on.

Herods sick-  
nesse encrea-  
sed vpon him

The cruel ty-  
ranny of He-  
rod in his last  
sicknesse.

he two bre-  
ren accused  
gaine by let-  
rs to Augu-  
stus.

Herode mur-  
dered his two  
sonnes & 300  
persons be-  
sides.

the issue of  
*Alexander*  
and *Aristo-  
bulus*.

*Antipater*  
inspired the  
death of his  
father.

*Pheroras* poi-  
soned by his  
wife.

Forty scholars and their maisters burned aliue.

Sanhedrin the auncient Iudges of Iudea slayne.

The husband of Salome slaine.

The murdering of the yoong infants in Bethlehem and other places.

A witty saying of Augustus.

A most horrible intention in King Herode.

the Temple, and in the honor of *Casar*; a thing very costly and magnificent, but contrary to the customes of the Iewish nation. The monstrous crueltie inflicted vpon these yoong men, was the cause of great troubles in the Cittie, after *Herodes* death.

Hee exercised also other great cruelties, amongst which, *Philo* the Iew recordeth, that in the thirtieth yeare of his tyrannicall reigne, he slew the *Sanhedrin*: to wit, the ordinary Iudges of the house of *Dauid*, and substituted other (newly converted to Iudaisme, or skilfull in the Lawe) in their stead. Moreouer, he slew the husband of his sister *Salome*, who was of the Tribe or Linage of *Iuda*, and a Sonne, which hee himselve begate of a woman of the same Tribe; because hee had sayd, that *Christ* our Sauour was already borne, who was promised in the Lawe, and by the Prophets, to be of the house of *Dauid*.

Also Saint *Matthew* the Euangelist, in the second chapter and sixteenth verse, maketh mention of an other notable example of his crueltie, where he writeth, that being aduertised by the wise men of *Persia*, that the *Messias* was horne; hee gaue strict commaund, that all the masse Children should bee murdered, in the Towne of *Bethlehem*, and all the villages round about.

*Macrobius* is a witnesse of this most inhumane act, who recounteth (among the witty conceits of *Augustus*) that hearing report of the Infants slaughter, from two yeares olde and vnder, caused by *Herode* to be done in *Syria*, and his owne sonne, being also slayne among them, hee sayd: *That he had much rather be Herodes Hogge, then his Sonne.*

Moreouer, feeling his entrailles to rot and putrifie, his bloud and flesh boyling, and vermine creeping all ouer his bodie, despayring of lining any longer: by Edict, he assembled the chiefest of the *Iews*, such as excelled the rest in wisdome, wealth and authoritie; causing them to come from all parts of the Kingdome to *Iericho*.

Being there arriued vpon his commaund, they were shut vppe in the place appointed for Triumphs, as if hee purposed to conferre with them before his death, of some important matter con-

cerning the State of the Kingdome. But hee gaue charge to his sister *Salome*, and to her husband *Alexas*, that so soone as hee had giuen vp the Ghost: they should dispatch the liues of the mightiest Iewes by the Archers of his Guard, coueting by this meanes, to make a wofull lamentation amongst the Iewes, who else would reioyce at theyr Kings miserable end.

Besides, that they should thus keepe (without any manner of impeachment) the possession of the Kingdome for his sonnes, when they of greatest power were dead and gone.

Now, albeit *Salome*, and her husband made promise to the King, for the execution of his bloody will: yet after his death, and before they made any declaration thereof, they let loose all the Iewes, without offering them the least iniury, accounting it to be neyther safe for them, nor the children of *Herod*, to obey such a barbarous and inhumane injunction.

A little before his death, the Ambassadors which returned from *Italy*, did bring him Letters from *Augustus*, whereby hee gaue him power ouer his Sonne *Antipater*, eyther for life or death. But the rage of the Father was now somewhat cooler, wherefore hee commaunded, that his Sonne should be brought to *Iericho*; but yet to keepe him still in bands.

It fortun'd, that *Herod* (liuing in such horrible and extreame torments, with stinking putrification of his body:) sodainely caught a knife, and sought for the fittest place to ridde himselve out of those paines.

But *Archelaus*, one of his kinsemen, and other seruants (beeing by) hindered his violent intent of murdering himselve: whereuppon, a great tumult and out-cry ranne throughout the whole Pallace; euen as if the King had beene dead. *Antipater* being prisoner, and vnderstanding, why these cries came thus from euery place: beganne to be very iocund and mirthfull, euen as if his father were dead indeede, and would haue induced the Guardes to let him haue liberty, vpon very liberall promises he made to them.

But he that had the especiall charge of him, fearing the crueltie of the King, went to

A commaund more then barbarous, ill befeemi the hour of death.

The Iewes leas'd without any thing done to them.

Herode receiued letters from Augustus before his death.

Herod intended desperately to kill himselve.

Antipater seeketh to corrupt the keepers.

to see whether he was dead or no : reporting to him his sonnes merry disposition, and the matter which he had so earnestly moued him vnto.

*Herode* mightily offended at these tydings, commaunded; that (without any delay) his son *Antipater* should be slayne in prison. Which beeing done, himselfe liued but fise dayes after his sonne. So that, what with the violence of his sicknesse, encreasing the torments of his soule, he died : hauing reigned foure and thirtie yeares after the surprizall of *Ierusalem*; and seauen and thirtie yeares after the *Romaines* had proclaimed him King. A man equally cuell to all men: from base and lowe degree, exalted to eminent place of honour, by industrie, bountie and friendship : very happy abroad, vnfortunate amongst his owne, and hated (both of his subiects and domesticks) for his crueltie.

All the time of his gouernement, hee had contention and quarrell principally with three aduersaries. First of all, against the Family of the *Asmoneans*, which hee strove vtterly to extirpate by all his policies. Secondly, against the Iewish people, who could not endure the dominion of a stranger : and although they kicked continually against him, yet finally they were charged with a hard yoake of seruitude. The third aduersarie; more troublesome and difficult then both the rest, was his owne household people. For, as hee slew one part of them (beeing no way guilty or offensive towards him) by listening to false reportes of the enuious, and according to his owne suspicions, still to support his greedie desire of rule : so did he punish others taken in the fact, who indeede conspired against him, vtill such time, as beeing more broken and battered by his domesticke encumbrances, then by extremitie of age; hee payed the tribute due to Nature. *Philo* the Iew writeth, that hee reigned fixe yeares lawfully, and one and thirtie yeares tyrannically.

In the three and thirtie yeare of his reigne (as it is auouched by *Epiphanius*) vnder the first description of the World: *Iesus Christ*, our blessed Sauiour and Redeemer, was borne in *Bethlehem* of the Virgine *Mary*. At the age of two yeares, by the Angelles admonition, hee was

with-drawne from the crueltie of this wretch, by his father and mother, who fled with him into *Egypt*. Afterwardes, hee was brought backe againe into *Iudea*, at the beginning of the Primacie of *Archelaus*.

*Herode* altered his Will three seuerall times : The first chaunge was, after hee had put to death his two sonnes by *Mariana* the *Asmonean*, and then hee sent it by the hands of *Antipater* (hee going to *Rome*) to *Augustus*. That Will confirmed as his heire in the Kingdome, *Antipater*, his eldest sonne by *Doris* : but yet with this condition, that if he dyed before the time, his sonne *Herode*, whome hee had by the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, should succede him. To whom (vpon this occasion) according to the opinion of *Iosephus*, hee had giuen in marriage *Herodias*, the daughter to *Aristobulus*, sonne of *Mariana* the *Asmonean*.

After the death of *Pheroras*, brother to *Herode*, the treasons began to be discovered, and the King beeing informed, that the Mother of *Herode*, his destined successour (and daughter to the Soueraigne Sacrificer) had consented in wicked counsell with *Antipater* : hee razed the names both of *Antipater* and *Herode* out of his Will, frustrating them from all hope of euer comming to the Crowne.

Beside, hee expelled the two mothers, *Doris* and *Mariana*, out of the Pallace, despoyling also his father in lawe *Simon*, of the High-priesthoode.

In his second Testament, hee left the Kingdome to his last sonne, named *Herode Antipas*, and hee to succede after his death, beeing borne of *Marthaca* a *Samaritane*. Therein hee made no mention at all of *Archelaus*, nor of *Phillip*, who were elder in yeares then hee : because, by the suggestion of *Antipater*, some of his friends had falsely accused them by Letters, in the time of their studying at *Rome*.

By the same Testament, hee left a thousand Talents to *Augustus*, which amounteth to three score tunnes of Gold. *Liua* the wife of *Augustus*, and children and enfranchised friends of *Augustus*, hee gaue fise hundred T that is to say, thirtie tunnes of ge

Last of all, after that (a lit

Antipater secretly slaine in prison.

Hee shamefull and ignominious death of Herode.

Three special aduersaries with whom hee had to deal principally.

Tyrant is wayes suspicious, & hard trusteth a man but himselfe.

The natiuitie of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ in Bethlehem

The testament of Herode changed by himselfe three seuerall times.

Ioseph in Ant. Iud. li. 4. ca. 10

Antipater & Herod razed out of their fathers testament, & their mothers excluded the Court.

The second alteration of his Wil.

The third  
and last alter-  
ation of his  
testament.

his death) hee had caused *Antipater* to be slayne, for diuerse conspiracies against his father and brethren: he grew into goodliking of his two elder sonnes, which was the reason of altering his will the third time, leauing the Kingdome of *Iudea* to *Archelaus*; prouided also, that it might be as pleasing to *Augustus*.

In stead of King, hee made *Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*, that is to say, of the Region scituate beyond *Jordane*.

Herode Antipas and Phillip made both Tetrarches.

In like manner, hee appoynted *Phillip* Tetrarch of *Gallonitida*, *Traconitis*, *Batanea* and *Pancada*. To his Sister *Salome* (who amongst all his kinred) he had onely found faithfull to him, and helpfull in all his aduersities, hee left three wealthy Citties, *Iamnia*, *Azot* and *Phaselida*, with fiftie thousand Crownes besides.

Herods bounty in his legacies to Augustus and other.

Hee assigned great reuenews to his other sonnes, and to their children, whom hee left in priuate condition, and augmented the Legacies which he had sent to *Augustus* and other at *Rome*. But *Augustus* (afterwards) distributed all the money to him appoynted to *Herodes* kinred; retayning nothing to himselfe, but onely certayne costly vessells, as a token of remembrance for the dead.

## CHAP. XV.

*A briefe Collection, concerning the children of Herode the Great, which hee had by his tenne wiues, as also the order of their severall successions.*



Thought it verie necessarie, heere to set downe the order and succession of *Herodes* children; because it doth giue great light to the Euangelicall storie, in regarde that the Description made by *Iosephus*, is somewhat differing. Especially in *Herodias*, whom he sayth, to be sometime married,

not to *Phillip* the Tetrarch, as the Euangelist *Saint Mark*, in the sixteenth chapter and seauenteenth verse of his Gospell auoucheth, but to *Herod*, sonne to the daughter of *Simon* the High-priest, who soone after was aduanced, and ioyned with *Herode Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee*, that slew *Saint Iohn Baptist*.

He sayth besides, that the dauncing daughter of *Herodias*, was married to *Phillip*: But the authoritie of the Euangelists ought to be of greater weight with vs, then to that of *Iosephus*, who in this Genealogie of *Herode*, speaketh things very contrary, which is not much to be maruelled at, in a Familie of so great extendure. For King *Herode*, according to the auncient manner of the Kings of *Iudea*, had many wiues together, in all being tenne, two whereof were barren.

*Doris* his first wife.

Her he married in priuate condition, taking her from a place of slender repute, her father beeing as then liuing. Of her hee begate *Antipater*; whom hee disinherited, his mother *Doris* beeing diuorced, after he was married to *Mariana* the *Asmonean*: nor would hee permit her to be present in *Ierusalem*, but onely at three famous solemnities.

But after that *Mariana* was put to death, hee receiued *Doris* agayne into his Court, and gaue her admittance to his bedde, re-calling home the sonne also: beeing fully resolved, to haue left him heyre to the Kingdome, if hee had not bene the cause of his owne ruine and death, by wicked machinations, contriued against his father and brethren; beside, hee brought his owne mother into the dislike of his father.

*Antipater* tooke to wife the daughter of *Antigonus*, the last King of the *Asmoneans*, by whom hee had also *Antipater*, to whom was married the daughter of *Pheroras* his great vnckle. Afterward hee married *Mariana*, daughter vnto his brother *Aristobulus*, whom he caused to be murdered.

The genealogie of Herod very great.

Antipater the sonne of Doris the first wife of Herod.

Doris receiued into her Court agayne and her sonne receiued.

Antipater had a sonne named Antipater also.

By

By his second wife *Mariana* the *Asmo-  
mean*, he had many heires, thus following  
in order.

*Mariana,*

*Glaphyra*, daughter to *Archelaus* king of  
*Cappadocia*; *Alexander*, slaine by his fa-  
ther.

*Herode,*

*Aristobulus*, slaine by his father, left five  
children by *Berenice*, as followeth after.

The third dyed immediately.

*Salome* was married to *Phaselus*, sonne  
of *Phaselus*, brother to *Herode*, of whose  
children we haue spoken before.

*Cypris* was married to *Antipater*, the  
sonne of *Salome*, sister to the King.

*Alexander,*

*Tygranes*, who was sent by *Nero* King  
into *Armenia*.

*Tygranes* was King of *Armenia*, and af-  
terward accused at *Rome*, dyed without  
issue.

The names of *Aristobulus* his chil-  
dren, by *Berenice*.

*Aristobulus*, strangled by the command  
of his father *Herode*.

*Berenice* his wife, daughter of *Salome*,  
sister to King *Herode*.

*Agrippa* the first King of *Judea*.

*Herode* the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

*Aristobulus*, to whom was espoused  
*Iotapata*, daughter to the king of the *Eme-  
sians*, by whom hee had *Iotapata*, a deafe  
daughter.

*Herodias*, who left her husband, and  
had a daughter *Salome*; who for the re-  
ward of her goodly dauncing, required,  
and had the head of *Saint Iohn Baptist*.

*Mariana*, affianced first to *Antipater*  
the sonne of *Antipater*: but afterward *Ant-  
ipater*, sonne of great *Herode*, tooke her  
to wife.

*Mariana* daughter to *Simeon* the four-  
raigne Sacrificer, the third wife to *He-  
rode*, of whom came.

*Herode* the second, who had a daugh-  
ter named *Salome*, married sometime to  
his vnckle *Phillip* the Tetrarch; and af-

terward to *Aristobulus*, sonne to *Herode*  
king of *Chalcis*.

*Herodias* his wife, yongest daughter  
of *Great Herode*, and also the daughter of  
*Aristobulus*, slaine by his father.

**H**erode affecting this *Mariana* for her  
rare beauty, who was the daughter  
to a silly sacrificing Priest, he perceiuing  
that he could no otherwise enioy her, but  
by lawfull marriage; made her father *Si-  
meon* (sonne to *Boethus*) High-priest, by  
deposing *Iesus*, the successour to *Ana-  
nelus*.

Of her hee begate *Herode* the second,  
whom he had instituted (in his first Will)  
second heire after *Antipater* his eldest  
sonne. But growing offended (afterward)  
for some fault in his mother: hee altered  
his Will, and deprived him of all hope  
of succeeding.

*Iosephus* writeth, that this *Herode* the  
second (who alwayes afterward liued pri-  
uately) tooke to wite *Herodias*, the daugh-  
ter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father; who  
afterward was exalted by his brother *He-  
rod Antipas*, contrary to all right and rea-  
son. But (as I haue already said) this Ge-  
nealogie of *Iosephus* agreeth not with  
*Saint Marke*, who ruleth it in this maner.

*Herode* the second, borne of the High-  
priests daughter, liued without publike  
charge.

His wife *Herodias* that left him, marri-  
ed with the brother to her husband.

*Herode Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*.

*Phillip* the Tetrarch, who died  
without children.

The daughter *Salome* was married to  
both, each after other, and engendred by  
the last;

*Herode*, *Agrippa*, *Aristobulus*; of whom  
I finde nothing at all recorded.

The fourth wife of *Herode* was *Mar-  
thaca*, or *Malthaca*, a Samaritane; of whom  
were borne,

*Archelaus*, who by the last Testament  
of his father, was ordayned to be his suc-  
cessour. But by *Augustus* he was institu-  
ted to be \**Ethnarche*.

*Herode* the third, called also *Antipas*,  
Tetrarch of *Galilee*; the rauisher of *Hero-  
dias*, and murderer of *Saint Iohn Baptist*:  
he was called also, the *Fox for Christ*.

The issue to  
Herode by  
Mariana, and  
heir matches  
in marriage.

Mariana the  
daughter to  
Simeon, ad-  
vanced to the  
High priest-  
hoothe.

Herod the se-  
cond depri-  
ued from suc-  
ceeding in  
the kingdom.

Iosephus re-  
proued in his  
Genealogie.

The Genea-  
logie accord-  
ing to the  
description of  
Saint Marke.

The issue of  
Aristobulus,  
and his wife  
Berenice.

The issue by  
the third wife  
King He-  
rode.

*Olympia*, married to *Iosippus*, sonne of *Iosippus* the brother to King *Herode*: Of whom came this Posteritie following:

*Mariana*, espoused to *Herod* the fourth, King of *Chalcis*, and had a sonne named *Aristobulus*, who (by *Nero*) was instituted Governour of *Armenia* the lesser. He had to wife *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, as formerly hath bene declared.

The issue of Herod by his fifth wife.

The fifth wife of *Herode* was *Cleopatra* of *Jerusalem*, whose children were

*Phillip*, who (by the last Testament of his father) was appoynted Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*.

*Herode*, of whom I finde nothing recorded in any Historie.

*Iosephus* in *Antiquit. Iud. libr.* 17 cap. 10.

But, considering that *Iosephus* saith, that this *Phillip* was brother to the father and mother of *Archelaus*; I make some doubt of diuers other places before mentioned by him, where (perhaps by want of memory) he wrongeth himselfe in the numbring of *Herodes* children; as in the second Chapter of the same Booke. And that of the same mother *Marthaca*, were borne *Archelaus*, *Phillip* and *Olympia*: And that of this *Cleopatra*, issued only *Herode*, called *Antipas*. From whence it proceeded (as I thinke) that *Iosephus* attributeth two sonnes vnto this *Cleopatra*, *Phillip* and *Herode*: of whom (neuertheless) he maketh not any mention in his Historie.

*Iosephus* found contradictory to himselfe.

I thinke then, that *Antipas* should be placed for *Phillip* vnder *Cleopatra*; for, because he nameth *Herode* also: some (not very skilfull) haue attributed two sonnes to *Cleopatra*: euen as if I should say, that *Iulius* and *Cesar* had bene two Consuls. Assuredly, this coniecture seemeth to be confirmed, because *Archelaus* (being vpon his departure to *Rome*, after the death of his father) left all the care and managing of the kingdomes affaires to *Phillip*, as to his nearest and dearest brother; and not to *Antipas*, whom he ought to haue preferred before *Phillip*, if hee had bene his germaine brother by the same mother. But this shewes it selfe much more evidently, in regard that *Iosephus*, in the thirteenth and foureteenth Chapters of the same seuenteenth Booke, saith: That *Archelaus* journeying to *Rome*, tooke a-

The journey of *Archelaus* to *Rome*, after the King his fathers death, and his mother with him.

long with him his mother *Marthaca*, who dyed there, before the suite (concerning the succession) was decided; and that (soone after) *Antipas* followed him, who likewise was accompanied with his mother. It must needs follow then necessarily, that they had diuersitie of mothers. Wherefore it somewhat amazeth mee, that *Iosephus* repeateth in the Historie of the Iewes warres, to haue spoken ill in his Antiquities: to wit, that *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brethren by one mother.

*Antipas* and his mother went also to *Rome*.

The sixth wife of *Herode*, was *Pallas*, who had a sonne named *Phaselus*, of whom *Iosephus* writeth nothing.

*Pallas*, *Phaedra* and *Elpis* with their issue by *Herod*.

The seauenth wife was *Phaedra*, who had by *Herod* (being then ancient) a daughter named *Roxana*.

The eighth wife of *Herode*, was *Elpis*, by whom hee had a daughter named *Salome*.

Afterward, *Augustus* married the two sonnes of *Pheroras*, to these two sisters, *Roxana* and *Salome*, being but yong when their father died. To whome (beside the Legacies of their father) hee added (of his owne) in their dowrie, two hundred thousand peeces of siluer mony: which summe, if *Iosephus* doe vnderstand *Drachmaes* thereby, as I imagine, it amounteth to fife and twentie thousand crownes of the Sunne.

The bounty of *Augustus* to the marriages of *Roxana* and *Salome*.

The ninth wife, was the daughter of his brother, whom *Iosephus* nameth not.

The tenth, was his Cousine germaine, vnamed also.

By these two wiues *Herode* had not any children.

All this so great lineage of *Herode*, failed (well-neare vtterly) within the space of seuentye yeares, the most part of them liuing in priuate manner. Such as attained to gouernement of affaires, and succeeded in some small portions of their fathers dignitie; were only three sonnes of *Herode*, to wit, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch, *Phillip* and *Antipas*, Tetrarches, and two yonger sonnes; the first *Agrippa*, King of *Iudea*, and *Herod* the fourth King of *Chalcis*; *Agrippa* the last, in whose reigne was the Iewish warre, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*. I will speake briefly of them all in order.

A great rate vtterly expiring in a few compass of yeares.

Of them that succeeded in gouernment.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Ethnarchie of Archelaus; and the plea of him and his Brother Antipas before Augustus, for the right of Government.



BY the last Testament of the Father (as I haue already sayd) Archelaus was appointed successor with royall power ; prouided, that Augustus would be so pleased. But scarcely was the fathers body interred, when a great mutiny arose in the Citty, and he lost his peoples affection by cruelty. For some of the kindred & parents of the yong scholars that wer burned aliuie, about beating down the golden Eagle, returning to the Feast at Easter, moouing the people by their teares and complaints to challenge reuenge of certaine slanderous persons, and deposition of the Soueraigne Sacrificer, whom Herode had established in the ending of his dayes: Archelaus sent his Light horsemen against the people, and made a bloody slaughter, to the number of three thousand, beside diuers put to flight. After that, the tumult was for a time appeased, hee left the charge of his kingdomes affayres to his brother Phillip, and tooke his iourney to Rome, accompanied with his mother Marthaca, and some other friends, to require of Augustus the full establishment of his Fathers VVill.

By the suggestion of their Aunt Salome, Herode Antipas followed after his Brother, to contend with him for succession in the kingdome before Augustus. There hee accused him of cruelty, approouing, that the Crowne should rather bee his, then any due to Archelaus; because by the second testament, he was onely ordained heyre to the Royall dignity; when his father Herode was found both in bodie and memory. And such a VVill so made, ought to bee of farre greater respect and weight, then the last so neere his death; when both body and mind were vncapable of sense and reason.

Soone after, fifty Ambassadors were sent from the people of Iudea to Rome, to

entreate, that they might no longer be governed by a King: but rather that Iudea (being reduced to the form of a Province) might be vnder command of the Romane Captaines (as afterward it was, but to the Iewes no great aduantage.) But if needes they must haue a King, and of Herodes posterity: they openly confessed, that they much rather affected Herode Antipas, then Archelaus, who (at his very entrance) gaue them sufficient vnderstanding, what mildnesse and moderation they should afterwarde expect in him.

While this sute was thus in hearing, and Augustus consulted thereon, vvith some of his most intimate friends; greivous tumults chanced to be moued; first, by Sabinus, Procurator for Caesar in Ierusalem, and afterward in diuers other places of Iudea. For some people (of no worth) emboldned by the Kings absence; hauing gathered together certaine companies of Theeues; durst attribute vnto themselues, both the Royall dignity and Ornaments, During which time, Iudea was wonderfully waisted in manie places with fire and sword; vntill (by the vertue of Quintillius Varus, who scattered the armies of the Theeues, and hanged vpe aboue two thousand, such as were cheefe Leaders in the sedition) the danger was well ouer-blowne.

These troubles being certified by Letters to Rome by Varus, caused Augustus (hauing ended the sute concerning the succession) to send backe the Sonnes of Herode to Iudea againe. But he had diuided the whole kingdome of Herode into two partitions: one whereof hee gaue to Archelaus, whom he named Ethnarche, which dignity he afforded to be greater then that of Tetrarche, & yet much lesse then Royall power. Promising (neuerthelessse) that he would make him King, after he had made triall of his industry & moderation in this gouernment. Moreouer, hee diuided the other part into two Tetrarchies, which he gaue to the two Brethren to Herode Antipas, Galilee and Perea; the reuennewes whereof amounted to two hundred Talents, that is sixe score thousand Crownes of the Sun. But the Ethnarchie of Archelaus, which containd Idumæa, Iudea, and Samaria, valewed sixe hundred Talents in reuennewes.

A request made by the Iewes, to bee no longer gouerned by a King.

Seditious and tumults happening in Ierusalem, and other places of Iudea.

Herodes sons sent backe to Iudea againe, and the kingdome diuided into partitions.

The diuision of the two Tetrarchies.

Arche-

commotion mutiny, rising in the city.

bloodie slaughter of the people made by Archelaus.

Herode Antipas goeth after his brother Archelaus to Rome, to pleade his side to the crowne.

The cruel behavior of Archelaus to his subjects after his returne among them.

Archelaus fell in love with his brothers wife Glaphyra, & married her, contrarie to the Lawe of God.

The death of Glaphyra, affrighted by a fearful dream

Archelaus sent for to Rome, his conviction and death.

Pontius Pilate sent gouernor into Iudea.

*Archelaus* being come backe into *Iudea*, enflamed with hatred against his subjects (by whose accusation, hee had not only lost his Kingly authority, but almost the halfe part of his gouernment) began to carry himselfe cruelly towards them, and (for small or no causes at all) did put to death such persons, as hee imagined had desired the alteration of the State. Morcouer, he highly soyled his reputation, with marriage prohibited by the laws of God. For, at his returne from *Rome*, as he passed thorow *Cappadocia*, to visite his kinsman king *Archelaus*; hee found there *Glaphyra* (widdowed the second time) who had bene first married to *Alexander* that was put to death by his Father *Herod* with his brother *Aristobulus*. After his death, her Father in law *Herode*, sent her (with her dowry) vnto her owne father, where she was remarried to *Iuba* King of the *Numidians*; who being likewise dead, she came and liued with hir father again. *Archelaus* (inueigled with her beautie) tooke her to wife, notwithstanding shee had bene married to his brother *Alexander*, diuorcing his owne wife, named *Mariana*. This *Glaphyra* died a little before *Archelaus* was sent into exile, beeing affrighted with a dreame; wherein she seemed to see the ghost of her first husband, reproouing her for this wicked marriage with his brother.

Finally, as he ceased not from committing extraordinary cruelties, so he chanced to be accused at *Rome*, by some of the principall Iewes: after he had nine yeares held the principality, from the death of his Father *Herode*. Whereupon, *Augustus* summoned him to his appearance; & after he had bene conuincd by sufficient Witnesses, hee was sent into *Daulphine*, where he died, without leauing any children that were knowne. His goods were confiscated to the Romaine Emperour, and the Countries of his Ethnarchie were (for a time) ruled by the Romaine Gouernors: as by *Coponius*, *Marcus*, and *Annius Rufus*, who gouerned the Countreyes (each of them) two yeares, euen vntill the death of *Augustus*, whose successor *Tiberius*, sent *Valerius Gratus* into *Iudea*. Eleuen yeares after, he sent *Pontius Pilate* also, who behaued himselfe cruelly in *Iudea*: and (amongst other notorious matters) he condemned our Lord & Sa-

uiour *Iesus Christ* to be hanged vpon a Crosse, in the seauenth yeare of his Gouernment, and the eighteenth of the Emperour *Tyberius*.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Of Phillip, sonne to Herod the Great, & how he gouerned in his Tetrarchie.*

**L**ing *Herod*, by his last Will and Testament, leste his sonne *Phillip* Tetrarche of *Traconitis*, & of the neighbouring Regions beyond *Iordane*; euen from the Sea of *Tyberias* or *Genezareth*, to the springs of *Iordane*, and the foot of Mount *Libanus*. He gouerned this his Tetrarchy the space of seuen and thirty yeeres (with great commendation for iustice and modesty) which hee also beautified with many goodly Buildinges: For in *Paneada*, neere to the sources of *Iordane* (where sometime his Father *Herod* had erected and dedicated a Temple to *Augustus*) he builded a Cittie, which he called *Cesarea of Philippi*: and another vpon the lake of *Genezareth*, named *Bethsaida*, which encreasing and growing into great wealth, he called it *Iuliada*, after the name of the wife to *Augustus*.

*Iosephus* writeth, that this *Phillip* tooke in marriage *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, whereas Saint *Marke* the Euangelist, in his sixt chapter and the seauenteenth verse writeth, That the Mother *Herodias* was espoused vnto *Phillip*: and afterward being carried away, was conioyned with his Brother.

He dyed without any heyre, in the 20. yeare of *Tyberius* the Emperour, that is to say, two yeeres after *Christ* was crucified, rose from the dead againe, and the Gospell was spread abroad by the Apostles, from forth *Iudea* to Neighbouring Nations. His Tetrarchie was annexed (by *Tyberius*) to the Prouince of *Syria*.

CHAP.

The large extendure of Philips Tetrarchie.

The building of Cesarea of Philippi and Bethsaida by Philip Iuliada.

At what time Philip the Tetrarch died.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the life and death of Herod Antipas, brother to Phillip, and Tetrarche of Samaria and Perea, &c.

**H**is Herode Antipas, by the second Will was instituted successor to his Father. But the Testament being altered, he was ordained Tetrarche, and had (for his partage) Samaria and Perea, which is a most fertile Region beyond Iordane, betweene the Lakes of Tyberias and Asphaltida. Neuerthelesse, being not contented with his Fathers gift, and trusting to the precedent Will; hee contended at Rome with his Brother before Augustus, touching the possession of the kingdome. All which notwithstanding, hee obtained nothing else but the Tetrarchie left him by his fathet, & then againe confirmed to him. He took first to wife the daughter of Aretas, King of Arabia, liuing with him more then fiftene yeares. But afterward, being called to Rome, passing along by Phillip the Tetrarche, or (as Iosephus writeth) by Herode the second, borne of the daughter to the high Priest: beeing enamoured on Herodias, daughter to his brother Aristobulus, hee contracted marriage with her, promising to repudiate his Arabian wife.

Being returned from Italy, he tooke away from his Brother, Herodias and her daughter Salome; whereat the daughter of Aretas finding her selfe offended (secretly disguised) fled to her father in Arabia; whereupon ensued a lamentable war. For Aretas, purposing toreuenge this vniust diuorce of his daughter, sent a potent Army against Herode; which did vterly ouerthrow all his Forces, notwithstanding their strength and multitude in number.

This Herode Antipas, detained S. John Baptist sometime prisoner in the strong-defenced City of Macheron (situated on the Marches of Perea and Arabia, neere to the lake Asphaltida:) because he hadde boldly reprooued him for this incestuous marriage; where the Adulteresse found

the meanes (afterward) to haue his head smitten off. The same Herode laboured subtilty to entrap Christ, as he was teaching in Galilee; and afterward, when Pilate sent him prisoner to him, hee sent him backe againe opprobriously, because (at his request) Christ would not worke any miracle before him.

He likewise embellished his Tetrarchy with faire buildinges; for (to his great charges) he builded Sephorim, a Cittie of Galilee, which he caused to bee called Antocratorida. He called another Iuliada, by the name of Augustus wife, which before was named Betharanta. After the death of Augustus, because he had beene a kinde friend to Tyberius; he builded a new City in honour of him, neere to the Lake of Genazereeh, which he commanded to be called Tyberias. But because the place was prophaned by great heapes of dead bodies there buried, so that (by Moyses Lawe) it was not lawfull to dwell there, he allured some (by diuers commodities and immunities) to builde there, making habitations for poore people; compelling the rich and mighty, to inhabit (with their families) in this new City.

In the second yeare of the Empire of Caius Caligula, when Agrippa the Brother of Herodias returned from Rome into Iudea, adorned (against all attempters) with the royall dignity: Herode, by the continuall iniuries of his wife, was enforced to vndertake a iourney to Rome, to entreate the royall dignity of the Emperour. For this woman (burning with ambition) said it was vsufferable, that her Brother Agrippa (being but a while before poore & beggerly, and so farre indebted, that hee was made seruile to his Creditors) should now triumph with a Kingly Crowne, surmounting his Vnckle in power and dignity, he hauing beene to him as a nursing Father, and adiuaged (by the second testament) worthy of the kingdome.

Antipas, prouoked by the incessant instigations of this arrogant woman, went vnto Rome with her; desiring of the Emperour Caius, to enioy the name and dignity Royall: beside, by manie greuous accusations, he practised to make Agrippa hatefull to the Emperour. But Agrippa (aduertised of his Vnckles voyage and intent) preuented him, and sent letters before him by an intimate friend: wherein

Citties that were builded by Antipas in his Tetrarchy

The new citie of Tiberias.

Agrippa the Brother of Herodias, highly respected by the Emperour, and allowed royal dignity.

Antipas accused his Wiues Brother Agrippa before the Emperour Caius Caligula.

Samaria and Perea a most fertile countrey.

Herodias the first wife of Herod Antipas.

Antipas falls in loue with Herodias, & contracted marriage with her.

Herodias and her daughter were carried away by Antipas.

John Baptist kept in prison by Antipas, for reproouing his incestuous marriage, and here beheaded.

he

Agrippa prevented his brothers accusations to the Emperor.

Herod intraped in his own answer, and sent into perpetuall banishment at Lions in Fraunce.

The subtile answer of Herodias to the Emperour.

The punishment inflicted on Herod and his wife Herodias.

he informed *Caius*, that *Herode Antipas* was consenting in the conspiracie of *Seianus*, against *Tiberius*, and that now (having close intelligence with the King of the *Parthians*) there was some notable intended against *Caius*. A matter easily to be coniectured, by the great preparation for Armes which *Antipas* made: whereby, in an instant, he could be suddenly furnished with an Army of three-score and tenne thousand able fighting men.

*Caligula*, incensed by this report from his friends, demanded of *Herode*, what provision hee had in a readinesse for his Tetrarchie; Whereto hee answered: That he had all things fitting for a King. Whereupon *Caius* instantly commaunded, that hee should be carried prisoner to *Lions* in *France*, and there kept in perpetuall exile. Moreover, by his Letters, hee gaue all his goods, with the Tetrarchie of *Galilee* and *Perea*, to *Agrippa*: except what appertained in proprietie to his sister *Herodias*, whom he reputed innocent, and for her hee would haue all to be intirely reserued, if she would returne into *Iudea* againe. But *Herodias*, thanking *Caius* for his liberalitie, replied: That presently she could not make any use of this great fauour, because she held it vnreasonable, to leaue her husband in this calamitie, whom she had alwayes accompanied in his flowring prosperity, and tasted thereof very royally.

Thus spake this subtile woman, as hoping thereby, that the Emperour would alter his rigorous sentence, concerning the condemnation of *Herode*, and that shee should not vndergoe the selfe-same censure, considering his supposall of her innocencie. But *Caius* (being highly displeas'd at her haughtie stomacke) commaunded; that being despoied of all her goods, shee should walke with her husband in the same nature of exile. Thus *Herode* was the instrument of his owne harme, by listening (ouer-lightly) to the perswasions of this ambitious woman: for, if he could haue contented himselfe with his estate, hee had longer time enjoyed peaceably his dignitie of Tetrarch. But they both deserued iustly this heauie penaltie; because, beeing ioyned together by incestuous marriage, and charitably admonished in the greatnesse of

their sinne: they did put to death the most innocent man *Saint Iohn Baptist*, vnder colour of a rash oath, pretending conscience.

This great downe-fall happened vnto them, about tenne yeares after the beheading of *Saint Iohn*; eight yeares after *Herode* had hunted *Iesus Christ*, and sent him bound (clothed like a foole in white) as vnwilling to endure his presence. There is not any thing recorded of his Posteritie, but that the Principallitie of *Iudea* went from the sonnes of Great *Herode*, to a yonger sonne of another sonne *Aristobulus* and *Mariana* an *Asmonean*, to wit, to *Agrippa* and *Herode*, of whom I haue heere set downe the Ancestots and Posteritie.

*Mariana*, an *Asmonean*.

*Cypris*, daughter of *Salome*, sister to *Aristobulus*.

*Agrippa* the second, King of *Chalcis*.  
*Drusus* dyed in his youth.

*Herode* the Great.

*Salome* his sister.

*Berenice* his wife

*Aristobulus*. *Herodias*. *Mariana*.

*Aristobulus* slayne by his father.

*Agrippa* the first King of all *Iudea*.

*Herod*, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

*Berenice*, married to his vnckle *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, who being dead, she remained with *Polemon* king of *Sicily*.

*Mariana* ioyned with *Archelaus Helchias*, and begate *Berenice*. Leauing him, she wedded *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*, by whom she had *Agrippina*.

*Drusilla* most faire, being but yoong, sixe yeares olde, was affianced by her father to *Epiphanes*, sonne of *Antiochus*, king of *\*Comagena*. But he making refusal to be circumcised, her brother *Agrippa* gaue her to *Haziareus*, King of the *Emesians*. Afterward *Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, Governour of *Iudea* (by power of Promises) made hir to leaue hir husband, and tooke her to wife. By whom she had a sonne, named *Agrippa*, who dyed with his wife. at the burning of the Mountaine *\*Vesenus*: which made an inestimable spoyle and waste in *Terra di Lauoro*, otherwise called the *Great Campania*.  
Saint

The innocent death S. Iohn Baptist iustly reuenged.

Translation of the principality of *Iudea*.

The line sheweth whence the descent came failing in the sonnes of *Herod* the Great.

\* *Comagena* is part of *Syria*, about *Cilicia* westward. *Emesians*.

\* *Mount di Somma* in *Campania*, neere *Nola*, out of the top whereof issue fire & smoke.

Saint Paul maketh mention of this *Drusilla*, in the foure and twentieth chapter of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and the foure and twentieth verse, affirming her to be wife to *Felix*.

CHAP. XIX.

The life of Agrippa, the first man of that name, coming to be King of Iudea.



Little before the death of his grand-father *Herode*, being as then but eight yeares olde, this *Agrippa* was sent to *Rome*, and there nourished with

*Drusus*, the sonne of *Tyberius*. Hee was greatly affected by *Anthonia* mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius* the Emperour, in regarde of his mother *Berenice*; whom she loued as if she had beene her sister.

Being come to age, he retired into *Iudea*, after the death of *Drusus*: because *Tyberius* expelled from his court, al them that had beene friends to his deceased sonne; as feareing lest the sight of them, should bee the renewing of his sorrow. But *Agrippa* became charged with great doubts, whereinto he had entred at *Rome*, after the expence of all his owne meanes. Wherefore he wandred abroad for (some times) with his wife *Cypris*, beggerly, poore, and vtterly abandoned of his friends; so that at length, shame and pinching pouertie would haue prouoked him to shorten his life. But his wife *Cypris* making humble supplications to *Herodias*, the sister of her husband: she preuailed so farre, that *Herode Antipas* the Tetrarche, builded a house for him in the city of *Tiberias*, and assigned him there a yearely reuenew. Not long had *Agrippa* enjoyed this benefite by his brother in law, but *Herode* growing offended at his table, for some wordes spoken by *Agrippa*, ouer-boldely reproued him angerly, terming him a begger, and a vagabond, and that he liued by his bounty.

*Agrippa* grieuing at this reproach, forsooke this fauour afforded by *Herode*: and borrowing some small store of money, of

one that respected him, but at extreame interest; once more hee intended to visite *Rome*, and there againe to make triall of his fortune. Hee went to salure *Tyberius* in the Isle of *Caprea*, where he found gracious entertainment for a few dayes: vntill some Agent for the Emperour, wrote backe from *Iudea*, that *Agrippa* did owe thirtie thousand Crownes of the Sunne, to the Receiuers of the Emperour. Beside, that he had formerly made many escapes, euen when the dayes for repayment came, vsing nothing but subtile and cosening shifts.

*Tyberius* much offended at these tydings, commaunded *Agrippa* to auoyde his Court, vntill hee had made full satisfaction: which hee did (with great difficulty) by the means of Madame *Antonia*. Wherewith *Tyberius* was so well pleased, that hee appoynted him the guardian of his twinne sonne *Tyberius*. But a little before the death of *Tyberius*, once againe he fell into his disfaueur. For, beeing at supper one night, with *Caius*, the yoong adopted sonne of *Tyberius*; among other speeches passing at the Table; *Agrippa* wished, that olde *Tyberius* might quickly die, to the end that *Caius* should enioy the Empire.

This wish comming to the eares of *Tyberius*, *Agrippa* (by the Emperours commaund) was clapt vp in close prison, and there so kept, vntill such time as *Tyberius* deceased. *Caius*, well assisted by his warlike troupes, and by his father *Germanicus*, came to enioy the Empire, and hauing released *Agrippa* out of prison; adorned him with the habits besecming a King, subiecting also those countries to him, which *Phillip* the Tetrarch, and *Lysanias* formerly had commaunded. Moreouer, he gaue him a chaine of gold, of equalitie in weight to the yron chaine, wherewith he was bound lying in prison. Hee remained a yeare with the Emperour *Caius* at *Rome*; and then tooke leaue of him for his returne to *Iudea*, to take possession of his kingdome.

Thus you see, that hee who (before) was not onely despised, in regard of his necessitie and great debts, but also durst not abide in any place, for the importunite of his creditors; was (to the admiration of all such as sawe him in that wofull miserie) raised to the magnificence royall; which

Miserie sooner meeteth with enemies then friends.

The strange and variable condition of Agrippas fortune.

The coming of Caius to the Empire, and readuancement of Agrippa.

The returne of Agrippa to possesse his kingdome.

is also called Herod, in Acts 12.1.

Agrippa was educated at Rome with the Emperours children.

The great poverty and distress of Agrippa & his wife Cypris.

Herodias is meant to lieve their misery.

Agrippa forsakes Herod, to take his fortune elsewhere.

Honors heaped more and more vpon Agrippa by the Emperour.

Agrippa maketh a iourney to Rome.

Philo the Jew sent Ambassadour for the Iewes.

A great complaint made to Caius against the Iewes.

A commaund to erect the Emperours statue in the holiest place of the Temple.

Petronius goeth with a powerfull army to Ptolomais, to execut the Emperours commaund.

which caused some to tremble, that denied and refused to aide him, or had iniuriously repulsed him, while he liued in private estate and extreame pouerty. Soone after, *Caius Caligula* gaue him *Galilee* and *Berea*; with all the cheuifance of *Herode Antipas* his emulatour, and of his sister *Herodias*, as in our last Chapter we haue related: wherefore, after he had taken order for his kingdomes affaires, hee tooke his journey towards *Rome*, with gifts and presents, to declare (on his owne behalfe) what seruices and acknowledgement hee made, for so many gracious fauors done to him by *Caius*.

During the time that *Agrippa* was at *Rome*, there happened a strife betweene the Cittizens of *Alexandria*, and the *Jews* dwelling in the same Cittie: so that (by lottes) Ambassadours were sent on eyther part to the Emperour. Amongest whom was *Philo* the Jew, whose testimony we haue diuers times made vse of, in the course of this present Historie. There the Iewes were sharply accused by a *Greeke* named *Appian*, for many faults, and especially, for obstinate contempt of the Imperiall dignitie: because in all parts of those Citties where the Iewes dwelt, they would not suffer any Statues or Images of the Emperour *Caius* to be erected; but if any were set vppe, immediately they would throw them downe very opprobriously.

*Caligula* being very furiously mooued with this complaint, repulsed the Iewish Ambassadours, somewhat rudely, and wrote to *Petronius*, (who from the beginning of his Empire, he had sent Gouvernour into *Iudea*) that with all the haste he could possibly vse, hee should erect the Emperours Statue, in the most holy place of the Temple of *Ierusalem*; if not by consent of the Iewes, yet in despite of them, and (by force of Armes) whether they would or no.

*Petronius*, willing to obey this commaund, yet knowing the execution would not be easie; called the Legions from all parts, & being prouided of sufficient succor, went from *Syria* to *Ptolomais*, carrying a braue army along with him. But first he made knowne to the Iewes (by Ambassadours and Letters,) wherefore he came in such dreadfull manner, as grounded vpon the Emperours commaund; desiring the peo-

ple, that he might rather perforce it by their good liking, then by the course of force & violence. The Iewes, not a litle affrighted at these news, came from a great number of Townes and Citties, into the fields before *Ptolomais*, bringing no arms or weapons with them: but entreating *Petronius*, not to fulfill so wicked a commaund, protesting, that they would rather endure a thousand deaths, then suffer the Temple to be prophaned with the Statue of a man.

Contrariwise, *Petronius* admonished them to take heede, lest this their stiff-necked opiniō, should procure the countries deuastation by fire and sword; alledging stil vnto them, the sterne commands of the Emperour, how gracious hee had bene towards him, and (being angerly mooued) would admit no mercy, to such as disobeyed him in the least manner, approving his speeches by examples, of diuers tormented in strange kinds. He further desired them to pardon him, in not denying to execute the Emperours charge imposed on him: because they knew well enough themselues, that neuer any refused to fulfill his command, but was extremely punished for it. Wherefore, hee rather intended to aduenture his life, in fighting against their whole Nation: then to bee held remisse or negligent, in what the Emperour had enioyned him.

Heereupon the multitude resolved to insist, entreating him to pardon their religion and iust constancie, if (more fearing God, the Creatour of heauen and earth, and hauing often experimented his heauy wrath, by their transgressing his commandements) they did now oppose themselues against the Emperours will, being full of impietic. Considering also, that *Petronius* himselfe confessed, that he stooode in such feare of a mortall man (whose life was vncertaine) that he held it no safetie for his person, to transgresse the least of his commaunds.

*Petronius*, amased at this obstinacie in the people, and (after that the assembly was dispersed) finding himselfe in great perplexitie, what hee should doe in this dangerous case; paused a while vpon it. For, hee had bene particularly admonished by *Aristobulus*, brother to King *Agrippa*, and some other Princes of *Iudea*, with earnest imprecations, not to soyle himselfe

What impalliance passe betweene Iewes and *Petronius*.

*Petronius* perswaded the people stand in feare of the Emperours stricke commands.

Argument alleaged to *Petronius* the Iewish multitude.

himselfe, with the innocent blood of so great a multitude, by the wicked command of the Emperours; because in so doing, hee should brand the Romaine Empire, with so infamous a note of cruelty, as the like was neuer heard of before, destroying a whole Nation, for refusing to suffer the Image of a sinfull man, to be aduanced in their most holie Temple. Which diuine honour, no man (of vnderstanding or good judgement) did euer couet before: but contrariwise, many, to whom such an offer had bene made, did holde it in no meane detestation.

They further aduised him, that hee would write to the Emperour, and let him vnderstand the peremptorie resolution of the people, in defence of the doctrine and ceremonies giuen them by Almighty God, calming his displeasure so well as hee could, from proceeding in so cruell a sentence. But if it should so come to passe, that the humour of the Governour might not bee altered: yet then hee had enough to goe on in, and (when hee did please) to proceede in Armes.

*Petronius* desiring to consider in these matters more maturely, and to trie the peoples inclination yet a little further: went with his Army to *Tyberias*, where an infinite number of Iewes met him, incessantly entreating him, that their sacred Temple might not bee prophaned. Why? answered *Petronius*, Dare you warre with the Emperour? Feare you not the power of the Romaine Empire, knowing how weake your strength is, to contend against so mighty a Monarch? Wee resist not by Armes so great a power (cryed out the Iewes) but humbly lay downe our liues at *Cæsars* foote: rather then, against the Lawe of our God, we will see the Statue of the Emperour, to bee erected in the holiest place of our Temple. Which words were no sooner spoken, but they all fell flat vpon their faces, prostrating their neckes to any that would smite them.

*Petronius* perceiuing them so resolued and inuincible, that they rather would die, then suffer their Temple to be violated; considering also, that already (for the space of fortie dayes) they had not toucht the earth with any labor, although

it was the onely apt time to sowe their seede: after he had consulted with some of his friends, hee coucluded, that hee would write to the Emperour. Yet, before he would make any publication thereof, he meant to presse those people somewhat further. So, causing a mighty multitude of the vnarmed Iewes to meete at *Tiberias*, and to feare them in most dreadful manner; he engirt them on all sides with warrelike troupes, and his horssmen ready prepared to ouer-runne them. Once more hee declared to them, the rigorous commaund of the Romaine Emperour, the obedience of all the people in the like case; the daunger wherein he and al his were, if they did not effect what hee had commaunded. Wherefore hee exhorted them, that the Emperours anger might be endured: because such fayled not to reuenge cruelly, the breach of any thing commaunded by him.

But when the Iewes cryed out all with one voyce, that hee ought to make more account of Gods commaund, then of any mortall mans whatsoever, to trample them vnder his horses feete, or slice them in peeces with their Swords, that so all the Iewes being extirpated, he might vse the Temple at his owne pleasure: *Petronius*, entirely moued to mercy, his heart throbbing, and his eyes ouer-flowing with teares, commaunding silence by a Trumpet, thus he spake.

¶ The Oration made by *Petronius*, to the Iewes assembled at *Tyberias*.

Seeing you are so resolute, that you desire rather to die, then violate the Law giuen you by God, I am not the man, that (by a wicked kinde of obedience) will soyle your Temple; for which I see you endeuour so much. Nor will I doe seruice to the Emperour my Maister, in a matter so monstrous and inhumane: but rather will be a partaker in your perill, then purchase my life, by the innocent blood of so great a multitude. Be comforted then in this your Religion, and returne to your labour, which (for so many dayes) you haue omitted. For mine owne part, I will labour by my friends and mine owne Letters, to alter this opinion in the Emperour. If hee commaund me to Rome, and condemne mee

H h h

to

A further trial vrged by *Petronius* vpon the people in warlike manner.

The answer of the people to *Petronius*.

The honourable disposition & great piety in *Petronius*.

A noble resolution in so powerfull a Commander.

The Iewes be in high esteem their ancient ceremonies and altitions.

The conference betwene *Petronius* and the Iewes at *Tiberias*.

The constancy of the Iewes against *Petronius*.

to death, I will gladly endure it : knowing, that by my death, a people living in great daunger, may yet preferue their Religion to themselves. For your part, pray to God, that what I enterprise for your safetie, may haue a good issue for vs all.

When the Iewes had heard this Oration; as people extraordinarily ioyfull, they beganne (with loude voyces) to extoll the pietie of *Petronius*, wishing to him all felicitie. And sodainely, vpon the Assemblies seperation, there fell a mightie showre of raine (all the day before, and the whole moneth fore-going, the Heauens were so cleare and bright, that the earth was burnt by extremity of heat) and this the Iewes interpreted to bee a signe of their happinesse.

While matters proceeded thus In *Iudea*, King *Agrippa* being at *Rome*, vnderstoode the troubles in his kingdome, and the occasion from whence they proceeded. Whereupon, he made a magnificent feast for the Emperour, consisting of all the delicate that possibly could be deuised. *Caius* wel knew, that *Agrippa* would not launch out in such liberall expences, but that hee intended some especiall suite to him : wherefore, with a gracious countenance and franke spirit, hee bade him boldly ask what he would, protesting, that he should not be denied. In a long & well prepared Oration, *Agrippa* resolued the Emperour, that he desired not any enriching of his kingdome; but humbly craued pardon for the Iewish people, if, in feare to be punished by God; they had not receiued his Statue into their Temple of *Ierusalem*.

*Caius* accounting it a shame and disgrace to him, if heerein he should refuse his friends request : wrote to *Petronius*, commending his care for the execution of his commaund. Adding withall, that if (with the peoples liking) the Image was already placed in the Temple, so to let it rest : but if the people would not voluntarily suffer it to bee doone, by no means to offer them any violence. Soone after came the Letters sent from *Petronius*, concerning the stowte resolution of the Iewish Nation : which quite altered him from his former minde, and made him highly displeas'd with his Captaine, for not performing what hee had enjoy-

ned him.

Wherefore hee wrote againe to him, that if he would not be brought to *Rome*, and there be massacred with most horrible torments : hee should make choice of what kinde of death himselfe pleased, as a punishment for the contempt of his commaund.

It came to passe, and (no doubt) diuinely, that the ship which carried these cruell Letters, was greatly tardied by boysterous tempests : so that an other shippe (bringing the newes of *Caligulaes* death) arriued there in *Iudea* before it. Fearefull indeede was his death, but well worthy such a monster, who shortly after hee had written these terrible menaces to *Petronius*, was massacred, with his wife and daughter, by *Chereas* and his confederated conspiratours. Whereupon *Petronius*, being informed of the Emperours death, and thereby exempted from all feare; receiued the other Letters of his death. Thereby he plainly perceyued, that almighty GOD had miraculously, preserued his life, for the good hee had doone to the Iewish Nation.

About the same time, *Claudius* was saluted Emperour by the Souldiours : who, because hee had beene both counselled and assisted by *Agrippa*, at such time as hee remayned in *Rome* : he confirmed vnto him (by publique Edict) the Kingdome of *Iudea* giuen him by *Caligula*, adding also *Samaria*, and all the other parts and portions, which his grandfather *Herode* the Great formerly possessed.

Moreouer, hee gaue him the Tetrarchie of *Lysanias*, called *Abella*, with a part of *Cilicia*, and *Comagena*, which hee had taken from *Antiochus*. He conferred also on *Herode*, brother to *Agrippa*, the Kingdome of *Chalcis*.

*Agrippa* being in this manner richly recompenced, returned to *Iudea*, in the first yeare of the Empire of *Claudius*, and ascending vp to *Ierusalem*, gaue thanks to the Lord for his good successe. There hee made a sollemne great feast, hanging vp in the Temple, the Chaine of golde which *Caligula* had giuen him in memory of his miseries, and diuine deliuerance.

Afterward, he beganne to fortifie the Cittie

The Iewes interpreted on concerning a showre of raine.

King Agrippa feasted the Emperour, and maketh intercession for the Iewes.

Agrippa winneth pardon for the people of the Iewes.

The Emperour soone changed from his promise made to Agrippa, & wrathfully incensed against Petronius.

Caius Caligula, his wife daughter murdered together, his cruelty tended to Petronius, & cruelly punished.

Claudius made Emperour, & Agrippa confirmed by him in kingdome with other ditions be.

\* A Towne in Campania Italy, now called Bell.

The Chaine of gold hanging vp in the temple.

Cittie of *Ierusalem*, and with such sufficient furniture, that *Claudius* (fearing a reuolt in the Iewes, vnder trust in such a well ordered fortification) forbade *Agrippa* by his Letters, to finish the work hee had begunne. Hee was also most liberall towards his subiects, and (aboue all) a superstitious obseruer of the traditions, receiued in the forefathers lawe. So that, hearing the Apostles to valew them of no reckoning, to winne the good liking of the sacrificing Priests, and fauour of the vulgare people: Hee executed some of the Disciples of our Sauour Christ, and namely *James* the brother to *John*, they beeing the sonnes of *Zebedee*. Hee also caused Saint *Peter* to bee put in prison, during the dayes of vneleuened Bread, to bring him soorth to the people after the Feast. But the Euangelist Saint *Luke* amply declareth, that Saint *Peter* was deliuered by the continuall prayers of the Church: where hee also declareth, the miserable end of this *Herod Agrippa*.

Now, concerning the description of *Iosephus*, speaking of his death: it agrees with the Historie of Saint *Luke* in this manner. After hee had reigned ouer all *Iudea* for the space of three yeares; in the fourth, hee came to *Casarea*, where hee celebrated the Feast with a great company of the Iewes; causing Playes to be acted, in honour of the Emperour *Claudius*, and for his health.

The second day of the Feast, he entred the Theater in the morning, attired in a Roabe of cloth of siluer, tissued, and made most sumptuous and artificiall: whereon when the bright beames of the Sunne did cast their radiance, it caused such a lustre by their reuerberation; that all eies were dazeled with the splendour of the garment. Whereupon it happened, that some of his Flatterers, interrupting him in his Oration; tolde him, that he spake like a god; nay, and (with a loude voice) called him God; crauing mercy of him, because (vntill then) they had feared him but as a man onely; but now they plainly perceined, that he farre excelled all humane nature.

As the King gloried in these flattering clamours, no way reproouing them for such impious behauiour: hce was sodainely smitten with a most grieuous

paine in his entrailes, so that very hardly hee could bee carryed to his Pallace. Where, after many horrible torments, his life expired the fift day: beeing iustly punished for the crueltie, which hee had exercised against the members of the true Church of Christ, whereas otherwise, he was very benigne and gracious towards all men, especially to strangers and Gentiles. Hee reigned (in all) about seauen yeares; for hee helde the Tetrarchie of *Phillip* (vnder *Caius Caligula*) three yeares, and foure other yeares, the whole Kingdome of *Iudea*. He dyed in the foure and fiftieth yeare of his age; the third of the Empire of *Claudius*; and the twelfth yeare after the resurrection of our Lord and Sauour Christ Iesus.

His posteritie hath already bene related, whereof *Agrippa*, beeing his eldest Sonne, and of the age of seuen yeares when his Father dyed; albeit *Claudius* the Emperour gladly desired, that hee should haue bene successour in his Fathers kingdome: yet some other preuayled so faire with him, that all the Regions (subiected before to his Father;) were againe reduced into the forme of a Prouince; and the first Governour sent thither to rule in *Iudea*, was *Cuspius Fadus*, or *Fadus Cuspius*.

CHAP. XX.

¶ Of *Herode*, the fourth King of *Chalcis*, youngest sonne to *Herode* the Great, brother to the first *Agrippa*.



Haue heretofore named this man, *Herode* the fourth, for his better discerning from other; who led a priuate kind of life, vntill *Claudius* (moued by the intercession of his brother *Agrippa*) bestowed vpon him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, in the first yeare of his Empire, which he enioyed the space of eight yeares; suruiuing onely fise yeares his brother *Agrippa*.

The terrible & iust iudgement of God vpon King *Agrippa*.

The yeares of *Agrippaes* reigning.

*Agrippaes* sonne succeeded not his father in the kingdome.

*Cuspius Fadus*.

*Claudius* made *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, in the first yeare of his Empire.

*Agrippa* a superstitious obseruer of ancient traditions.

Saint *James* and *S. Peter* in prison.

Isa 17. 6. Luke 12. 23.

The description of *Iosephus* concerning the miserable death of *Herod Agrippa*.

The pompous entrance into the theater to the people.

A debate or contention for keeping the ornaments of the high-Priests.

The liberrall graunt of Claudius to Herode.

Theudas the Sorcerer his abusing the people, and put to death by Cuspius Fadus.

Acts 5.36.

A great famine in Iudea, foretold by Agabus. Acts 11.28.

\* A people living beyond Armenia.

Actes 11.29.

The death of Herode king

After the death of his brother, *Cuspius Fadus* being sent into *Iudea*, stroue to haue the custodie of the Roabes and other ornaments, which belonged to the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and to transferre the Sacrificers to Romaine Governours: whereupon, *Herode* transported himselfe to *Rome*, at request made to him by the Iewes, whose cause he maintained there so well; that he obtained, that the garments belonging vnto the High-priest, should be kept in the custody of the Hie-priest. Moreouer, hee obtained of *Claudius*, that he should haue the charge and care of the money, consecrated to the Temple of *Ierusalem*. Hauing power also, to depose the High-priest, for some causes of importance, and to substitute an other more sufficient. A Graunt which brought great gaine and profite to the Kings; because the Priests sought by power of mony, who should haue that soueraigne dignitie.

*Cuspius Fadus* gouerned the Countrie of *Iudea*, when a certaine man, named *Theudas*, abused in such sort the vulgare people by his enchauntments: that hee brought them to *Iordane*, promising to make them passe (dry-footed) ouer the diuided riuier. But *Fadus* following, took him by his horse-men, and hauing put him to death, scattered all the heapes of his followers. *Gamaliell* maketh mention of this *Theudas*, in the fift chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles.

*Tyberius Alexander* was sent by *Claudius*, to succede *Fadus* in the gouernment; vnder whom happened that terrible famine in *Iudea*, which *Agabus* had foretold in the eleauenth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles; and which was about the sixt or senenth yeare of *Claudius*: which extreamitie was somewhat asswaged, by the liberalitie of *Helena*, Queene of the \* *Adiabanes*, who caused great plenty of corne to bee brought out of *Egypt*, and figges from *Cyprus*. Also the Churches of *Greece* and *Asia*, gathered much mony, which they sent to succour the brethren, that endured the famine in *Iudea*.

*Herode*, King of *Chalcis* dyed in the eight yeare of the Emperour *Claudius*. Hee had two wines, each after other; the first was *Mariana*, daughter to *Olympia*, the yoongest daughter to Great *Herode*, by whom he had *Aristobulus*. Afterward,

he married *Berenice*, daughter to his brother *Agrippa*, who brought vnto him two sonnes. And this was his issue or posteritie, which was reputed quite consumed, by the calamities hapning in the warres of the Iewes.

of Chalcis the name.

*Aristobulus*. slaine by his Father  
*Herod* the Great.

*Agrippa* the first.

*Mariana*, daughter of *Olympia*.

*Herode*, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

*Berenice*, daughter of *Agrippa* the first, who had by her vnckle,

*Berenicina*, *Hircanus*.

Of these we reade nothing.

*Agrippa* the last.

*Salome*, daughter of *Herodias*, first married to *Phillip* the Terrarch.

*Aristobulus*, to whom *Nero* gaue the gouernement of the Lesser *Armenia*; and had by *Salome*,

*Herode*. *Agrippa* *Aristobulus*.

*Iosephus* maketh no other kind of mention (concerning them) that I can finde.

The issue of Herod the

## CHAP. XXI.

¶ Of *Agrippa* the last, Sonne to the yoongest sonne of *Herod* the Great, the last King in any part of *Iudea*.



His *Agrippa*, being aged seuteen yeares, was at *Rome* with *Claudius* when his father dyed; and succeeded not immediately after his father,

because of some enemies about *Claudius* therein were his hinderances: who alleaged; That his youthfull yeares were not apt to gouerne so great a kingdome, neither to bridle a people so rebellious. But indeede, their pretence was, to enrich themselues by gouerning the Countrey.

*Agrippa* hindered from immediate succeeding after his father.

Fiue

Five yeares after his fathers death, his vnckle *Herode* beeing dead also : *Claudius* conferred on him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, at the age of 22. yeares. He gaue him also the same power his vnckle had, to keepe the treasure of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and to create the High-priests. Of which authoritie *Agrippa* made verie good vse : for (in a short time) he deposed diuers, and substituted other at his pleasure.

At such time as *Agrippa* beganne his reigne, *Cumanus* was sent into *Iudea*, to succeed *Tiberius Alexander* in the gouernment, who greatly tormented the country, which already sauored of the succeeding ruine. For, at Easter, the fourth day of vnleauened bread, a Romain Souldier of the band, which (according to custom) kept a garrison about the Temple ; vnreuerently shewed his base backe-part to the people, they being dutifully busied in the seruice of God.

The Iewes not a little mooued at this iniurie, gaue very bitter speeches against the Gouernour *Cumanus*, because hee did not punish this wicked act of the Souldiour.

*Cumanus* taking in disdayne their bold words, and fearing some violence by the mutinous multitude : sodainely (but very secretly) sommoned his armed Legi-ens and horsemen together, who discovering themselues before they could be suspected ; made such an affright among the vnarmed popularity, that they fled away so confusedly crowding, that more then twenty thousand men and women, were trodden and crushed to death in the Streetes and other places, to the great and grieuous lamentation of all the people.

Another tumult also followed soone after, the issue whereof was not yet so pittifull. For some theeuing Iewes, had (vpon the highway) shrewdly beaten and wounded one *Stephen*, a seruant to the Emperour *Claudius*, stripping him out of all that he had about him.

*Cumanus* heereat highly offended, and not finding them that had done the deed ; tooke all the neighbouring parts, where the fault was committed. Which being done, a Souldiour finding a Booke in his booty, which containd the writings of *Moses* and the Prophets ; made a pub-

like shew thereof in derision, & after tore it to peeces, in presence of the chiefest Iewes. Sodainly a great multitude of the Iewes ranne (by troups) to *Casarea* (where then was the ordinary abiding of the Romaine Gouernors) and required, that iustice might be inflicted vpon him for this wicked act : whom if *Cumanus* (by the perswasion of some) had not beheaded, to satisfie the enraged peoples anger ; this tumult could not haue beene appealed, without very great effusion of blood.

Afterward, some of the *Galleians* ascending vppe to *Ierusalem* to the Feast, were slaine by the *Samaritanes* ; which was the cause of many murders committed on both sides. For, eyther part beeing encouraged to reuenge, ranne into fresh iniuries, by way of robberies, putting to fire and sword all they met withall. But, because *Cumanus* (corrupted with money) did not repress those theeueries done by neighbour on neighbour. *Quarrens*, President of *Syria*, was called thither by the contrary side, who (hauing receiued information of the fact, and executed the authours of the mutinies) sent *Cumanus* to *Rome*, to render a reason for the Pro- uince committed to his charge. He being conuicted of auarice and crueltie, was sent into exile by *Claudius*, & in his place, was appointed gouernor of *Iudea* and *Samarria*, *Claudius Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, who (long time before) was sent into *Palestine*, to gouerne the Tetrarchy of *Phillip*, as is affirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*.

Almost at the same time, that is to say, in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, *Claudius* gaue to King *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy of *Phillip* (being destitute of a Gouernor) which contained *Trachonitis* and *Batanea* ; giuing him also *Abella*, the Tetrarchy of *Lysanias*. Then he gaue to his vnckle paternall *Aristobulus* (brother to the first *Agrippa*, and *Herode* of *Chalcis*) the kingdome of *Chalcis*.

After these affayres thus passed ouer, the condition and estate of the Iewes grew worse and worse ; and now beganne the gouernement of *Felix*, who beeing reprooued by *Ionathas* the High-priest, for his rapines and other wicked actions by him performed, and yet not daring to depose him from the Sacerdotall dignitie, because hee stode in feare of the people : subborned diuerse Ruffians, who

Diuers Galleians slain by the Samaritans

Cumanus sent to Rome by Quarrens, after whom succeeded Felix.

The liberall bountie of the Emperour *Claudius* to *K Agrippa*.

Ionathas the high-Priest re, roued the rapines of *Felix*, and was secretly murdered.

Agrippa  
King  
Chalcis,  
enabled  
his vn-  
ckles power.

Cumanus  
gouern-  
or in Iudea  
Tyberius  
Alexander.

the vnreue-  
red behau-  
our of an in-  
tent Sould-  
iour to the  
people.

most cruell  
and bloodie  
act of Cumanus,  
whereby  
10000. lost  
their liues.

A Booke of  
Moses & the  
Prophets writ-  
ing abused  
by a wicked  
souldier.

(entring into *Ierusalem* at the feast with the multitude) slew so secretly the High-Priest *Ionathas*, and others marked for the same purpose with him; as very easily they were concealed in the troupes.

This attempt speeding so well as the Ruffians could desire, fell out to bee the occasion, that (at euery feast) they made a market or merchandise, of killing the honestest of the people: sometimes being hired there-to by other, sometimes out of their owne spleene and mallice. So that euery man stooode in feare, because no one knew how to secure himselfe; audacious boldenesse dreading no punishment, in regard of the Governours carelesse negligence.

Troupes of theeues ranne euery where making spoile, though many were apprehended by *Felix*, and executed: yet wickednesse had taken such deep roote, onely through neglect in the precedent Governours, as it could no way be holpen; no, not by the greatest seuerity of iustice. And the worst of all was, that these theeueries were maintayned by the High-priests authoritie: amongst whom, such as were best stored with money, kept bands of desperate villaines about them, by whose meanes they oppressed such as they pleased, laying close ambushes to kill and murder them.

In the thirteenth yeare of *Claudius* his Empire, *Paul* the Apostle was taken in *Ierusalem*, and being led thence to *Casarea*: pleaded his cause before *Felix* and *Dru-silla*, as *S. Luke* declareth in the foure and twentieth of the *Actes*. Afterward, *Felix* called for him diuers times, and heard him answere for himselfe, hoping that *Paul* would redeeme himselfe by money. But after hee had kept him two whole yeares in prison, at his departing from *Iudea*, hee left him there, to please the Iewes.

*Claudius* died in the foureteenth yeare of his Empire, and *Nero* (at the beginning of his government) encreased the authoritie of *Agrippa*, adding thereto part of *Galilee*, with the Citties of *Tyberias*, *Tarichea* and *Iuliada*. Forthwith he sent *Portius Festus* into *Iudea*, calling home *Felix*, whom they of *Casarea* followed, and accused him of cruelty, rapines and other vniust dealing; but he escaped by the cunning of his brother *Pallas*. So soone as

*Portius Festus* was arriued in *Iudea*, hee gaue audience (at *Casarea*) to *Paul* and the Iewes his accusers: and as he intended to send *Paul* to *Ierusalem*, he (fearing the ambushes of the Iewes) appealed to the Emperour *Nero*.

Some few dayes after, *Agrippa* went to *Casarea* with his sister *Berenice*, onely to salute the new gouernor: which sister (after the death of her husband *Herode* of *Chalcis*) liued so familiarly with her brother, that there was great suspition of incestuous acquaintance. *Paul* was brought before them to pleade his cause, and (in a wel couched oration) so approved his innocencie; that, according to the Kings owne opinion, he might haue gone at liberty, if hee had not appealed to *Cesar*. Not long it was, but *Paul* was sent (with other prisoners) to *Rome*, in the first yeare of *Neroes* Empire, as is auouched.

*Agrippa* returning to *Ierusalem*, offended the Priests very grieuouly, by a building erected in the Pallace royall, and somewhat neare to the Temple: for hee could thence discern, whatsoever the Priests did in the inward parts, and when they loytered in the sacrifices and diuine Seruice. The Priests holding this action vnlawfull, erected a wall (on the Temple side) of the like height; whereby *Agrippa* was not onely hindered from seeing the Temple, but also a great part of the City. The King insisted, that the wall should be beaten downe; but the Priests so preuailed (by means made to *Poppea* the Emperours wife) that *Nero* allowed the wall to remaine as it did.

Heereat *Agrippa* being exceedingly offended, deposed *Ioseph* the soueraigne Sacrificer, placing *Ananias* in his roome, who was of the Saduces Sect, a man very bolde and cruell. He (*Festus* dying in *Iudea*, and *Abinus* his successour staying somewhat long ere he came) tooke occasion to exercise crueltie against many worthy persons; especially against *James* the sonne of *Ioseph*, brother to our Lord Iesus Christ by an other mother, a man (in the iudgement of all them dwelling in *Ierusalem*) excelling in innocencie of life and piety, who was throwne down headlong from the highest wall of the temple; and (by command of the said *Ananias*) ouerwhelmd with stones, about threescore yeares after the birth of Christ.

Actes 25. 11  
Paul appeal  
to answere  
before Cæsa

Paul pleades  
before Festus  
Agrippa and  
Berenice.

A contention  
betweene A  
grippa & the  
sacrificing  
Priests abou  
a building.

Ioseph the  
high-Priest  
deposed, and  
Ananias en-  
stalled.

Ananias cau-  
sed James to  
be murdered.

Mens liues  
bought and  
sold as roffis  
pleased, with  
out any pun-  
ishment.

The misera-  
ble afflictions  
of the Iewes,  
no way to be  
redressed.

Paul impriso-  
ned, pleadeth  
before *Felix*  
and *Dru-silla*.  
Actes 24. 24.

The death of  
*Claudius* and  
reigne of  
*Nero*.

*Portius Fe-  
stus* sent to  
gouern *Iudea*

For this wicked deed, he was accused before *Agrippa*, who feared the Romane Governour, named *Albinus*, now neere approaching; and also stood in feare of the peoples fury: wherefore *Ananias* was dismissed from his Office, exercised by him but three moneths onely. And yet he ceased not to commit great cruelties, against them that were of his owne condition. For, in regard of his great power, hee had many Theeves (kept at his charges) of whom he made vse to murder his enemies priuily. Beside, hee made them breake into the Garners of corne, to steal the Tythes therein enclosed: which being often done without any punishment, was the cause of staruing to death manie of the poore Priests.

*Albinus* being overcome with insatiable couetousnesse, cared for nothing else but onely to get weath together, by any vile meanes whatsoever: wherefore, such of the Priests as gaue him Gold, hee winked at all their wickednesse, and permitted Theeves to doe what they listed, if their kindred or friendes would redeeme them with money. By which meanes, in short time, all *Iudea* was full of Theeves, all things turned topsie turuy, no Iustice exercised in any place: and there was no acte so horrid or execrable, but it might quickly be pardoned for money.

*Gestius Florus* was sent as successor to this Horse-leech, who farre exceeded the rapines of *Albinus*, by infinit other wicked courses; so that the Iews reputed *Albinus* a Saint vnto this other. For *Florus* proceeded not couertly, nor after the cunning manner of his predeceffour: but by open violence, scorning, stealing, rudely taking, and doing whatsoever hee pleased; for will onely was a Law to him. And surely it seemed, that he was meerly sent by destiny to the Iews, so to irritate them by open iniuries, and blinde them from all desire of reuenge, as finally to be their vtter ruine. For, the whole country being ouer-runne with Theeves, and the people growne desperately desirous of warre; had a hope of some other Dominion, groaning vnder the tyrannical Romaine rule, and (in sottish zeale) were perswaded to recouer their liberty.

In breese, the time was come, which Christ and the Prophets had foretolde, concerning the destruction of the whole

Priesthood, and policy ordained by *Moses* and diuine authority: considering, that the Messias had already beene sent, for the loue of whome, both the Priesthood and policy had bin (till that time) diuinely preserued. Wherefore, vnder *Gestius Florus*, threescore yeeres after the Natiuity of Christ, siue and thirty yeeres after hee was crucified and risen againe, the twelfth of *Neroes* Empire, the seuenteenth of this *Agrippa* now in question; and three yeeres before *Paul* was put to death by *Nero*: the warre began to waxe tempestuous, because the Iewes reuolted from the Romane Empire, and entred into mutiny against *Cesar*.

*Florus* could easily haue quenched this warre in the beginning; but that hee rather affected, to nourish and feede the flame newly kindled, by prouoking the Iewes dayly more and more, still adding iniury vpon iniury: vntill the fire stewe fourth both farre and neere, that finally, it wrought the destruction of all *Iudea*.

At the beginning of this reuolt, *Agrippa* labored very seriously, to stay the Iews from this furious desire of warre, and to regaine peace and tranquility, by requiring pardon of the Romanes for their offence, which they might haue obtayned on meane conditions, in regard it was very euident, that they had some iust causes of rebelling, by the outrages done vnto them by *Florus*. But he came so short of their expectation, they hating nothing more, then to heare of peace or equity; as (very hardly) he escaped theyr violence. Perceiuing then the Nation so enraged for fight, & (like men blindfolded) throwing themselues impetuouly into perdition; he retired from their furious enterprize, and sent ayde to *Vespasian* in *Iudea*, to tame the head-strong course of those Rebelles, foreseeing already in his soule, the sad ruine of all the Iewish people.

Heere I could weaue vp the fagge-end of this History, with report of the Iewish warre, which *Iosephus* and other authors haue described; but that my heart vwill not serue me, to discourse those strange & miserable ouerthrows, which (in their pitiless euent) did exceede humane belsefe. For no History is found of any nation whatsoever, that was so long time

shut

Florus a bloody desirer of the vtter ruin of the Iewish Nation.

Agrippa labored to reconcile the Iewes to the Romas.

The lamentable horror of the warre betwene the Iewes and the Romanes.

Ananias dismissed from his Office by Agrippa.

The greedy & insatiable couetousnes of Albinus the Governour.

Florus a more wicked gouernour then Albinus, sent as a just plague and vtter ruin to the Iewes.

The time fore prophesied for the destruction of Ierusalem, was now fully come to passe

The Iewes reuolted in the 12. yeare of Nero the emperor.

The miserable estate of Ierusalem, six whole yeares together.

Bands of partiality and factions in Ierusalem.

The richest Citizens in most wofull perplexity.

Such matters as they accounted in their madnes to be Treason & conspiring with the Romanes.

shut vp from all succour, wofully tormented, and finally (wholy confounded, with numberlesse calamities) almost altogether quite rased out, and destroyed. For after that the Iewes were reuolted in the twelfth yeare (as is affirmed) of *Nero*, the army of the Romanes neuer ceased for six whole yeeres together, cruelly to rauage the countrey of *Iudea*, because from time to time, the Iewes (by their inuincible obstinacy) prouoked the victorious soldiers to such tyrannies, as the like were neuer heard of.

But though I spare to relate the deuastation of the whole countrey: who can conceiue (with true iudgement) but the miseries of the City *Ierusalem* it selfe? Which, before it beheld the *Romane* enemy, for the space of sixe whole yeeres, felt (within it selfe) farre more cruell domesticke aduersaries: as beeing diuided and torne in peeces, by Sects, Factions, and Seditious of Theeues, fighting amongst themselues (when they had none else to quarrell withall) for rapines, murders, and other mischeefs, euery Faction thinking to support it selfe, by dooing iniurie vnto it selfe, and surmounting one another in number, and manner of nouel villanies and extremity.

Furie grew on to such horrid perfection, that if any Man or woman were esteemed holy, religious, and modest: these were arguments sufficient, to yeild a pregnant reason for their death; and the goodes of the richest Cittizens, must bee brought foorth, and layde before their doores, while the Factionious fought who should enioy them. To kill people of meane or simple condition, was but to ridde them out of the turbulent crowdes, for they were esteemed but as a charge to the City, and hindered the way when the sledge should beginne: for this they accounted their wisest course, and best meanes, to abide a long lingering sledge.

If any man durst but speake a word, or expresse by any apparant signe, that hee disliked the present License vnto all Villanies, it was presently termed Treason; and flatte conspiracy with the Romanes; yea, it was a sinne deseruing terrible punishment. And as great an offence it was, to mourne or lament for Parents or Friends, being slaine or mur-

thered in these vprores.

To prophane the verie holyest part of the Temple, with Rapes, Murthers, and Massacres; they sayde, it was fighting in defence of the Temple, and for the Religion of the countrey. To beare away violently the riches out of the Temples Treasurie, and to waste them in all Villanie and abhominable excesse: this was tearmed, borrowing money, wherewith to defend the seruice ordayned by G O D. And vpon paine of death, no man durst flye, or get him gone, from these horrible, diuellish, and dangerous courses.

Moreouer, such as dwelt in the Citie, beheld (beside these publike miseries) their owne bodies, their wiues, children, and goods, exposed to the violent & vbridled attempts of those mercilesse Villaines. In breefe, there could not be thought or deuised any iniury or opprobrious behauiour, which the miserable Iewes might feare or expect from the Enemy, but they first made triall thereof vpon themselues, vsing no resistance at all against it. Wherefore, the coming of the enemies army was no way dreadful vnto them, but rather gladly desired; and euen but as a tolleration, or rather a recreation (when the City was sharply assayed) the seditious factions were enforced to ioyne their forces, for repulsing the enemy, and to breach awhile, from their owne domesticke theueries and warres.

The last six moneths of this warre, after that the City was round engirt with enemies, and themselues had pilled, polled, and miserably spoyled all that they could by their intestine robberies: they began to feele a famine in the heighth of extremity, which was accompanied likewise with so greuous a Pestilence, that in the time of the sledge, aboute eleauen hundred thousand men died by the plague and famine. During this war also, great multitudes wer daily murdered within the wals, by the mutinous and rebellious factionists: & in the assaults, surprizals, and sacking of the city, many millions of people lost their liues. Also in the war time, there were taken 97000. persons, who were partly sold as slaues, and partly distributed to rounde neighbouring great Citties, there to bee giuen and deuoured by wilde beasts, in publike Playes, and

Calamities the Iewes suffered as seldom a nation was vnder subiect

Men forward to vse any violence vpon themselves.

Pestilence & famine in all extremity, whereof there died, 110000

Ninety seuer thousand sold as slaues, and deuoured by brute beasts

and fantasticke spectacles. Some other were compelled to fight as Fencers in the Theaters, with the like fury as hostile enemies: and some were sent into *Morea* (by huge troopes) to cut out a Channell betweene the *Aegæum* and *Ionian* seas.

By these pittifull examples of Gods heauy wrath, against the contemners of his Sonne Christ, and the doctrine Euan-gelicall; almost all this nation was vtterly exterminated. Hapning by the Diuine permission, that at the Feast of vnleauened bread, when the Iewes were wont to meete at *Ierusalem*, from the farthest parts of all *Iudea*; the Citty should be thus besiedged, and all the desperare Robbers, Theeues, & Ruffians, disperfed throughout the whole Regions, should (euen then) be retyred to *Ierusalem*) to shelter themselues in her fortifications.

After that *Vespasian* (for about the space of five yeares) had first of all subdued well-neere all *Iudea*; conquering many strongly munited Citties, yea, destroying and burning them, onely through the wilfull obstinacie of the inhabitants; in the last halfe yeare, *Titus* brought his Army to the Citty of *Ierusalem*, and there planted his siedge, in the second yeare of the Emperor his Father; and the siedge continued for the space of sixe moneths, which *Iosephus* tearmeth by *Macedonian* names.

<i>Xantiqua.</i>	} which in our Language are thus cal- led:	April.
<i>Artemision.</i>		May.
<i>Dention.</i>		June.
<i>Panemon.</i>		July.
<i>Loion.</i>		August.
<i>Gorpiasion.</i>		September

CHAP. XXII.

*A breese Collection, of the principall Accidents which happened in the time of the siedge.*



He fourth day of the first moneth, *Xantiqua* (which is April with vs) the Citie of *Ierusalem* was besiedged, neere to the feast of Easter.

The two and twentieth day after, *Titus* essaying (in vaine) to haue it yeilded, raised his Bulwarkes, and prepared his Engines to batter the Citty.

The seuenth day of *Artemision*, which is May, *Bazetha* (that is to say, the new citty, the first wall being taken) which was a part of the Citty beyond the Temple towards *Bisa*, newly annexed, and enuironed with walles by the first *Agrippa*) was seized on by the Romanes.

The twelfth day of the said month, the second wall was taken, and yet the same day it was recovered againe.

The sixteenth day, the Romanes hauing taken the other wal againe the second time, enioyed the base or lower part of the Citty, which the Iewes called *Acra*, & was seated beneath on a little hill.

The one and twenty day, two parts of the Citty were lost, when the Iewes (being graciously entreated by *Titus*) disdained to embrace peace. Then the Souldiers began to mount their scaladoes, neere to the Towre called *Antonia*, ioyning to the third wall, where their Ensignes and Bulwarkes being raised in twelue dayes, they were againe as quickly burned by the Iewes.

All the whole moneth of *Dention*, the which answereth to that of Iune, the Romanes were seriously busied, in engirting the whole Citty with a Wall, to hinder the bringing of victualles to the Iewes, and also to bereaue them from all means of flight.

The first day of *Panemon*, which refereth it selfe to our Iuly, *Titus* taking compassion on the people, whom he knew to dye by the extremity of the Famine and Pestilence, onely through the obstinacie of some among them; being desirous to deliuer them without long delay, he erected new Terrasses vp aloft, and began to batter the third wall, called *Antonia*, verie difficult to be surprized. This *Antonia*, was a most magnificent building, and very strongly munited nere to the Temple, foure square in forme, and carrying the greatnesse of a very large Castle. *Herod* the Great had builded it, in fauour of the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and gaue it the name of *Marke Anthony* the Trimuire. Within that goodly Monument, the Ornaments belonging to the High-Priestes were continually kept.

Preparation for battery.

The taking of the first wall by the Romas

The 2. wall, & nether part of the city taken

Two parts of the City lost.

A wall built round about the City.

Battery playing on Antonia the thirde wall.

Herode the Great builded this Antonia.

The vtter extermination of the Iewish eople, for their contemning Iesus Christ.

The names of the 6. months herein Ierusalem was besiedged.

The beginning of the siedge.

The

The Antonia  
wonne.

The sixth day, the *Antonia* was wonne, because the walls fell downe of these Iewes, on that side where the Iewes hadde vndermined, to get forth of the Cittie, with intent to burne the enemies rampiers.

The surprizing and burning of the Temple.

The eighth day of *Loion*, which is the moneth of August, after that the Iewes had bene many times exhorted, to desire peace of so gracious a Conquerour; after they had repulsed his often Ambassages by base iniuries, and wicked abuses: the Temple was forcibly taken, being a worke well worthy of admiration. And (contrary to the Edict of *Titus*) it was set on fire by the offended Souldiers. So that it burned the very same day, when as (six hundred, threescore, and nineteen years before past) it was burned by *Nabuchodonosor*, Collonell of the *Chaldeans*.

The batterie of the City of Dauid.

The twentieth day, was the batterie of the high Towne (called the City of *Dauid*) begonne: after that the Iewes (once more admonished to lay downe Armes) refused peace, being gently offered vnto them.

The hie town taken.

The seuenth day of *Gorpiacion*, which is our September, the high part of the City was taken: the Fortresse whereof was the Temple, as the *Antonia* was Bulwarke to the Temple.

All the Cittie burnt.

The eighth day, all the City of *Ierusalem*, (pilled & ranfacked before) was conuerted all into ashes.

The Natiuity of Domitian celebrated by Titus, with the death of 3000. Iewes.

The foure and twentieth day of October, *Titus* celebrating the birth-day of his brother *Domitian* in *Casarea* (a Cittie on the Sea-coast) had Playes there of sundry kindes: wherein were brought forth three thousand Iewes captiues; some of them being deuoured by beasts, the rest killing one another, fencing and fighting each against another.

Titus honoured his fathers birth day.

The seuenth day of Nouember, *Titus* went to *Berytha*, a City in *Syria*, where he celebrated the Natiuity of his Father *Vespasian*; & where (in sports & pastimes presented before the Romans and Grecians) a great nuber of captiue Iewes, were some trodden to death, others hacket, hewed, and torne in peeces.

The cheefe reason why the Aunhour made the collection of these histories

I haue collected this small discourse, concerning the wofull consummation of this Cittie, which sometime was the principall seate of Gods people, and of his diuine Doctrine: from the eight yeare of

King *Dauids* reigne, vntill the snall destruction, being eleuen hundred, thirtie and seuen yeares. The due Obseruation whereof, may serue to testify the mighty anger of God, against the despisers of his Sonne, and of his word in him reuealed; exempling vs, from falling into the like calamities, either by a violent appetite of oppressing the true Doctrine, or to darken & obscure it by false interpretations, or (vterly contemning it) by wandering into euery wickednesse.

Now I returne againe to *Agrippa*, who (according as hath bene sayde) detesting the furious madnesse of his Nation, and euidently fore-seeing their wofull ruine) sent ayde to *Vespasian*, making Warre against the Iewes, and by that means partly saued his owne Countries, from the lamentable spoile happening in this warre. *Nero* being dead, and *Galba* chosen Emperour, he projected a iourney to *Rome*, with *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, to entreate the confirmation in his kingdome by the new made Emperour. But contrary winds intercepting them, they could not compasse what was intended: but receyued tydings neere vnto *Achaia*, of *Galbaes* death: which was the reason, that *Titus* returned towards *Syria*, *Agrippa* holding on his course for *Rome*. But *Italy* beeing embraced with ciuill warre, because *Orbo* (successor to *Galba*) being slaine, and *Vitellius* presuming to the Empire, *Agrippa* was very hastily called backe to *Iudea* by Letters, where he assisted *Vespasian* to bee saluted Emperour by his soldiers, and safely to conduct a well prouided Armie towards *Italy*, with purpose to encounter the Captaines of *Vitellius*. So he left his sonne *Titus* (with some legions) to beate downe the Iewes, especially them of *Ierusalem*, as hath bin said before.

I finde no other matter of *Agrippa*, or any other of the posterity of *Herode* the Great: but onely *Philo*, writing of *Agrippa*, saith; That he reigned seuen and twenty yeares. He dyed then (by *Philoes* account) in the threescore and eighteenth yeare of Christ, the seauenth of *Vespasian*, and the fift yeare after the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

*Philo* further saith, that this *Agrippa* had a sonne, named *Agripine*, who reigned thirty yeares after the death of his father: wherefore he attained to the year an hundred

His returne backe to the former history of King *Agrippa*.

The death of *Nero*, and succession of *Galba*.

*Agrippa* intended iourney to *Rome*.

*Vitellius* contending, *Vespasian* is saluted Emperour.

How long *Agrippa* reigned and when he dyed.

*Agripine*, sonne and successor to *K. Agrippa*.

dred and eight after the death of Christ, and to the eight of Traiane the Emperor, which yeare Philo, being ouer-spent with yeares, foretold would be the last of his reigne.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of three great and notable Doubtes, which the ancient Philosophers knew not how to resolue, and for what cause.

**T**HE ancient Philosophers, illumined by the giste of God, made curious search into all things belonging to nature: and verified al their propositions (without contradiction or repugnancie) by other propositions meerly naturall. Notwithstanding, they neuer knew how to resolue three things, verie doubtfull and of importance, neyther could yeelde a reason for the causes of their originall.

The first was, that they well knewe a desire giuen to man by nature, that hee would neuer dye, neither feele any paine or greuance whatsoeuer: but to liue happily in the pleasures of this world, without the want or neede of any thing; and yet hee could neuer attaine to the end thereof. On the other side, hauing made this proposition, that God and Nature neuer did any thing in vaine, & that this appetite in man ensued thence, whereof they coueted to finde the cause; considering beside, that in all other naturall effects the proposition alwayes did verifie it selfe: they were vtterly confounded in infinite perplexities, being neuer able to compasse the end.

The second was, they said & affirmed naturally in like manner, that euery man felt in himselfe a peruerse carnall inclination, or sensuality, quite contrarie to the former appetite of vnwillingnesse to dye: and yet this carnall lusting desire, causeth a man fall into diuers diseases, which are the abridging of life, yea hasteneth on death, wherto his other appetite is an vtter enemy.

Moreouer, many couet after riches

and pompe, seeking to winne them courageously in the field; where soonest of all they meete with death, or else bear away wounds, maimes, afflictions of mind, & other misfortunes, quite contrary to their desire indeed.

The third doubt proceeded from the order of nature, all inferiour things being gouerned by their superiour: as wee see the elements obedient to the celestial bodies; the Orbes and Spheres to the moouing intelligence, and all the intelligences to the cheefest of al, which is God loued and desired. Onely in man is this order peruerted; for he being composed of a soule and a body, the flesh which is the vilest part of all other, stands repugnant to reason, yea and to the soul, which is the very noblest part of all: and (which is farre worse) draweth into the bent of his owne wicked will. And therefore the Apostle saide; *That hee felt a Lawe in his members, repugnant to the law of his thoughts, and attracted him to sin.*

The Philosophers that were before the comming of Christ, neuer knew how to find out the occasion of this disorder: yet making curious search for it, fell into many and sundry errors. Wherefore Anaxagoras saide: *This exorbitant irregularity, happened at the beginning of the world, and when all things were confused in the ancient Chaos. For the intellect being separated by discord, and reioyned by concord, all things were created good, and well ordered in their kinde: onely man excepted, whose flesh hee saw to be ill disposed, and disagreeing with the reasonable soule. And therefore, even as in that Chaos these two things were discordant: so in like manner afterward, they still continued repugnant, contrary to the rule & order of all other things in the world.* In this manner, this poore Philosopher imputed the blame of all, to the Diuine intellect, which is God himselfe.

Others saide: *That this proceeded from the celestially constellations, vnder the which man is engendred, and receiueth birth.* For Aristotle durst neuer bee so bolde, as (openly) to yeeld a resolution of this doubtfull difficulty; but seemed (as it were) to contradict himselfe sometimes, saying; *Sensuality is naturally enclined to euil, howbeit (with great difficulty) it may sometime be ruled or tamed by the moral vertues.* And in another place he saith, *That the felicitie*

The 3. doubt, the peruerfion of Nature order in the body of man.

The soule is the most noble part of all other in man.

The opinion and saying of Anaxagoras, concerning the discordance of things in the Chaos.

The iudgement of some other Philosophers, and Aristotle himselfe.

the naturall illumination ancient philosophers.

the first doubt naturall desire in man never to dye.

the second doubt, a libidinous and carnall desire man to the flesh.

licity which is atcheued by the vertues morall, is the gift of God. By consequence then those morall vertues, in whose operation the happinesse of man doth consist; must be the gift of GOD, and no way naturall.

The Manichees maintained a man to haue two soules.

Contrarywise, the Manichees, desirous to render a reason for this peruerse disorder, saide: *That there were two soules in man, the one good, made of the substance of the Prince of Light; and the other badde, made of the substance of the Prince of darknesse, and these do cause this continuall combat in man.*

Origens conceit of this irregularitie in man.

Origen afterward saide; *That before the creation of the world, all things were conserued in Heauen which sinned against God: & therefore (as a punishment) they were disposed into ill complexioned bodies, and from thence ensued this controuersie in man.*

Aug. in Lib. 1. De duab. enim. Et in lib. 1. de Nat. boni.

All these detestable opinions wer confuted by Saint Augustine, writing against the Manichees; where, by long & pregnant reasons, hee prooueth the occasion of the subuersion of this order; and that because they had no vnderstanding in the sacred Scriptures, they vtterly lost that light. For in them is declared to vs, the full resolution of these doubts, and there may plainly be discerned, that these two propositions are good and true, and both of them in the order of Nature. To wit, that God and nature neuer did any thing voide of purpose, and that it is very conuenable, that a man (by nature) should not desire to dye, but to leade a happie kinde of life, and yet without power of attaining thereto; not because he hath this desire giuen him in vaine, for it is truely naturall: but to obtaine the end and effect therof, is a matter accidental to man, and not naturall.

Both the propositions approued to be good and true

God created man immortall, and not to dye.

For it is plain and apparant, that God created man immortall, in such sort, as effectually (according to the very soundest opinion of all Diuines) he could not haue dyed, nor be subiected to any miserie, if hee had obserued his commaundement. But having transgressed, hee ought iustly to suffer death, and the miseries of the world; therefore, because he obeyed not his command, he incurred death and all afflictions. So that by the sinne of disobedience (as the Apostle said) death came into the world. Hereby it appeareth the, that death was not (at the first) naturall to

Death not natural to our first father, nor successiue to vs.

our prime father, neither successiue en- suing to vs, but accidentall; beecause it was not the intention of God.

The 1. doubt resolved.

Thus come wee then to resolue this doubt, that desire not to dye, nor endure any paines; is giuen to vs by nature, and not in vaine: because the power was giuen vs to obtaine the effect, but in regard of our disobedience, the desire stil remaineth, and cannot be taken from vs. By the selfesame reason is the second doubt answered: for of our selues, by carnall obscenity, and gluttinous gourmandize, we purchase death, and make way to this disorder.

Answer to the second.

In like manner, the third is resolued by Adams sinne committed, whereby he lost the originall righteousnesse which God had giuen him; which serued him as a bridle to moderate himselfe by iust order, and so this harmony fell into confusion. For the soule, which ought to gouern the body, as being the thing most noble and excellent; came afterward to be gouerned by the sense, and by the bodye. And so wee see euidently, that this subuersion is no way naturall, but accidentall.

Resolution the third.

By this meanes then, the proposition remaineth firme & true, that those things most worthy and most noble, ought to gouerne them of lesse noble and inferior quality: which sayleth not, neyther can, as well wee may obserue in the celestiall bodies. And if in man it falleth out otherwise, it is by accident of the faulte, deseruing this and worse, but not by Nature.

The confusion of the first concurring hermony.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Of such Ceremonies as were vsed by the Romaines, before they mooued any warre.*



Such as haue reade the sacred Ceremonies, and Religious obseruations which were vsed by the auncient Romaines, as well in matters concerning peace, as attemptes and enterprizes of warre: doe not make any wonderment at all of the great Victories by

Ceremonie for times be of peace and warre.

by them obtained, against so many furious people, and most potent nations. On the contrary also, they marvell not at the decadence of that Empire, which began, when they began to contemne those Ceremonies and religion. For we may obserue by infinit histories, full of examples, that so long as they were best obedient to religion; their Common-weales prospered so much the more happily, & the enterprizes of their Captaines fell out then successiually. As was well noted in *Pompey*, *Brennus*, and infinite other, who albeit they were idolaters, and neuer knew the true God: yet it seemed (neuertheless) that by certaine meanes of terrestriall retribution, God fauoured them that were religious. And it might be perhaps to this end, that like as the people were then zealous in a religion, whereof they had neither foundation, or any perfect beleefe; they would (by far stronger reason) be good obseruers of the true faith, if it had bin revealed to them, as now it is vnto vs. The effects then make it eident, that heauen neuer left them, without some apparance of good prosperity, & fortunate successe in their temporall affaires.

The Ceremonies which the auncient Romaines obserued in times of warre or peace, were many and diuers: wherein I must needs be silent, because the relating of them all, would require more time then I am allowed; and it might offend to speak of some, and not of other. My intent therefore is, to make relation of siue only, and especially by them obserued, before war was moued against any Prouince. To the end, that moderne Princes may perceiue, how farre out of the way they wander, in attempting war inconsiderately, & making no consultation first to GOD: wherein (if they iudge rightly) they may conceiue, that ill successe happeneth to them by no other occasion, they liuing in Religion so farre inferiour to Ethnickes and Idolaters.

When newes came to *Rome*, concerning the rebellion of some Prouince, or of any trouble giuen by some barbarous Prince to their countries, or to anie of their confederates: they sent ambassadors to him, by whom the Senate gaue to vnderstand, that they would know, in what maner the wrong receiued should be repaired, with refraining from offering the

like afterward; wherein finding obstinacy then war was intimated. The Senate hauing created a Captain for this expedition, called the Sacrificers, who were commanded to inuocate the Gods with their prayers: for the Romans neuer went forth to shed the blood of their enemies, vntill the Priests had first wept, and made their solemne prayers in the Temples. Afterward, the Senate beeing assembled, went to the temple of *Iupiter*; wher they swore a most solemne oath. *That at all times when the enemy* (against whom the instant warre was published) *would require a new confederation with them, or desire pardon for the offence past; clemency should neuer be denied him.* This being don, the Consul elected for the enterprize, went to the *Capitole*, and there made a solemne vow, to such a one of the Gods in whom he reposed confidence, to offer some singular thing vnto him, if he returned home victorious from the war. And were the offering of neuer so great value, yet the people stood obliged to pay it. Then the banner of the *Eagle*, being the ancient ensigne of the Romans, was broghr forth into *Campus Martius*; which they did, to let the people vnderstand, that in *Rome* ther might no feasts be celebrated, so long as their fellow Citizens and kindred were in war: & so bringing out the ensignes, deliuered them to their seueral Captaines. But first, a *Prætor* mounted on the gate called *Salaria*, causing a *Trumpet* there to sound, while the soldiers receiued their pay. Wherby may be gathered, that they stird not their armies at any time, till they had first appeased and honored their Gods, and likewise made their orisons for the prosperitie of their Captaines, and vertuous carriage to their enemies in conquering them. For, if their Consuls (appointed for war) in conquering any Prouince or city, made not eident testimony, as well of their vertue as valor, they were greuously punished by the Senat. Hereof we haue many examples, but two only shall serue my turn: the one for vsing vertue in his campe; the other, for due punishment inflicted vpon him, who (being victorions) soiled his reputation in base manner. *Fabritius*, being encamped with his army of Romanes before *Fidena*, a schoolmaster of the *Citie* came forth with the *Sonnes* of diuers principall Citizens, as intending to gratifie

The Senates going to the temple of *Iupiter*, & their Oath there taken.

The Consuls vow made in the *Capitole*.

The Ensigne of the *Eagle*, deliuered to the Consul in *Campus Martius*.

The other ensignes giuen to their captaines

The honorable act of *Fabritius* vpon a disloyall and trecherous schoolmaster.

contempt of religious Ceremonies, overthrow the Roman Empire.

any & sundry ceremonies among the olde Romanes.

Instruction of our moderne Princes in attempting warre.

Rebellion of a Prouince, offence offered by a barbarous Prince.

tifie the Consull with them, and so presented them vnto him. The Consull (albeit hee might haue detayned them, and and thereby haue made himselfe Lord of the Cittie) not onely refused to accept them: but stripping the Schoolemaister naked, and binding his hands, hee gaue a Rod to euery Scholler, and so sent them (whipping him) backe to their fathers. This benignitie tooke such preuayling power in the soules of the Cittizens; that they yeelded themselues instantly to the *Romaines*.

The other was thus. In the yeare of *Romes* foundation, 318. warre was deliberated by the Senate and Consulles, against the *Sarmates*, and other people inhabiting by the Mountaine *Caucasus*, which (according to Cosmographers) deuiding *Asia* in the middest, terminateth *Syria* on the one side, and finisheth *India* on the other; where, by extremitie of cold, the Vine hath no ability to grow. *Lucius Pius* was created Consull, and appointed for this expedition; where, waging cruell warre against them: Fortune was one while fauourable to him, & then againe frowning. But in the time of a truce concluded betweene them, *Lucius* very friendly entertained the *Sarmates* Captaines, and hauing diuers times banquetted them, perceiuing that they were

lickerously affected to wine, because it was a rarity among them; at last he made them a bountifull feast, wherein he fitted them with great plenty of wine; that they (in drunken loue to him) yeelded the whole Prouince tributary to the Roman people. The warres so concluding, & the Consull being returned to *Rome*, hee demanded Triumphes; which not only was denied him by the Senate, but also his forme of victory so abhorred by the, that publicly they did put him to death, and for his greater defamation, engraued an Epitaph on his Tombe, speaking in this manner.

*The Epitaph appointed by the Romaines, to be engrauen on the Tombe of Lucius Pius.*

*Here lyeth the Consull Lucius Pius; who, not by Armes in the fiede, but by carrowsing at his Table; not by the Lance, but plenty of wine, conquered the Sarmates.*

And yet the Senate, not satisfied with this his disgrace, caused publicly to be proclaimed thoroughout *Rome*, that all (whatsoeuer) had bene wonne in the *Romaine* peoples name, by *Lucius Pius*, shold be accounted as nothing. And wrote (moreouer) to the *Sarmates*, that they denyed any Conquest of them; but referred them vnto their former priuledge and liberty.

The Consuls of Rome make warre against the Sarmates and Lucius Pius was appointed for the expedition.

Wine brog that to pass which warre had not the power to do

An Epitaph fit for a quaffing Conqueror.

The end of the sixt Booke.





THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

¶ *Of the Governement and Administration of Justice obserued in the Commonwealth of Luca.*

**L**uca is a noble Cittie (seated in the Country of *Tuscany*) so called of *Lucomenus*, King of the *Tuscans*. *Strabo* saith, that *Luca* is a Citie neare to the mountaines of *Luna* (and nowadayes the Country is called *Lunigiana*) and that the Region yeeldeth very woorthy men, apt and able in valour for Armes: there being a multitude of knights, from whom the Senate receiued the Military order.

But because we are to discourse of our times, I say, that *Luca* is now found to be about two miles in circuite, seated singularly, and in a good place. It containeth about foure and thirty thousand persons within the walles; and there are rich families, because the men of this Citie do trafficke greatly in merchandise, and especially in matters of Silkes: for which (amongest all Christians) they haue no meane name. In the time of *Castrucio Castracani* (who was of the *Interminelli*) he became Lord thereof, there beeing a diuision of many families, that would not obey a Tyrant; they vsed the Arte of making silke together, deriuing great wealth from diuers parts of *Italie*. They brought also into *Florence*, the Artes of making cloth of golde and siluer, whereby they attained to inestimable riches. The men are (naturally) very curteous and modest, not niggardly, but bountifull, and therefore prosperity commeth the more freely vpon them. The *Lucan* tongue in *Tuscany*, is held to be very sweete and pure,

because they haue no medling with noyous accents, which are common to all other cities of the Prouince. This so small a cittie, hath a long time maintained it selfe in freedome, and so still doth, with good and substantiall orders.

*The Councell.*

**H**er maine foundation (as it is in all other Common-wealths) consistes of the Councell; because on them depend, and from them are deriued all the other Magistrates, that are members of a bodie so well ordered. These Councillors do discourse on the State occasions, and are (indeede) Fathers of that Common-wealth, It is compounded of three kindes of persons, because some are ordinarily of the Councel, and they continue a whole yeare. Some others are inuited *ad bene placitum*, and are not ordinary. Some others are subrogated in the place of such as die, and so endure for a full yeare. This Councell consisteth of an hundred and three score Cittizens, but ordinarily are in number an hundred and twentie.

*The Signoria.*

The City of *Luca* is diuided into three parts, which (there) they vse to tearme *Terzieri*: The one is of *S. Saluadore*, the second of *S. Pauline*, and the third of *S. Martine*. The Councell doe elect the Signorie from the three forenamed *Terzieri*, that is, for euery *Terziero* they create three men, which are nine in ful number. Beside these, they elect the *Gonfaloniere*, who is the head, or chiefe of the Common-wealth, & (for examples sake) he is first elected from the *Terziero* of *S. Sauour*; next from that of *Saint Pauline*; and the third time from that of *Saint Martine*: and the *Terzieri* being once so gone ouer, the *Gonfaloniere* returneth

The Language sweete and delicate.

The power for creating all other Magistrates.

Three several degrees of Councillors.

Three diuisions of *S. Sauour*, *S. Pauline*, and *S. Martine*.

Some hold this Office to be the cheefe Standard-bearer.

Strabo lib. 5.

Concerning the Country *Lunigiana*.

The situation, compass, and number of the people, their chiefest trading in silkes.

The working of Cloth of golde & siluer.

for election to *S. Sauour*, and so successively (each after other) according to the foresaid order.

By these men, and by the *Gonfaloniere* living abroad, other are to be elected, called *Antiani*, and the election is made in this manner. Three men are chosen, who they tearme *Assortitori*, one for each *Terziero*. These, haue the charge of counting the Ballots of them that are elected, culling out such as they think fittest, after that the Councell haue made choise of many men, and then they elect the *Gonfaloniere*. And in making this election, the *Assortitori* sit in Councell separately in a place, and account the Ballots vntill they come to the number: which beeing not compleate, they reballot them ouer againe, vntill they be an hundred & eighty in number. And neither such as are subrogated, nor the other ballotted, are published to the Councell; but onely are made knowne to the *Assortitori*. And because no fraud or deceit may ensue by the *Assortitori*, two principall chosen Fryars are as their assistants; one of the order of *S. Dominicke*, and the other of *S. Frances*.

These *Assortitori* haue Authoritie, to bring the men elected to the Magistrates, at such time as they think fitting in several months: and this deputation done by the *Assortitori* (who are the prime men of *Luca*;) it is kept by them in secret, & they are sworne not to reueale it. The *Assortitori* created, then they create the Seignory, who cannot bee vanquished, if they haue two third partes of the Ballots, although the foresaid Ballots are to be seen by none but onely by the *Assortitori*. The charge of the Seignory is to hear (freely) matters of iustice and punishment, being alwaies present in the Palace, & may not depart thence vnder capitall penalty: the publike purse payeth their expences.

By this forenamed body of ten, one other officer is chosen, whom they call *Comandatore*, and this new man they make neere vnto them, his government lasting no longer then three daies: in which time he hath liberty and authority to commad all the other; yea, and the *Gonfaloniere*, & is Patron in euery busines. And although the supplications which com to the Signory, are presented to the *Comandatore*, & if he wil not present them to the colledge

of the Lordes or Signiors, they remaine with him: yet notwithstanding he cannot dispose of them without the authoritie of the Signiory. And if the *Comandatore* propone the supplications to the Signorie, & there they passe two thirds; the *Gonfaloniere* propones them afterwarde in the Councell. The authority of the Signorie extendeth vnto straungers, but not ouer the Citizens: and they propone al things, but conclude nothing.

#### *The Secretaries Office.*

The Office of the Secretaries (who are three in number) is very important. These men haue authority, onely in matters offensive to the maiesty of the Commonwealth, being absolute in that case, & are about the *Gonfaloniere*. But true it is, that they can do nothing without the *Gonfaloniere*; and before they conclude any action, they must tender the cause vnto the Councell. Sometime it falleth out, that seeking iudiciously into the matter, they accomplish it, & afterward render a reason for it to the Councell, when they haue done it: either, because they could not congregate the Councell in the instant, or in regarde the cause necessarily required, to haue such sodaine expedition.

#### *The Councell of Conference.*

The Colloquie, or Councell of Conference, is composed of 18. Citizens, and they are elected by the Councell. These men, if the Lordes are doubtfull in any matter, and that the case cannot be easily deliberated: they meet together, and discourse on the cause propounded to the Councell; and after they haue discussed it pregnantly, then they determine together, whether it is to bee granted by the Councell, or no.

#### *The Councell of sixe.*

These six men (being of sound reputation) haue charge of the expences & profits for common employment. They provide and command all things, which passe in many accounts, and are as Governours of the rents and reuennues. They haue also a Chamberlaine, who is the executer of their deliberations. And all these are likewise chosen by the greater Councell.

#### *The Rota.*

In many Cities of *Italy*, this office is ordinary, consisting of three forraine Doctors, within the compasse of fiftie miles. One of them hath the Title of *Potestata*; the

Elders, Conforts, or Companions.

Account made of the Ballots to their full number, or els reballotted ouer againe.

The authority of the *Assortitori* in bringing the elected persons to the Magistrates.

Their abiding in the Palace.

The power of the *Comandatore*.

Of Supplications presented to the *Comandatore*.

The extent of the Signorie power.

Three Secretaries, and the import of the authoritie.

18. Citizens in this Office of Colloquie & their charge.

As Custom or Reueyue of rents & reuennues for general use.

The Doctors living out of the Cities jurisdiction.

They change their places & offices by times.

the second is Iudge of malefactors; & the third is Iudge in ciuill causes. By turnes they haue their feuerall changes, and eue-ry fixe moneths, one of the Centers as Potestare, beeing first iudge of malefactors; and his Office of Potestare beeing past, hee becommeth Iudge in causes ciuill. So that each one of them is Potestare, Iudge for Malefactours, and Iudge in ciuill occasions, as it comes to his turn. If the Potestare haue (perhaps) a Citizen in his power; he doth no more but form the Proesse, and sets downe (in writing) his owne opinion, what is the merite of the delinquent, and so it passeth vnto the Councell, who either commend, teare, or temper the opinion and sentence of the Potestare; and then in such a case, the Potestare entreth into the Councell. On strangers, the Potestare may absolutely determine, without any other: And in brefe, these three men do also discourse on ciuill matters.

*The Marchants Court.*

These Officers are nine in number, being elected (by threes) out of the *Terzieroes*. They haue a forraine Doctour for their Iudge, being their Assistant. They iudge in causes appertaining to merchandise, their authority stretching (in the said matters) to blood.

*The Office for Store.*

In like manner there are nine Officers, & so chosen out of the *Terzieroes*. These men are the prouiders of Corne, that the Citty may continually be furnished therewith, and they hear all causes concerning the matter. Prouision still beeing made for euery three yeares, and the Garners diligently respected where the Corne is kept, being still supplied, that there may be no want.

*Six Commissioners.*

And because thoroughout the whole Countie, certain assemblies are ordained of such persons as are meete to manage armes: for this especiall businesse, and such occasions as may happen in times of warre; these fixe Commissioners haue authoritie to muster and make ready bāds of Souldiers, and all such things as are requisite for them. Whatsoeuer belongeth to this businesse, passeth thorough their power, and their sentence in them carieth allowance.

*For Health.*

There are likewise three especiall Presidents, for matters concerning the countries health. These Officers do regard, that all the food may be found and good; that all filth and vncleanness may be sent out of the Citty; and men employing all diligence, to conferue the people from being offended by any pestiferous accident, or whatsoeuer annoyance may be preiudiciall to health.

*The Councell for disobedience.*

And because in euery Citty, there are found too many persons, not enclineable to any goodnesse, but practising to liue viciously, addicting themselues to lewde courses, and are meerey opposite to all well instituted rules, for liuing ciuilly, & in good order, therefore the men of *Luca* haue a Councell, which they entitle, for disobedience, and inflicting punishment on such (as by their vile example) may be the ruine of a well-policied Commonwealth. And the forme of their discipline (in this case) carieth some correspondencie with the *Ostracisme* vsed amongst the *Athenians*; only herein is this difference, that the *Athenians* banished such, whose greatnesse and power grew suspitious to the people; and so sentenced them for ten yeares, whereas here it extended but to rascality onely, and the sentence lasting but three yeares.

*The Office for Lodgings.*

Eight Gentlemen are appointed to this Office, who haue charge for vnderstanding the affaires of all strangers comming into the Citty, and what businesse they haue there. All hosts stand bound to giue in writing the names of such Guestes, as come from any part abroad, and are not of the Citty, and those names they must deliuer to these officers. And if perchāce some one tell a lye, reporting one thing for another; he is then examined by the strappado, because the truth of his businesse there, ought to be knowne. Such as approue themselues good and honest, being no spies or treachers to the Citie, are kindly entertained, their Lodginges orderly appointed, and their expences well respected.

*The Guard.*

The Signorie electeth an hundred Soldiours, liuing within fifty miles compass, to bee as a Garde for the Pallace,

Presidents appointed for wholesome dyet, and cleane keeping the Citie.

Slothfull Rogues and idle vagabonds.

Banishment giuen for 3. yeares.

A good and prouider care and meete to be vsed in euery well gouerned Citie.

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Citizens are the watch and guard for the walles.

Two citizens Commissaries & their charge

and out of this hundred are chosen Captaines and Collonels. These men haue good Wages, if they be called to guard the Walles in the night time: whereas otherwise, the guard for the wals consisteth of Cittizens artificers, such as haue wiues and children, and are waged with three Crownes each man euery month. At the gates stand men of the country, and each gate also hath two Cittizens Commissaries: one of them being there early in the morning at the gates opening, & so continuing til dinner time; and at his parting commeth the other, who stayeth there til Euening, when the gates are shutte in againe.

## CHAP. II.

*What benefite and honor it is to a Prince, to haue a comely bodye, a gracious countenance, and venerable aspect.*

Beauty of body is no mean blessing in a Prince.



NE of the parts (in mine opinion) which maketh the Maiestie of a Prince to be most venerable (speaking of exterior graces) is beautie of body: which we see to be accompanied with singular grauity, and which yeeldeth argument of wisdom and knowledge.

The saying of Pythagoras, concerning a crooked body

And although the rule of *Pythagoras* hath often bene noted to faile, affirming, *That in a crooked body, there can neuer dwell a right soule* (because we haue seene in an ill shaped body, to reigne diuers choyce vertues) yet that which is most frequent and ordinary, is to see the contrary. And if an honourable aspect and representation, serued to no other end in a Prince; but to encrease his authority and reuerence, yet are they much more dignified, if some signes of vertue and bountie doe beare them company. As on the contrary, they are diminished by ill shape and deformity. For *Cicero* sayeth; *The habitude of vertue is of such efficacie, that it maketh vs to loue him that is possessed therewith.* Euen so, Maiestie in the person of a Prince, hath a veneration meerely in it selfe, which attracteth the heartes

*Cicero in Tuscul.*  
Lib. 3. cap. 7.

of his subiects vnto loue: vrged thereunto (perhappes) by no expresse fantasie, that a Prince ought to be vertuous, and conforme his actions to the beauty of his body.

This reason (it may be) hath induced many barbarous people to iudge, that there was no man capeable of a good spirit, to bring any great attempt to successful end; but onely such a one, as was endued (by nature) with a goodly proportion of body, and an honorable presence. *Macrobius* declareth, that in the Isle of *Meroe* on *Nilus*, the inhabitants (who are said to liue halfe againe as long as we do) vse to elect as their Prince, him whome they know to be the strongest, and of far goodlier presence then any other. There is no man, but will repute a deformed Prince, yet vertuous; ought to be preferred before him of goodly person, and vicious: but when wee come to make equality of them, our affection will rather leane to the comely body, then vnto the counterfeit.

*Demetrius*, the sonne of *Antigonus*, was of such a goodly and honourable representation, that there was neither Painter or Caruer that durst attempt to portraire him: for there was in him both a sweet complexion, and terror mixed together; yet ioyned with such mansuetude & grauity, as it plainly appeared, that hee was meerely borne, to be affected, feared, and reuerenced altogether. VVee reade of *Marius* (who had so many Triumphs) that he was of such a venerable aspect, as being prisoner to his enemy *Silla*: a French man was sent by him to murder him. Who entering into the prison, with his weapon ready drawne, and noting in him a verie graue and dreadfull aspect; he became so dismayed and terrified, that hee returned backe, leauing the prison open, and (by that means) was the cause of preserving his life. *Alexander* the Macedonian (being but of meane stature, and not ouercomely countenanced) walking with his deere affected Friend *Ephestion*: the Mother of King *Darius* (being verie desirous to salute *Alexander*) offered her courtesies to *Ephestion*, making him many humble reuerences. For, seeing him to be so goodly a man of person; she verily thought, that (of necessity) hee must be *Alexander*.

*Dionis. Arceop.*  
in vit. Princ. c.  
17.

The opinion of diuers barbarous nations.

*Macrobius*, in S.  
turn. lib. 3. cap.

Affection rather fauoreth comeliness then deformity.

The excellent feature of *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*.

The countenance of *Marius* saued his life in great perill.

*Ephestion* honoured instead of *Alexander*, only by his comely persona.

Historics make report, that *Alcibiades*, *Scipio*, and many other, did highly honor and make great the dignitie of their authoritie, onely by their sightly appearance: wherewith also their innated vertues being combind, did inestimable benefite to their severall Countries and Common-weales. On the contrary, we finde that many Princes and Captaines, as well auncient as moderne, haue bene despised for their lowe stature, and other defects of honourable presence, euen to the peril of their liues, whereof I purpose to produce two examples onely.

*Philopæmenes*, Duke of the *Achaians*, and much renowned, was of so lowe stature, mis-shapen presence, and deformed countenance, that when he attyred himselfe in mechanicke habite (as oftentimes he vsed to doe) he seemed rather to bee of vile and vulgare place, then woorthy to haue gouernement of the people. He was greatly addicted to hunting, and therefore resorted very often to *Megara*. It so chanced on a certaine day, that this desire of hunting carried him further off, then hee had any willing intent to goe: so that hee arriued at the house of a Citizen neare adioyning, who was a singular friend of his, and had lately before bene marryed. He had but one seruant in his company; because the rest hee had sent to other places, and being come to his friends house, he knockt at the doore: and the women looking foorth at their window, demaunded what they would haue; when the seruant replied, That *Philopæmenes*, Duke of the *Achaians* came to haue entertainment there.

The woman being much amazed, that a man of such worth, and so much vnexpected, should come on such a sodaine thither, and (hauing neuer seehe the Duke) reputing these to be but two of his seruants, which came before to giue knowledge of his coming, because they were thus alone; without returning any other answer, came and opened the dore to them. When they were entred into the house, she sent one of her seruants to aduertise her husband speedily (who was then abroad at the next village:) requiring *Philopæmenes* & the other with him, to sit downe in the meane time, while she bestirred her selfe to prepare supper. About the house trots she and her maid,

her thoughts much busied and molested, beginning one thing, and then another, but neuer going thorow or finishing any, though she had but little time of allowance. At last, looking on *Philopæmenes*, who sate muffled in his cloake, and might be more cold then hee would make shew of (whereat (happily) she more smiled, then at his deformitie) she, somewhat roundly (like a nimble stirring huswife) prayed him to lay by his Cloake, and help her to make a good fire, because her other seruants were else-where imploied, and that supper might be made readie in due time, against the coming of his Lord and maister.

Heereupon, he tooke a hatchet which she gaue him, and fell to cleauing wood for the kitchin: hauing formerly giuen order to his man, to take no other knowledge of him, lest the woman should discerne any scruple of the deceit. While hee stoode stoutly to this employment; home came the master of the house, who knowing *Philopæmenes*, and wondering to see him so homely busied; did him humble reuerence, saying; *My Lord, this is no office for you to vndergoe*. Whereto (smiling) hee replied: *Worthy friend, let mee alone, I doe but pay the penalitie due to my deformitie*.

In our time, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, who had the title of *Catholike*, a very wise and discreet Prince; but of stature, rather too lowe, then of any mediocritie, and although hee had a royall face, and was a man of great gouernement; yet it appeared plainely in him, that it was not correspondent to his other members. Besides, hee vsually wore his garments of cloth, whereby he was rather thought to be a Cittizen, then any way taken to be a King.

The King traouailing (on a time) to *Naples*, accompanied with *Queene Isabell*, and beeing there louingly expected; by occasion of weather, hee arriued at a hauen towne on the Sea coast (called \* *Puteoli*) with his onely Gally, the rest beeing much better prepared, remaining behinde. Landing there, he was honourably receiued by the Inhabitants, according to the extent of their power in such a place. While the Pallace was furnishing, and prouision for his diet preparing; hee walked alone by himselfe in a Hall,

This doubtlesse she would not haue done, but that shee tooke him for some meane seruant.

*Philopomen* cleueth wood for the Kitchen, to make ready suppers.

A free confession of his own deformitie.

Another History of king *Ferdinand*, called the little King of *Spaine*.

\* A Towne in *Campania*, eight miles from *Naples*.

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example of  
deformity in  
*Philopomen*  
gouernor of  
the *Achaians*

Citty of *A-*  
*iaia* on the  
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*tica*.

pleasant  
story of  
*Philopomen*  
singing.

the Citizens  
if supposed  
*Philopomen*  
to be some  
more sightly  
person, then  
he appeared  
in her eye.

where

The conference betweene a blunt Fisherman and the King.

The Fisherman would not credite outward appearance.

The Kings pleasant words to his Lords.

Another History concerning the same King, but in a more distastefull manner.

The King in danger of life by his deformity.

where (very soone after) a poore blunt fisherman came to him, who (by chance) had taken a goodly fish, wherewith he intended to present the King. The Fisherman, not knowing him, desired to vnderstand where the King was: he presently answered him; I am he. The Fisherman brake foorth into loude laughter, imagining that hee had meerey mocked him; wherefore hee prayed him agayne, to tell him where the King was: and he againe affirmed himselfe to be hee. But the Fisherman, discerning in him no maiestically resemblance, either for his person or habite, and no attendants about him fitting for a King; returned backe, and carryed away the fish with him. Hereat the King could not chose but smile, and some of his especiall Lords and Fauourites immediately entring (after they had saluted him with their wonted reuerence) laughing outright, thus hee spake vnto them. *Lords, did yee not meete a Fisherman going foorth? If you doe not goe and giue him assurance, that I am your King, wee shall loose the best Fish that euer I saw.* Instantly the Fisherman returned backe againe, and beholding him (whom he so much neglected) to bee so duetifully reuerenced by such worthy persons; he beganne to conceiue in his soule, that (vndoubtedly) he was the King, and falling vpon his knees before him, he humbly presented the fish vnto him.

Wee may account this for a merry accident, in regarde of another which happened to him, and by the same occasion of mis-censuring his person. For, at another time, the same King being at *Barcelona*, going in Procession with his courtly attendants, as wayting on the Sacrament, on the day dedicated to that solemnity: hee was sodainely set vpon by a *Spaniard*, who gaue him so mightie a stroke with a great Dagger on his necke, as had bene sufficient to smite off his head; but that the blow was rebated by a great chaine of golde, being then (accidentally) about his necke. This *Spaniard* being taken, and suspected that hee had some other complices in the action; was put to the tortures, where he would confesse nothing else, but onely that he was moued out of his owne mind to do it, in meere hatred he bare to the King. Heereupon he was demaunded, what occasion

should so prouoke him to hate the King? He answered; Truely nothing else, but because his countenance did not please him, for, it appeared so vngracious vnto him, that if they did set him at libertie, yet he would kil him, whatsoeuer came of it. Questionlesse, it was a strange case, that a man should so desperately endanger his owne life, because a King was not formed to his liking.

### CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the inhumane actions, and monstrous cruelties of Aristotimus the tyrant; a subject well be seeming a Tragedy.*



*Aristotimus*, vnder the fauors, and forces of King *Antigonus*, tyrannically vsurped ouer the \* *Eleusians*, exercising his power so intemperately, that he omitted not any kinde of iniury or crueltie, whereby he might afflict the miserable Citizens; for he was (by nature) more inhumane and cruell, then any man liuing in his time. Hee added to this his cruel disposition, the council of barbarous men, to whom hee not only gaue the rule of the kingdome, but also the gardance of his owne person. Among all the extraordinary cruelties, that which he inflicted on *Philodamus*, a very honourable Citrizen, deserueth to be recorded for a most especiall example.

This *Philodamus* had a daughter of admirable beauty & singular graces, named *Mica*, on whom a soldier called *Lucius* (an especiall fauourite to the Tyrant) became so extremely enamored; that (in a bold & imperious manner) he sent to her father, commāding him to send him his daughter. *Philodamus*, much afflicted at so sawcie a commaund, & knowing what power *Lucius* had with the Tyrant, fearing also what might happen to him and her mother; laboured by perswasions, that his daughter should go to him. But the yong Virgin, who more prized honor then life, by meere instinct of her noble education; fell on her knees before her father, & embracing his knee very strictly, humbly entreated, that hee would not expose her to such monstrous dishonour, but rather to see her dead before his face, then deliuer her to such shame and indignitie.

\* Eleusis a City in Attica neere Athens, where Ceres had a Temple.

Tyrants are commonly gouerned by barbarous persons.

The lamentable History of *Philodamus* and his faire daughter *Mica*.

The vertuous entreaties of *Mica* to her Father.

The

The father being moued by her teares to compassion, fate downe by his wofull wife, and sorrow now sung grieffe in three sad parts, which admitted no leisure for a finall resolution. Whereat *Lucius* growing impatient, through the violence of his hote and fiery lust, seeing the mayd not brought, according to his wicked expectation: he ran himselfe to the house, where finding her on hir knees before hir parents, fall holding her fathers legge in her armes; with heavy threatnings, hee commanded her to arise, and goe thence along with him immediately. Shee continuing her wofull complaints, refusing to rise, or listen to his menaces; the cruell man, tearing off her garments to her naked skinne, did strike and beate her in most vnmanly manner; all which she endured with a most constant courage, not breathing foorth so much as a sigh, but as one prepared to suffer his vttermost cruelty.

On their knees fell the mournfull father and mother, before the wretched man, not able to abide so rufull a spectacle, entreating him, to take pittie on the Virgine, and their age. But seeing they could not preuayle with this mercilesse barbarian; they called for helpe to the gods, and men, whereat hee waxing extremely displeas'd, drew out his sword, and slew the Virgine, as thus she embraced the knee of her father. Although this horrible cruelty moued not the Tyrant a iote, yet the Cittizens so distast'd the deede; that some of them hee punished with present death, and banished some other, so that eight hundred fearefully fledde into *Aetolia*: who afterward writing backe to the Tyrant, desired so much fauour of him, that their wiues and children (with some part of their goodes) might bee sent thither to them, to liue with their husbands.

The women, not a little glad at this good motion, beganne to make vp their fardells, some prouiding wagons, others horses, for conueying thence their goods and children.

Vpon the day appoynted for their departure, all the Gates were set open for them to passe out at; their waggons and horses loaden with their children and goods; and as they offered to issue forth, diuers Sergeants and Catch-poles (stan-

ding ready for the purpose) cryed out to them with dreadfull threatnings, to stay and passe no further, ouerthrowing the waggons and horses, laden with their goods and children, so that they were not able to escape out of the crowds: but beheld their yoong children bruised in peeces vnder their heels, they not being any way vnable to helpe them. Afterward, such women and children as were left aliue, the Souldiers assembled them together, driuing them on before them, (like herds of cattell) beating them with staues towards the Tyrants Pallace, who (causing all their goods to be taken from them) imprisond them and their children together.

This horrible cruelty did highly displeas'e the Cittizens, who not knowing how they might best incite the Tyrant to pittie their wiues: tooke sixteene vestall Virgins, consecrated to *Dionisius*, and, atyring them in their religious habites: they tooke sacred things out of the Temple in their hands, and (in sollemne manner of a Procession) went towards the tyrant, to craue mercie of him for the women and children. The Souldiers, who stood as a garde about the Tyrant, being moued with reuerence to those holy Virgins; made way for them, that they might the easier come into his presence. *Aristotimus* affoording audience, to vnderstand what these women desired, and gathering by the very entrance into their Oration, to what end the full scope ayimed; hee gaue very disdainfull looks vpon his Guard, reprouing them roughly and rigorously, because they suffered them to come so neare him. Whereupon, the rude Souldiers, without any regarde of their Sexe or religious condition; smote them with the staues of their halberds, giuing them many cruell blows and bastinadoes, vntill such time as they went away from him, being each of them condemned in two Talents fine beside, because they had presumed so boldely to enter into his presence.

There was a noble Cittizen in the Citie, named *Hellanicus*, two of whose children the tyrant had put to death, and yet (in regarde of his age) did not account him any way to be suspected. This worthy Gentleman, being no longer able to dure, the outrage and crueltie inflicted

The monstrous and cruell acte of Aristotimus, vpon poore women and children.

A Procession of sixteene vestall virgins to pacifie the cruell Tyrant.

The vestall virgins cruelly vsed by the Soldiours about Aristotimus.

Hellanicus a Noble Cittizen, practiseth reuenge vpon the Tyrant.

Lucius goeth himselfe to the house of Aristodamus, where (in most inhuman manner) he beate Mica.

Lucius desperately killeth Mica, which procured death to her, and banishment to her.

\* A Region in Greece, betwene Acarnan and Phocis.

Aristotimus being in feare goeth to his women prisoners, and cruelly threatneth them.

Megestena, wife to the Noble Lord Thimoleon, chiefe among all the women

on his Countrey : determined to finde out some apt occasion, and to reuenge all wrongs by the death of *Aristotimus*. In the meane while, the other Cittizens, that were fled before into *Aetolia*, hauing mustred so many men together as they could possibly procure; entred into open armes, and came into the *Eleusians* confines, where they fortified themselues, and daily drew more and more to their faction, determining present warre vpon the Tyrant, many neighbouring friends assisting them with supplying forces, so that they encreased to an indifferent armie.

Vpon these proceedings, the Tyrant became afflicted with very great feare, so that he went to the women whom he detained prisoners, and being a man of a diuellish spirit, coueting to compasse whatsoever he would haue, rather by rigorous menaces, then any faire or gentle means) commanded them very roughly, to write to their husbands by Ambassadors, that they should desist from their present enterprize : otherwise, hee would instantly massacre al their children, and cause them to be beaten starke naked throughout the Cittie. To these threatnings the women returned not any answer, which incensed him with the greater rage against them; and hee sternely commaunded them, to giue him resolution what they would do. Some, not hauing the boldnesse of spirit to reply, stode stedfastly looking vpon the rest, as questioning in their soules, which of them should returne the answer, yet making no account of all his threatnings.

Among this company of worthy women, was one, named *Megestena*, wife to *Thimoleon*, who, as well in regarde of her husbands Nobilitie, as her owne innated singular vertues, was held to be the very chiefe of them, & (with the like esteeme) they honoured her. This Lady, when the Tyrant came in among them, would not rise to giue him any reuerence, neyther suffer any of the rest to do otherwise then as shee did. Shee hauing heard the Tyrants menaces, sitting stil vpon the ground, and returning no signe at all of reuerence, shee spake thus.

¶ The answer of *Megestena* to the Tyrant *Aristotimus*.

*Aristotimus*, if there remained in thee any wisdome, then wouldest thou not make thy recourse to women; to haue them write a direction to their husbands, what they should doe; but rather thou wouldest send their wiues to them, with better speeches and more woorthy consideration, then thou hast vsed toward them, making a mockerie of vs, by a most base and dishonourable deceit. And now, when thou seest thy selfe able to doe nothing else; thou presumest (by our meanes) to beguile our husbands by faire wordes, as formerly thou hast abused our credulitie. Thou deceuest thine owne iudgement, for, wee will not suffer them to be agayne overreached by thee; neyther doe thou imagine them to bee so foolish, as to shield their children from death, or prevent the losse of their poore wiues liues, they will forbear to execute that whereto they stand obliged: I meane the freedome of their Countrey. For, the losse of vs & their children is not so yrkesome to them, as the glad some satisfaction will be, to deliuer their people and Countrey from outrage and cruelty.

Longer would *Megestena* haue continued her discourse, but that the Tyrant (beeing vnable to bridle his rage) commanded the Ladies sonne to be brought thither, that there hee might be slaine in her sight. But whilest the Officers were seeking among the rest of the imprisoned children for her sonne; the mother (with an vndaunted courage) calling him by his name, sayd. Come hither to me, sweete Boy, and rather die by thy mothers hand, then endure the bloody crueltie of a Tyrant. These wordes so amazed *Aristotimus*, and kindled such outrageous choller in him; that (drawing foorth his Sword) hee purposed to haue slaine the Lady. But one of his chiefe familiar friends, named *Chilon*, standing by, caught her in his armes, and pacified his fury.

This *Chilon* was one of them, who practised with *Hellanicus* the Tyrants death, as vnable also to suffer his cruelties. Hee hauing somewhat calmed the extremity of his rage, caused him to put vp his Sword agayne: plainly telling him, that it was a matter monstrous, and ill beseeeming the dignitie of a Prince, to soile his hand with the blood of a woman.

Within a while after, there hapned a strange

The proud folly of the Tyrant wife reproued by discrete woman.

An admirable & worthy resolution in a woman to the amendment of the Tyrant.

*Chilon* one of the Confederates with *Hellanicus* deliuer his Country from tyranny.

A strange prodigy, as foretelling the death of the Tyrant. For, being in bedde with his wife, whilest the Cooks were making ready his diet, an Eagle was seene to hover ouer the Lant-horne of the Pallace, and letting fall a great stone directly into it (it being ouer the Chamber where hee lay) it made a great noyse in the fall; and giuing a fearefull loud shout; the Eagle vanished from the sight of all that beheld it. The Tyrant awaking, with the confused murmure of such as had seene it, and not a little dismaied when it was reported to him; sent for a cunning Soothsayer, in whome hee reposed no meane confidence, to vnderstand what the meaning heereof might bee. The Wizard bade him be of good courage, for it figured nothing else, but that *Iupiter* had an especiall care of him, and sent his Eagle so to expresse it. But he told the Cittizens quite contrary, in whom he durst repose his trust, because he knew their hatred to *Aristotimus*: and bade them be bolde, that some sodayne and strange kinde of death, should (in a short while) happen to the Tyrant.

Heereupon *Hellanicus* and his Confederates, thought fit to delay the time no longer, but concluded to kill him on the morrow following; because the verie same night, *Hellanicus* sleeping in his bed, seemed to see one of his sonnes, that before had bene slaine by the Tyrant, who cryed out aloud to him, saying; *Deare father, Why doe you sleepe thus? Wherefore doe you trifle away the time? Stand you in doubt, that you shall not be made Prince of the Cittie?* *Hellanicus* confirmed by this Vision, went earely the next morning to finde his vowed friends, hastening them to execute the deed determined. At the selfe same time, *Aristotimus* had receiued tydings, that *Craterus* was comming to assist him with a great power of Souldiers, and that hee was already set foorth from *Olympia*. Which news were not a little welcome to him, so that seeming now free from all feare; he walked abroad to take the aire, some small distance from the Pallace, accompanied onely with *Chilon*, nor attending for any more, although they came dropping after one by one. Which *Hellanicus* well obseruing, thought it now a fit time to execute the enterprife, and without giuing any sig-

nall to the rest of the confederacie, he lifted vp his hands to Heauen, speaking aloud; *What stay yee for, valiant Gentlemen? Why make yee not now the goodliest spectacle that euer yet was seene?*

*Chilon* was the first that drew his weapon, and killing one that came last from the Pallace, who offered to steppe in the tyrants defence; *Aristotimus* espied *Thrasibulus* and *Lampidius* (two whom he most trusted) drawing their weapons likewise vpon him. Whereupon, hoping to escape their violence, hee ranne into the Temple of *Iupiter*, where he was slaine by his owne followers. Afterward, his bodie being throwne forth into the open street, the people cryed out, *Libertie, Libertie*. The women were the first, that (making way through the throngs) came thither, who ioyfully embraced them, that by the tyrants death) were the happy deliuerers of their Countrey. In the meane while, multitudes flocked to the Pallace, where the wife of *Aristotimus* (hauing heard of the murder of her husband; and doubting how the people would deal with hir) shutting her Chamber doores about her; there with her Chaine shee strangled her selfe.

The Tyrant had two very goodly and beautifull daughters, of yeares apt and able for marriage; who hauing heard of their fathers death, had lockt themselues vp close in a Chamber; from whence they were drawne by the peoples violence, and in their furie they would haue slaine them. But *Megestena*, with diuers other of the Ladies, stode in their defence, saying: That it were an euill deed, and iustly deseruing blame, to kill them: considering, they had not learnd so much courage of the Tyrant their father, to exercise cruelty vpon themselues. By these speeches the people were appeased, and a decree was set downe, that they should make election of their death, and performe it on themselues with their owne hands, if they had the heart to doe it.

So becing sent into their Chamber, *Aspasia* the eldest sister expressing no appearance, eyther by countenance, or any signe else, that she stood in feare of death; loosed her girdle, and fastening it about a timber-beame, resolved so there to hang her selfe, exhorting her sister (with manly courage) to perforce the like

Aristotimus the Tyrant slaine by his owne followers in the Temple of *Iupiter*.

The Tyrants wife strangeth herselfe with her chaine of gold

*Aspasia* and *Hilaria*, the daughters of *Aristotimus*.

The valiant resolution of two sisters in their death.

A strange prodigy pre-  
serving the  
death of *Ari-  
stotimus*.

Wizard  
saith the  
intent of the  
prodigy.

Vision seene  
to *Hellanicus*  
in his sleepe,  
hastening the  
death of *Ari-  
stotimus*.

A City be-  
twene the  
hills *Ossa* and  
*Olympus*,  
where *Iupiter*  
had a Temple

The words of  
Aspasia to her  
sister Hillaria,  
before her  
death.

upon her selfe; *Hillaria* the yonger daughter, taking her sister by the hand, desired her to permit, that shee might die first. Whereto shee replied in this manner: *As during the time, that Nature permitted vs to liue like Sisters, I neuer did willingly deny thee any thing; so farre be it from mee now, to refuse thee in thy latest request: howbeit, nothing can afflict mee more, then to see thee die.* No sooner were these words spoken, but *Hillaria* taking the Girdle, strangled her selfe therewith immediately. When shee was dead, *Aspasia* kneeling by her body; and loosing her girdle from about her necke, turning herselfe to *Megestena*, & intreating, that their bodies might receiue no shame after death; with the selfe-same constancie of corage, she ended her life likewise.

### CHAP. IIII.

*The reason why men cannot know and understand the truth of many things, while they remaine in this life.*



Five principall causes there are, why a man can not know the truth of diuerse things, during his abiding in this world: which if hee could attaine vnto, he might repute himselfe to be wise indeede.

The first is ignorance of his end, that is, he knows not to what end he was created, for it is a matter most certayne, that if he did know that; he would labor no lesse to obtaine it, then he doth to get dignities & riches: wherein (because they best agree with his appetite) they make him to imagine, that all his happines consists in them. But in this case it fareth with him, as with a kings son in his child-hood. For, if it be demaded of him, whether he doth more affect the succession in his Fathers kingdom, then Apples, Cheries, or some other fruites, presented instantly to him: questionlesse, hee will rather accept the Apples or Cheries, then the kingdome, bicause he finds them sutable to his yong desires, as hauing both sight and knowledge of them in taste and apprehension.

Euen so it happeneth to a man; for if it were demanded of him, whether he best liked to make choice of, Riches or Wise-

dom: his election would stand on wealth and power, being meerey ignorant, that Wisedome onely is the chiefest wealth, and that the Wise man only ought to ordaine and gouerne. For, without Wisedome and Knowledge, power is not power, but weakenes, and vtter deprivation of power indeede: And riches without knowledge, is but a bestiall possession, an abundance of presumption, and a kind of sottish substance. Whereas on the contrary, a wise man hath alwayes sufficient for himselfe, & others beside; hauing in him that truly abounding treasure, that can neuer faile or deceiue him. And all this ensueth to a man, because he is ignorant in his true end.

The second cause, is the vse of corporall delectations, voluntary and sensible, which ouerwhelme and drowne, not onely the senses of the body, but also those of the spirit and intellect. So that a man, being thus wrapped vppe in the mire of this world, is like the beautifull daughter of a King, to whom appertaineth the inheritance of her fathers Kingdome; but hauing committed adultery with some blacke deformed slaue, looseth the right of her succession thereby.

The third cause ensueth by the indispotion of such matter, as many times maketh a man vncapable of learning and knowledge: which commeth often so to passe, in regarde that the region or place of his birth, is vtterly disagreeable, and causeth him to receiue a bad complexiō. As in some of the Easterne parts, and of *Affrica*, where men are borne so beastly, by reason of the heates extremitie; that they are not capable of any reason. And contrariwise, some places in the northern parts are so colde, that verie furious men are there borne & bred; such as the *Gothes* and *Ostrogothes*: some whereof feede on humane flesh. And these people may aptly be compared to an Eagle, that hath a stone fastened to her foote, to keepe her from ouer-violent flight, which commonly is naturall vnto this Bird, causing her to soare aboute the cloudes.

The fourth is, difficulty in the Sciences. For, although a man doe plainly discern, that the desire of his soule is to seeke attentiuely, as coueting to know the truth of high and deepe causes: yet notwithstanding, he findes them so hard

There can no greater treasure or wealth in the world then wisedome.

2. The vse of bodily delights & pleasures, which are the towers of body and soule.

3. The indispotion or vnaptnesse the Count where a man is borne, by two extremities of heate or colde.

4. Difficultie truly vnderstanding the Sciences.

Five impediments to a mans knowledge.

1. Ignorance in the cause why he was created.

A Kings Son cares more for an Apple or a Cherry in his child-hood, then his Fathers kingdome.

to be vnderstoode that he retreates, and quite giueth ouer his enterprife. Wherein he resembleth his owne eye, which fixing respectiue to beholde the Sunne: the splendour thereof prooueth so piercing, that it eclipseth and troubleth so his sight, as he is not able to endure it.

The last and strangest of all, is an affection taken by a man in his youth, vnto things wherein he hath bene instructed, and especially when his desire hath lasted of some long continuance thereto. For then, Custome conuerteth it selfe into Nature, and therefore worketh a settled feare in the mans soule, and a singular loue to those things embraced, hating all other contrary to them, and the whole world (almost) is swallowed vp in this error. Do we not obserue that children among the Turkes, before they can reach to the yeares of reason: doe vtterly abhorre our Faith and Religion; and so the Iewes in like manner? Wee see also, that countrey people, by being inured and accustomed to field-dwelling, do liue grossely, disdainyng conuersation with Courtiers, or such as inhabite ciuile Citties. From whence insued the Prouerbe; *Vn-luckie is the Bird, that is bred in a bad valley*. For, by vse and conuersation receiued there, he cannot part thence, though he beholde a much better place for him. And not onely heerein is knowne the power of this habitude: for we our selues do despise them of another countrey (except sight or frequentation haue begot more familiaritie) and only through some bad and abusiuie relations of them. This error hath also preuayled with women, with whom, matters of long vse beare so high a priuiledge, that bee they neuer so bad; yet they despise the contrary, be they neuer so good.

Finally, this affection to continued vse, and detestation of such things as we know not; extendeth it selfe to all matters in our election. Wherefore, it were good to expell those hinderances out of our hearts, to the end we may (if possibly wee can) know the veritie and trueth of things indeed. For, in the knowledge of them, consisteth all contentment in this world, and the way to all felicitie in that heereafter: imitating the good husbandman, that intending to prepare his grounds for the best aduantage, doth first

roote vp the thornes and weeds, because his graine will bee the better borne. So, when the Physitian would giue a sicke man health, he first purgeth his stomacke from all corrupt humors; because in matter ill disposed, the former cannot induct it selfe. Let vs then contend against all these impediments; for the reasonable man, that will not yeelde to reason, but onely leane to his owne appetite: is like to him that will sayle ouer Mountaynes, or builde his dwelling in the Sea: for the effect both of the one and the other, are depriued of their proper ends.

CHAP. V.

*Of diuers Accidents (monstrous in nature) which serued as diuining Auguries, or coniectures of things to come, in olde and auncient times.*



**I**N precedent times, whē by permission of the true GOD, sundry Oracles, which were spirits of illusion & falshoode, hidden in Idolles and Images, gaue answeere to Idolaters: many prodigious sights were seene in the Ayre and on the earth.

And because that in these latter dayes of ours (we liuing in the light and trueth of faith) none such are now to be seene: it is a matter of some difficultie, to credite what learned Authours haue written, concerning those which hapned in their times.

Yet (mee thinketh) there needeth no distrust at all; for they hauing written Histories of warres, and other occasions happening in those dayes: by inserting the memorie of prodigious Accidents, we ought not to make any scrupulous doubt of them; but rather to rest perswaded; that as they dealt faithfully in the one, they vsed the like iustice in the other; especially, when they are likewise confirmed by many and sundry other Authours.

Comparisons aptly answering to the purpose.

Oracles of lyes & grosse illusions.

Graue Authours of great and venerable credite, deserue not to be distrusted in their writings.

An affection to some especial things conceiued in the time of a mans youth, and so continuing.

Countrie education conuinceth purely or partly quality.

Custom both to men and women breedeth another nature.

The true felicity in this world and the way to come

Plin. in l. 9. c. 14

Two great Mountaines met together, and did much harme to Townes, Men and Cattell.

Amongst other Prodigies in the *Romaines* dayes, the most notable was, that of *Modena*, vnder the Consulship of *Lucius Martius*, and *Iulius Sextius*, Consuls: where two mountaines arose out of their proper places, and mette together so impetuously, that hurling a great flame and smoake vp into the ayre, by the violence of their encounter; they returned backe agayne, not onelic destroying villages which were betweene them, but also killing an infinite number of cattell, in the open sight of many traouellers, and likewise of a great company of *Romane* Knights.

Plin in l. 9. c. 15

*Pliny*, in his ninth booke, and in the fifteenth chapter, likewise relateth in the same place, saying, that in his time, and vnder the same Empire of *Nero*, *Vessus Marcellus*, a *Romaine* Knight, whome the Emperour had sent (on his behalfe) into the kingdome of *Naples*: had (there in the maritime territoric) two fieldes, each distant from the other, the one being a fayre meadow, and the other verie thickely planted with *Oliue* trees.

Two distant Fields removed strangely into each others place, by reason of an Earthquake.

By an admirable accident, but how, I know not, these two fieldes chaunged into each others place: for the *Oliues* field was transported where the meadow stood, and the meadow into the *Oliue* plottes place; and this was conceyued to be doone by an *Earthquake*. This is not onely reported by *Plinie*, but also is auouched in the *Chronicles* of manie learned men, as also in the Booke of the *Mountaines* warre.

Men metamorphosed into Woolues  
*Euanthes* in lib. 2. cap. 5.

And although hee cannot be induced to credite, that men may be metamorphosed into *Woolues*; yet neuerthelesse hee declareth, that *Euanthes*, an Authour of no meane authoritie among the *Grecians*, recordeth the *Arabians* to haue written, that in *Arcadia* there is a great standing Poole, whereto men are brought at certayne times to passe thorow it: and as they sincke into the sand, they are instantly transfourmed into the shape of *Woolues*; and hauing continued so for the space and tearme of nine yeares: they doe recouer their former formes agayne, according as *Fabius Pictor* in his second booke and in the ninth chapter; who addeth also, that *Scopas*, who wrote the *Olympiades*, speaketh of one, named *Demarchus*, had eaten the

*Fabius Pictor* in lib. 2. cap. 9.  
*Scopas* in *Olymp.* 3.

bowelles of a young Boy, which they of *Arabia* had sacrificed to *Iupiter Lyceus*, and presently hee was transfourmed into a *Woolfe*, in which forme he continued the space of tenne yeares, and afterwarde recovering the shape of man agayne, he wonne the victorie for *Lute* playing at the Mount of *Olympus*. *Saint Augustine* in his fourteenth booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, and the third chapter saith, that *Varro* also recordeth the same. In mine opinion these transformations could not thus happen, but rather were performed by diabolicall Artes.

*Aug. in Ciuit. Dei. lib. 14. cap. 3.*

Now, concerning these things of wonder written by *Pliny*, they are not to be wondred at, because he setteth downe many matters, reputed vtterly impossible, as the transformation of a woman into man, and yet himselfe will not credite the like things, or of lesse impossibilitie, and which haue bene apparant to his owne iudgement. Notwithstanding, such as consider well the *Scriptures*, need not meruaile at transformations, happening really, and not feigned. For we know what is written in the seuenth chapter of *Exodus* and twelfth verse, That the *Rods* of the *Nations* were (not in apparence, but in effect, by secret charmes) turned into *Serpents*. Now, which thing is more easie, to change a *Rodde* into a *Serpent*, or the true body of a man (I doe not say his spirit) transformed into a beast. The opinion of *Saint Augustine* is heerein auailable, where hee sayth; A certayne man conceiued in his minde, that his daughter was turned into a young *Mare*. And bringing her to an holy man, named *Hellarion*, the graue olde man looking on her, said: *I see a young Maid, but no Mare*: for it appeared that by his deuoute prayers, she had recouered her former shape agayne. Wherefore we may iudge, that some things are shewne to men, which are not indeede; and such a thing may be apparant, and yet not existent.

*Plin. in lib. 2. supra.*

The forcere rods conuerted into Serpents.  
*Exod. 7. 12.*

*August. in Ciuit. Dei. lib. 14. c.*

But returne wee now agayne to our *Auguries*. It hath bene obserued diuers times, that in the opening of a beast, that no heart hath bene found in him: as it happened at the first time, when *Cæsar* the Dictatour sate in his golden Chaire, and then it was disputed among the *Auruspices*, if a beast were to be found without a heart.

No hart found in a Beast ing imbowed before *Cæsar*.

*Plinie*

*Plinie* in his foureteenth booke and the seauenth chapter reporteth; so doth *Cicerone* in his Diuinations, that *Caius Marius*, offering Sacrifice at *Vtica*: euen in the same manner, there was not any heart found in the beast. But it might be then well obserued, that it chaunced not thus by nature: but rather was rightly to be presumed, that false spirits did thus delude and abuse the people, taking away the beastes heart in the Sacrifice time, knowing well thereby what was to happen after.

Oftentimes likewise hath bene obserued, that two hearts haue bene found in one beast. For, wee reade that in the Sacrifices, which *Marcus Marcellus* made before hee dyed in the battaile against *Hanniball*: the first day he found no heart in the beast he sacrificed; and the next day following, hee found two. *Pliny* writeth in the place before alleaged, that in *Paphlagonia*, the Partridge hath two hearts: so likewise saith *Theophrastus*, the most expert (among Philosophers) in naturall things, as *Aulus Gellius* declareth. *Theophrastus* sayth, that in \* *Bisaltia*, each Hare hath two Liuers. And in some places (as in *Euboa*) the beastes haue no gaules.

In *Nassa* it is quite contrary, for there they are very great, and double in diuers. And Frogges, which are there called *Rubettes*, haue two liuers, the one venemous, the other medicinable: so that when they are dead, the Antes make search for them, and feede on that which is Physicall.

Wee reade, that on the day when *Pyrrhus* dyed, they sacrificed the heads of dead beastes, that licked their owne blood vpon the ground.

The same yeare, when *Hanniball* was vanquished by the *Romaines*, vnder *Publius Aelius*, and *Cneus Cornelius*, Consulls, Wheate was seene to growe vpon trees.

*Aristander* (a learned Greeke Author) declareth in his Booke of Prodigies, and in the third chapter (and it is also confirmed by *Cneus Epidius*, the Romaine, in his Commentaries) that some Trees haue bene changed into another kinde of Trees.

We reade also, that in the warre of the *Cimbrians*, a great noyse was heard

in the Ayre, like vnto the sounding of Trumpets, and clashing of weapons. And in the third yeare of the Consulship of *Marius*, two Armies were seene in the heauens, that went from the East, to meete in the West: besides many other the like Prodigies, whereof *Saint Augustine* maketh mention in his Booke of the Cittie of God.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Of a very strange and admirable Accident, which happened on an Armie in the night season.



Whoever shall reade auncient Histories, needeth not wonder at some things, happening in those times, or else related by such as haue

seene them: for sometimes it hath bene obserued, that either the same accident, or else but little differing, hath chaunced in one place as well as another. Among the admirable Accidents, which I haue read in auncient or moderne Histories: I finde that to be very singuler, and well deseruing memorie, which happened to *Agathocles* (the Tyrant of *Sicilie*) in *Affrica*.

This *Agathocles* was a man very expert in Armes, whereby (beeing but of base condition, to wit, the sonne of a poore Potter) hee made himselfe Lord of the whole Isle of *Sicilie*. Hauing had long warre against the *Carthagenians*, and seeing himselfe besieged (both by Land and Sea) in *Syracusa*, by *Amilcar*, with a powerfull Armie of *Lybians*: hee was of such an vndaunted courage, that, leauing the Cittie to the garde of his brother *Antander*, and hauing certain shippes readily prepared; by the helpe of a cunning stratageme, hee gotte foorth at a narrow port, with about seauen thousand footemen, and a small number of horse, and went to land on the shoares of *Affrica*. Hauing gotte there in pay sixe thousand *Greekes*, he went and besieged *Carthage*, bringing the Citie into such distresse, that the Senators knew not which part to take.

Many battailes were fought betweene them,

Accidents hapning in diuers places of little difference each from other.

*Agathocles* the sonne of a poore Potter, came to be a singular Soldiour and a King.

*Carthage* besieged by *Agathocles*.

*in l. 14. c. 7. Cicero in lib. de inimat. cap. 9*

two hearts haue bene found in one cast.

A Country in the North part of the Asie, by the sea side, is called *Galatia*. *Gellius* in *l. 16. cap. 15.* A free country of *Macedonia* by the Iuer *Strymon*.

*Gellius* in *lib. ubi supra.*

*Aristander* in *lib. Prodig. c. 2.* *Cneus Epidius* in *comment. cap. 19.*

them, wherein *Agathocles* proued alwaies victorious; because the time so fauored him, that he had drawn no meane troup of horse to take part with him. The *Carthaginians* (beside their Citizens, and many mercenary Souldiers (in great number) which they had for defence of the City, being vnable to equall the cavalierie of *Agathocles*) called one of their chiefe Captaines from *Lybia*, bringing with him a powerfull army into the field, to haue a day of tryall against *Agathocles*. After diuers skirmishes passing betweene them, vpon a day, *Agathocles* would needs assault the enemies Campe (for his men wanting victualles, desired nothing more then present fight) but the enemy being very strögly planted, would not issue foorth, though they were very hotely set vpon in their Fort; knowing the necessitie of *Agathocles*, and the desperate condition of his men.

Continuing the assault still, to his owne disadvantage, he payed the penaltie due to his boldenesse: for the enemy repulsed him with great losse of his Souldiers; one part of them beeing sloyne, and the other within compasse of the enemies power. The night preuenting the battailes conclusion; I am to tell yee an example of wonder, which strangely followed thereupon, in this manner. The *Carthaginians*, after their victorie, sacrificing vnto their Gods, in signe of their thankfulness (with a cruell superstition) a great number of their prisoners, both *Greeks* and *Italians*; brought such a quantity of wood to burne the bodies, that the fire grew so impetuous: as it not onely consumed the sacrificing Tent, but also the Pauillion of their Captayne and Generall, besides infinite other, being a lamentable spectacle to all that beheld it. For, through the extreimity of this accident, a mighty tumult grew among them; proouing to occasion the death of many; for some, labouring to quench the fire, fell into it, and so perished; others strining to escape from it, crowded one another to death in the throngs.

In this night of horreur and confusion, one nouell accident drew on another: for, in the Campe of *Agathocles*, there was found about five thousand *Lybians* newly arriued, in whom hee durst repose no trust; for they intending to

passe on, and to ioyne with the *Carthaginians* forces, were miss-led, onely throw the darkenesse of the night. On still they went from *Agathocles* Campe, till they came within hearing of the Guards and Centinells of the *Carthaginians*, who imagining them to be the Armie of *Agathocles*, re-assembled againe for a fresh assault; and hoping to finde them in disorder (as indeede they were, through the foes violence) rayfed sodainely such a strange noyse themselues, that the whole Camp fell to flight, and was vtterly broken, so that few or none remained, but all were dispersed, some running thwart the fieldes, others backe to the City, to saue themselues.

The Citizens hearing this noyse of the people (conceiuing verily, that it was the enemy, who had foiled their Campe, and came now to assault the Cittie:) were so confounded with feare and amazement, that they left the City without any defence, seeking how they might best secure their owne liues. So that if *Agathocles* had receiued but the least intelligence thereof, and had gone immediately to giue the assault: this night had made him Lord of *Carthage*, and the whole Kingdome thereto belonging. Fortune, not yet satisfied with blinde-folded confusion, caused the five thousand *Lybians* (perceiuing what had happened) to turne backe vpon the disordred Campe of *Agathocles*, who fearing a fresh onset of the enemy; fled, some one way, some another, and fel into such a madding fury among themselues, that thinking their owne people (still as they mette) to be *Carthaginians*; they slew one another very cruelly, the obscurity of the night not permitting them to see their owne error. So that, through this inaduertence or inconsideration, five thousand were flaine among the *Grecians*, and as many of the *Carthaginians*, flying and fighting in this confused maner. By which meanes, five thousand men (erroniously mis-ledde) against their willes, brake three hoasts or Armies, with no meane example, of Fortunes power in actions of Armes.

CHAP.

A fresh supply from *Lybia*, came to the *Carthaginians*.

*Agathocles* maintained the assault still to his owne losse.

A bloody and cruel manner of sacrificing obserued among the *Carthaginians*.

The coming of a fresh company of *Lybians*, caused a strange accident in this confusion

A strange confusion happening likewise among the Citizens at *Carthage*.

Another accident in the Campe of *Agathocles*, among themselves.

CHAP. VII.

¶ How indiscreete a thing it is, and greatly to be blamed in Christian Princes, to permit the Duello, or single Combat between man and man.

**L**ike as abuse is growne among all things (well-neare) in the world, by the coldnesse of charitie in men, and their mallice augmented one towards an other; Euen so falleth it out in Duells or single fights. For, amongst great Princes, when they lawfully exercised themselves in Armes, it was honourably admitted in certayne cases, and differences of most high importance, which could not otherwise be terminated or discided. But now it is grown to such corruption, as euery silly and priuate Souldiour, for very small or simple occasion, presumeth, that it is lawfull for him to vndertake it. But that which most of all distasteth me, is to see, that Christian Princes onely doe permit it, considering, that in them (more then in any other) the Lawe doth expressly forbidde it: and it is increased to such an abuse, that, except God amend it, it is to be feared, that Prelates of the Church will also suffer it.

The Duell or Combate, is denied to a Christian man, to doe it, to graunt it, and to see it, by reason both diuine and humane, as well Canonically as Civile. It is prohibited by diuine reason, according to this argument. Euery acte where-by God may be tempted, is prohibited to a Christian by the commaundement of God: For, it is written; *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* That GOD is tempted by the Duell or Combate, I prouue it in this manner: To make triall of things, which cannot be reduced to an end by naturall meanes, but onely by the Hand of Heauen: such attempting is to tempt God. As it happeneth in cases of purgation, where it is most notorious and euident, that (by naturall course or disposition) the strongest, actiue, and most powerfull person euer vanquisheth

the weaker, and of lesse abilitie. Contrariwise, that the stronger bodie shall be ouercome by the weaker, can not happen but miraculouly.

Bringing then two such vnequall persons into the field, victorie is desired for him which hath right and reason on his side, to the end, that the trueth may be made apparent. But then God is tempted, in seeking, that he should performe a myracle; which must needs bee so, when the weaker man conquereth the stronger, beeing (as it were) directly against nature.

I prouue it further forbidden by Diuine reason, after this argument: when a Law prohibiteth a thing, it forbiddeth also the dooing of it; and a man performeth an especiall inhibited thing, when hee knoweth (by the Diuine Lawe) that hee is not to kill a man: The Combate then is flatly forbidden, because thereby murder may happen.

I yet prouue it otherwise thus. The Diuine Lawe forbiddeth euery action, that differeth from the fountaine of charitie, which is the scope and end, of al vertues, and viterly expelleth vice: The acte of Combate is farre off from charitie, leaning vnto vice; because charitie is nothing else, but to loue God and thy neighbour, and he that enters the Combate to kil his neighbor, is out of all obedience to God.

It is likewise prohibited by the Canonically Lawe, because it euermore followeth the diuine Law: and in plaine reason, what the one inhibiteth, the other neuer alloweth. Combat is also forbidden by the Lawe of men, and the prooffe is, that euery thing which repugneth and contradicteth naturall equitie, is likewise prohibited by the reason of man; because reason is grounded vpon naturall equitie. The reason of equity among men willeth, that he which committeth a crime, should be punished, and the innocent cleared: notwithstanding, by Combate it falleth out many times quite contrary.

It is further proued by this argument. Naturall equitie, whereon (as we haue already sayde) all reason in men is grounded; is entirely for the conseruation and encrease of them. That acte then, which turnerh vnto the diminution and destruction of men, is quite forbidden: so ought Combate to be, because thereby

Miracles only appertaine to the power of God.

Murder may happen by combate.

The acte of combate killeth Charity.

Combate contrary to the common law, and law of men, and naturall equity.

Naturall equity is for the conseruation of mankind, and combate is for his destruction.

Older times the combate as honourary granted.

The Law expressly forbidde the combate Christian Princes.

The combate denied to a Christian in reason suffice, & fight

Things not allowed by naturall meanes is tempting God.

The two main precepts of naturall equity, are broken by the asse combate.

Combate forbidden by the ciuill Law.

men kill one another, and men are of greatest price in the world. Moreouer, euery acte which repugneth the precepts of naturall equitie, is forbidden by mans reason, because it is grounded thereupon. One of the precepts is, that no man shall desire profit or honour, by the prejudice and hinderance of another. The second is, that no man shall wish that to another, which he would not haue done to himselfe. The acte of Combate contradiceth them both, because hee which commeth so prepared into the field, coueteth his owne glorie, by the shame and harme of him against whom he fighteth, which is his neighbour; and wisheth that to him, which he would not haue executed on himselfe; for, he would vanquish and kill him.

It is also forbidden by Ciuile reason, and this is the rule. Ciuile right prohibieth euery acte, whereby Iustice may be denied to men, or iniurie doone them. Now, in the case of Combate, oft times it falleth out quite contrary, for the innocent man dyeth, and the guilty offender remayneth aliue, so that by this meanes, Iustice can not take her due place.

### CHAP. VIII.

#### ¶ Of strange and admirable properties in the Asse.



Amongst all the properties in beasts, those of the Asse are most to be admired; for hee is so meeke and domesticke, as that *Isidore* doth say, He taketh his name of *seating*; for, in elder times, men mounted on such beasts backs, to saue themselues securely. Or else it cometh of the Greeke diction *Asinos*, composed of *A*, which is a Greeke diction priuatiue, signifying *Sine*, Without, and *Cinos*, which signifieth *Sensus*, Wit or *Sense*: so that coupling these two vocables together, signifieth, without Wit or Senses. Heereupon it is said, that hee is fearefull to goe ouer a Bridge, where water runneth vnderneath it: because hauing a weake brayne, hee is (by instinct of nature) fearefull to fall therein. He is timo-

rous also to enter water, how shallow soeuer it be; fearing by the current thereof, his braine may be troubled, and he drowned; which proceedeth from a kinde of knowledge that hee hath of his owne imperfection.

This creature is slouthfull and melancholy, because he is colde, drie, without memory, laborious, and apt to carry burdens. By reason of his great frugalitie, he cannot liue in colde Countries, and if by aduenture he doe liue there: hee affecteth not the generatiue action, neyther can he there ingender. Hee beareth best vpon his reines, rather then on his backe or shoulders: for, being melancholie, his bones behind are the more strong and dry, for there is the signe of melancholy, and there is his skinne so thicke and hard, that though he be beaten with great stauces, he cannot be killed without much paines. Also, because he consisteth of an earthie nature, hee is hardly disciplinable, and fatteneth very little. *Albertus Magnus* sayth, That by the selfe-same reason, hee endureth much paine in his head, and dieth, tumbling his head aside, and in regarde of his heads weightinesse, a thicke and viscuous humour falleth on his lights or lungs, which maketh him to breathe with difficulty, and fall downe swowning. He eateth little, and the more he watcheth, so much the more he drinketh beyond other beasts.

In regarde of his great coldenesse and drienesse, hee can not stirre to ingender, at such times as other beasts doe, to wit, before the Winter Equinoctiall, or else vnder the Equinoctiall; but in the month of May, when the Sunne mounteth, almost to the right angle of the Equinoctiall, and then his grosse humiditie beeing depressed and diminished; he is prouoked to the acte with such fury, as if hee were a wilde foale, and especially when he is yong. The thicknesse of his skinne, is caused (as we haue sayd) by his grosse humours; and he that mendeth his shoes with leather, of that part of the skinne, where the Asse hath longest borne his burdens, can not weare it out at all, but it will long time endure, passing ouer stony or craggy wayes, and will at the last growe to such hardnesse, as the feete can not suffer it: *Albertus Magnus* speaketh thereof by prooffe.

From

*Isidor. in lib. A. nim. 3. cap. 8.*

A definition of the Asses name.

Fearefulnesse in the Asse to passe ouer a Bridge.

The Asse slothfull and melancholly

The ability of his bearing burdens.

*Albert. Magnus in lib. 4. cap. 7.*

The Asse engendred when other beasts do.

The benefit of the Asses skin in wearing it in shoes.

From this drinesse it ensueth, that the milke of the Female Assē is subtilē, that it cannot curdle: and therefore it is Physicall for such as are in a consumptiō. Moreover, the purity of this milkes whitenesse maketh the skin of men or women wonderously faire, and very cleare. Hereupon *Pliny* reporteth, that *Pappæa*, Cnocubine to *Nero*, often vsed to bathe her bodie in the Milke of a shee-Assē. This beast hath a custome to Vrine in the place, where he smelleth that another Assē hath staled before.

He is very much hated by small Birds, because he bites of the bushes & thornes, where they builde their nests: and vwith his crying noise, makes them fall vnto the ground, or frights them away when they sit in the bushes. The Rauen is his naturall enemy, so that when hee hath taken any harme on his skinne; hee mounteth thereon, and pittifully plagues it with his bill. So do the small Birds likewise, onely to be reuenged of him: but the Rauen aboue all the rest, labours to picke out his eyes with his beake; against which cruelty, the hollow concavity of them, doeth serue him as an especial defence, the hardness of his hide, and continuall agitation of his eares; for, by closing his eies, he chaseth them away with his ears stirring. The Bear also is his enemy, wearying him (oftentimes) to kill him, desiring to feede on his raw flesh.

He will not drinke but at such Springs or Welles where he is inured, & where hee may passe without wetting: but that deseruing meruaile, is, that if the water be troubled, though hee be neuer so thirsty, he cannot be procured to drinke, vntill such be given him as is pure and clear. *Pliny* saith beside, that he will hardly bee constrained to drinke, vntill his backe bee disburthened of his load. The shee-Assē so intirely affecteth her young Foale, and is so fearefull of it by Nature: as shee dreadeth not to passe through fire to find it.

*Aristotle* saith, that the shee-Assē will remaine so long time from conceyuing, vntill the graines of Barley, steapte in the blood of a Mulet, bee giuen her to feede on. For the generation of Mules, the Mare must be of no lesse age then foure yeares, and not aboue tenne. Now, in regard that (naturally) no beast will habite

with any other then of his owne kinde, such Heardsmen as would haue a Mule engendred by an Assē and a Mare, do vse this kinde of cunning. The young Assē-foale is nourished with Mares milke all his tender time, but in some obscure place, for better taking it. By this meanes, comming to age (as adulterated) he groweth to loue Mares. And in like manner, nourishing the Foales of Mares with milke of a shee-Assē; they habite afterwarde willingly with shee-Asses. And if it happen that the Mare be taken, and the Assē hath yet vse of her immediately, her greatnesse will corrupt, through the extreme coldnesse of the Assē. And so it fareth vwith the shee-Assē, if the horse haue ioyned with her, and by the same reason.

The Mule that is bred of an Assē and a Mare, cannot engender, the cause (according to *Aristotle*) is, that the seede of the Assē (as we haue already said) being cold, & that ioyning with the seed of the Mare which (hauing respect to the sexe Feminine) is also of cold complexion; & therefore, that engendred is so cold, as it cannot be proper for generation. And albeit *Pliny* saith, that diuers times they haue yong ones: yet (for all that) it is not naturallie, but rather as a thing prodigious.

*Aristotle* granteth that they do engender, but the fruite cannot bee reared or brought vp. *Theophrastus* saith, That in *Cappadocia* they engender and haue yong. *Aristotle* further saith, that the Assē fatheneth more by drinking troubled Water, then that which is cleare, and best agreeth with Kine. The Foale of the shee-Assē, is of so short memory, that following the damme, if it be but siue paces behind hir, it hath forgot, and followes no further, but staves and standeth stone still. It is said, that the shee-Assē hath a natural custome, when she is ready to Foale, shee withdraweth into some obscure place: but the opinion of *Albertus Magnus* is, y she doth so in regard of the weakenes of the Foales sight.

It is a thing well approued, according to the iudgement of the same author, that the Liuer of an Assē being boyled, and afterward roasted the same day, is verie soueraigne for the falling sicknesse, prouided, that it be often vsed: the like power hath his hooves, being burnt, beaten into powder, and drinking the weight of three

Ducates

The milke of the shee-Assē Physical for a consumption.

*Plin. in l. 8. c. 13*

Small birdes are enemies to the Assē: but the rauen most of all.

What defence the Assē hath, to saue his eies from the rauen.

The curiosity of the Assē in drinking.

*Plin. in l. 8. c. 43*

*Arist. in Gener. Anim. lib. 2. c. 6*

An obseruation for the engendering of a Mule between an Assē and a Mare.

*Aristot. in Lib. ubi supra.*

*Plin. in l. 8. c. 44*

*Arist. de Gener. Anim. l. 2. cap. 3*

The short memory of the Assē foale

*Albert. Mag. in lib. 4. cap. 7.*

Ducates, and euery day an ounce. An emplaiſter made of the ſame powder, diſſolueth the Kings euill, & heals the chaps, which trouble the handes in Winter by cold.

Moreouer, the hooues ſo beaten into powder, and applyed vnto an Impoſtume, quickly breaketh it. The Vrine of an Aſſe, is very auailable for the Diſeaſe of the Reines, cauſed by groſſe humidities; and his dung, either burnt, or not, made in an emplaiſter, reſtraineth the Flux of blood, and ſmoking any houſe with the Lunges of an Aſſe, it killeth all wormes and mothes.

Againe, his dung ſteeped in Vinegar, and applyed to the noſe in a cloth, ceaſeth the extreme bleeding: making alſo an emplaiſter thereof, and binding it to the forehead, it hath the ſame vertue. *Pliny* alſo ſaith, that both the Milke and bloud of an Aſſe, are very effectuell againſt the biting of a Scorpion.

His Vrine, applyed with Spickenard, increaſeth and conſerueth haire: and his bones being broken, and the powder of them drunke in white Wine, is very ſoueraigne againſt poiſon. *Ariſtotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Pliny*, reporteth infinite other Vertues, abiding in this much deſpiſed creature, which would require too long a time to relate.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of the ſingular vertue and conſtancie, of the Noble Lady Aretaphila, the enforced Wife to the Tyrant Nicoreon: And her honeſt policy, for the deliuerance of her Country.*



**H**HE vertue and conſtancie of the Noble Lady *Aretaphila* the *Cyrenean*, deſerueth to be remembered in all Ages. She was the Daughter of *Aglator*, and wife to *Fedimo*, who for Nobility and riches, was one of the worthieſt men in the whole country: and in thoſe times ſhe was no leſſe endued with ſingular beauty, then admired wiſedome and eloquence in her ſpeaking. It came to

paſſe, that *Nicoreon* vſurping the government by tiranies, condemned many worthy Cittizens to death. And among other cruelties by him committed, hee cauſed *Melnapius* (the Prieſt of *Apollo*) to be ſlaine, to make vſurpation of his Prieſtly Office.

Afterward, hauing treacherouſly put to death *Fedimo*, the husband of *Aretaphila*; conſtrainedly, and whether ſhe would or no, he married *Aretaphila*. Continuing on his pride againſt his people, & day by day increaſing his cruelty, hee furioſly put a great number to death. And becauſe they were to be buried without the City, he was enſtricted by ſome of his picke-thanks, that many counterſeyted themſelues to be dead, for their ſafer eſcaping out of the City, onely thereby to auoid his cruelty. Hereupon, guards of ſouldiers kept the gates, vvith long Iron Pikes and Bodkins, made red hotte in the fire; wherewith they pierced the bodyes carried by, to try whether they were dead or no.

Theſe cruelties, were greatly displeaſing to his wife *Aretaphila*, who greeued to ſee her Country thus oppreſſed; and to ſuch a height grewe her compaſſion, that hating *Nicoreon* for her former Husbands death, ſhe reſolved to make aduerture of her owne life, to free her country from ſo bloody a Tyrant. And although *Nicoreon* affected her extraordinarily, & beſtowed infinite fauours on her, onely to pleaſe her: yet could ſhee not quit her thoughts from this magnanimous determination. And, when (through the tyrants power) all hope in the people was vtterly loſt, for euer freeing themſelues from his tiranny: ſhe only grew the ſtronger in her confidence, that ſhee ſhould compaſſe the meanes of his death.

Heerein ſhe was ſtill the more encouraged, by remembering the vndaunted reſolue of the *Theban* \* *Pheraa*, ſo much renowned thorough the world, coueting to imitate her example. But becauſe ſhee had not the benefite of aſſiſting Friends, as *Pheraa* had; ſhe concluded her enterprize alone by her ſelfe, purpoſing to kill the Tyrant by poiſon. By which meanes ſhe ranne into great dangers (as you ſhall reade heereafter) in regard ſhe failed many times of her attempting; and being ſurprized at the laſt; all diſſimulations were

*Nicoreon* a tirannical vſurper of the ſupreme authority.

A hard extremity that many were put to, for eſcaping from tyranny.

*Aretaphila* ſitting the oppreſſion of her Country, hazardeth her owne life to deliuer it.

\* An honorable Ladie of *Thebes*, that deliuered her country from cruell oppreſſion.

For an Impoſtume.

A preſent remedy for bleeding at the noſe.

*Plin. in l. 8. c. 44*

An honorable Gentleman of *Cyprus*, and a worthy ſoldiour.

were not sufficient, but shee was conuinc-  
ed by most euident arguments.

At this time, *Caluia*, Mother to the ty-  
rant (beeing a Woman of fierie temper,  
and one that heauily hated *Aretaphila*) la-  
boured him by earnest perswasions, to put  
her to death with grieuous torments: but  
the feruent loue of *Nicoreon* towards hir,  
and her owne couragious spirit, in answer-  
ing the accusations of her enemies; oc-  
casioned the delaying of her death. Ne-  
uerthelesse, after much clamor and con-  
straint, she being conuincd by apparant  
testimonies, and no longer able to denie,  
but that she had prepared a breuage for  
him: In the presence of the Iudges, with  
an vndanted and cheerefull countenance,  
thus she spake.

### The Speech of Aretaphila, in the presence of the Tyrant, and all her hatefull ene- mies.

**M**R Lord and Husband, I freely con-  
fesse, that a drinke was prepared by  
mee to giue thee; yet farre from so  
much as thought, that poyson, or any harme-  
full thing should therein be compounded: but  
onely as a drinke, whereby to incite feruent  
loue and affection. For, seeing my selfe to bee  
enuied by so many Ladies, in regarde of the  
kinde loue by thee extended to me, and exal-  
ting me to wealth and honor, farre beyonde  
any capacity in them of compassing the like;  
fearing withall (most worthy Lord) that they  
would not spare their uttermost endeouour, to  
kil that louing kindnesse in thee towards me,  
and quench the intire affection. so long conti-  
nued: I made that Breuage purposely, to pre-  
ferue the heate of Loue in full power, and ra-  
ther urge it to a higher reach, then suffer it  
to quaille in the least degree. If therefore  
heerein I haue offended, Reason (me thinkes)  
should free mee from punishment; in regard  
that spotlesse loue (to confound that foul fiend  
hatred) thereto procured me. Neuerthelesse,  
if I shall bee saide to merite chastisement; it  
cannot urge death, as to an hatefull im-  
poysoner: but rather such an amiable and fauou-  
ring affliction, as such a wife may be thought  
worthy of, who will not spare to practise any  
enchanting Potions on her Husband, to conti-

me his Loue in correspondencie, equall vnto  
hers.

Such was her constant carriage in this  
answer, and appearing of so sound truth  
in the Tyrants opinion; that by no means  
he would permit shee should bee put to  
death. Onely, through their diuellish &  
violent vrging, he suffered her to be fur-  
ther tryed by Racks and Tortures, as ho-  
ping (that way) to extort confession. *Cal-  
uia* causing the extreamest tortures to be  
prepared, stood by, while they were in-  
flicted on her, euen according to the mea-  
sure of her monstrous cruelty; and so ma-  
ny violences was done to the poor Lady,  
that *Caluia* her selfe, grewe wearie with  
the very sight of them. So that *Areta-  
phila*, not confessing any thing more then  
she had done, was deliuered from further  
tormenting, and adiudged innocent by  
*Nicoreon*; repenting that hee had permit-  
ted her to bee so cruelly misused, and his  
loue now growing to farre greater extre-  
mity towards her, made him labour by al  
amorous blandishments, and gifts of ex-  
traordinary vauel, to reconcile fauour, &  
qualifie all conceiued vnkindnesse in her.  
And she, being a wise and sprightly min-  
ded Lady, had her owne discretion so  
much at command, that she could seeme  
as earnest in loue to him as euer: yet car-  
rying an inward vnconquerable remem-  
brance of her Countreyes Oppressions,  
and her owne extreame wrongs, waiting  
but time and meanes for iust reuendge,  
which offered it selfe to her in this man-  
ner.

She had (by *Fedimo* her husband) a yong  
daughter, of admirable beauty and vertu-  
ous qualities, named *Miraguarda*; and  
*Nicoreon* had a Brother, named *Leander*;  
youthfull, gallant, and somewhat disso-  
lute in affection to women, which made  
her the more diligent, to procure liking  
in him towards her daughter, and easily  
she preuailed therein, by the help of amou-  
rous enticing drinckes, and other deuices,  
wherin she wanted no furtherance of her  
cunning Physitian. Beside, the witty en-  
structions shee had giuen her daughter,  
for her carriage in the company of *Lean-  
der*; caught fire on the Tinder of his affe-  
ction, in such violent manner; that (in all  
hast) he entreated his Brother to graunt  
his

*Nicoreon* ad-  
mitteth fur-  
ther tryall by  
tortures, but  
will not let her  
dye.

Cruelty con-  
quered by  
mild, patient,  
and constant  
sufferance.

An incompa-  
rable discreti-  
on in *Areta-  
phila*.

*Miraguarda*,  
daughter to  
*Aretaphila*, &  
*Leander* bro-  
ther to *Nico-  
reon*.

The Tyrants  
mother haste-  
neth the death  
of *Aretaphila*

er witty in-  
uation to  
ouer what  
e had close-  
intended.

his marriage with *Miraguarda*, wherto he as quickly gaue consent, provided, that he could induce the good liking of *Aretaphila* therto, which was not long in obtaining (though excused with some fewe faint and modest doubts) because it was the onely mark she aimed at, to compassse that which she further intended.

*Leander*, being married to his beloved *Miraguarda*, their mutuall affections so sweetly simpathized together, as he could neuer be satisfied with her louely embracings, nor shee contented without his company. During the heate of this reciprocall fierie temper on both sides, *Miraguarda*, ingeniously instructed thereto by her mother (knowing she could craue nothing of her *Leander*, that eyther hee durst or would deny her) aduised him to the killing of her brother. And so sutable were her witty remonstrances to his yeilding soule (allegding the acte to be generous, the freeing of his country from tyranny, and a certaine assurance to himself, that in requirall of so blessed a benefit, the people could not choose but elect him their King, by whom they enjoyed theyr long desired deliuerance) that he liked the motion extraordinarily. Nor left shee off so, but plyed him still vnto the same purpose, that if hee did make deniall of the deede, the Cittizens (in their violent hatred to the Tyrant) would acte this Tragedy themselues, as therto they were all solemnly sworn; and then there could be no security of his own life.

So preuailing were these perswasions with *Leander*, that instantly he conspired against *Nicoreon*, perceiuing that *Aretaphila* did not disallowe it; and imparting his intent to *Dannilles*, his familiar & very faithful friend: by his assistance he slew him, sleeping in an Arbor of his Garden, and thereby became Lorde of the Kingdome. The possession whereof made him so proud and powerfull, that, despising *Aretaphila* and her worthy counsels; the world might plainely perceiue, that hee was rather a murderer of his Brother, then a conspirator for his countries freedome, because he gouerned by iniustice and improuidence; albeit (afterward) he began to reuerence his mother in Lawe somewhat more respectiue, though the people were still oppressed, by many extreme violences.

*Aretaphila* perceiuing, that shee had not yet deliuered her country from tyranny; concluded to compassse it by his death likewise. Heereupon, by secret intelligence, she wrought with *Anabius*, a warlike Prince, and a Natiue of *Lybia*, to rise in Armes against *Leander*, wherto he was very easily induced. Hee being at hand with a potent Army, *Aretaphila* conuersing with *Leander*, told him, that his Captaines were not equall in courage and strength, to those braue Warriours that came with *Anabius*, and therefore it wold proue disadvantageous for him, to make hazard of his weake forces against him, being not certaine of his owne subiectes, whom he had too much prouoked by his harsh vsage; and therefore farre vnfit to be trusted in trial of warre. Wherefore she aduised him, to labour by honest & plausible meanes, that a pacification might passe betweene them, promising, to practise such meanes her selfe, that hee should haue a friendly imparlance vvith *Anabius*.

*Leander* liked well the Counsell of his mother in law, and praied her to proceed therein; whereuppon, shee dealt for the day of their meeting. Preuailing so well (in the meane time) by faithfull Messengers to *Anabius*, that when *Leander* shold come forth to confer with him: he either should kil him, or take him prisoner, promising a great sum of money for the performance therof. *Leander* being fearful by nature (as commonly all Tyrants are) daily deferred the enterparlance: but his mothers pressing him with shame of base cowardise, and faint-hearted effiminacy, (shee promising to goe along with him in company) procured him to issue forth vnarmed. *Anabius* conning on to meete him with his traine, *Leander* made a timorous stay, saying; hee would not passe any further, vntil he had his guard about him. But *Aretaphila*, one while by faire speeches, another while by foule reproaches, calling him nothing but coward at euery word; stil made him to walke on along with her, and taking him by the arme, as to inspire him with courage, brought him forcibly to *Anabius*, and deliuered him vp as his prisoner, who safely there kept him, vntill the promised summe of mony was sent him.

Afterward, she returned backe to the Cittie,

The marriage the onely meanes to be reuenged on the Tyrant.

The perswasions of *Miraguarda* to *Leander* for killing his Brother.

*Leander* is won to murder his Brother, assisted therein by his faithful friend *Dannilles*.

Another attempt of *Aretaphila* for the deliuerance of her country.

*Aretaphila* contriueth a meeting betweene *Leander* & *Anabius*.

Tyrants are fearful vnto themselues.

*Aretaphila* deliuered *Leander* prisoner to *Anabius*.

City, there manifesting the manner of her successe, and how shee had deliuered her Countrey from the Tyrants power: Whereupon, the summe of money was collected and forthwith sent vnto *Anabitus*. Then was *Leander* deliuered to *Aretaphila*, who instantly gaue him into the Magistrates power: so that by generall sentence, he was sowed vp in a sacke, and drowned in the Sea, after he had seen his Mother *Caluia* burned. All the Citizens flocking before *Aretaphila*, humbled them selues on their knees, confessing the iust merit of her praise: because (with so great perill of her life) she had saued her Countrey; enforcing her to vndergoe the Government, which shee did, and ruled graciously vntill she had reduced the estate to perfect peace. Then, resigning vp her Office into the Senates hands: shee entered a Monasterie of Sacred Virgines, where shee liued priuately, and peaceably passed the remainder and rest of her dayes.

## CHAP. X.

*Of the Famous Philosopher Euxinus: And of a Letter sent by the Senate of the Athenians, to the Lacedemonians.*

**B**etweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, a verie cruell warre was waged, about the difference of certaine Confines, and in the field of battaile, the *Lacedemonians* being foyled and discomfited by the *Athenians*: the vanquished desired truce with the Victors, and for their easier attaining therto, they sent (as Ambassadour) the renowned Philosopher *Euxinus*, who spake in so eloquent a style to the Senate, and onely in the praise of peace, deliuering such learned and pleasing allegations, as not only truce was granted to them, but also they freely gaue them those Confines, which they pretended was appertaining to the, and (by the chance of warre) hadde lost. Such power had the Oration, deliuered by *Euxinus*; and the Senat of *Athens* back

to the, acquainted them with their minds in this maner.

*The Senate and People of Athens, send health and peace to the Lacedemonians.*

**W**E call the Goddess to Witness, that in the late passed battell betweene vs, Wee more grieued to see you so bloodily vanquished, then we ioyed in our owne fortune of victory: because the effects of Warre are such, that damage is certaine to the Conqueror, and benefit to the Conquered is doubtfull. Wee could heartily haue wished, that the demand by you now propounded, had bene before in like manner required: but such is the lot false both on you and vs, that you haue lost very much in this warre, and yet wee can boast of no benefit thereby. For the rule is most certaine, that whatsoever is appointed by the Gods, cannot be comprehended by humane iudgement, nor impeached by the power of man.

You require truce for three moneths, to the end, that in that time, an agreemēt may be concluded betweene vs. Wee returne you answer, that the Senate of *Athens* neuer vsed to make truce, after they had begun a War: obseruing (as a most ancient Lawe) that either they accept of cruell warre, or else freely condescend to perpetuall peace.

Wee labour and practise in the times of peace, to allure Wise-men into our Schooles, to helpe vs with their counsell in the times of Warre; and now they aduise vs, not to make a truce on suspected conditions: whetein wee thinke they counsell vs well, because a counterfeyte peace is more dangerous then an open waged warre.

The Philosopher *Euxinus* your Ambassadour, hath spoken so eloquently in the Senate, that we hold it vnreasonable, to deny any thing by him named: and therefore it is a matter more honest, to grant him peace that requires it by kinde words, then him that rudely asks it with the Weapon. Wherefore we tel you, and now giue you to vnderstand, that our Senate (with a franke and free hart) granteth to you *Lacedemonians*, loyall peace, deli-

The euent of warre are vncertaine to either side.

What heauen hath ordained, is not to bee; disappointed.

Good wordes do cōtē more then weapons can doe.

The death of Leander and Caluia his other.

Aretaphila the Prince of the Countrey.

Had Cælius Cædeginus his military courses. 3. cap. 9.

more obtaynd then they fitted or expected.

deliuering you from all suspicion of war: And this wee doe, that the world may know, the *Athenians* are of so great spirite against the audacious, and so woorthie friends to such as are wise, that they both know how to chastise foolish Captaines, and how to be commanded by discrete Philosophers.

Well wot yee, that all our difference hath growne about possession of Townes seated on the bankes of the Riuer *Milina*. By this letter we tell ye, and swear there-to also by the immortal Gods, that wee freely renounce all right wee can pretend vnto them, on this condition: that (at our meeting) you shal giue vs your Ambassador *Euxinus*: for the happy *Athenians* do more affect a Philosopher in their school, then a whole Prouince for their Commonwealth. Yet *Lacedemonians* account it no acte of leuity in vs, to change towns and territories, to bee gouerned by one onely man: because the Philosopher can teach vs how to liue well, whereas such Countreyes may giue vs occasion of dying ill. And in regard, that (of auncient enemies) we now declare our selues your true louing Friends: We not onely deliuer you from Warre, and send you Peace; but likewise will giue you Counsell how to conserue it; for the Physicke that preferueth health, is farre more excellent then that which expelleth diseases. And this is the remedy which wee giue you.

As ye desire, that your yong men shal exercise themselues to Armes, in like manner bee as diligent, that your Children may haue Learning in due time: For, as Warre is made with cruell weapons, so with sweete words is peace soonest obtained. And thinke not (*Lacedemonians*) that wee heereto aduise yee without cause; for, in leauing the counsell of the Wise, and suffering ydlenesse to encrease among the people: it engendreth seditions and ciuill Warres, onely to make men murder one another. Nor would we haue ye thinke vs friends to busie pratlers; for our ancient Father *Socrates* appointed; that the first Lesson read to a Scholler in our Academy; was, that for the space of two yeares, hee should not dare to speake a word; beecause it is a matter impossible, that any man can be wise in speaking, except he be admirably

patient in silence, and knoweth howe to hold his peace.

May it please you then, to permitte *Euxinus* to remaine with vs, and imagine, that if wee hope for benefite by his presence; you may rest assured, that from such counsell as he giues vs, you cannot receiue any damage. For, it is a very ancient law in *Athens*, that the Senate may neuer attempt any Warre, vntil our Philosophers haue first made examination, whether the cause bee iust or no. So wee cease, praying both your and our immortal Goddes, to preferue you and vs in perpetuall peace: for that onely is perpetuall, that stands confirmed by the will of the Gods.

## CHAP. XI.

*The true Module and Patterne of Gouvernement, to be obserued in any Commonwealth; deriued from the communitie among Bees, and how many wayes they may be examples to men.*



HE forme of a Commonwealth obserued amongst Bees, meethinks is so proper and answerable vnto that of men: as it may bee verily presumed, that GOD gaue them it by a Naturall instinct, and for an instruction vnto our manner of Gouvernement. This little Creature, is named by the Latines *Apis*, a deriuation from the Greeke, which signifieth to bee without feet: not in regard that it hath no feete, but because they do ioyne so closely and aptly with the body, as if indeede it had none at all.

Many haue written of their properties and qualities; as *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and many more: beside, I find in elder times, that *Hiliscus Tatius* was verie inquisitiue, to vnderstande the properties of these Creatures, and that he might render the fonder reasons of his knowledge; hee liued in Forests and solitarie places, where best he might attaine to his owne intent.

And

The occasion of the war between the two States.

A worthy estimation of Learning and learned men.

Honourable counsel giuen by the Athenians to the Lacedemonians.

A busy talker can neuer bee a Wiseman.

A conuenient law for euery Christian kingdom.

The deriuation of the Latine word *Apis* from the Greeke.

Hiliscus Tatius a diligent searcher in the properties of Bees.

Aristomachus wrote diuerse bookes of the Bees qualities

And *Aristomachus* likewise, for the space of forty yeeres (without attending to any other exercife) gaue himfelfe wholly to the fame labour: and both of them wrote diuers Bookes very apt and worthy for all posterity.

kinde of religious reuerence obserued in Bees, before coming forth of their hiues.

The first and most notable thing, obserued in the writings of moderne men, is, that they haue noted an admirable kinde of Religion in these little Creatures: For, before they wil yssue forth of their Hiues, they bow downe their heads forward in such humble manner, as if they were deuoutly at meditation on their knees. Declaring therein (euen by Naturall instinct as it were) to vs, that we should not vnder take, or beginne any thing, before wee haue first honoured God, and recommended our endeouours to his gracious goodnesse, that they be begunne and ended in his name. Very respectiue are they, that by the foode they gather from sweet Flowers, they may produce hony, beneficial both for others and themselues; demonstrating thereby, that men should labour (by vertuous meanes) to performe good actions in their life time, auailable both for themselues and others; considering, it is a duty required in men, and for vvhich they are born, not to labor for themselues, but also for their Countrey, and their Friends.

men are not born for themselves, but for their countrey so.

They are content to liue in their owne habitation, without intruding for dwelling in anothers house, As a notable example to vs, that (for the peace of the Common-wealth) euery man should rest contented with his owne, without couteing or vsurping ought from any other.

no more but the king in euery hiue for order of Government.

Euery Hiue hath his King, and both he and his attendants, doe shun noyses, clamours, and windes. Which teacheth vs, that we ought to haue one cheefe Commander in one Common-wealth, by whō all the rest may be well gouerned: & that we should shunne the smoake of Ambition, in being greater one then another in the Common-wealth, to the end, that there may be good discipline. Also, we should flie from all windes of vanities, tumults, partialities, and enmities. Flight, labour, foode, and fruite is common alike to euery one; to let vs vnderstand, the mutuall loue and charity which ought to be among Citizens, in being helpful one to another: and partaking likewise in o-

mutuall loue and charity among the people, is no mean happy effe.

thers distresses: for by this meanes, mens mindes become linked together in such amity, that the Commonwealth flourisheth in peace and quietnesse, and is a goodly president to other estates.

These creatures liue without lubricitie, although they engender more then any other. Which instructeth vs, that for the peace and repose of the people, men should haue care of childrens generation, to perpetuate their owne kind and the Common-wealth, without lusting after adulteries: but to liue chaste and temperate in pleasures carnall, the libertie wherof doth procure contentions, quarrels, and death.

They doe respect their King with such loue and obseruance, that they account it an honourable deede to die for him. And Saint *Ambrose* saieth thus: *They will not flye abroad, vntill they first see, whether he will flye foorth, or no: that they may keepe him company, in finding foode, and other effects for common benefite.* Which may minister example vnto men, for honouring their Prince, to whom GOD hath giuen such Authoritie, to bee assisted and imitated in those paines, which he taketh for the good of his people, hee being the principall of the Commonwealth.

A worthy president of continēcy in life.

*Ambros. in Lib. de Cena Dom. cap 9.*

They endeouour continually, to elect such a one for their King, as (in apparence) is most Noble, as also the mildest; not vsing his sting against anie other, which onely is as a punishment for offenders. Aduising vs heereby, to elect such for our Gouvernors and Magistrates, as are of generous Nature, discrette, wise, and debonnaire. And these small creatures, are of such nature, that they who are of greatest bodie amongst them, are also (commonly) the most humane and gracious. Signifying nothing else to vs, but that he ought to be most milde and courteous, that is exalted vnto the highest dignity, as well in Nobilitie of bloode, as in wealth and vertue: which things naturally beget enuy in others, and yet destroy themselues by humanitie, and conuerteth into loue. Most obedient are they to their King; and if any one haue declared disdain, or disobedience, & the same bee discerned: hee neuer attendeth for other correction, but instantly slayeth himselfe with his sting. Whereby we are ad-

In what manner the Bees elect & make choise of their king.

A note for such as are highly aduanced;

Loue and fidelity to our superiours.

admonished, to be faithfull and louing to our Prince or Magistrate, and fearefull to offend, euen to death it selfe.

No Bee is slothful or idle in the Hiue; for some flye forth to combate against other in open field: others watch to seeke for foode; others contemplate times, to foresee when stormes and raines will ensue; others compose the hony Combes; others lay aside the waxe by it selfe, and thereof others make little Lodgers, caries and rounds, in very straunge and wonderfull order. Neuerthelesse, in so many and sundry offices, no one intrudes into anothers businesse, or dare make any stealth or robbery from his companions: but by his owne labor and vertue, hee feedeth abroad on hearbes and flowers, and yet brings a part of his pains home, for generall good of the Commonwealth. Herein we haue a notable instruction, to abhor & banish out of our Cities, slothfull rogues and idle vagabonds, that will not liue by their owne labour as they ought to doe. Wherefore through such deboshment & negligence in men, all such vices arise in Citties, as doe corrupt good manners, and ouerthrow order: for euery one shold liue vpon his owne endeouour, without vsurping ought of others; and what he hath superfluous, is for generall aide of the Common-wealth, and to be ministred to others necessities.

Nature hath giuen them stings to defend themselues, and offend such as dare assaile them, or presume into their city or hiue: and although they are not of any great corpulence, yet notwithstanding they haue vnconquerable corage & prudence. For with the gum of trees, they annoynt the superficies of their hiues, to the end, y no beast or other enemy may enter in at any rift or chinke; and if the passage or issue be ouer large, they labor diligently to restrain and make it lesse. By which example men are admonished, to bee stout and couragious for defence of their countrie, and wisely to foresee, that no Vices enter into their Common-wealth, that may infect, corrupt, or poyson it.

By naturall instinct, they are enclined, that each one staies on the first flower hee finds, and parts not thence away, vntill he haue taken his refection and norishment: whereof he wil discharge himselfe, before he seekes out any other. And much they

frequent the leaues and flowers of the Oliue tree, making there som long abiding: seruing vs as an example, what sobriety wee should vse in the course of our Life. When they feed on the flowers of the Almond tree, their hony is the more fauoury and temperate; whereas contrary-wise, when they feed on bitter herbs or flowers it is far lesse sweet: notwithstanding, it is thinner, very mundificatiue, profitable for the opilations of the Liuer, and good for the drop sic, as also to heale the biting of a mad dogge.

Such as haue made triall by experience of these creatures, doe iustifie, that when their king cannot fly, he is carried abroad by troops of them; and during the time y he liueth so sickly, the females are separated from the males. But when he is dead, then they conuerse together again: which declareth, what pittie and piety wee owe to our Prince and countrey, and that men shold gladly support and suffer for one another. The sting of the female is sharper then the males, & there are many males, that haue no stings at all. Hereby we may vnderstand, that the tongues of women are more piercing then mens, & oft times cause very great inconueniences: in which respect, they shold be kept short & tempered, that their lauish liberty breed no blame and contention among neighbors. The best Bee is litle, round, closely plump bending in the midst, and least hairy. Som feed on flowers of the mountaines, others on them of Gardens and husbanded places: the first whereof, are much lesse then the other, as also more strong and robust, to endure labor. Beside, according to *Pliny* they are of far dreadfuller aspect, abiding in the rifts of trees, or in some smal vaults. And what fairer example can nature afford vs, then of their strength and abilitie? For, such people as are not educated in delicacies, but in continuall exercises of mind and body; are most profitable members for the Common-wealth. Closely they ply their worke in their hiues, & feed on the superabundance of their Combes, knowing by meere instinct of nature, that if they shold not do so, & giue vigilant attendance; Spiders wold get into the hiue, & there kil the. When they haue but smal store of hony, the most of them keeps the entrance, y it may not be taken from them vntill they are better provided. A worthy

No idleness amongst the Bees, but all employed in feuerall offices, & all for general benefite.

A good admonition for Citties & incorporate townes to auoyd ydle liuers.

The weapons of defence for themselues, & offending enemies to their State.

How they are naturally addicted in their diet and feeding, and what leaues and flowers doe most delight them.

Remedies for diuers diseases.

When the King of Bees is sick & cannot fly

A good advertisement for Women

Of mountain Bees, differing from other. *Plin. lib. 10. c.*

Who are the fittest members for the Commonwealth.

prefi-

president to men, to banish all superfluous things out of their Common-wealth, least by the meanes of them, the venome of hatred may be bred among thē, which may procure the death of one another. And when dearth or scarcitie happens in their Cities, vigilancy is needfully required, to preferue such store as they haue; that it may not bee elsewhere transported, & so publike calamity ensue thereon.

There are a kind of Bees which labour not to produce hony, but eate that already made, and they are longer then the other: the good Bees haue continuall war with them, to expell them out of their Commonwealth. Signifying to vs, that slothful persons should be excluded from other mens company; and such as seeke to feed by others sweat. Their King neuer flies abroad, but he is attended round with a great company of Bees, and if it so happen, that they meet with another flight of Bees, that likewise haue their King with them, they leaue their owne, to accompany the new King. And if their owne King contend, to reduce them againe vnder his obedience; they kill him, and follow the other newly made choise of, and him they elect as their king. This excesse hapneth very sildom, & is one of the two imperfections which these creatures haue in their government: beside, it is necessarie, that in euery kind there should be some vice. If they chance to sting hard, they put foorth the whole length of their sting; whereon themselues die withall, because their bowels issue out thereby.

Their Kings and Gouvernors sting but sildome, although they are thereto prouoked; for some say, that they haue no sting at all. And *Pliny* is not certaine, whether they haue any or no: but notwithstanding, he is well assured that they sting not: Neither care they that the king should be so armed, prouided, that he bee of good government, valiant, & maiesticall: which proueth, that Princes ought to be benign, milde, and patient: neuer to take any delight in cruelty, but rather to be gentle & mercifull. Such is the cleanness of these creatures, that they cannot endure any foule or noisom fauour; & therefore when they returne to their Cittie or Castle (for such they account their Hiue to be) they discharge their bellies in the aire, & many times (through bad smells) they become

sickly, and so soone as any one of them dyeth, the rest hurle him out of the Hiue. They grow sicke also thorow idlenes, and therefore they will not suffer any to bee slothfull amongst them: and the smell of boiled fish, such as Creuises, Lobsters, and Crab-fish is deadly to them. An excellent example for men to liue cleane & neatly, free from a vicious life, carefully respecting both their soules and bodies.

The winde is very contrary and hurtfull for them; and therefore when it is great, stiffe and boysterous; the hives ought to be carefully couered. Warme places they affect in winter, as other creatures do, and in Summer; fresh aires are most fitting for them. It is very necessary to vse diligence, when the hony is taken from thē: because, if ouermuch be taken away, they will labour little; and if more likewise be left then is conuenient, they will bee the lesse diligent in making more, & therefore a moderate and reasonable quantity must remain, according to the number wherof they consist. What worthier example to men can there be then this? declaring that in the commonwealth, euery thing ought to be moderately measured; because ouer-great, pompous, and luxurious dyet, do but destroy famous families, abounding in al superfluous things. And yet not to be too niggardly and sparing in provision needfully required. For as by the first children and seruants may become careless and negligent; so by the latter, they may grow wretched and desperate.

Another diligent care is required in thē that make vse of Bees, to witte, that when they heare their great swarming noise in the hiue, it is a signification that they wold be gone and leaue the hiue: but then if the hiue be gently sprinkled ouer with sweete wine, they will not stir abroad. Such as keepe them may easily take note heerof; because (ordinarily) they make no other noise then when they are flying: Wherein we are instructed, that by sweet language and kind behaiour, we may qualify sterne anger in discontented brethren. *Aristotle* further saith, he did wel obserue it by experience, that their feet before are shorter then them behind; which is so giuen them by nature, for their easier rising from the ground. He saith moreouer, that when the hony corrupteth in the hiue, it engendreth certaine wormes, which make

The danger of hatred and contention.

The idlerones that take no hony

notable imperfection in the gouernment of Bees, worthy obseruation.

in l. 10. c. 18

vertues well fitting with the maiesty of Prince.

the neate cleanness of Bees, exempling men to purity of life.

Their delight in winter and summer.

A caueate for taking the hony from them

As lauish prodigality is not to be vsed, so penurious nigardise deserteth reproofe

A note foretelling when Bees wold forsake their hiue.

*Aristot. in Lib. Anim. 4. Cap. 14*

Wormes that weaue spiders webbes in the hie.

Reasons of their multiplying & decreasing.

Three rampiers of defence to guard their hony combes

Their flight abroad, & hinderance from returning home at night

The Sentinell to awake the in the mornings.

webbes like vnto Spiders; whereby they wexe sicke, and dye. A very apt example for men, to bee vigilant and respectiue of themselues, that the sweet daies and prosperity in the world, doe not so corrupt their soules, as to beget the baneful worm of ambition, which is deadly. In moyste times of raines, they multiply greatly, by reason of the humidity: and contrariwise they decrease in the times of drought, thorow want of moisture. Also in Winter, their strength much faileth them, in regard of cold weather, snowes, and windes out of the North; which hindereth their fruitfulness, and therefore they keepe closely hidden. But when the Flowers of Beans begin to sprout, they come abroad to labour: and the first worke they doe at home, is to builde their dwelling houses, next to engender, & then to yeeld hony.

They make three seuerall rampiers before their Combes, as their garde and strength; the first crust (being vtmost) they make bitter; the second (within) somewhat sweeter; and the third, thickest of all, because it ioyneth next to the Combes; & thus is the foundation of their defence. A good instruction for men, how to shape their building in this worlde, to vse diligence in their prouision, so soone as they can, especially of things necessary; then to marry, for encrease of children, and still to keepe employment in naturall exercises. When they flye soorth vpon some vrgent occasions, and are preuented by night, so that they cannot returne home vnto their owne habitation; they sleepe topsie turuy, the vpside downe, because cold mists, fogs and raines should not offend their wings, to hinder their flight home to their owne houses; or execution of their other enterprises and affaires.

Sentinels they haue of their owne appointment, who make a noise at break of day, by which sound they all awake; and turning themselues on their feete, they make a noise againe to their Sentinels, as a thankfull signe of ioy: but then, vpon another sound from the same Sentinelles, they are all silent, as attending what instant charge is to be giuen them. Informing our iudgements, in times of warre to bee very vigilant; well prouided, and no way negligent. Excellent experience haue they, when raines and vnseasonable times will ensue, which they foresee by flying a-

broad in the Euenings, about their owne needfull occasions; and finding it to follow as they feared, they will not by any meanes boudge from home.

They haue (beside) a maruellous order among them; namely, that the youngest Bees flye abroad, and bring home the foode; the elder sort biding at home, to dresse and prepare it. But that which is yet far more admirable is, that when the yong ones arriue, laden with hearbes and flowers laboriously; some of the aged sort do meet them at the entrance, and help to ease them of their burthen. Moreouer, such as come so home ouer-charged, seeke the sweetest aires to passe thorow, and where they are calmest: as fearing, least rude winds should make them let fall what they haue carefully gathered, or dry vppe their honey, and therefore they flye lower towards the ground: and such as can bring home no lading, are woont to carrie little stones or grauell, that by the weight of them, they may the better resist impetuous windes.

By this precedent example, yong men are admonished, that they ought to stirre and labour in the Commonwealth; & the more aged, to preferue the fruits of their paines. Yong men also, that do busy their braines in the blusterings of ambition; should take a lower flight, and neerer to the ground, esteeming themselues to bee no more then men: considering vprightly in their soules, that whatsoever benefit ensueth by their paines to the Commonwealth, they stand bound thereto by obligation. Let no man therefore ouerween, or strue to outgo or be aboue other, except his contention be honorable, & that his trauell may most aduance the good of the Commonwealth.

While thus these poore creatures are laboring abroad, their King abides at home, hauing a strong court of guard about him wel armed with their stings, for the defence of his person. He goeth abroad but very sildom, and when it is his pleasure to goe forth, he is (in like manner) royally attended. But whē he wil haue his army abroad to any expedition; three daies before, loud summons is giuen for orderly preparatiō. If any troop of them sverue from following him, they find their error, by smelling to the ground where the King hath past, & so pursue in that tract, vntill they ouertake him.

A wonderful order naturally obserued among them, the yong laboring for the elder.

A notable admonition for the better supporting of the Commonwealth.

The King powerfully defended by his Corps du Guard: & flying abroad with his army

him. It is to be admired, how highly they are comforted in his presence: for if he be lost by their negligence, the army looſeth it ſelfe, and then they go to ioyne with another King. *Pliny* alſo reporteth, that when their king dieth, they are ſo full of anguiſh and ſorrow, that they will neither feed nor flye abroad for any prouiſion: ſo that if he be not taken away dead from before them, they will alſo dye with greeſe and hunger. Tutoring vs heerein, that if ſtrifes & vari-ances happen among vs, they ſhould not laſt of any continuance: alſo howe the death of our Prince ſhould be irkeſom to vs, becauſe little benefit cometh by changing Gouernors. Thus we perceiue, how many good examples may be deriued from the Bees Common-wealth, not vterly vnneceſſary for our imitation.

*Pliny in lib. x. cap. 17.*

Kingdoms ſil- dome gain by change of Princes.

CHAP. XII.

*How ſinfull and dangerous a thing it is, to de- ſire reuelations from the dead, or know- ledge of things belonging to future life.*

**L**Ike as God, who hath created vs without our ſelues, will not ſaue vs without our ſelues: euen ſo hath he giuen the ground-woke of all means for our ſaluation, which is Faith, with hope of all thoſe bleſſings, which (in the ancient Law) he hath promiſed, concerning the life to come, which alſo hee hath reuealed by his owne ſonne, and are not to be obtained without beleeſe and hope in him. But humane frailty, or to ſpeake more properly, Faith in man is ſo weake, that when the glorie which God hath ordained for that life is preached to him, he anſweres, he beleeues it: But yet notwithstanding (ſaith he) it is a matter of no meane meruaile, that of ſo many men as haue dyed; not ſo much as one man is returned back, to tell vs the ſecrets of that other life.

The abſolute foundation of eternall life in the worlde to come.

The cheereſt note of incredulity in man.

The very greateſt ſigne of incredulity, that can be in the heart of man (in mine opinion) is this earneſt deſire, to wiſh from God a reuelation of the life to come. For ſeeing that faith conſiſteth in beleeſe, and

to hope in ſuch things as are not apparant if they were reuealed to vs: why then faith remaineth no more, and ſo the ſingulare means of ſaluation ſhould be taken from vs I ſay moreover, that by ſuch manner of reuelation, not onely ſhould faith be deſtroyed, but alſo it would be an occaſion in vs, whereby to runne into great error againſt God, as wee may eaſily proue by this argument.

Admit the caſe, that our father, mother, or brother were raiſed, and returned again into this world, euen in the ſame fleſh as they parted from vs: and to the end, wee might the more confidently credit them, to be the very ſame perſons, they did eate, drinke, & conuerſe with vs (as our bleſſed Sauior of the world did with his Apoſtles, to auoide all ſcruple of doubt, that they were not ſhadowes or phantaſmaes) they reuealing to vs, matters belonging to that concealed life: no doubt need to be made but wee would liſten, and verily beleeue whatſoever they ſaid to be true. If this were ſo, all were but man, hauing a bodie and a ſoul, and we beleeue him, whom we credit to be but a man, who is a liar by nature. Hereon then it followeth, that in giuing faith to him, we ſhal ſhew our ſelues rather to beleeue a man, naturally a Lyar; then God, who is the ſoueraigne truth indeed, and cannot lie, but hath oftentimes repeated to vs, what rewarde is prepared for the good, and what puniſhment for the wicked.

I thinke then, there is no man, but he will confeſſe it a greuous ſinne, if hee ſhould lend faith to a reuelation, deſired by a reached man, to beleeue the creature, rather then the Creator. Let no man then couet that which may redound to his own damnation; conſidering, what God hath beſtowed vpon him, and alſo what is denied for his ſaluation, when hee may helpe to worke it with feare and trembling. If all are tyed to this concluſion, ſo much the more it belongeth to a Chriſtian, whom our Sauior hath taught to beleeue, whatſoever hee hath reuealed in the Scripture, And ſaith in the Parable of the Glutton, that to know heauenly things, wee haue the Lawe and the Prophets to inſtruct vs ſufficiently.

An argument to approue the infallibility of the matter alledged of reuelations by the dead.

God onely is true, & all men lyars.

The creature ought not to beleeued, but the Creator onely.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a Disputation made in Antioche, in the presence of King Ptolomy, by seuen seuerall Ambassadors, to know, which of their kingdomes had the best Lawes and Customes.

**K**ing Ptolomy being at Antioche, Ambassadors from the Romaines, Carthageniens, Sicilians, Rhodians, Athenians, Lacedemonians, & Sicyonians, came thither vpon seuerall occasions to him. And sitting at supper with the King, a disputation chaunced to be moued, concerning the condition of their Countries and Common-weales, which of them was best policied, and prouided of good Lawes and commendable Customes. The dispute was long debated & maintained among them, being defended with good and sufficient reasons. Whereuppon, King Ptolomy, being desirous to be resolued in the truth, commaded each man to speake the customes in their kingdomes: whereby might best be discerned, which of the Prouinces merited most to be commended.

The Ambassador for the Romanes first began, and answered in this maner. We hold our Temples in great and reuerend respect; wee are obedient to our Governours; and greuously we punish wicked and lewd liuers.

He for Carthage next spake, saying. In the Common-wealth of Carthage, our Noblemen fight for vs; our Plebeians & Mechanickes labour for vs; and our Philosophers enstruct vs.

He for the Sicilians, said. In our Common-wealth, Iustice is intirely kept; our Negotiations are truly managed, and all liue equally together.

Hee for the Rhodians, saide. In our Common-wealth, our olde men are honest; our young men bashfully modest; and our women liue solitarily, vsing but few words.

The Athenian Ambassador saide. In

our Common-wealth, we neuer consent, that rich men shall be partiall, poore men idle, nor our Governours ignorant.

He for the Lacedemonians, said. In our Common-wealth, enuy cannot reigne, because we are all equall; nor auarice, because all our goods are in common; nor idlenesse, because all labour.

In our common-wealth (said the Ambassador for the Sicyonians) wee permit none to voyage foorth abroad, because at his returning home, hee shal not teach & instruct vs in matters of nouelties; neither do we suffer Physitians, who may kill our healthfull men; nor do we allow Orators, because we couet not quarrelling causes.

When King Ptolomy had heard all the seuen Ambassadors, he highly commended all their kingdomes; affirming, that they were all well and iustly gouerned. That each of them had good Customs, worthily deseruing commendation: and that it was hard for him to iudge, which of them was best ruled and ordered. So the Ambassadors taking their leaue of the King, returned home vnto their seuerall countries, very ioyful and contented, that the king had dealt with them so graciouly in iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a very proud and sumptuous Temple (dedicated to Venus) in the City of Corinth, in the seruice whereof, were five hundred Ladies: And of the answer of an Abbesse to a great Lord.



**I**N Corinth, the principall City of Achaia, liued a tyrant, famous for wealth & vicious life, surnamed Herigon; who caused a sumptuous Temple to be built in the middest of the City, in the maner of a Monastery, & dedicated it to the Goddesse Venus. In this abhominable Temple, were more then 500. yong Ladies & Gentlewomen of Asia, whom their fathers there offred to the Goddesse Venus, and to her seruice: so that such of them as were most wan-

Sparta or Lacedemon.

Sicyonia.

The answere of King Ptolomy to the Ambassadors.

The argumēt moued to the Ambassadors by the King, for a resoluti-on therein.

For the Romanes.

Carthage.

Sicily.

Rhodes.

Athens.

\*A part of Greece, containing Attica, Boetia, Megaris, Aetholia, and Phocis.

ton and lasciuious, were held in greatest estimation, and reputed to be most holie and religious. It was not lawfull for any of them to go out of the Temple; but each one might there sinne, and please her selfe with such as shee best liked, and as often as shee would: so that all their Religion consisted not in being honest and vertuous maydens, but they had power to doe what they pleased.

Among them was an other Lawe also, that if any of them had a mind to marrie, shee must gaine or winne her dowrie, by the infamy of her body, which was permitted that she might so doe. Moreouer, that beside her husband, she might haue an amorous friend: for, in being dedicated to the goddesse of Loue, they intended, not to loose the name of Wanton and Amorous. And no married wife or widdow, might offer in this Temple, but onely virgines. And such as were so vnhappy, or wretched in fortune, to come and offer their Oblations there: before a yeare was expired, became a she diuell in this hellish sanctuarie; and, of a chaste virgin, a shamelesse and lasciuious strumpet.

All such as had admittance there, were expert in reading, writing, singing, playing on instruments, and dancing. Whereby men were allured thither extraordinarily, and it was no shame for them to be seene there.

The like Temples are (at this day to be seene) in the *Portugall Indiaes*, in the Provinces of *Iappan*, where there are about eight hundred Monasteries, the least of which hath more then thirtie Nunnes in it, called there *Bonzes*; whereof there are two sorts: one clothed in blacke, the other in lighter colours.

It is a common fame in those Countries, that these *Bonzes* doe feede on a certayne hearbe, to auoyde conceiuing with childe: but if conception can not be preuented, then they eate another hearbe, to destroy the infant conceiued. They instruct yong maydens in reading, and such is the sottishnesse of the people, to credit verily, that they can deliuer the soules of their decessed parents from Hell; and therefore (in that respect) they are greatly honoured and reuerenced.

We our selues in these dayes (almost monstrous and miserable) neede not tra-

uaile so farre off, to find out Monasteries, where Religious women or Nunnes (if wee may tearme them Religious) leade their liues as lewdly and dissolutely, whereof themselves make no other concealment, but that all commers and goers, finde there exceeding kinde wellcome. Which ensueth by ouer-much libertie & ydlenesse, or else, by being placed there by their parents; contrary to their owne liking. But the good and vertuously disposed (whereof there are many) are not comprehended amongst these deboshed women: And as for the voluptuous and immodest; they regarde not who knowes their loosenesse, and may well say of themselves, as an Abbess did, of whom *Nicholas Boyerus* maketh mention in his Decisions. She had fortie Nunnes vnder her charge, and there belonged to that Monastery twenty Priests.

It came to passe, that a Prince, whose predecessours had founded that Monastery, passing that way, and visiting the Religious companies: found all (else-where) in good order, except the number of Priests, and these Nunnes, whose number he thought not well ordayned; whereupon hee sayde to the Abbess. Truly Madame, me thinkes, that in stead of fourty Nunnes; fortie Priests had bene better appoynted; and twenty Nunnes onelie had bene sufficient. My Lord (quoth she) perhaps the order is not so ill contriued, as you imagine it to be, neither is it to be condemned: for, of the fortie Nuns heere appointed, twenty are for the twentie Priests; and the other twenty serue for all comers and goers.

CHAP. XV.

¶ *Of the Oracle of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos, the Originall thereof, and upon what occasion it came.*



He most renowned Oracle long since in *Asia*, was that of *Apollo* in the Isle of *Delphos*, whither resorted infinite persons, and from all parts of the world: offering there great gifts, and consulting on especiall matters, because

Monasteries of Nuns neede home, liuing as lewdly

Nicholas Boyerus in li. de Decis. Dist. 17.

The conference betweene a Prince & the Lady Abbess

\* A Citty and People of *Bæotia*, by *Per-nassus*.

wicked customs observed in this detestable Temple

married wifes or widdows might offer in this temple, but virgins onely

exercises too good for so vile a kinde of life.

monasteries of lewd Nuns in Iappan, and their abominable qualities

because more answers were returned thence, then from all other Oracles. At the first, there was a deepe, crooked, winding caue or ditch, out of which issued a winde, that blew extremely at the mouth or entrance; thereon was seated a yooing Virgine, dedicated to *Apollo*, that gaue answer to all things demaunded of her. This winde was the diuell, who blew into her eares; and before the Temple was builded in *Delphos*, a she-Goat descending downe into that caue or ditch, became suddenly filled with a diuine Spirit, daunsing, skipping and leaping for ioy; as the like had neuer bin scene before. Whereat the Goate-heard wondering, followed her downe into the caue, and beganne to fore-tell of things to come. Many more beside made prooffe in the same maner; so that whosoeuer would know what was to ensue, most put his head into the entrance of the caue.

But in the end, this could not be doone without daunger, and losse of many persons: whereupon a Temple was erected to *Apollo* the Diuiner, and the Priest named *Pythia*, who made choice of a Virgine, to be placed on the *Tripod*: whereof *Lactantius* the Grammarian speaketh thus, interpreting this Verse of *Achilles Statius*, in his first Booke of his *Thebays*.

*Salve prisca fides Tripodam.*

*Tripod* (saith he) *species est lanri tribus radicibus, Apollini consecrata, propter vim diuinationis.* *Iamblichus*, in his booke of the *Aegyptian Mysteries*, saith; *Sybilla*, in *Delphus* duobus modis suscipiebat Deum, vel per spiritum quendam tamen igneumque, qui erumpebat alicubi ex ore antri cuiusdam, vel sedem in adyto super sedem aneam, habentem tres aut quatuor pedes, & Deo dicatam. The Virgine that was the Organe of *Apollo*, sitting on the *Tripod*, held a Rod in her hand, and was crowned with a greene Chaplet of Laurell.

Many other Oracles there were in diuers other places. *Liber* was the Oracle of the *Sicilians*; *Ceres*, that of the *Rhodians*; *Diana*, of the *Ephesians*; *Berecinthia*, of the *Romaines*; *Belus*, of the *Palestines*; *Iuno*, of the *Numidians*; *Venus*, of the *Thebans* and *Cypriots*; and many others, in whom poore abused Idolaters reposed all their confidence, rendring to them their Vowes and Sacrifices, albeit vterly in vaine. For, the answers of these Oracles,

were nothing else but ydle imaginations, and meere fables proceeding from the diuell, the father of lies. And by good right were such abuses and superstitions condemned; by them that had knowledge of our true eternall God; as *Dauid*, *Baruch*, and other holy men, who detested such Idolls and Images of the Gentiles, made of golde, siluer, stone, wood, and other matter, and by the hand of man.

## CHAP. XVI.

¶ What care our Elders had in ancient times, concerning the performance of their Sacrifices.



N auncient custome (good and commendable) hath euermore beene, not onelie on the behalfe of Christians, but also amongst the *Ethnickes*: in acknowledging the benefite they receiued from God; not by wordes alone, but also by effects and exterior Sacrifices. So that there is no Nation so barbarous, but hath confessed his God, by some outward signe. And the Roman Senate did alwayes holde Religion in veneration, that so often as they met together (as *Varro* reporteth.) Although they had affaires of great importance, and which required hastie diligence: yet the first thing that they propounded to themselues (before decision of any doubts) was religious humiliation to their gods.

At all times, and whensoever the Romaine Consulls or Emperours should go forth to waere, they neuer would prepare for the field, till they had first sacrificed to their gods, saying; *All felicitie and prosperitie proceeded from them.* And *Marcus Aurelius* saith; *They helde it for an infallible rule, that there can be nothing perfect among mortall men, except it bee perfected by God.* *Lycurgus*, the auncient Law-maker of the *Lacedemonians*, among other Lawes, ordained: *That no man should be so bolde to seeke for fauor from a Prince, except he were knowne to serue the Gods diligently.* Nor do I alledge these examples, as intending to confirme my saying by Pagans and Idolaters: but onely to make vs blush with shame, by seeing how farre they exceeded vs in pietie and religion.

In what maner answer was giuen before the Temples erection.

The reason for building the Temple.

*Lactant. Grammat. in Achil. Stat. lib Thebays.*

*Iamblich. in lib. Egypt. Mist. cap. 5.*

\* One of the names giuen to Bacchus. Cibeles, mother of the Gods.

Pagans and Christians haue bin call'd full of Religion in all times.

*Marcus P. in lib. 1. de lig. cap. 8.*

*Ammianus Marcell. in lib. 3. cap. 3.*

*M. Aurel. in Horolog. Princ.*

A law made by Licurgus

For,

For, if wee would reade Histories, we should finde ; that Gentiles and Pagans sought carefully, to recouer all their necessities from the gods.

In the time of *Quintus Fabius* and *Publius Decius*, they warring against the *Saminites* and *Hetrurians*, the Roman Matrons performed wonderfull things, neuer ceasing day and night, in offering great Sacrifices to the gods, saying: *If they were once appeased, they needed not to stand in feare of their enemies.*

But leaue we Idolaters, and let vs seeke what the auncient children of God did, who at all times, and whensoever they were afflicted, had their recourse to Sacrifices, when they would expresse their thankfulness to Almighty God, for benefites receiued. *Noah*, after hee came forth of the Arke, erected an Altare, sacrificed thereon, and the sacrifice was so acceptable to God, that he promised him, neuer more to drowne the world agayne. Good *Yaacob*, being gone from the house of *Laban*, to giue thanks to God, built an Altare, which hee consecrated to God. The children of *Israel*, being afflicted in the wilderness, sayd: *Let vs go on for three dayes, and afterward wee will sacrifice vnto our God.*

We reade in *Esdra*s, that after the children of *Israel* were returned, to re-edifie their Temple, that they might sacrifice to God; they were so carefull, that building with one hand, they helde their weapons in the other, to defend them from their enemies.

In *Leuiticus*, mention is made of innumerable Sacrifices; whereby God pardoned offences committed. Hereupon *Daniel* being in the captiuitie of *Babylon*, and seeing the Sacrifices to be forsaken, sayd: *In these times, there is heere neyther Prince, Gouvernour, nor Prophet, nor Holocaust, nor Sacrifice, nor Oblation, nor Incense, nor place to offer our First-fruites on before thee: Receiue therefore vs, with our soules broken, and our spirites cast downe. Elias* also, lamented grieuouly, because the Altares were ouerthrowne, and in his earnest zeale to God, vnable to suffer such ruine, desired to die. For without all doubt, nothing is more miserable, then when the seruice of Almighty God is despised, and where it faileth, a punishment from God surely followeth.

*Aarons* sonnes, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, were consumed with fire from heauen, before all the people; because they obserued not the Lawe ordayned for the Sacrifices. King *Balthasar*, prophaning the vessels of gold and siluer, dedicated to the Temples seruice, to serue his wiues & concubines for drinking therein at his Table: diuinely sawe a Hand writing on the wall, foretelling his neere approaching ruine; so that he was taken by his enemies, and slayne the same instant. *Achab*, hauing prophaned the holy place, erected a Temple to the Idoll *Baal*: but afterwarde, going against the *Syrians*, he was slayne with an Arrow shot from a bowe.

The Records of Histories doe also tell vs, that *Pompey*, hauing made a Stable of Gods Temple, after hee had robbed, ransackt, & spoyled *Ierusalem*, became thereby so abominable to GOD, that thence forward he was most vnfortunate. And although hee had before vanquished two and twentie Kings, yet at the last, himselfe was miserably ouercome. The sonne of *Darius* was so prowde and presumptuous, that hee would not onely abuse men, but euen the gods also, and sent foure thousand men to beate downe the Temple of *Apollo*; but so great a hayle and tempest fell from Heauen, that destroyed them euery man. For this cause, the good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, writing a Letter to the King of *Trinacria*; reprooued him greatly, because he had beaten downe a moiety of the temple, to enlarge his house. *Thou thinkest* (quoth he) *that the stones and mortar, wherewith the Temple was built, to be of small value: it is very true: but the Gods to whom they are dedicated, are most mightie. I wish therefore, if thou would haue peace with the Romaines; (hauing scandalized Rome, and griued the Senate) that thou shouldst take as much of thy house, to enlarge the Temple, as thou hast taken from it, and build it a great deale higher, and wider then it was; and then thou shalt be happie, in taking nothing from the house of the Gods, but rather that they possesse part of thine.*

The *Athenians*, who were alwayes conquered by the *Lacedemonians*, in many wars which they haue had together: complayned to their God, because they had exceeded in their Sacrifices to him, farre beyond those of the *Lacedemonians*. But the Oracle of *Iupiter* made them answer thus:

Leuit. 10, 2.

Dan. 5, 2.

3 Reg. 22, 35

Pompey made a Stable of Gods Temple and the punishment therefore inflicted on him afterward.

\* The Isle of Sicily.

The words in the Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the King of Trinacria.

the admirability of the Ladies & matrones of Rome.

Temples of the children of God.

Gen. 8, 18, 21.

Gen. 31, 54.

Exod. 15, 12.

1 Esdras 4, 3

Leuit. 5, 6, 7.

Gen. 3, 9.

1 Reg. 19, 14.

the contempt of gods, which must needs draw downe vengeance.

The Oracle  
of Iupiter an-  
swering the  
Athenians.

1 Peter 5, 3.

thus. *The humble and sincere Sacrifices of the Lacedemonians, are more agreeable to the Gods, then all the exterior pompe of the Athenians.* In which respect, we holde it as a Catholique maxime, That God giueth eare to the prayers of the humble, and re-  
proueth those of the presumptuous. *Deus enim superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* For God resisteth the prowde, and giueth grace to the humble; so sayth Saint Peter.

### CHAP. XVII.

¶ *Of diuers and sundry opinions of the Philosophers, concerning the seate of the soule in the body of Man; And a contrarie coniecture of the Platonists.*



**P**lato and Democritus say, That the seate of the Soule is in the head. Straton the Philosopher admitteth it; Betweene the eye-browes. *Erastratus* within the skinne or filme of the Braine. *Heracitus* placeth it, in the outward agitation. *Moschion* giues it place, throughout all the bodie. *Xenocrates*, in the crowne of the head. *Parmenides*, *Epicurus*; the *Stoickes* and *Aegyptians*, lodge it wholly in the heart: as the like doth *Orpheus*. *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, thought it to be in the eares. *Empedocles*, in the heape or pile of the bloud. *Philo* the Jew, in his Booke of Allegories of the Lawe, saith thus. *The reasonable facultie or part of the soule, is in the head; the irascible, in the heart, and the concupiscible, in the groine, or lower part of the belly.*

But we Christians, hold it to be in the heart, whence proceedeth good and euill cogitations: Saint *Augustine* in his booke concerning the knowledge of true Life, writeth thus; *The Soule is dispersed throughout all the body, and keepeth wholly in euery part thereof. Very true it is (sayth he also) that it yeeldeth far greater effects and actions, in some one place, then other: either by the will, which in that place sendeth out his strength; or else by those instruments, proper and commodious for action.*

The *Platonists* say; That the Soule descendeth by *Cancer*, and mounteth agayne by *Capricorne*; and I thinke; that from hence they ground this coniecture. Because *Cancer* is the house of the *Moone*; the vertue

whereof governeth ouer the vegetable parts, it viuifieth the body; And *Capricorne* is the house of *Saturne*, which presideth for contemplation, whereto the Soule being freed from the body it may walke at libertie.

### CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *How men ought to shurne and auoyde Curiosity; And what penalties and punishments were appoynted by our Auncients, for curious people.*



**T**HE Athenians had a Lawe, which was well obserued among them, whereby euery man was forbidden (of what degree or qualitie soeuer he were) that hee should nor dare, to enquire of any stranger, newly arriued in their Cittie: from whence he came, what hee was, nor what he sought for; vnder penaltie for him that demanded such questions, to be well whipt with rodde, and banished his Countrey. The end, for which our graue Auncients made such Lawes, was, to keepe men from the vice of curiositie; which is alwayes ouer-ready, to prie into other mens affaires; and be regardlesse of their owne.

*Plutarch*, *Anlus Gellius* and *Pliny* doe thinke, that they can neuer sufficiently commend *Marcus Portius* the Romaine, because no man did euer heare him, to enquire what newes were at *Rome*; nor how the people liued in their houses. His talke alwayes was, of such things as hee knew was profitable for the Commonwealth, or else fitted such demaunds as required necessary answer. *Plato*, writing of *Dionysius* the *Syracusan*, speaketh thus; *The curious man, that would know the life and actions of another man; is more friend to his enemies, then to himselfe. For, hee will quickly bestirre his tongue, in talking of his enemy, and what harme hee knoweth by him; but neuer cares what foule offences himselfe hath committed.*

A King of *Sparta* requested *Pindarus* to tell him, what was the most difficult thing for a man to doe? Whereunto *Pindarus* thus replied; *Nothing is more easie for a man, then to reprove an other; nor more difficult*

Variety of  
conieures  
diuersly deli-  
uered.

*Philo Iudaic. in  
lib. Allegor. leg.  
cap. 9.*

Opinion of  
Christians.

*Aug. in lib. uer.  
vii. cap. 33.*

The opinion  
of the Plato-  
nists concern-  
ing the sign  
*Cancer* and  
*Capricorne*.

The Atheni-  
ans Law a-  
gainst curio-  
Questionit

The great  
wisedome  
of *Marcus Por-  
tius* the Ro-  
maine.

*Plato* in *lib.  
Legib. 3. cap.*

The answer  
of the Poet  
*Pindarus*.

ſcult, then to endure reprehention in himſelfe.

Penethes, who among the Thebanes was a Philoſopher much renowned, could neuer be numbred among the curious, nor condemned with the malicious. He hauing liued as a Philoſopher, for the ſpace of thirtie yeares, in the Academies of Thebes; being blamed by ſome, becauſe hee did not reprehend the finnes which hee ſawe committed, answered: *When I know that I haue no ſinne in my ſelfe, then will I be- ginne to reprocue ſinne in other.*

Plato departing from Sicilie, for his returne to Greece, and taking his leaue of Dionyſius, the King ſpake thus vnto him. After thou commeſt among the Philoſophers of Greece: O how ill wilt thou ſpeak of me, and of my tyranny? Plato answered; Doubt not (*Dionyſius*) what I ſhall ſpeak of thee in the hearing of Philoſophers: for their manners are ſo vertuous, and themſelues ſo imployed in their ſtudies; that they haue no time to heare idle talke. Moreouer he ſayd; Know, O *Dionyſius*, if thou beeſt ignorant, that ſuch is the height of our Philoſophie, as to perſwade and counsell men, Then euery one ſhould iudge himſelfe, and not to buſie his brains, to deſame or reproue the liues of other.

*Philippides*, who was the firſt inuenter of Comedies, being a great friend to king *Lysimachus*; the King conuerſing with him vpon a day, ſayd; What doſt thou deſire of me (*O Philippides*) and I will freely graunt it thee, whatſoeuer thou requireſt? The greateſt grace (quoth *Philippides*, that thou canſt giue me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy ſecrets. O wiſe and worthy anſwere! read by many, and vnderſtoode of few: For, if this Philoſopher would not know the ſecrets of a King, much leſſe would hee vnderſtand them of his neighbours.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the three Conqueſts of England, by the Saxons, Danes and Normans; occaſioned by the finnes, either of the Princes, or of the People, or of both.

IF wee conſider the three diuerſe Conqueſts of England, ſince it receyued the

Chriſtian faith, and the ſtate thereof at the ſame time, together with the iudgement and teſtimony of the graueſt Authors that haue written thereof; we ſhall eaſily ſee, that the ſame haue proceeded of no other cauſe, but by the finnes of the Princes, or of the People, or of both. For, although the infirmitie of man is ſuch, as there neuer wanteth matter for Gods Juſtice to puniſh in Common-wealths. (by reaſon whereof, we ſee, that in all Countries, the people are ſcourged more or leſſe from time to time, not onely particularly euery one in his owne perſon, with miſadventures, ſickenefſe, loſſe of goods, death of children, and ſuch like, but alſo generally, with plagues, famine, inundations and warres) yet the ſubuerſion of Common-wealths neuer chaunceth, but for ſome great exceſſe of ſinne, eyther in the Prince, or in the People, or in both: And commonly, after many warnings & admonitions giuen by gentle and ſweete corrections. Such being the longanimitie and patience of Almighty God, that he layeth the Axe at the foote of the tree, long before he cutteth it downe, and trieth all means to cure the ſoares of his ſeruants, by lenetiues and fomentations, rather then by cauteriſings and incifions, or by cutting off the infected member, which hee neuer doth, but when there is no other remedy.

This courſe (we ſee) hee helde with his owne people, for, though hee often chaſtiſed them with famine, peſtilence, inuaſions of enemies, and ciuile wars: yet (after a while) he euer reſtored them to tranquillitie, plentie and peace, vntill they prooued ſo incorrigible, that the Prophet *Ieremi* in the ſecond chapter, and the thirtieth verſe, lamented, in the perſon of God; that all his Fatherly corrections were loſt vpon them, ſaying: *Fruſtra percuffi filios veſtros*: I haue beaten and chaſtiſed your children in vaine. And againe, the aforeſayd Prophet in the fifth chapter and in the third verſe, ſaith to Almighty God; *Percuſiſti eos, &c.* Thou haſt beaten them (*O Lord*) and they haue not bene ſorie; thou haſt conſumed them, and they haue reſuſed to receiue correction. As who would ſay; there is no other remedy left, but reprobation, ſubuerſion, and vtter extirpation of them. And therefore Almighty God gaue

The cauſes of the three conqueſts of England by the Saxons, Danes and Normans.

Great exceſſe of ſinne in Prince, people, or both.

The proceedings of Almighty God towards his owne people, like to the courſe hee held with the Brittaines.

Penethes a famous Philoſopher of Thebes, his ſaying.

The anſwer Plato to Dionyſius the Tyrant.

How good advice if it were obſerued

How good Lyſimachus conſeruing with the King Philippides.

gaue them ouer into the hands of their enemies; first, the tenne Tribes in *Samarria*, as in the fourth booke of the *Kings* the seuenteenth chapter and eighteene verse, which were all taken with their King *Hosea*, and translated into *Syria*. And afterward also, the other two Tribes in *Inda*, were carried into captiuitie by *Nabuchadonosor* king of *Babylon*, where they remained three score and ten yeares. And though they were afterwards restored to their Countrey, and their Temple redified; yet at length they were (for their extreame ingratitude, and peruerse obstinacie) vterly ruined.

The like proceeding Almighty God vsed with *England*, in the time of the *Brittaines*, after they receyued the Christian Faith; for he chastised them, sometimes with death and famine, sometimes with pestilence, and other-whiles with incursions of their enemies, and with ciuill warres amongst themselues: so long as the same sufficed to reduce them vnto repentance, and amendment of their sinfull liues, as sometimes it did; which their famous Countrey-man *Beda*, and auncient *Guildas* called, the *Sage*, doe testifie: Declaring, that the *Brittaines*, being partly driuen by famine, and partly by inuasion of *Scottes*, and *Pictes*, eyther to abandon the Countrey, or to hide themselues in the Mountaines, Woods, and Caues; craued helpe and succour of the *Romaines*, writing vnto them that lamentable Epistle, whereof *Guildas* maketh mention; in the which they sayd: Our barbarous enemies doe driue vs to the Sea, and the Sea doth driue vs backe to them agayne: so that of two kindes of death we haue our choice; that is to say, Whether we will haue our throates cut, or else be drowned. Thus wrote they to the *Romaines*.

But being not succoured by them, by reason of their great warres at the same time with *Attila*, they beganne to haue recourse to the mercie of God, and to relie wholly vpon his helpe (as the foresayd Authors haue reported) and so (with his assistance) assailed their enemies out of the Caues and Woods where they lay hidden, and not onely gaue vnto them great ouerthrowes, but also droue them out of the Countrey; and shortly after had such plenty of corne, fruite, and all

kinde of victualles, that the like had neuer beene seene, nor heard of before in many ages. Whereuppon followed the effect, which *Moses* noted and lamented in the children of *Israel*, *Deuteronomie* the one and thirtie chapter and the three and twentieth verse; *Incrassatus est dilectus* (sayeth hee) & *recalcitrauit*: The beloved people of God was made fatte, and then they beganne to kicke: that is to say, (as hee expoundeth it euen presently after) *Incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus dereliquit Deum factorem suum*. Being become faire and fatte, they forooke their God and Creator; so fell it out with the *Brittaines*.

For, they prooued so vngratefull for Gods great mercy towards them, that (as the foresaid Authors doe affirme) they fell into the extremitie of all mischief and wickednesse. *Non solum seculares viri, &c.* Not onely Secular men, but also the Ecclesiasticall; giuing themselues wholly to drunkennesse, to animositie and contention, enuy, cruelty, hatred of trueth, loue of lies, and all vice. Wherevpon our Lord scourged them with such a pestilent mortalitie, that (within but a while) there were not men enow aliue (as these Authors testifie) to burie the dead.

And when that sufficed not to reuoke them from their vicious liues; *Non multo post* (saith *Beda*) *acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est*. Shortly after, a sharper punishment of such detestable wickednesse followed vpon that sinfull people. For the *Pictes* and *Scotts* beganne againe to make such irruptions vpon them, that (not being able to withstand them) they were forced to call in the *Saxons* to assist them. *Quod Domini nutu* (saith *Beda*) *dispositum esse constat, &c.* Which it is manifest was done by Gods disposition, to the end that their wickednes might receiue due punishment. For, within a while, the *Saxons* did confederate themselues with their enemies, and picking quarrells against them, destroyed all the Countrey with fire and sword, burning vp houses, villages, and townes, and killing all sortes of people: infomuch, that many fledde into forraine Countreies, and others hid themselues amongst the hilles, mountaines and wooddes, vntill acknowledging the iust iudgement of Almighty God vpon them, they called to him

The patience which God vsed towards the Brittaines before their Conquest.

The miserable state of the Brittaines inuaded by the Pictes and Scotts. *Guildas de ex-cidio Britan.*

The Brittaines destitute of humane help, had recourse to the diuine, and obtained it.

*Beda Eccles. Hist lib. 1. c. 14. Guildas de ex-cid. Britan.*

Deut. 31, 23

Ibid. The Brittaines by prosperitie became insolent and vngratefull to God.

*Beda Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. c. 1.*

The vices & finnes of the Brittaines.

Idem Ibid.

New inuasions of the Brittaines by the Pictes and Scotts.

Idem Ibid.

The Brittaines called in the Saxons for their defence which (by Gods iustice) turned to their overthrow in the end. *Idem, cap. 1. Idem, cap. 16.*

him for mercie. *Vnanimò consensu auxili-um caeleste precante*; Crauing helpe from Heauen with vniforme consent, where-with Gods mercie was moued to giue them *Ambrosius Aurelianus* for their captaine, and diuerse notable victories, by his meanes. And especially at *Blackmore* in Yorkeeshire (for so was called *Mons Badonicus*, as saith *Polydore Virgil* in his third booke) where they made such great slaughter of them: as that (for some certayne yeares) they did not further molest them.

For, beeing (as *Guildas* in his booke *De Excid. Britann.* reporteth) mindefull of their former calamities, and of afflictions laid on them for their finnes: all sorts of men spirituall and temporall, as well the Princes as their subiects, did euerie one their duetie in his vocation. *At illis* (saith *Guildas*) *decidentibus*; &c. But they being dead, and another Age succeeding, ignorant of the miseries past, and corrupted with present ease and pleasure; All trueth and iustice was so subuerted: that there appeared not so much as anie fight thereof, in all the aforesaid states of men; *Exceptis paucis, & valde paucis*, Excepting a few, and those very few. For, the kings (saith he) were Tyrants, the Iudges most wicked and corrupt; the Priests negligent of their duetie. *Rarò sacrificantes, & nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes*; Seldome sacrificing, and neuer comming to the Altar with a pure heart. Ignorant, impudent, simoniacall, lasciuious; and all sortes of Lay men loaden with wickednesse, with murder, parricides, pride, adulteries, swearing, periuries, blasphemies, and all kindes of iniquitie.

And now to shew some particularities of this, and how iustly the vengeance of Almighty GOD was powred out vpon the whole Kingdome: The same Authour, in the place before cited, toucheth briefly the liues of some of the Kings and Princes, which liued in his time: as of *Constantius, Aurelius, Conanus, Vortiporius, Cuneglasus* and *Maglocunus*, taxing them with tyrannie, periurie; sacrilegious murders, and parricides (committed euen before holy Altars) adulteries, horrible incests, breach of vowes, of religion and chastitie; yea, and two of them with beastly Sodomie.

For the which enormities, and the ge-

nerall corruption and wickednesse of the whole Kingdome, hee threatneth; or rather prophesieth vnto them, vnter ruine and destruction; which (shortly after) worthily fell vpon them; as the *Brittish* Chronicles by *Geoffrey of Monmouth* in the twelfth booke of his Historie and the fifteenth chapter, also acknowledgeth: For hee sayth, That King *Cadwallader* (who was the last of the *Brittaines* race) vsed these wordes, as hee fledde by Sea into *Fraunce*, with the reliques of the *Brittaine* nation; *Va nobis peccatoribus ob immania scelera nostra, &c.* Woe bee to vs sinners, for our grieuous sins, wherewith we neuer ceased to offend God, while we had time of repentance; and therefore now the punishment of God falles vpon vs, which roots vs out of our natiue soile. Thus said *K. Cadwallader*, and more to that purpose.

Afterward hapned the inuasion of the *Danes*, who first by piracies, & after by open wars, cruelly infested & troubled the realme at sundry times, for the space of almost 200. yeares. But the good king *Alured*, or *Alfred*, Founder of the famous Vniuersity of *Oxford*, recouered all formerly lost, & droue the *Danes* out of *England*: except such as were content to become Christians, to whom he gaue the kingdomes of *Northumberland*, and of the *East-Angles*, who, during his time, neuer moued warre. And they of the Easterne parts, stirring afterward against his sonne, called *Edward*, were by him vtterly ouerthrowne; as also the other in *Northumberland*, in like manner, and vpon the like occasion, were subdued by his Grandchilde *Alelstone*, who made *England* a Monarchie, which so remained and flourished without further infestation of the *Danes*, during the reigne of four kings, the successors of *Adelstone*; to wit, his two brethren, *Edmond* and *Eldred* (who succeeded one another) and the two sons of *Edmond*, called *Edwin* and *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was (for his excellent vertues, and prosperous reigne) called *Honor & delicia Anglorum*, The honour and delight of *England*: or, as *Ingulphus* tearmeth him, *Honor & Rosa Regum*: The Honour and Rose of Kings.

Of whom it is written, that in his time, all Ecclesiasticall Orders flourished, learned and vertuous men were highly esteemed, all ciuill and forraine warres ceased, and he was called the King of *Albion*, be-

M m m ing

King Cadwallader flying into France, acknowledged Gods iustice vpon himselfe and his people for their sins.

The conquest of the English by the Danes.

King Alured expell'd al the Danes that would not become Christians. Poli. Virg. hist. lib. 5. Ingulph. hist. Angl.

The mercie of God to the posteritie of the good king Alured, to the 4. generation. Guil. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 8. Ingulph. hist. Anglorum.

the relapse of the Brittaines to their former vices.

the vices of the Cleargie and Laytie in Britaine.

the horrible cruelties of the Princes of Britaine, before the conquest thereof by the Saxons.

ing no lesse powerfull by Sea, then by Land. No yeare of his reigne passed, wherein hee built not a Monasterie, or else did some great and notable good to his Countrey; And such were his vertues, and great fame for felicity, that there came principall men from out of all the Countries adioyning, to see, and be acquainted with him.

Now, whereas the *Danes* returned againe into *England*, shortly after *Edgar*, in the reigne of his sonne *Etheldred*; and not onely molested it with incurfions (as they were wont) but also conquered and possessed it for a time: it may well be presumed, that they were but the instruments of Gods iustice therein; and that this conquest made by the *Danes*, proceeded of the finnes, partly of the famous King *Edgar* (though hee were dead before) and partly of his wife *Alfreda*; and lastly, of their sonne *Etheldred*, in whose time the Countrey was conquered. For, although King *Edgar* excelled in all pietie and vertue in his latter dayes; yet he did an acte in his youth, whereof it may be thought, that his children and posteritie payed the penaltie.

This I say, for that after the death of *Alfreda* his wife (by whom hee had King *Edward* the Martyr) hee fell in loue with *Alfreda*, wife to a Noble man called *Ethelwoolfe*, whom (with her consent) he caused to be killed, to the end he might marrie her. How grieuous this sinne was in the sight of Almighty GOD, and how iustly punished in his posteritie, wee may well iudge by the like offence of King *Dauid*, who, to the end he might marry *Bathsheba*, procured the death of *Vrias* her husband, for the which, the Prophet *Nathan*, in the second booke of the *Kings*, chapter twelue, verse ten; told him from Almighty God; that the sword should neuer depart from his house; and that his sonne in the Cradle, should die therefore. Beside, Almighty God permitted (for punishment of that sinne) that all his other children (except *Salomon*) died most vnfortunately. For *Amnon*, hauing deflowered his sister *Thamar*, was killed by his brother *Absolon*; and *Adonias* by *Salomon*; and lastly, *Absolon* rebelling and fighting against his owne father King *Dauid*, was miserably flaine, hanging on a tree by the haire of the head. And therefore no mar-

uell, that the like sinne of King *Edgar*, was also seuerely punished in his children.

To this purpose, it is to be noted, that his marriage prooued most vnfortunate, not only to the fruit that proceeded thereof, and the whole Realme (as shall be declared hereafter) but also to king *Edward*, his sonne by his former wife, who shortly after was killed, by the meanes of *Alfreda* his stepmother, for the aduancement of her sonne *Etheldred*. Wherein I cannot but note (by the way) the seueritie of Gods Iustice in punishing sinne, seeing the sayd young Prince, being very holy and innocent of life, could not escape the temporall punishment, due to his Fathers offence.

But to proceede, such was the common opinion of the innocencie and holinesse of this young King *Edward*, and enormitie of the sinne committed by *Alfreda*, in the murder of him: that the conceit of most men at that time was (as *William* of *Malmesburie* witnesseth) that the Conquest of *England* by the *Danes*, was a punishment of God for the same; which wel may be so presumed, especially, if we adde thereunto the offence, not onely of his father (whereof I haue already spoken) but also of his brother *Etheldred*, for whose cause hee was murthered; and in whose time that Conquest hapned. For it may be thought most consonant to the Iustice of Almighty God, that *Etheldred* (being the sonne of the wicked *Alfreda*, and fruit of the cursed marriage; yea, and withall, most wicked of himselfe) should beare the penaltie as well of his owne, as of both his parents finnes: As partly was fore-tolde at his coronation, by *Dunstane* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saying: *That for his Mothers sin in the murder of King Edward, both hee and his children should bee seuerely punished, and his Kingdome transferred to strangers.*

And if wee doe consider the manner of his life, and the nature and qualitie of his offences; we shall find them to be the very same, which the Scriptures affirme to be the cause of the translation of Kingdoms from one nation to another; whereof *Ecclesiasticus* saith: *Regnum de gente in gentem transfertur, &c.* Kingdomes are transferred from one nation to another, because of iniustice, iniuries, calumniations and diuers deceits. In which kinde of finnes

The Danes returned againe into *England*, and conquered it. *Polyd. Virg. 1. Angl. lib. 7.*

*Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. lib. 6.* What the offence was of King *Edgar*, and *Alfreda* his wife.

2 Reg 12, 10

2 Reg 13, 29  
3 Reg 2, 25.  
2 Reg 18, 9.

*Polyd. Virg. 1. 5. in fine.*

The seueritie of Gods Iustice in punishing sinne.

*Guliel. Malm. de gestis Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap.*

*Dunstane* foretold the conquest of *England*. *Polyd. Virg. 1. 7. Inguipibus Hist. Ang.*

*Eccles. 10, 8.* The offence of King *Etheldred*, in whose time the *Danes* conquered *England*.

finnes King *Etheldred* greatly exceeded; for he had his eares so open, and shewed such fauour to all kind of accusers and calumniators; that (as *Polydore Virgill* saith) *No mans life was in securitie*. Besides, on euery light occasion, spoyld & banished the richest and wealthiest of his subiects, beeing also addicted to all kinde of riot and dissolution. And therefore *William* of *Malmesburie* writeth of him briefly thus: *Eius vita cursus saeuus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu*: The course of his life was cruell in the beginning, miserable in the midst, and shamefull in the end.

Furthermore, he was so cowardly and base minded, that hee was no lesse contemptible to strangers abroad, then hateful to his owne subiects at home. Whereupon, the *Danes* tooke courage to enter *England* againe, who made him graunt them a yearely tribute, wherewith they were content for a time; and after turning thither agayne, forced him to flie into *Normandie*, and to leaue his kingdome to *Sweno* their King, who exercised all kind of cruelty vpon the *English*, and enioyed the Kingdome as long as he liued. Which was not past five yeares. After whose death, *Etheldred* recouered it againe, and possessed it two yeares, whilst *Canutus* sonne to *Sweno* was held busied at home, with a rebellion of the people of *Norway*.

In which meane while, *Etheldred* returned like the dogge to his olde vomite of cruelty and iniustice, especially against the *Danes* (who had beene for some yeares planted and marrowed in *England*) causing many of them to be killed with cruell torments. And amongst others, *Sigifredus* and *Morgandus*, two of the noblest of them) were falsly accused of fained crimes, and put to death for the same. Besides, Prince *Edmund* sonne to *Etheldred*, rauished the wife of *Sigifred*, being a woman no lesse admirable for her beautie, then commendable for her chastitie. All which when *Canutus* vnderstood, being moued with desire, as well to reuenge these iniuries done to his Countrey men, as also to recouer the Kingdome of *England*, conquered by his father: hee passed ouer thither with an Armie, and put all to fire and sword; whereupon *Etheldred* dyed with sorrow.

And although his sonne, furnamed *Ironside* (after diuers conflicts, and a combate fought hand to hand with *Canutus*) possessed the one half of *England* by composition: yet within a yeare, *Canutus* enioyed the whole by the sodaine death of *Edmond*, slaine vpon a priuy as he was eating himselfe; and so he remayned absolute King thereof as long as hee did liue, which was about some twentie yeares after.

Herein neuerthelesse it is to be noted, how the mercie of Almighty God concurred with his Iustice, and moderated the rigour thereof; for that (of his infinite bounty) he determined by this conquest, as it seemed, rather to chastise, correct and redresse *England*, then to ruine and oppresse it. And therefore, after he had somewhat satisfied the seueritie of his iustice, not onely vpon the Realme, by the five yeares cruell reigne of *Sweno* (who ransacked and spoyled all sorts of men, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall) but also vpon the persons of *Etheldred*, and his sonne *Edmund*: hee gaue them *Canutus*, sonne to *Sweno*, for their King, who, although he was a stranger, yet gouerned with all clemencie and good example of life, doing continually actes of pietie, making good Lawes and wholesome, easing the people of taxes and impositions, and deseruing well of all estates, by the meanes whereof *England* flourished (in his time) in peace and much plentie. Of whom I can not forbear (this occasion beeing offered) to expresse and declare heere (by the way) a notable acte, which I wish all Princes would well weigh and consider, in the height of their prosperity and greatest fortune.

It chanced once, as he was walking at *Southampton*, by the Sea side, some of his noble men flattered him, and extolled (about measure) his great power, calling him the most mightie and potent King of all Kings, commaunding absolutely ouer men, land & sea. Whereupon, to correct their flatterie, and to shew mans infirmitie, he went to the very Sea side, and sitting downe, said to the waues (as the tide was coming in,) *I command yee, that you touch not my feete*. And beeing presently after well washed with a waue that came in vpon him; hee arose, and turning himselfe to his noblemen, said vnto them:

Edmond Ironside, Son to king Etheldred. Canutus king of England.

The mercy of God towards the English, in turning their conquests to their comfort

The great vertue and piety of king Canutus.

*Polyd. Virg. Angl. Hist. 7. in fine.*

A memorable acte of King Canutus.

*Id. Virg. 7.*

*Wiel. Malm. gest. Reg lib. cap. 16.*

King Etheldred expelled out of England by Sweno King of the Danes, who reigned here five yeares.

King Etheldred after the death of Sweno, recouered England againe, & vsed his former cruelty and impiety.

*Idem. Ibid.*

Canutus, sonne to Sweno invaded England.

*Loe my Lords, you call me King of Kings, and Lord of Land and Sea, though I cannot commaund one of these little waues : Therefore know yee, that the King of Kings, and hee that commaundeth Land and Sea, is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whose will and prouidence all things were gouerned.* And hauing thus saide, hee returned to *Winchester*, and tooke the Crowne which he vsed to weare vpon his head, and put it (with his owne hands) vpon an Image of CHRIST crucified, which was in the Church of *Saint Peter and Saint Paule*, and would neuer after weare any crowne so long as he liued.

Though this may seeme a digression from my matter, yet I thought good to recount it heere, as well for the raritie of the example; as also that it may appeare, how mercifully God dealt with the people of *England*, to giue them such a King, by whose pietie their Conquest turned to comfort. And this his mercie appeared much more afterward, when it pleased his diuine Maiestie so sweetly to dispose, that after the death of *Canutus*, and his two sonnes *Haraldus* and *Hardicanutus*, or (as *Polydore* calles him) *Cunucus*, which two reigned but sixe yeares: the Crowne returned agayne to English blood; yea, and to so excellent a Prince, as was King *Edward the Confessour*, who reigned in all tranquillity, peace and felicitie about three and twenty yeares.

Now, although learning, religion, and vertue had flourished many yeres among the English, yet a little before the coming of the *Normans*, the same was vtterly destroyed and decayed. For (sayth *William of Malmesbury*, who liued in the same age) *the Priest s were so vnlearned, that they could scant pronounce truely, the very words of the Sacraments and diuine seruice.* And such was the ignorance generally of all men, that a Grammarian was helde for a wonder; Religious men were wholly giuen to delicacie and kept no rules of Religion; the Noblemen and Gentlemen gaue themselues to gluttony and lasciuiousnesse; there was no respect of Religion, nor care of Iustice: infomuch that the common people serued for no other then as a prey to the Nobility, who spoyled and ransacked them at their pleasure. It was a common custome when men had got their maid-seruants with childe, ey-

ther to send them to the Stewes, or to sell them for Slaues. Drunkenesse, and all the vices which commonly doe accompany the same, or follow thereon, were generally throughout the whole Realme; This reporteth *William of Malmesburie* in substance.

Also holy King *Edward* himselfe, declaring a Vision which happened to him, sayd, *That the Magistrates, as well spirituall as temporall, were no better then ministers of the diuell; that God was euery where dishonoured, lawes contemned, truth trodden vnder foote, pittie and mercy banished, crueltie helde for a pastime and enterainment. And therefore (sayd he) the wickednesse of the English is now compleate and growne to the height, and the reuenge and punishment thereof is shortly to follow.*

This was proued true by the euent, which in a yeare after, when *William Duke of Normandie*, called the *Conquerour*, came into *England*, whom God made the instrument and minister of his Iustice, to chastise them. For, being admitted and crowned King (presently after the bloody battell, wherein king *Haralde* and twentie thousand men were slaine) hee beganne to tyrannize vpon all estates: hee spoyled the Nobilitie of their lands, goods, dignities and offices, to giue the same to the *Normans*. He oppressed the people with infinite and intollerable taxes and impositions; he deprivied Citties, Bishoppricks and Monasteries of their immunities and priuileges, forcing them to redeeme them of him againe for great summes of mony. Hee tooke from Churches and Religious houses, not onely such mony as they had in store, but also the holy vessells, dedicated to Gods seruice. Hee abolished the olde Lawes, and ordayned new, causing them to be written in the *Norman* tongue, which the English vnderstood not: wherevpon there grew great confusion in the exercise thereof in all sortes of Actions and Pleas, as well criminall as ciuile, and many men wrongfully lost their lands, and goodes, and many their liues, and a gate was (at that time) opened to all iniustice.

Furthermore, he was not content onlie to spoyle the English of their wealth, but also deprivied them of their pleasures, taking from very many Noble men and

Gentlemen

*Henricus Huntingind. Hist. Angl. li. 6.*

*Guilielmus Malmesburiensis. de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 12. Polydorus Virgil. lib. 8. Ingulphus Hist. Henrici Huntingind. lib. 6. Roger Hoveden. Annal. par. 1.*

*Guilielmus Malmesburiensis. Hist. Angl. lib. 3. de Wibel. 1.*

The enormous finnes of the Clergy Nobility, and people of England, at the time of the conquest thereof by the Normans.

*Alfred. in vita Edwardi.* King Edward words at his death, concerning the finnes of the English, & the Conquest to follow in punishment thereof.

*Polydorus Virgil. lib. 8. in fine. Idem lib. 9. p. totum.*

The tyranny of William the Conquerour vpon all estates.

Olde Lawes abolished, and new ordaine in the Norman tongue.

Gentlemen, their Parkes and Chales for his owne vse; but also ouerthrowing houses, Churches, Villages and whole Parishes, to make Forrests. Insomuch, that (as *Polydore Virgill* reporteth) to make the Chase, which now is called *New Forrest*, hee dispeopled and made desert all the Countrey betwixt *Salisbury* and the Sea side, for thirtie miles space. And when diuers of his Nobilitie (by reason of his tyrannie) rebelled against him: he tooke occasion thereupon, to vse all kinde of seueritie and crueltie, not only vpon their persons, when they fell into his hands; but also vpon whole Countries and Prouinces, which hee so spoyled and ransacked, that they lay waste for some yeares after. Finally, his gouernement, during the time of his reigne, seemed to ayne at nothing else, but to extirpate and extinguish the race and name of the *English*.

Whereto if we adde the frequent wars in *England* in his time, partly by rebellion of his Subiects, and partly by inuasion of Strangers; wee shall finde, that *England* had not one yeare, no, not one day of ease and repose, during the one and twentie yeares of his reigne. Which calamitie also continued, or rather increased for thirteene yeres after his death, by the succession of his sonne *William Rufus*, who farre exceeded his father in crueltie, avarice, oppression of his Subiects, and contempt of God and man: by reason whereof, hee was so hated of the people, that when his death was knowne (which was so sodaine, and exemplary, for he was killed by chaunce with an Arrow, as he was hunting) the people were so transported with ioy, that they went euery where to the Churches, to giue God thanks therefore, as for the happiest newes that euer came to *England*, in hope, that the last day of his life, would be the first of their libertie. If therefore we consider all this, we shall evidently see, how true the prophecy of holy king *Edward* proued, when he said; *That England should be giuen (for a time) into the hands of euill and wicked spirits, for the sins of the Nobilitie, Cleargie and People.*

Heere then I conclude, that whereas the first Conquest seemes to haue proceeded, of the sins as well of the People, as of the Princes; and the second, of the offences, rather of the Princes, then of the Peo-

ple; the last was (as good King *Edward* testified) in punishment of the peoples sins, rather then of the Princes. Whereby we may see the simpathy in the body politike, no lesse then in the naturall body, betwixt the head and the members in the participation for sinne, or reward for vertue. Which may serue for a motiue to all Princes and Magistrates, to haue especiall care, to auoyde the offence of God, not onely by their owne liues, but also by punishing and reforming their Subiects, lest negligence in eyther may draw GODS wrath vpon both, to the destruction of the whole Common-wealth.

CHAP. XX.

*The Battell of Gaza, fought betweene Synanbasha, Generall for Selym the great Turke; And Gazelles, Lieutenant of Tomumbeyo, the Soldane, or Sultane of Egypt. 1516.*

**A**fter the death of *Campson*, *Selym* intending to inuade *Egypt*, sent before (from *Damasco*) his Generall *Synanbasha* into *Iudea*, with fiftene thousand horse, and a very strong power of Harquebusers, selected out of the *Ianizaries* and *Asappes*, only to suruey that Region, and to open a passage way to *Gaza*; which indeed was very molestuous & troublesome, in regard of the potent *Arabes*. The city is seated on the sea-coast, and in the confines of *Egypt*, neighboring vpon the hote sandy deserts; a very hard and painefull passage, for such as iourney to the remotest *Egypt*, and to the City of *Cayro*. The people of *Gaza*, being destitute of warlike garrisons of souldiers, to stead them in extremitie of armes, entertained *Synanbasha* at the very first view, although in craftie and dissembling maner, giuing him many thankfull gratulations, for vouchsafing to free them from the *Mamalukes* intollerable flauerie; in requittall of which benefite, they promised to continue loyall and seruiceable to *Selym* and his successors for euer.

Now, while *Synanbasha* lay encamped, within an Arrow reach from the City, in expectation of *Selyms* coming, and practising his best meanes of vnderstanding the course of the Region and Countrey; that should allow them passage into

M m m 3 *Egypt*,

An admonition to Princes & Magistrates.

Collected out of Paulus Iouius.

The situation of the City of Gaza.

*Synanbasha* deceitfully welcomed by the Citizens of Gaza

the English spoyled of their wealth and pleasures. *polyd. Virg. l. 9.*

the extreme cruelty of William the Conqueror.

the English had not one day of ease during the reigne of William Conqueror.

the cruelty and avarice of King William Rufus, more to the Conqueror. *polyd. Virg. l. 10.*

the Prophecy of King Edward the Confessor.

the conclusion of this chapter, concerning the conquests of England, and the cause thereof.

Ægypt; endeououring beside, to compasse friendship with the *Arabian* Commaunders, and suborning certaine Spies, that went to *Cayro*, to vndermine the counsels of the *Mamalukes* and *Tomumbeyo*, whome (vpon *Campsons* death) they hadde made choise of to be their Sultane: the inhabitants of *Gaza* (beeing naturally extreame enemies of the present Turkish Armie) gaue *Tomumbeyo* intelligence of *Synanbashaes* comming; aduertising him withall, that this power of Turkes might easily be oppressed and destroyed, before *Selim* could arriue with his supplies: onely by sending a strong power of *Mamalukes*, vnder conduct of some skilfull Leaders, to venture vpon them at an expeditious advantage, proiected in this maner. A time (in the dead of night) beeing concluded on, betweene themselues and the Cittizens, the *Mamalukes* should make a sodaine inuasion on the sleeping Turks, and they likewise (at the same instant) would yssue forth of the City, and ioyning with them, make vnauidable spoile & hauock of the enemies Campe.

This aduise is allowed and embraced, betweene *Tomumbeyo* and the *Mamalukes*; and *Gazelles* sent with six thousand horse or *Mamalukes*, and a strong Armie of the *Arabes*. Scarfely was hee departed from *Cayro*, but (by certaine *Syrian* Spyes) *Synanbasha* had aduertisement thereof, and that (not staying for any carriages) they would be there within two dayes. Now, as these newes preserued the Turkish Army, so was it of no meane moment, for compassing the intire victory of the whol warres. And although *Synanbasha* had no intelligence at all of the *Gazans* falshood, yet (being a man of great wisdom and providence) suspecting what Treacheries might circumuent him, and fearing least hee might meddle with two enemies at once: resolued to meet the *Mamalukes* by the way, and so try the fortune of fight. So, dislodging after the second watch, he silently marched away out of the Citties fight, reaching fiftene miles on the way towards *Cayro*; arriuing neere to a small village, which had the benefit of a plentiful Spring there arising, and therefore was the reason of Trauellers vsual lodging there.

It fortun'd, that *Synanbasha* purpos'd to stay in that Village, and *Gazelles* had

the like intention of breathing there some few houres, to refresh both his men and horses, that he might the sooner galloppe to *Gaza* in the night time: when, euen at one instant (as it were) both the Generals receiued intelligence (on either side) by their vant-currers, that a mighty dust was raised, and the enemy neere approached. *Gazelles* became much perplexed in mind at this strange and vnlookt for accident; perceiuing apparantly, that sayling of his purposed intent, hee was also vnable to match the enemy, if he should encounter with him, because his horses vvere halfe spent and weary. Yet had he no dismay in courage, although he was compelled (vpon such a sodaine) to deuise what instantly might be done, for generall safety of the Army. Whereupon, he aduised euerie man to make ready his weapon; and to consider, that what could not bee performed by stealth and ambush, according to a precedent intention, required now courageous resolution, and must be dispatch by manly valour.

On the other side, *Synanbasha* hauing his men sooner set in order, then *Gazelles* could doe, hauing formerly aduertised them, what was to be done on the fighes encounter; cheared all the ranks with honourable speeches. And the issue of his Oration, was, That flight must vterly bee forgot, because all places round about the would be shut vp; and iniurious to them, except they were victors. Moreover, of one thing to perswade themselues especially, that no man should perish that day, but he whom heauen had destinat'd vnto death, by the most certaine lawes of Fate; and that with equall perill, the Valiant should finde safety in midst of the enemies swords, and also the fearfull; death in their very safest flight, through the power of ineuitable lot.

The Harquebusiers were in the wings, & were extended foorth in length with a single array, and no man standing nere to another, for handling their Harquebusses the more freely, and to compasse the enemy: but the Pikes were placed in the very midst, to sustaine the impression of the *Mamalukes*. But *Gazelles* approaching, sent the *Arabian* troopes before, to disturbe the Wings; and he himself (with a square battaile) charged the middle regiment of the Turkes. The fight was very cruel, and long

Intelligence sent by the men of *Gaza*, to the new Sultane *Tomumbeyo*.

*Syrian* Spyes send aduertisement to *Synanbasha*, and what he presently did to preuent all danger.

One intention happened to both the Generals, of staying at one at the same place

The resolution of *Gazelles* this vnexpected distresse

*Synanbasha* his encouraging speech to his soldie

The managing of the vneral battaile with great difficulty on either side.

long time doubtfull, because the Turkes (though superiour in number) were not able to endure the power of the Armed horffe. And now being beaten from their ground; and disperfed, some one way, and some another, by the *Mamalukes* that brake in vpon them, they looked rounde about for flight, fixing their eies and harts stedfastly for it. When sodainly, by *Synanbashaes* commaund, the Harquebusiers, who (with their first storme of shotte) had driuen backe the *Arabes*: reducing in their wings, enclosed all the whole battaile of the enemy.

Now, both men and horse, were (a far off) beaten down with deadly bullets, storming vpon them in such multitudes, as no place (to expresse valour) was left to the enclosed. For, when any troope of *Mamalukes* ranne in violently vpon the Turkes; they, by reason of their nimble lightnesse (being accustomed to giue ground) did swiftly flye backe: and in all places this was their endeuour, not to encounter the with their horses, but onely to play vpon them with their Harquebusses. When *Gazelles* saw, that his horses were tyred with extreme wearinesse, and that manie of his stoutest men, were now either slain or hurt, and he himself greeuously wounded in the necke; he, with the rest, making themselues way with their weapons, fled vnto *Cayro*, through those desarts that he came, losing all his Ensignes.

There perished in this battel the Capitaine of *Alexandria*, and *Orcomas* the gouernour of *Cayro*, men of great account; & besides them, a great number of *Arabes*, and almost a thousand horsemen of marke. Nor dld *Synanbasha* win a ioyfull and vn-bloody victory, for hee lost about two thousand horse; and (among them) some of his cheefest Captaines. But because the fight had continued from noone to Sun-set, the Turkes were not able to pursue their enemies, their horses being well-nere dead with thirst, and they themselues fainting through want of meate, and extreme labour: but encamped in the place where the battell was fought, neere to the Spring before remembered.

CHAP. XXI.

Of three severall Battails, fought in the years 1516. and 1517. betweene Selym the Great Turke, and Tomumbeyo, the great Sultan of Ægypt.



*S*elym hauing receiued intelligence, that *Synanbasha* had surprized *Gaza*, ouerthrowne *Gazelles*, and had receiued a fresh supplie of men by Sea, from *Constantinople*, for his owne further seruice he marched with all his Army towards *Gaza*, and (within eight dayes more) recouered so farre as *Cayro*, reputed to be the Sultanes cheefe seat, *Synanbasha* still marching a daies iourney before him.

About the distance of sixe miles from the City, there was a smal village, named *Rhodania*, whereto *Tomumbeyo* (the newe made Sultane) had conueyed all his provision and furniture of great Ordnance, hauing made also ditches, crosse thwaring the plaine fieldes, and high wayes: which ditches were couered ouer vvith light earth, and small sticke, artificially shadowing them. But himsele, with his *Mamalukes* (who were about twelue thousand) and a great number of *Arabian* horsemen, fitted for the intent, kept in a place better beseeming: that vvhen the Turkes Army should drawe neere, they might be there entrapt and beaten downe by the vndiscoverable Ordnance, ere they could come to reach the *Ægyptians* with their Harquebusses; and then this stratagem hauing round engirt them, hee had the aduantage of immediate fight; they being vtterly disoynted, and fall into the snare prepared for them.

So cunningly and prouidently were these matters ordered, and perfected with such answerable opportunity, that not a man in the Army could imagine, or vige any doubt of the dayes victory. And questionlesse, no meane disaster had mette with the Turkes: but that the giddie headed Goddess Fortune, ouer-friendly to *Selym*, and cruelly vnkinde to *Tomumbeyo*,

Collected out of Paulus Iouius.

\*A City in Ægypt, not farre from the Iffe Delta.

A cunning ambuscado, prepared by Tomumbeyo, to entrapp his enemy.

In stratagemes of wars neuer so artificially ordered, Fortune still will be a stickler.

Synanbasha deceued his Army, being to the point of flight.

Story inclieth vnto the Turkes, Fornefrowning *Gazelles*, and his forces

Synanbasha could not greatly boast his Victory, staying a great losse.

as (had not the worthy paines of the *Mamalukes*, bin treacherously disappointed) onely through the meanes of a few perfidious Varlets, plainly had appeared.

As in all Armies there neuer wantes Villaines, so in the Sultanes were foure *Mamalukes*, borne *Albanoises*, who stiffely stomacked, that *Tomumbeyo* (by suffrages of the contrary faction) was advanced to the dignity royall. And they, either impelled by lewd disposition, or adducted by hope of rewarde, and more bountifull respect, foreseeing their owne side to fall on wracke, and wisdome aduising, to seeke for new and more assured Friends: fled to *Synanbasha*, as to their chiefest Turkish Captaine and Countriman. By these horsemen *Synanbasha*, and (soon after) *Selym*, vnderstood all the counsels & intents of the enemy, and what an Ambuscado *Tomumbeyo* had prepared for them, with singular subtilty and dexterious Art, vnauidable from falling into, except they forsooke the high and direct way. Whereupon, beeing guided by these Fugitiues, they fetched a great compasse about on the left hand, and (before breake of day) recovered their old wonted way, hauing their battels ranged, their Ordnance ready mounted, to auoyde the least delay of fight, and so shewed themselues at the enemies rereward, and neuer coming neere the front of their Campe.

When *Tomumbeyo* saw this, he coniectured by his enemies march, that (by his owne mens treason) his prouided ambush was discovered. And albeit his mind was afflicted with matchlesse greefe, to see so painfull an employment of his men, and so full of expectation, to be in a moment vtterly defeated: yet notwithstanding, he being a man of vnconquerable courage, called all his senses and valour to sodaine counsell, and summoning his Captaines about him, gaue present order for those things which were to be done. And now was *Tomumbeyo* in so narrow a strait and necessity, that all thinges, and at one instant, must receiue order from him. Hee was to giue the signall to his Soldiers, for mounting on horse-backe, vsing their weapons, turning the course of his camp, ranging his battailes, encoraging his men, and conueying his Ordnance to contrary quarters, as the occasion required. All which thinges, as one Captaine could not

performe alone, but very hardly and confusedly; so must they needs be effected as rawly, peruerfly, and to halfes, by manie indiscreet vndertakers.

But that which most hindered speedie performance, was the hudling of men together, for remouing the Ordnance from place to place, they being ill-fauored huge pieces, made of Iron, and sette in great stockes of Wood, with Iron ringes, after the rude and nauall forme of Workmanship, vsed in elder times: and so, by reason of their excessiue waight, could not be carried from their places, but by the draught of many beastes; besides, great heauing with iron Crowes and Leauers, requiring greuous labour of men. And the other great Field-peeces, mounted on carriages with wheeles, being drawne by the witleffe and hasty multitude, with great clamor of such as haled and shoued them through all parts of the Campe: the tumultuous passage of them, disordered men mounted on their horses, and the Souldiers repairing to their ensignes: yet two maine helps equalled these hindering difficulties; namely, the chearefulnesse of the soldiers, and the singular constancy of them all, almost beyond the compasse of mans beleefe: because they had not conceiued so much as a thought of feare, nor failed in their hopefull hearts, as it commonly happeneth in sodain aduerse chances, whereby old tryed soldiers do manie times forget their ancient valour. For, being twice before vanquished in battel, yet they resumed the greater confidence and courage: perswading themselues, that not valour or skill in fight, but onely fortune fayled them.

Nowe, when *Tomumbeyo* had set his men in good order, and the soldiers (with earnest desire of fight) requested the signall: he commanded the multitude of the *Arabians*, to bring their winges about on the rere of the enemy, and to beginne the fight first, that the Turkish horsemen might be troubled and disordered with a doubtfull danger of fight, before himselfe would issue forth with his selected troops. Strait way he commanded the great Ordnance (which by this time was brought about, and directed against the enemies) to bee shot off. And immediately the Turkes did the like; who had once discharged their smaller and greater peeces, when they

Four trecherous Mamalukes defeated Tomumbeyo's hope for the ambush.

Prevention of perill is no meane helpe in accidents of Armes.

A distresse that would trouble the braine of the best soldier in the world.

The best capacity of a Generall or Commander is well tried in warre.

Many inconueniences happen thorough want of discrete and orderly Military discipline.

A great comfort to a Generall, when his Souldiers contain their chearefull disposition.

Tomumbeyo prepareth his troops to giue the enemies battaile.

they were a iust distance off, and quickly re-charging them, had brought the within an Arrowes shoote of the Egyptians Ordnance, fighting a long time on either side, onely with discharging their Ordnance, while the Armies approched neerer. In which contention, almost all the Egyptians Gunners were slain, and most of their Artillery dismounted from theyr wheelles, beeing broken in peeces by violence of the enemies bullets.

The Turke had very skilfull Gunners in his Campe, whom he had allured (by his great rewardes, and rich entertainment) out of *Italy* and *Germany*, and especially many out of the Iewes rable, who beeing expelled by the piety of King *Ferdinand* out of the *Spaines*; brought afterwarde such rare and vnused deadly Artes into all the East, to spice our men withall. The Captaine or cheefe man of all these Gunners, was one *James*, borne at *Reggio* in *Lombardie*, a man of extraordinary skill in those Artes, who being enticed by Turkish giftes: had (a little before) forsaken the seruice of Christ, and reuolted vnto *Mahomets* superstition. The fight beeing brought (on both sides) to handy strokes, the *Mamalukes* raised a cruel and horrible cry, and in three quarters, charged the Turkes with great valour: For *Selym* (keeping his old order) so marched, that hee approached in the forme of a Crescent. The Captaine of the *Asians* in the right Wing, was *Mustapha*, and *Innubasha* of the *Europeans* in the left: but himselfe gouerned the middle battell, wherein was the squadron of the *Inizaries*, with a great multitude of Ordnance.

But *Synanbasha* being made General of the fildes, had chosen for himselfe a band of the valiantest men, taken and pickt out of all the companies, to serue for all vn-certaine euent of the battaile. Whereto hee added (out of *Selyms* squadron) five hundred foote of extraordinary valor and swiftnesse, that hee being ready in all places of the battaile, and for all chaunces (were they neuer so sodaine) might succour that part of his fellowes, which was most pressed by the enemy. So that almost at one time, when *Tomumbeyo* had stood in the middle battaile against *Selym*, and the wings of the *Mamalukes*, had encountered the Turkish with equall Front, and the *Arabians* had fought valiantly at

their backes, as they had beene commanded; foure fights were very furiously and hotly attached at one time, and in diuerse distinct places.

They that were present at this battell, do report, that thorough the cries of the Soldiers, the noise of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering of the Artillery, the clouds of dust, and clashing of Weapons; all mens minds were so amazed and confounded, that they, being al on both sides alike blinded with furie, rushed on with such desperate madnesse, that neyther could the voices and watch wordes bee heard or knowne one from another, nor the Ensignes seene, nor commaundes of Captaines be regarded; but euen (by mutuall error) they slew a great number both of their owne fellowes, and also of theyr enemies, without any respect at all. For neuer before that day, had any armies encountered together, enflamed with greater spleene and hatred; nor euer had two such mighty Emperors, more constantly and feruently declared their valour both of body and minde; nor with lesse care of life and safety. For, when both of them plainly perceiued, that with like daunger of themselues and their Armies, they had set their liues and Empires vpon present ruine: they also well vnderstoode, that there would be no other hope lefte to eyther of them, but that which victorie it selfe should bring with it.

Now *Gazelles* enflamed with desire of honor and reuenge, to returne the *Europeans* a foile equall to that which hee had receiued at *Gaza*, charging *Innubasha* with great violence, had ouer-run the formost and resisting troopes; had beaten downe the *Guidons*: and the *Arabes* pursuing on hard at his heeles, had made the vanquishing companies (euen those of the *Thracians*, *Thessalians*, and *Macedons*) to turne their backes, which neuer any enemy had done before.

Then *Synanbasha*, beeing readie for all occasions of victory, flew vpon the side of the enemy, with a fresh and powerfull company of his men, re-enforcing the battell, which was much declined & foully scattered. But anon after, *Synanbasha*, who had discontinued the manifest victory of the enemy, by exercising a supreme acte of prowesse, was slaine, fighting verie valiantly before his men, after that the

Foure fights at one time in foure distinct places.

Credible reports concerning this dreadfull battell.

The mad and desperate fury of both the Armies, as the liks was neuer heard of.

The courage of Gazelles in hope of foiling his enemies.

Synanbasha slaine fighting valiantly before his men.

The Egyptian Gunners for their great Ordnance almost all slain.

The order & managing of Selyms army.

Synanbasha General of the field, and his bande of men.

*Mamalukes* (vnder their fierce Captayne *Bido*) had turned themselues proudly on their new enemy. And his horsemen striving to take vp their dead captaines body from the ground, were (a great number of them) slaine and put to flight by *Gazelles*, who had spread abroad his troups, that hauing the more spacious roome, they might the more freely vse their swords; in which kinde of fight the *Mamalukes* doe most excell. And also that noble band of *Ianizaries*, being enclosed, were ouer-runne & slaine; after that they (being forsaken of the horsemen) had long time resisted very valiantly.

In another quarter, *Mustapha* giuing a vehement charge with all his horse, vpon the left wing of the *Egyptians* (wherin commanded the most renowned captaines *Heylius Diadarius* and *Giapall Orcomas*) very sharply vtged them. A litle before they had receiued a notable detriment, by the Ordnance, which (by chance) was shot frō *Selyms* middle battell thwart the field; which *Mustapha* perceiuing, and being desirous to trample on olde ignominy, they being once disordered, constrained them fiercely, & bringing in his troups freshly vpon them, brake thorow, ouer-ranne and beat them downe. And being remarkable all the battell ouer, both by his Armes and voyce: adhorted the *Asians* to consider, that their ancient martiall honor, they lately lost at the battell of *Alepo*, must be recovered now by height of manhood, or (at vitermost) by an honourable death.

At the same time also, *Tomumbeyo*, hauing broken through the midle regiment of horse, was come to the foot, and being a mighty man both in body and strength, performed infinite actions of worth with his *Cemitarie*: the *Arabians* likewise enclosed the outer-wings of the *Turkes*, forcing them (in many places) to fight with double front. And *Selym* aduanced forward his foote-squadron, which was his onely and assured helpe in this extremitie, whose charge, neither the fierce barded horse, nor the victors men could abide: because most part of his Souldiers being harquebusiers, and being impaled with pikes, did much mischiefe, for their immouable force, being closed into the array of one body, bare downe all that they incountred. Yet they fought with variable euēt on both sides, from the fourth houre

of the day, till Sun-set, neither was there any part of eyther Armie, but suffered sundry alterations, Fortune being some while prosperous, and then againe aduerse. For, both the vanquished and victors, beeing madded with mutuall & implacable rage, fought with obstinate & indurate hearts; the *Mamalukes* disdainig, that victorie should be taken from them, by men (of whom) they had slaine so many: and the *Turkes* chafing, that they whom they had before foiled in two seueral battells, should make so long resistance against them. In somuch, that their bodies, wearied and tired with wounds, and their armes faintly languishing, yet supported onely by furie & pertinacy of heart; seemed able to haue maintained another daies murdering, but that dark shut vp the violence of so great a slaughter.

*Tomumbeyo*, who (no doubt) was vanquished, distrusting the entire losse of the field; first commanded retreat to be founded, that his men, who now could not match the other squadron, might seeme not to haue bin beaten backe, but onely to be led backe: which he conceiued to be of no meane moment, both for the establishing of his souldiers, & maintenance of his owne authority. As one that being deceiued in his first hope, might promise himselfe (as men in misery commōly do) more prosperous successe afterward, provided, that he fainted not in corage. Whereupon, preferuing those few powers left him, he intended a fresh reparation of warre. The battell being broken off by the nights countermaid, the *Turkes* being victors, won the enemies tents and Ordnance, pursued the *Mamalukes* still very late in the night, albeit (almost in maner of flight) they marched towards *Cayro*.

In the flight were taken *Diadarius*, who could make no speed, by reason of his grievous wounds, and with him *Bidon*, hauing one of his knees brokē with a falcon-shot, which also slue his horse. But the next day, *Selym* caused them both to be slain, either in regard they could not be healed, or as thinking them to be acceptable sacrifices for appeasing *Synanbasha*; for whose losse hee greatly lamented. Now albeit the *Turkes* had nobly vanquished, yet was their strength mightily empayred, and by the meanes of these fortunate battells, wherein the 4. part of them was spent with sicknesse

Heylius Diadarius and Giapall Orcomas, two famous Captaines of the Egyptians.

The vndauntable spirit of Tomumbeyo in the thickest throngs.

Variable euēt and successe alike in both the Armies, from the 4. houre of the day till Sun-set.

Retreate was first founded in the Camp of Tomumbeyo.

The hope of Tomumbeyo for better successe in a second battell.

Diadarius and Bidon taken and slaine by Selyms command.

sicknesse and wounds, and a great number of their Horses vtterly foyled, especially through the tediousnesse of this daies seruice.

These were maine motiues, to hinder *Selym* in his wonted course of expedition, because (as yet) he was ignorant, what deuotion the *Ægyptian* inhabitants of *Cayro* bare towards him; neither did rumour afford him any intelligence, where *Tomumbeyo* had bestowed himselfe, or what hee further intended. For, till he had deliberately considered on all these occasions, he would not aduenture the safety of his owne person, and perill of his whole Armie, to the mercy of innumerable Cittizens, and in the greatest Cittie of the world. Wherefore, abiding foure dayes space in his old Campe at *Rhodania*, causing the wounded to bee cured, and his slaine souldiours to bee buried: but the bodies of his enemies, he left to be deuoured by Birds and Beasts. And then dislodging thence, and marching towards *Cayro*; he encamped on a plain, between old *Cayro* and *Bulach*: for the City of *Cayro* is diuided into three Townes; old *Cayro*, new *Cayro*, and *Bulach*, for their more commodious seruice of water.

CHAP. XXII.

*Of the second Battell at Cayro, betweene Selym and Tomumbeyo.*

**T**omumbeyo, being all this while nothing bruised, notwithstanding so many lamentable losses and disasters; still assembled together the *Mamalukes* from all parts, and pitched his Campe in a most commodious place, betweene new *Cayro* and the riuer *Nilus*, wherein he had eight thousand *Æthiopian* slaues or bondmen, which kinde of men he had not (till then) made any vse of, in regard of an ancient Rebellion by them committed. Beside, setting open the old Armory, he gaue armor and weapons to the *Mamalukes* sonnes, and to Moores which were their retainers, as also to the *Iewes* and *Arabians*, preparing for farre

sharper warre against the *Turks*, then formerly had bene. But afterward, hauing intended a sodaine camifado vpon the *Turkish* Campe, and the same againe vnluckily discovered to the *Turkes* (who beeing readily prepared for it, repelled (though with some losse) his formost rankes; he by the aduice of all his Captaines, entred the City of *Cayro*.

The motiue heere to was, because the *Mamalukes* (hauing bene foyled in all precedent battailes) considered with themselves, that they must now make warre after some other manner of way: & in that regard, aduised him to fortifie the Cittie, placing strong Courts of guard in the most conuenient parts thereof, to hinder euery way their enemies entrance. And being in this lamentable condition, that they must needs fight for their houses, wiues, and children; they helde it highly honourable, and answerable to the glorie of their ancient valour, to dye fighting in their fight, and euen before theyr owne doores.

Heereupon, each *Mamaluke* going to his own house, furnished all his household, and the very toppe of his house with all kinde of weapons: instantly also entreating the *Egyptians* in each ward & streete to take Armes against the common cruell enemy, not suffering themselves to bee slaine, and their wiues and children carried away as slaues. For (quoth they) if the sauage and insatiate enemy do winne the victory, as accidents of warre are alwayes doubtfull: no spare will bee made, no not of such as beare themselves but indifferently, leaning in help to neither side; because victory swelles with such insolent licence, as he respects not any man, but such as (without doubtful staggering) run desperately to assist his fortune, when war stands vpon vncertaine successe.

Most of the *Egyptians* that were rich and wealthy, as they did well foresee, that alteration in the State and Empire would be very hurtfull, and bring great losse and hinderance to their wealth and Trafficke: so, in deuotion and helpe, they vvere not failing to the *Mamalukes*. As on the contrary, most of the poorer Cittizens, and no meane multitude of the worser sort (who, being voide of danger, do euermore gaine by others losses) remembring all the villanies and extreme oppressions, which they had

His proiectes and intentions alwayes were vnfortunately discouered.

The *Mamalukes* resolved to dye in the sight of their wiues & children.

Victorie admitteth no respect of persons.

The baser sort make their best benefite by fishing in troubled streames.

Selym resteth weary Ar- four daies Rhodania.

The valiant rage of Tomumbeyo, notwithstanding his grieuous misfortunes & losses

had suffered (for the space almost of three hundred yeares) vnder the *Mamalukes*, in very wofull and wretched flauery, they kept themselues within doores, awayting for the fights successe: iocondly hoping, that the time was now come, for punishing their proud oppressors, and that reuenge would be fought by the bloud of strangers; the issue sorting so, that their eyes should be satisfied, with a pleasing & long expected spectacle.

Tomumbeyo fortified the gates & waies belonging to the City.

In the meane time, *Tomumbeyo* with most indulgent care and labour, fortified the gates, and all the waies of the Citties entrance, appointing Captaines for euery street. In euery market place, Court, and assembly of people, he made very witty and perswasive Orations, permitting no idle loytering in the workes: and finally (which is saide to be the hardest matter in distresse and danger) he carried an vnappalled countenance, deliuering signes of extraordinary hope and valour no way to be daunted. But the *Mamalukes*, ouer and aboue necessity (which in extremities makes men mad and desperate; yea, kindleth courage in errant Cowards) being stirred vp by emulation: did speedily and courageously execute the duties and offices of worthy Captaines; for euerie one of them, as his wit and inuention best instructed him, made trenches thwart the most passable streetes, laying also great Logges of Timber crosse vpon them. Others, made priuy pits and holes, with sharpe-pointed stakes surely fastened in them, whereon the enemies vnwarily falling, might gore and split themselues. Others likewise fitted the houses and Windows of euery turning streete, with such plenty of shot as their store and ability afforded; and all these things were performed with such expedition, as no man (not the very *Mamalukes*) made it nice, or strained courtesie, to take the pickaxe & spade, or to do any seruile seruiceable Worke: whereby it appeared, that nothing could be thought deuised, but it was as expeditiously effected.

The busie employment of the *Mamalukes* against their enemies, without any curiosity, or scorne of taking paines.

The great City of Cayro was not enclosed with wals.

Now, although the City (being verie great and old) had no wals to enclose it; yet there were Gates, and but certayne wayes for entering into it, one whereof was a direct and very broad street, leading from the East gate to the Castle, and into the middest of the City. The rest of the

wayes wer but very narrow streets or passages, somewhat vnslightly and disgracefull, where no Ordnance could be drawn, nor an aranged battell meete with his opposite. Into this maine way or streete had *Tomumbeyo* especially brought a power, because he well perceiued, that their enemy would couet entrance, in regarde of the spacious admittance. But the other quarters of the City further off, hee kept with small guards: yet the inner & middle part, where the Castle stood, was guarded with a sufficient power, for the better supply of all other places, where the enemies cry, or their owne fellows perill might call their assistance. For the Citie, being the greatest of all other, with so smal a power, could not be defended round about, namely, wayes lying open into it in euery place.

One maine cheefe streete in the City, the rest but slender passages.

When *Selym* had receiued certaine intelligence, that *Tomumbeyo* vvas entred *Cayro*, and all the *Mamalukes* (gathering their strength into one maine head) would try the vtmost fortune of warre: hee marched with his Army neerer to the Citie. All the way he encouraged his troopes, to consider with themselues aduisedly, that now they must intend an entire conquest of those Enemies, whom they had already so often vanquished; and to take a little the more paines, that their victorious rewards, might be answerable vnto theyr braue endeuour, for which they had formerly coueted with immoderate desires. So pausing a while, and commaunding a Trumpet to summon general silence, thus againe he proceeded.

*Selym* and his Army marcheth toward *Cayro*.

### A briefe Oration of *Selym*, to his Souldiers.

**F**riends, and Fellowes in Armes, let mee intreat you to remember, that there remaineth now but a few wretched men, with a forsaken naked King; who, being lately spent with wounds and feare, were not able to endure the field, but flying thence cowardly, haue verily determined, to expect at home (in the sight of their wiues and children) the supreme and last cast of a miserable life.

He encourageth them their late success.

Moreover the Egyptians (of their owne accord) haue sent for me: for they deadly hating

ting the *Mamalukes* very name: doe with greedy desire expect their destruction, and promise to fight from their owne houses, vnterly to destroy the race of those wicked savage men. Neuerthelesse, the absolute victory of the whole war, consisteth in vtter vanquishing the remnants of the defeated, & thoroughly affrighted Army; because they cannot bee accounted as overcome, that are yet hopefull in Armes, and possesse the seat of the Empire, euen the greatest Citie thereof.

The souldiers soules were on fire with desire of spoile, and being all readily ranked, wanted but the signall for irruption. Whē *Selym* entring at *Bassuel* gate, sent in his horse troopes at many places at once: but the *Ianizaries* entred at the broader passage, where the horse (on eyther side) meeting together, a cruell & bloody fight began in the turning streets, and narrow lanes. The foot, haling out their Falcons and Culuerings before them in the front; flanked all the streetes with them as they went along, making them naked of anie defendants. But when they came to the munitions and trenches, labouring to remoue the logges and beames, which were great hinderances vnto their passage: the *Mamalukes* gaue them very valiant resistance, and either side shewed such rare courage and valour: as neuer (in our memory) did men encounter more fiercely & bloodily. For both the *Mamalukes* and *Turkes* stooode on their highest tearmes of manhood, vsing all their cunning flights & policies of war, in this one deadly dāgerous fight; neither part beeing ignorant, that this was the last hope of life and Emphyre, Fortune equally and indifferently presenting them with honorable rewards for the Conqueror, and shamefull disgrace for the vanquished.

Mighty slaughter was made at the munitions, by reason that the *Turkes* rashly running vpon the couered trenches, pits, and downfals, were ouerthrowne on heaps one vpon another, the hindmost thrusting them on that were before; others, beeing gored & spitted on sharpe pointed stakes: vpon which aduantage, the *Mamalukes* wiues and children (with man-like hardnesse) hurled and tumbled down tiles and great stones on them thus ouerthrowne beneath, beating out the braines of verie many. On the contrary side, the *Turkes*

with their Harquebusses, fetcht off such as they saw in the windowes, & on the houses, breaking open the doores where any harmfull thing was throwne downe, and fighting in those houses with diuerse euent. Also the *Egyptians*, beholding fortune now on the one side, and then againe turned to the other; assayed both sides alike as equall enemies, leaning where the lot of victory was likeliest to happen, that they might appeare onely to haue assisted that part, and thought vtter enemy to the other.

Many encounters happened in diuers quarters at once, and according to theyr confused running in the streets, now this company, then that, lighting vppon fresh and new troopes of enemies: & they that constrained the victors in the Front, were often intercluded by the aduerse part, and beaten downe in the Rere. It was a wofull fight to beholde, the distances betweene house and house, ouer-flowing with reeking blood, which ranne out of the slaine mens bodies, as there they lay mangled & dismembred on heapes: that the Dust, which rose like a thicke mist or dark cloud before, was now laide therewith, and not to be seene at all. Notwithstanding, the ayre was ineerly darkned with the smoake of the Ordnance and lesser Artillerie, as also clouds of Arrowes shot from theyr bowes: and so great was the cry and clamour among the soldiers, the clattering of weapons, and thundering of the Cannons, that the very earth seemed to groan and tremble, and the houses were rent & torne in peeces. They fought continually two dayes and two nights, with doubtfull fortune, and slender apparence of aduantage on either side: but only that the *Mamalukes* (being few in number, and not able to endure labour and watching) had retreated themselues by little and litle, into the inner parts of the City, vtterly forsaking the formost munitions.

The third day, when the *Mamalukes* were in the very pitch of perill of losing their whole estate, and all that they had, (which case vsually augmenteth supreme enterprizes) chearing vp the hearts and endenours of all men, they renewed the fight with such surpassing valor, that they droue the *Turkes* a great way backe, and intercepted certaine of theyr Faulcons. Which accident, made *Selym* to despaire

A cunning crafty manner of fighting in the *Egyptians*

The extremity of a thicke rising dust allayed by the blood of slaine mens bodies.

They fought two dayes and two nightes continually.

The entrance of *Selym* into Cayro at *Bassuel* gate, and manner of his further proceeding.

No fury comparable toierce contention for victory.

The great harm done by the ambushed trenches and downfals.

Selym despairing of victory, commaded to let the houses on fire.

of victory, so that hee commanded to set the houses on fire in all places: just wrath against the Egyptians, compelling him to that cruell proclamation, because (in his very fight, and but a little before) *Innubasha* was greuously wounded in the head, by a great stone thrown down from a window.

Now were the houses on a flaming fire, now was nothing heard but wayling and weeping of the suppliant entreating Egyptians: and now the Turkes fighting somewhat faintly, expected that retreat should be sounded: when sodainly newes was brought by many men together, that in another quarter, the *Mamalukes* being beaten from their stand, and defeated by enforcing *Mustapha*, reposed theyr latest refuge in flight. For *Mustapha* thorough the intimation of certaine Egyptians, and fugitiue *Mamalukes*, came to a very large streete, where the *Mamalukes* had placed their horses ready bridled and saddled; intending, that if any ill hap befell thē, their recourse might bee thither, where taking their horses, they might escape to places of further determination. He got all those horses, and led them away, hauing chased their guides within a part of the citie, nothing suspected, which was very weake, & defended by none but boyes and horse-keepers.

Which accident (as commonly it happeneth in serious and vnexpected chances) did wonderfully weaken their valour and resolution, wherefore when they wer thus defeated in their hope of flight, and they so rouūd ringed about, that the fight could be maintained by no other helpe or comfort, but onely meere manhood: being as men vanquished by their own confession, they turnd their backs. Many making hast to *Nilus* with *Tomumbeyo* (who had in vaine tried all Art of valiancie, wisdom, and policy, to auoide the foile in this battaile) passing ouer the riuer by boats, went into the Region of *Seiectica*. Another multitude hid themselues in the Egyptians houses, and in most shamefull lurking denes. But about 1500. of the valiantest *Mamalukes*, fled vnto the greatest Temple of the City; where after they had long time defended themselues, as out of a castle, because they would not yeeld but vpon honorable termes: at length, being confounded with thirst, wearines, wounds

and the Ordnance violently playing still vpon them, they submitted themselues to the will and pleasure of the Conquerour. Part of them were presently slaine before the Temple, by the angry souldiers of *Selym*, he politickly winking thereat; & another part (some few dayes after) were carried downe the riuer to *Alexandria*.

The victory thus standing for *Selym*, he sent two bands to quench the fires, and proclamations were made thorough all parts of the City, that all the *Mamalukes* which would come in and yeelde themselues, and within the limitation of twelue houres space, should be secured from any further harme. But all such as were found after that time, should dye for their refusal; and large rewards were promised to all the Egyptians; that could disclose the lurking *Mamalukes*. Contrarywise, such as hid or concealed any of them, were presently to be spitted vpon stakes, & selling their wiues and children as slaues, to burn their houses to the ground. Vpon the fame of this Proclamation, a great number of them came abroad, who were instantly put in yrons, & afterward all most cruelly slaine in prison; because they were said to haue practised an escape. But diuers, who would not violate the rites of faith and friendship by betraying their friends, being accused by their neighbors, suffered losse of life, dying very constantly for their friends.

After this, the soldiers encreasing their fury, vpon the pride of this victory, searching all places; drew violently out all such as were hidden, and presently slewe them, spoiling also the Egyptians houses where they were found, leauing no place shut or concealed from them. And the very same day it hapned, that *Gazelles* cam to *Cayro*; who had bene sent (a little before) into *Thebus*, to leuy Arabians, & to hire aides. But seeing the case to bee quite changed, and that he was able to do no good either by his person or aduice; hee came with three Arabian Captaines, and many horse with them, and yeelded himselfe to *Selim*; who entertained him and all his traine very honourably, euery man according to his degree and merit.

The victorie fauouring *Selym* altogether, he lendeth his souldiers to quench the flaming fires.

A cruell murdering of the *Mamalukes* in prison, after that they had yeelded themselues.

The coming of *Gazelles* to *Cayro*, & his submission to *Selym*.

A sodain successe hapning to *Mustapha*, against the *Mamalukes*.

The *Mamalukes* vanquished and enforced to flight.

The great Temple could be no refuge for them.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the third and last Battell fought at Nilus, betweene Tomumbeyo and Selym, with the ill successe and disgracefull death of Tomumbeyo, and hard fate of his Mamelukes.



VT Tomumbeyo, being fled (as ye haue heard) ouer the Riuer of Nilus, into that region which is called *Seiectica*, lying towards \* *Cyrenai- ca*; although with so many disastrous mis- happens he had formerly bin vanquished, yet still hee made a courageous reparation of the war. For, there was come to him a potent supply of *Mamelukes* frō *Alexandria*, being sent for by letters out of the Cittie Garrisons, and many more also followed him in flight. Beside, the *Arabians* of *Affrica* repaired to him, and the *Moors* likewise which were inhabitants of that coun- try, promising him their vttermost fauour and helpe. Nay more, diuers *Egyptians* of *Cayro*, whose houses and people had bin spoyled and dishonested, by the couetous and luxurious *Turks*, gaue faith also, that they would raise a tumult and insurrecti- on, if he would speedily come thither in the dead of night; wherby might be com- passed, that such *Turkes* as were lodged in the City houses, might sodainly be de- stroyed by inuasion of all the people to- gether. For the Citizens, hauing suffered by them all abhominable and enemy-like parts, could no longer endure the iniuries of such proude and malapart oppressors. Further they alledged, that the *Turks*, be- ing (before) a potent army, were now re- duced to a contemptible number: for, a great part of them were slaine in the bat- tels at *Rhodania* and *Cayro*, and well-neere all the rest were spent with woundes and sicknesse.

While Tomumbeyo was thus busied about his needfull preparations, *Albuchomar* the very greatest man (for authority, lands, & riches) in all *Seiectica*, came to *Selym*: ey- ther to preuent the mischief of imminent warre, to the no meane peril of his coun-

tre, or else to win the victors fauour by Treason: and acquainted him not onely with the new collected powers of *Tomum- beyo*, but also with the practises concluded among the Cittizens of *Cayro*. Which when *Selym* vnderstood, he caused stricte and strong watch and ward, to bee plan- ted in all parts of the City; commanding also, that the suspected Cittizens should be kept in the Castle, which (vppon the Garrisons forsaking it) very easily hee sur- prized. Furthermore, in diuers places a- long the riuer of *Nilus*, he ordered a great number of vesselles, well furnished with Ordnance and soldiers, to defend the fur- ther banke of the riuer.

Neuerthelesse, considering aduisedly with himselfe, how perillously he had of- ten fought with most valiant enemies, and how difficult it would be for him to inter- cept *Tomumbeyo*, who (by flight) still into waste and vnknowne Regions prolonged the Warre, still getting fresh and newe supplies. Considering also, that his owne power was so small, and so far from suc- cour, as it might easily bee oppressed in that mighty City, by huge multitudes of men of vncertaine Faith. Vppon these discrete considerations, hee desired rather to conclude the Warre by some hon- est composition, then by forcible fur- ther contending, to entangle himselfe in new dangers.

And so much the rather, because hee had intelligence by them of *Seiectica*, that fresh Companies of Horffe were leuyed from all partes by the *Mamelukes*, which had fledde into diuers Regions: and the Nauie likewise, which was sent into the streights of the Red Sea, in the Arabian Gulffe against the *Portugals*, stooode now vppon the hopefull expectation at *Porte Suezia*.

In the Nauy were about three thou- sand *Mamelukes*, iand *Amyrasses*, and *Ray Salomon*, all very expert Captaines: and a great number of brasse Peeces: wherby it appeared, that *Tomumbeyo* might gather ability, to repaire his former receiued iniuries, and so returne againe to the Cittie, being sent for thither by his friends.

But the maine motiue of all, was his care of the *Persian* affairs, lest *Humbracos- sa* (whom he had sent before to the moun- taine *Taurus*) should not prouie able to match the *Persian* power, wherby hee

Selyms prouision to with- stand Tomum beyo.

Selyms seri- ous delibera- tion concer- ning his owne dangerous condition.

Fresh compa- nies of Horffe leuyed by the Mamelukes.

alled also entapolita- a, of the fiue ities, Bero- ce, Arfinoe, lolomais, pollonia, & yrenc.

he proud in- lence of the urkes, vpon e Cittizens, ade them ery contemp- ble.

he coming f Albuchomar to Selym, discouering him the in- tions of omumbeyo.

The cheefe matter that moued Selym to seeke composition with Tomumbeyo.

The effect of the charge giuen to the Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors barbarously murdered.

A bridg builded ouer Nilus by Selym.

Tomumbeyo distrustful of the Prouincials constancie to him.

should be excluded out of the lesser *Asia* and *Syria*, before the Fleet from *Constantinople* could come to *Alexandria*, with new supply of Victuals and soldiers. Hereupon, he sent very honorable men of the Clergy, and likewise certaine *Egyptians* of great estimation amongst them, as Ambassadors from him vnto *Tomumbeyo*. The effect of their Commission was briefly thus. To counsell him for a cessation from Armes, and now (at length) to acknowledge the Victors great fortune, engaging their faith to him, that if (in suppliant manner) he would come to *Selym*; by humanity and fauour of the Conqueror, he should quietly enjoy the kingdom, which he was not able to hold by power. But if hee would proceede and continue Warre, carelessly forgetting his owne weaknesse: then, when warres fortune was thorowly found and determined; according to his iust desert, he should expect no condition of dignity or life, at displeas'd *Selyms* hands. These Ambassadors being come into *Seiectica*, were (with franticke and barbarous cruelty) all slaine by certaine *Mamalukes*, before they had any audience.

Which proud and cruell deede, brake off all further patience in *Selym*, who was a man by nature (though not otherwise moued) extraordinarily vehement and fierce. Immediately he proclaimed a voyage into *Seiectica* against *Tomumbeyo*, commanding victuals and other prouision for it. Moreouer, he gathered Boats from all parts, causing a sure and a very broad bridge to be built ouer *Nilus* riuier: as allowing it neyther answerable vnto his dignitie, nor suting with the vrgent occasion, to make his passage ouer with Boats.

When *Tomumbeyo* had intelligence by his Spies, as also from the Cittizens of *Cayro*, that such an intention was prepared against him, and so strong a Bridge made ouer *Nilus*; hee (doubting the vnfairnesse of the Prouincialles, whose hearts he feared to be reuolted from him, by the treacherous departure of *Albucho-mar*) determined to try the selfe-same fortune of battell, which had so oftentimes deceiued his hopes. For, he being inferior in all things, could not now lengthen out the war, nor make expectation of his enemy: neither did he hold it good for him,

to fly againe with losse of his dignity, and thorough farther wilderesses of hazardous aduventure, and dangerous successē.

Wherefore, consulting with his Captaines & Commanders, concerning this last attempt, which he and his *Mamalukes* were to make; by breake of day he departed fro *Seiectica*, accompanied with 4000. horse, and twice so many Moores and Arabes foot, continuing trauel night & day till they came to *Nilus*, that (by a bolde and sodain aduventure) he might deceyue the Turkes, who (as he vnderstood) suspected no such forwardnes, in weake, vanquished, & more then halfe dismayed men, whereas celerity would forstall any fame of his vlookt for coming; so to destroy y part of the Turkish power, which first had aduentured ouer the riuier, before they could receiue succour by their following Fellowes. Nor did the space of time beguile his opinion, because the hours (being truly accounted) made iust agreement with his speedy march thither; and euen as hee formerly coniectured so fel it out, that the vaward of the *Asians* had already past the Riuier. But the Muleters and boyes of *Selyms* Camp, seeking for the pleasantest places for pitching their Tents, raunging ouer farre, were the first that descried the dust of the approaching enemy: whereof *Mustapha* being certified, the allarum was presently giuen.

This rumour so danted all hearts with feare, both of them that had already passed the riuier, and theirs also which stood ready to follow after them: that *Tomumbeyo* charging the *Asians* with incomparable valour, while they were making themselves ready, and resorting vnto their Ensignes, slew them in the Front, that durst endure the shooke of the assailants, dispersed the rest, and forced them to flight: and all the vantgard was well-neere ouer-run, and trodden downe, beside the disorder of the rest: before *Mustapha* (albeit hee fought fearlessse in the van, & very chearfully encouraged his souldiers) was able to retaine them that fledde, or to repayre the other in array. For, in this sodaine and vnexpected chance, euery place was full of the peoples confused hudlings together, slaughter, flight, and feare: and all along the riuier banke both aboue and below the newe made Bridge, were diuers companies of men discerned, looking ru-

His departure from *Seiectica*, to preuen the intention of the enemy by a sodain & vnexpected stratagem.

The discouery of *Tomumbeyos* neere approaching.

Sodaine accidents in Armies may cause a bold reformed Leader specially when the troops fall into disorder red confusi-

fully behind them, and crying out to their fellowes for succour. Many also being enforced (by the vrging troope of the Enemy) to the very brinke of the banke, fell headlong downe into the riuer; and many also perished at the end or heade of the bridge, by reason they could not passe o-uer it, beeing hindred by them that were continually sent from the further side; be- side, many that would haue ascended the bridge, being impeached by fear, & thrust backe by their owne fellowes, were drown- ed in the riuer.

The bridge was so broad, that 4. horse in rank might well passe ouer together, & a great number sent ouer in an houres space. But because the Ordnance was to be drawne ouer, fewer horse were sent, then either the greatnesse of the danger, or sodainnesse of such a chance did vrgent ly require. Nor was there any helpe in the Ordnance, which could not speedily bee drawne ouer, or shot off from the hither banke to the other against the Enemy, without great danger to themselues, by reason that their owne men stood in the way. In the meane time, *Selym* who ranne downe to the riuers side, at the beginning of this hurly burly, filled small boates with Ianizaries Harquebusiers, & sent them o-uer to succour their distressed fellowes; commāding the horse also to make what hast they could ouer the bridge, the nimble Marriners vsing their best pains, in of- ten passing and returning with fresh sup- plies; so that within a short space they had conueyed ouer many bands of Ianizaries, whose comming confirmed the disor- dered *Asians*, and now boldly they endured the enemies violence.

Also *Canoglas*, son to a Tartar king, en- couraging his troopes of Tartares to take the riuer with their horses; attained to the further bank of the riuer, to the admirati- on of all men, and losing but fewe of his men: for the Tartares hauing learned to swim ouer the violent and mightie Riuer of *Tanais* and *Volga* with their horses, were the more apt for passage heere. At the same instant also, *Tomumbeyo* fore-seeing, that the speedy victory consisted therein, endeuoured with his thickest troopes, to win the head of the bridge, that pulling a- way the formost boats, and cutting in sun- der the cables, which fastened the rest to- gether, & to the bankes: the whole bridge

being so let loose at liberty, might be cari- ed away with the streames violence, & all the Turkes that were vpon it. This caused a very dangerous conflict, for the chosen and best armed *Mamalukes* constraining the front, fought with singular valor. And on the other side, *Mustapha* perceiuing the present perill, brought vp the colours, and all the valiantest of his soldiours, to make good that place: so that both sides contended with such surpassing manhood as the weightinesse of the case required. For, the *Mamalukes* saw manifestly, that if they could winne that place, they should (with very short worke) ouerthrow all the enemies former victories: and the Turks as plainly perceiued, that except they kept and preferued the bridge, the safety of the- selues, the whole estate of the army, yea & the ruine of their Emperor, lay now at the stake, and all brought to viter despaire.

Hereupon, *Mustapha* so preuailed by his Harquebusiers, & troops of Greek horse, which in sundry companies had passed the bridge: that the enemies were repulsed & forced to retire a great way backe. Now *Tomumbeyo* that he might giue some respit to his *Mamalukes* to breathe themselues a while, being not able to fight fiercely, be- cause their horse were spent and tired, & that after a fresh repairing of their strength he might aduenture the extreme & latest fortune of the battell, encouraged the Moores and Arabians to maintaine the fight, vntill the *Mamalukes* had breathed a litle. Which when they had valiantly performed, and the *Mamalukes* (hauing somewhat comforted their own bodies & horses) making good their place, the bat- tel was againe renewed with such rigour on their behalfe, that *Selym* (distrusting the victory) doubted not to ascend the bridge, and runne to succour his men, al- though his friends earnestly labored him to the contrary.

His coming (which brought fresh hope into his Souldiers hearts, they coueting to win reward and praise, by doing some seruiceable action in their Emperours fight) repressed all the enemies best en- deuour, and were forced vnto flight, onely through the valiancie of the Iani- zaries. Pursued were they ouer all the Fieldes, by those Horse which had beene at the fight, and likewise by the Tar- tares, who gaulled them very greenously

A worthy po- licy deuised by Tomumbeyo, to cut away the bridg of boats

The maine aime on ey- ther side, in their hope & expectation.

Tomumbeyo encourageth the Moores & Arabes to maintaine the fight.

The Iani- zaries put the foe to flight, and win the honour of the day.

The Bridge was spacious and large for passage.

Selim maketh a notable sup- ply by the help of his Ianizaries sent ouer in small Boats.

The Tartares passed the Ri- uer Nitus with their horses.

with their Arrowes. But afterward, *Mustapha*, *Cayerbey*, and *Gazelles*, were sent with a company of fresh and swift horse, to follow them that fled, and not to suffer *Tomumbeyo* to escape: who the third day after, was found by certaine Peazants, standing in a Marish vppe to the waste in Water, among Bull-rushes and Reedes; and they (for feare of death) deliuered him to the Captaines, who brought him to *Selym*, who would not vouchsafe to see him.

After he had caused him to bee a long time in vaine tormented, to disclose the treasures of *Campson*; at last he gaue command, that he should be carried about all the famous streets of the Citty, riding on a vile Camels backe, and in poore ragged Garments, with his hands bound behind him; and then to bee hanged vp with an halter, for the murthing (as hee pretended) of his Ambassadors, although the Noble Prince was altogether guiltlesse thereof. The like fate also befell to all the *Mamalukes* that were in prison, or could be taken. After the shamefull death of *Tomumbeyo*, who was executed the thirteenth day of Aprill, Anno 1517. all the whole Empire of the Soldan yeelded, and likewise all the Princes that had bene tributaries to the Soldan, euen vnto the dominions of *Prestre Iohn*.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the first inuention of wearing Ringes: to what end it was. And of many ancient and admirable things, tending vnto the same purpose.*



Mong all other Jewels and Ornaments, inuented by the spirite and industry, or rather by the vanity of man, to embellish & beautify himselfe withall: there is not any comparable to that of Rings: bee it for riches, or curiosity in workmanship. For, ouer and beside that they are made in a round and circular figure, which is the most perfect of all other: they are beside so subiect

and light, that they may be worne on the least finger of the hand. Neuerthelesse, they are alwayes made of the very richest mettall of all, and accompanied with stones, the most precious and exquisite that are to be had, and valewed to bee the onely esteemed things in the world. Behold then, what meanes the ambition of men found out, to weare a ring vpon one finger, valewing in price the worth of a Citty: for, it is not vnknowne, there are some such precious stones, that are esteemed as a world of Gold, and yet notwithstanding, they hinder not the hand from the vse of any exercise whatsoever. And albeit that Rings haue serued, and yet do, to some other more necessary ends & effects, then those before related: yet the very principall point which brought them into vse, was to glad and delight the eye, and to deliuer an outward testimonie of Nobility, and shew the persons estimation. But because they are now grown very common, and yet much esteemed, I will set downe certaine ancient Histories, incident to our present purpose, not greatly irksome to reade or heare.

In the first place, it is not resolutely determined, who was the prime inuenter of Rings: and yet some do say, that the first Rings knowne to be worne, was in the remembrance of *Prometheus*, who (as the Poets faigned) beeing chained to a rocke by the appointment of *Iupiter*, was deliuered by *Hercules*, with the permission of *Iupiter*; with this condition neuerthelesse, that in perpetual memory of his imprisonment, the saide *Prometheus* stood obliged, to weare incessantly a ring of gold, enchaesed with a stone of the rocke whereto hee was prisoner; and thereby some hold, that the vse of rings tooke thence the first beginning. *Pliny* and many other authors reputed this discourse for a fable, as al Christians ought to do: and because it is a leasing, and friuolously feigned, I meane to insist thereon no further.

Concerning mine owne opinion, I am of the mind, that the inuention of Ringes came not by one man only, but from many, and in diuers times; considering, it neuer was any note of great cunning, to take the fingers bignesse by a thred, and with that measure to make a Ring of Golde or Iron: such as aunciently were worne by the very cheefest Lordes of *Lacedemon* and

Ringes made of the purest and richest mettall of all other.

The principall end that did bring Ringes into vse.

Rings were outward notes of riches and Nobility.

Concerning the inuention of Rings.

*Prometheus* deliuered from the rocke by *Hercules*.

Rings neuer the inuention of one man onely.

*Tomumbeyo* taken and brought to *Selym*.

How basely *Selym* vsed *Tomumbeyo*, and afterward hanged him.

All the Sultanes Empire yeelded to *Selym*.

Rings inuented by the vanity of man.

and *Rome*, before they gaue themselves ouer to the superfluities and dissolutions, which afterwarde reigned in all things. And vndoubtedly, the custome and ceremonie continued long time amongst the *Romaines*, that the Ring of Honour, which the husband sent to his spouse on the marriage day, was made of yron. *Plinie* discoursing on the antiquitie of *Rings*, saith, That they were not in vse in the war time betweene the *Greekes* and *Troians*: considering that *Homer* (who wrote thereof very amply) maketh no mention at all of *Rings*, much lesse, that they sealed then with *Rings*. And yet notwithstanding, he speaketh sufficiently of *Chains* and *Bracelets*, which were at that time worne, and of the manner of closing and sealing *Letters*: so that if *Rings* had then bin in vse, *Homer* would neuer haue let it sleepe in silence.

But the good olde man *Plinie*, cannot ouer-reach vs with his idle arguments and coniectures; for we reade in *Genesis*, that *Ioseph* (who liued aboue fise hundred and fifty yeares before the warres of *Troy*) hauing expounded the dreame of *Pharaoh*, King of *Aegypt*, was by the sayde Prince made Superintendent ouer his kingdom, and for his safer possession in that estate, he tooke off his *Ring* from his hand, and put it vpon *Iosephs* hand. And surely, kings did not onely weare *Rings* in those times, because we reade that *Thamar*, desiring to haue issue by the race of *Iudah* her father in lawe (who was brother to *Ioseph*) had his company, vnder colour of beeing a common whoore, and receiued as presents from him, his *Staffe* and his *Ring*. In *Moses* time, which was more then foure hundred yeares before *Troy* warres, wee find *Rings* to be then in vse; for we reade that they were comprehended in the ornaments, which *Aaron* the High-Priest should weare, and they of his posteritie afterward, as also it was auouched by *Iosephus*.

Whereby appeareth plainely, that the vse of *Rings* was much more ancient, then *Plinie* reporteth them in his Coniectures: but as he was a Pagan, and ignorant in sacred writings, so it is no maruell, if these things went beyond his knowledge. According as himselfe apparently manifesteth, speaking of them of his owne Countrey: for hee saith, the vse of *Rings* were

anciently so rare in *Rome*, & specially such as were of gold; that there was no auncient Statue to be seen ringed, except those of the Kings, *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullius*, for all other Statues were without *Rings*. Hee sayth moreouer, that (ordinarily) no other *Rings* were worne in *Rome*, but of yron, and that the custome of the *Romans* was, to giue *Rings* of gold (by way of prerogatiue) to *Ambassadors*, which they sent to any King, or to some strange Nation. And yet notwithstanding, they that entred *Rome* triumphantly, wore no other *Rings* then of yron, although crownes of gold were allowed for their heads, & long time did this custome continue.

Afterward, when the *Romaines* became more braue and sumptuous, yet did they expresly prohibite in *Rome*, to all mechanickall persons, and men of meane condition, to weare *Rings* of golde: except they were ranked with the *Souldiers*, or *Romaine* *Cauallerie*, which was a third estate, betweene the Order of the *Senators*, and the common popularitie; as now adayes is our Nobilitie. Whereuppon, *Rings* were so priuiledged, that in giuing licence to any one to weare a ring of gold, it was as much as to ennoble him, and to passe him for a Gentleman. For, as *Plinie*, *Dion*, and many other haue left in their writings, the *Roman* *Knights* were known, and those of the *Military* Order, amongst the common people; and distinguished from them by *Rings*, which they wore on their fingers: euen as evidently as *Senators* were knowne by their long *Purple* *Roabes*, embroidered with large headed nailes. For this cause, the Poet *Horace* attributed *Rings* to the *Cauallerie*, bestowing on them the name of *Knights*, or *Gentlemen*.

This priuiledge then of wearing *Rings* of golde, might not be graunted, but to such as had accomplished some high enterprise, or that were men of power, and worthily deserued. And assuredly, this prerogatiue was so affected generally, that *Iulius Caesar*, coueting to embolden his *Souldiours* by remunerations and promises: after a long *Oration* made to them, hee would lift vp his finger, in signe, that they should enioy whatsoeuer he promised. And all his *Army* conceiuing, that by this signe, hee would permit them to weare *Rings* of golde; which intimated

asmuch,

Statues of kings wearing Rings.

Triumphers in Rome, wore Iron Rings, but Crownes of gold.

No Mechanick or mean persons to weare Rings of gold in Rome.

*Dion* in lib 9. *Plin.* in lib. vbi supra.

*Equester ordo.*

Who onely were allowed to weare rings of gold.

*Caesars* encouraging signe to his *Soldiours*.

he marriage of Honour vsed among the *Romans*.

*Rings* not in vse at the warres of *Troy*.

*Gen.* 41, 42. *Plinie* reproached by greater authority.

*Gen.* 38, 18.

*Exod.* 28, 26.

*Ioseph.* in lib. antiq. *Iudaic.* cap. 5.

*Plin.* in lib 7. cap. 18.

asmuch, as that they should all be knights; were the more sprightly encouraged, and serued him with most chearful dispositio.

Very true it is, that in the time of the Emperours, this preheminance was giuen to many that deserued it not, as wee may see in *Iuuenall* and *Suetonius*, as also in the Commentaries or Chronicles of *Iulius Caesar*, and of *Vitellius*. Neuerthelesse, the Edict, whereby it was inhibited to Mechanickes to weare Rings of golde, was not in force at the second warre against the *Carthaginians*, and the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* which happened at *Cannas*: for, according as *Pliny* and *Titus Linius* doe report, three bushells of Ringd (belonging to the *Romaines* slaine in the battell of *Cannas*) were found among the slaughtered bodies. In like manner, as *Cicero* alleadged in his fift pleading against *Verres*, he vsed these very words; *When a Generall of the Romaine Army, obtained any victorie, hee ordinarily gaue a Ring to his Secretarie, as a reward for his faithfulnessse.* Many other things were also in custome then, which wee will heereafter more at large discusse: after we haue proued by Examples and Histories, to what end Rings were worne in elder times, and in what manner.

First then, our reuerend predecessours vsed to weare their Rings, on the next finger to the least vpon the left hand, according as it was obserued by the Statues of *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullus*, Romain kings; because that finger was called *Digitus Annularis*, The Ring finger. And certainly (as *Plinie* saith in his seauenth Booke and eighteenth chapter) the Ring worne vpon the left hand, was a meere expression of modesty: the *Romaines* imagining, that it was a matter ouer-curious and superfluous, to weare any Rings at al: and therefore, to make the lesser shew of them, they did euer weare them on the left hand. Nor can we say (according to *Plinie*) that this was done to any other end, but because the left hand was more at liberty then the right in the manning of Armes, it seruing then, but as a defence to the bodie, in carrying onely Shields and Targets, as Souldiers vsed then to doe, the right hand hauing no such ease.

Neuerthelesse, some do say, that Rings were worne on the left hand, for the more safetie and assurance, considering that it

is the hand least employed; and that the Ring-finger was elected for the same respect: For it is least set to labour of all the fingers, as *Macrobius* saith. Pursuing the same case, and alleging *Pliny* for the point, he addeth these words; *There is a veine or nerue, comming from the heart, which taketh his ending in the Ring-finger for which cause and reason, that finger deserueth to be crowned with golde.* *Aulus Gellius* also is of the same opinion. Others affirme, that Rings are worne vpon that finger, for physicke, or physically: and that the vertue of precious stones enchased in them, doe penetrate to the heart, by meanes of the fore-named veine. *Macrobius*, grounding his conceit vpon the *Pythagorian* numbers, whereof the *Egyptians* made vse; alleageith many other reasons concerning Rings, which I passe the lightlier ouer, as seeming to bee matters of small importance. We will resolue then on the last opinion, appearing to bee the most receivable: although we see rings to be worne indifferently, vpon all the fingers that are on the hand.

*Macrobius* doth auouch, that the most principall cause of inuventing or finding rings, was to serue as Seales: for in former times, euerie man caused to be engrauen in Stones so enchased in Rings, what did best please his owne minde and affection, and wherewith to seale vp his Letters.

This was then the reason of bringing Rings in vse, although now-adayes they are that way least employed: and assuredly, men (in elder dayes) were so curious for well keeping their Rings and Signets, that they would seale with them verie seldome. Which I thinke not to be so vsed amongst the *Romaines*, because they were so neare-handed, as not onely they sealed their Letters with their Signets, but also sealed therewith their Chests, Coffers, Ambries, Cub-boords and pursses, that kept the housholde keyes; yea, and sealed their Cellers, wherein were their stored wines, for feare lest they should be stollen away from them; and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* himselfe sayth, that his mother did the same.

Now cōcerning the vse of sealing with Rings, it is very ancient, according as we may reade in many Examples and Histories, especially iu the sacred Scriptures, where

Rings giuen to such as deserued them not, onely in the Emperors times.

3 bushells of rings found in the field at the battell of Cannas.

On what finger our graue elders vsed to weare their ringa, & theyr reason for so doing,

The left hand more at ease then the right

A veine in the ring-finger coming from the heart.

Rings worne on *Digitus annularis* only for physicke, in regard of the veine leading to the heart.

Rings deuised for the sealing of Letters at the first.

The grippleness of the *Romaines* in sealing vp all things.

The antiquity of sealing with rings.

where it is said, That *Queene Iesabel*, wife to *Achab* King of *Samaria*, sealed with the Kings Ring, the Commaund whereby she sent to haue *Naboth* put to death: and yet notwithstanding, this was fiftene hundred yeares before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

Moreouer, when the Prophet *Daniel* (by the Kings commaundemnt) was put into the Denne of Lions; the stone which closed the mouth of the sayde denne, was sealed with the Kings Ring, and the rings of all the Princes in the kingdome: whereby appeareth, that Rings serued them to seale withall; as now they are vsed in any Kingdome, when the King confirmeth any especiall priuilege.

And in these venerable elder times, Stones were enchafed and fixed in Rings, vpon which stones were cut and engrauen diuers formes and figures, deuised onelie to seale withall. Heereupon did the Poet write:

*I knew the Letter, and the faithfull stone.*

Asmuch to say, as hee knew the partie from whence the Letter came, by the figure engrauen vpon the stone in the ring, implying, that he knew the Seale. In regard wherof, when men made their rings, they studied to exceede one an other in riches and costlinesse, especially Kings and other great Lords; witnesse the so much renowned Seale-ring of *Polycrates* a Tyrant in the Isle of *Samos*. And although many did suspect the narration of that Seale, as a matter meereley fabulous: yet notwithstanding, *Cicero*, *Plinie*, *Strabo* and *Herodotus*, doe holde it for a true historie, affirming it to be an Emerauld engrauen, wherewith this Prince vsed to seale his Missiues and Patents, as briefly wee will say somewhat of the discourse.

This Prince, hauing long time liued in great prosperitie, neuer finding Fortune any way contrary to him, knowing also in others her instabilitie to be such, as it was impossible for a man to passe through the courses of this life, without experimenting her variable trauerfes; was willing to fal into a voluntary misfortune, as hoping (by that meanes) to satisfie whatsoever Fortune could inflict vpon him. Hereupon, taking the Ring which he so highly esteemed, he threw it into the very deepeft place of the Sea, to haue the lesse hope for euer finding it againe; which yet he did,

as *Herodotus* maintaineth, by the aduice of *Amasias* King of *Aegypt*, and his confederate. It hapned, that within some few dayes after, a Fisher-man presented him with a fish caught in the Sea, which was very great, and much remarkeable. As the Cooke belonging to *Polycrates* was in dressing the same fish, he found in the bowells thereof, the Ring which his Lord had throwne into the Sea; an accident very admirable, and fortunate to *Polycrates*. When King *Amasias* heard thereof, hee departed from the league of friendship which hee had long continued with *Polycrates*, sending him expresse word by his Ambassadors; that it was impossible for a man to be so fortunate, but ere long he must fall into farre greater misfortune, euen to the pittying of his best friends. As it hapned to him in short time after: For, King *Darius* making war against him, was taken in the said war by *Orandus*, Lieutenant generall to *Darius*, who caused him to be hanged and strangled. This came thus to passe, two hundred & thirty yeres before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

*Pliny* sayth, that the Stone enchafed in this costly Ring, was a Cornalline: yet *Herodotus* affirmeth it to be an Emerauld; but there appeareth some defect heerein, because *Pliny* sayth, *How was it possible in those times, that an Emeraulde could bee engrauen?* In brieft, it was an ordinarie matter among Princes, to seale Letters with their Rings. As we may obserue by *Alexander* the Great, who (according as *Quintus Curtius*, and many more beside doe auouch) being willing to acquaint *Hephestion*, his choice fauourite, with a secret which he had set downe in a Letter, shewing it to him, he tooke the Ring from his finger, and set it to *Hephestions* lippes, as a signe of sealing them vp with silence.

*Suetonius* sayth, that *Octavius* the Emperour vsed the forme of a \* *Sphinx* in his Seale; whereupon the Poets fained, that the *Sphinx* was a monster like to a \* *Harpie*, which demaunded many doubtfull questions of passengers, ouerthrowing and also killing such, as could not resolute their Riddles. Whereupon the *Romaines* emblazoning the Seale of *Octavius*, vsed as a commo saying; that his *Sphinx* might raise some such doubtfull cause, as would be very difficult to resolute. And this made

*Octavius*

Such accidents do not happen to many men, let them make triall neuer so often.

The fortunat man is alwaies waited on by misfortune.

*Plin. in lib. vbi supra.*

An ordinary thing for Princes to seale with their Rings.

\* A beast like to an Ape or Monky.  
\* The monstrous and rauenous birds Aello, Oaypte and Celane.

3. eg 21, 8.

18, 6, 17.

uenall

e famous  
Seale-ring of  
Polycrates.  
hero de finib.  
et malor.  
n. in l. 14. c. 9  
abo in lib. 4.  
odot. in l. 9.

ie history  
Polycrates  
d his vo-  
untary falling  
to misfor-  
ne.

*Octavius* to alter his Seale, engraving therein the Image of *Alexander* the great.

*Mecenas*, a great fauourite of the sayde *Octavius*, had a Frogge engrauen in his Seale; and although that creature is naturally very timorous: yet notwithstanding, the Romains greatly feared the Frog of *Mecenas*, because by vertue of the Mandations sent vnder that Seale, they payed great subsidies and tributes. *Pompey* the Great had a Lion in his Signet.

In brieft, Signets were so much respected, as it is well remembred, that the Signet Ring of *Silla*, moued that most cruell warre, which happened betweene him and *Marius*. In that Ring was engrauen the Image of *Bocchus*, King of *Carthay* or *Mauritania*, whom *Silla* tooke with king *Iugurthe*; which was so highly displeasing to *Marius*, to whom *Silla* was Licutenant; as hee tooke occasion thereby, to enter open Armes against him. *Plinie* also saith, that the Sociall warre, which the Romaines waged against their confederates, was moued by the meanes of a Signet, which procured the enmitie between \* *Drusus* and *Scipio*.

But passing from these particular Signets of diuers Princes, we are to obserue, that the Romains caused their owne proper figures to be engrauen in their Rings. As is well deliuered by *Plautus*, who introduceth a Bawde in one of his Comedies; that by the impression of a Ring, knew the iests and countenance of a souldier her friend. Neuerthelesse, when the Emperours reigned in *Rome*; such as then were pleasing to them, carried their Images engrauen in their Signets. It may then be helde for certaine, that (almost) from the beginning of the world (by that which hath already bene said) Rings were in vse to bee worne, euen as now-adayes they are in many Countries, where Armes and other deuices, are ordinarily carried in Rings.

Wee may conclude then, that Rings were made (at the first) for brauerie, and onely to giue delight to the eie; as also for some other reasons, whereof wee shall speake heereafter. And vndoubtedly, the custome of wearing Rings hath bene of long continuance; for, beside the Histories and Examples before related, wee reade of that couragious woman *Iudith*, who hauing sworne the death of *Holo-*

*phernes*, shee put off her mourning garments, and to execute her intention, shee clothed herselfe with goodly habites, enriching hir comely person with Bracelets, Rings and eare-rings. The Romains likewise wore Iewelles, and Rings on all fingers of the hand, except on the middle finger, which is the greatest aboue all the other, and which they holde to bee infamous; for a reason, whereof I purpose not now to speake.

*Pliny* saith, that after the victory which *Pompey* obtayned in *Asia*, the Romaines greatly inured themselves to weare rings; and brauery grew then into such request, that in Winter they vsed to weare bigge rings: but those appoynted for Summer, were much more light, subtile and ingeniously made. Also, they named theyr Rings according to the fingers whereon they wore them, as is affirmed by *Iulius Pelagius*. *Plinie* saith, that the second finger, or that whereon the Romaines beganne to weare their rings, next vnto the Ring-finger, was the first finger, which is nearest to the pulse; and then afterwards they wore them on the litle finger. Moreover he saith, that many (in his time) wore three Rings on ech finger: neuerthelesse, such as were most dainty and curious, would weare but one Ring only vpon the whole hand.

From hence it ensued, that euery Nation beganne to seeke very diligently for stones that were of greatest price and value; onely to serue in Rings as Signets, and thereon to engraue their deuices. Notwithstanding, among the stones of choicest esteeme, that of *Pyrrhus* (who waged warre against the Romaines) in auncient times was accounted to be most excellent. For, in that precious stone, (without any helpe, inuention or arte of man) was naturally discerned, the figures of nine goddeses, and a yong naked child standing by them: so that they were censured, by graue opinion, to bee the portraits of the nine Muses; and of *Apollo*. A matter very strange, and somewhat difficult to be credited: neuerthelesse, many Authors (worthy beliefe) doe auouch it for a true historie, especially *Plinie*. And questionles, according to the iudgement of Philosophers, this might happen thus naturally, by the great and immeasurable heate of matter consisting in the sayde stone;

Doubtfull figures in Signet Rings.

A signet ring caused the long war betweene Marius and Silla.

\* Grandfather to Cato.

Mens figures engrauen in Rings, as in the time of the Romane Emperours.

Rings onely deuised for brauery, and the eyes contentment.

Iudith 10, 4.

All fingers ringd except the middle finger.

Rings for Winter and for Summer.

Plinie lib. 7. cap. 18.

Rich stones sought for by all Nations make Signet

The rare precious stone belonging King Pyrrh

Plin in lib. supra.

stone; or else by some correspondencie, or celestiaall influence, with the Stars and Planets, euen as a woman may produce a monster, wholly different from humane kind, and by the selfe same influences.

Albertus Magnus saith, that he sawe at Colleen, in the chappell of the three Kings, a Stone, wherein was naturally figured and discerned two mens heads, placed vpon a Serpent. Leonardus Camillus, in his Mirrour of precious Stones sayth, that this may be so, naturally; affirming moreover, to haue seene seauen trees, all of one forme, naturally portrayted in a Stone. And not to tie my selfe to other mens testimonies, I haue obserued in Columnes of Marble and Iasper, men naturally figured, and many other shapes beside, very remarkable, both for the diuersitie of colours, and singularitie of shadowes naturally thereto belonging. And therefore, seeing so manie credible persons haue written, concerning the precious Ring-stone of King Pyrrhus: it might very well be, that the Nine Muses were therein naturally figured, and appearing to the life.

Now, for that which is reported, as touching the Ring of Gyges, King of Lydia, (which Plinie attributeth to King Midas) it seemes a matter strange and incredible. This Ring had such a property, that being on the finger, and turned to the in-side of the hand, the wearer went inuisible; but turning it to the out-side, then he was visible againe, and to be seene of all men as before; all which was made so publiquely knowne, that men tooke it offensively, when they were demaunded, if they had seene Gyges Ring, or no. Plato the diuine Philosopher sayth in his Booke of Common-wealth, that by reason of a certaine tempest and earthquake, the ground opened, and a great deepe gulfe was publiquely discerned. Gyges, being then a Sheepheard, but a man of bolde spirit, descended downe into the gulfe, and found there a great horffe, which was of Brasse, and hollow; within which horffe was a dead body, of a Giant-like and prodigious stature. He looking consideratly on the huge body, espied a Ring vpon his finger, which he tooke off, and hauing put it vpon his owne, found himselfe sodainely returned to his fellowes: where they (as then) were keeping Cattell.

It came to passe, that Gyges (acciden-

tally) turned the stone in the Ring toward the palme of his hand, and then heard his companions talking of him, as if hee was absent from their company: whereupon, being wise and ingenious, hee presently conceiued, that this proceeded from some hidden vertue in the Ring. So, finding it to be true; and trusting to the secret vertue thereof, he went to the Court of Candaules King of Lydia, where hee preuayled so fortunately, that he obtained the loue of the Queene. Afterward, hauing slaine the King, by meanes of his wife, he possessed himselfe of the kingdome, and so became King of Lydia. Cicero taketh this narration of Plato, no otherwise then as a morall Fable, applyed by him to colour what he sayd. Philostratus, discoursing of Serpents and dragons in the Indies, saith, That in certaine Stones, the heads of Serpents and Dragons are to be seene, naturally figured; and that this may be proued by the Ring of Gyges. Seeing then, that so many famous Writers make mention of Gyges Ring; we may well allow it to be a true Historie, and no Fable.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the properties and vertues, secretly concealed in precious Stones: And whence the vertue proceedeth, which is sayd to be in Magicall Rings.



Touching the before remembered Ring of Gyges, albeit I will not resolutely affirme, that it had (indeede) any such propertie (as elsewhere in other places, according as hath bene obserued by experience, and as may be gathered by the writings of diuers credible authors, concerning precious stones, hauing wonderfull and vnspokeable qualities and vertues: ) yet notwithstanding, making no such strange reckoning of that ring, Magicians haue promised to execute far greater matters, then the ring of Gyges was able to do. Therefore, if that which is written of Gyges be true, I am of the mind, that he did it by the Art of Magick, rather then any other vertue else: as all they doe, that

How Gyges found out the inuisibility of the Ring,

In what manner Gyges became king of Lydia.

Philostratus discoursing of stones in India.

The Author refuseth to iustifie the hidden vertue of Gyges ring

Albertus Magnus a lib. de proprietatibus rerum.

Leonardus Camillus in Mir. Lap.

Diuersely figures discerned naturally in Marble and Iasper.

How Gyges King of Lydia.

Plato in lib. de Repub. concerning the history of Gyges, and in what manner he found his Ring.

Magicall mat-  
ters per-  
formed by Astro-  
logie.

More vertues  
reputed to be  
in precious  
stones, then  
the Author  
creditteth.

Of the Di-  
amond, and  
his properties

The Ame-  
thyst.

The Rubye.

The Carbun-  
cle.

The Corall.

The Crystall.

The Iacinth.

that compasse all their intentions, by the power of Astrologie, obseruing times, as also the aspects and influences of Starres and Planets, whereunto they ascribe peculiar rules, whereof we purpose to speake somewhat.

But, returning to the vertues and properties of precious stones; It is very certayne, that our graue Ancients did place such stones in their Rings, and wore them vpon their fingers, onely to be sensible of their properties. Neuerthelesse, although they should be indued with great vertues, yet I am perswaded, that their qualities are not so precious, as proclamation is made of them. Wherefore, not to stand on desciphering their virtues particularly, I will direct my Readers to such Bookes, where their natures are at large described; contenting my selfe, to speake of some few, as they haue beene (in some measure) related to me.

First then, it is saide of the Diamond, that it is very singular against sorcerie, charmes and enchantments, naturally strengthening the heart by his vertues: but especially against illusions of phantasies and spirites, which terrifie by sodaine affrightings. Also I reade, that it is exceeding good for women with child, for the conseruation of their fruit. The Amethyst serueth as a counter-poyson, and likewise is a defensatiue against drunkennesse. The Balais or Ruby, restraineth the inordinate appetites of the flesh, and is a soueraigne help to the health of any body. The Carbuncle is very preseruatiue against pestilentiall and infecting ayres, and asswaging luxurious or carnall desires, doth greatly comfort and delight the heart. The Corall containeth in it diuers especiall properties; for it stencheth or stayeth bleeding; it is a preseruatiue against gastly visions, and dreadfull dreames; it is likewise very chearefull to the heart and vitall spirits. As concerning the Crystall, it is soueraigne against such persons or things, as can enchaunt or charme by their looks or sight: and it also is a restriction and defence, from dreaming of offensive matters. The Iacinth, is cordiall and comfortable to the heart, in like manner as the Corall is; and is also a soueraigne preseruatiue against the pestilence.

It is credibly reported and written, that wearing an Emeraulde on the finger, it

maketh the partie chaste and continent, as hating and despising the lusts of the flesh. And some holde it for certaine, that if it be worne on the finger of a Maide, that hath lost her virgin-honour, it will break immediatly. It is also greatly auailable against euill spirits, against tempests, and against the falling sickenes. The Cornaline moderateth all wanton appetites, and glads the heart wonderfully: this stone is the best of all other to seale withall, because waxe will neuer cleave vnto it. The Topaze doth appease the passions of the mind, asswageth the imperuous tempests of choller and phrensies, quite ouerthroweth the melancholy humour; and finally, it purifieth the blood. Behold what feuerall vertues remayne in the fore-remembered Stones.

Many other there are, of great and extraordinary vertue, which I let passe the lightlier, referring the Reader to *Aristotle* (although the booke of Stones, and bearing his name, was none of his worke, by plaine appearance;) and to *Albertus Magnus*, in his Treatise of Minerall matters; to the Poet *Marbodens*, in his Booke of precious Stones; to *Serapion*, in his Booke of Simples; to *Isidorus*, in his sixt Booke of Etymologies; to *Bartholomeus* the Englishman, in his Tract of the Properties of naturall things; and (aboue all) to *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour or Glasse of precious Stones. *Plinie* also hath written of them in many places; likewise *Vincencius*, and many other, whom I spare to name for breuities sake.

But I pray you, let vs bestow a little consideration, on the perspicacitie and ready apprehension of mans spirit, in finding out the maner and meanes to set and enchafe precious Stones in Rings, thereby to enioy their proprieties and vertues. Nay, there were some that conueighed poison into their rings, to compasse their owne speedy death, if any misfortune did throw them into any dangerous disaster: notwithstanding it ensued from the instigation of the diuell, inducing diuers ancient Pagans to despaire, as may be obserued in sundry olde Histories. Especially renowned *Hanniball*, who vsually carried poyson in his Ring, whereof he dyed in *Bythinia*, because he would not fall into the hands of *Titus Flaminius* (Ambassador from the Romaines) his capitall enemy; he

The Emeral  
called the  
stone of Cha-  
stity.

The Cornal-  
line or Cor-  
nix.

The Topaze

The ingen-  
ty of men, by  
enclafing  
precious  
stones in  
Rings.

Poysons put  
into diuers  
Rings, in el-  
der times.

The ring of  
Hanniball,  
bearing poy-  
son in it.

he hauing slaine (before) the father of *Flaminius* in *Italy*: to whom *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*, would haue deliuered *Hannibal*, thereby to winne grace with the *Romanes*. *Plinie* sayth, that the great *Athenian* Orator *Demosthenes*, imitated the very same example.

*Heliogabalus*, a very vile conditioned prince, ordinarily carryed poyson in his Ring, and to the same end: albeit as *Lampriidius* sayth, in reporting his life, he deserued not so honourable a death, as impoysoning. *Pliny* speaks of this matter, and maner of carrying poysons in rings, to bee an ordinary obseruation, and very common in his time.

Moreover, those ancient fore-goers did singularly obserue the aspects, & influences of *Starres*, as well by forging them into their rings, as also by engrauing them in stones, when they were to be enchased, by those meanes to giue them vertue: a most wicked, vile & vnworthy action, not meet to be remembered among *Christians*. And assuredly there are many Authours, which discourse on those Images & Characters, made by obseruation of *Astronomicall* Constellations, and which made promise of mountaines and meruailes by those meanes. Affirming, that ouer and beside the naturall vertue of the stone; it attained to a new strength and quality, by the Image engrauen thereon, as also by the alliance and propinquity, which it had with the mettall wherein it was placed. And they would maintayne, that those Planets and *Starres* gaue influence, and communicated their vertue to those rings, forged in that ceremonious manner; euen as to the things subiected to their influences; and so by this means, the naturall vertue of those stones, was fortified by the *Magickall* vertue thus attained vnto.

In this manner, they baptized (by the name of naturall *Magick*) this colligation or connexion, which they performed by hearbs, mettalls, perfumes and characters, and which they vnited or combined together in one ring, saying: That rings composed in that maner, were soueraigne against the *Apoplexie* or dead pallsie, and anguish in the sides. Some there were made proper to reioyce the heart, to heale and mitigate the rage and fury of a madman; and also that they serued as preseruatues against poyson, and for many other

diseases; as to conserue a man, euen for the encreasing of his naturall strength. In brieft, they attributed many admirable proprieties to these Rings, wherein breuitie constraineth me to be silent. Notwithstanding, whosoever desireth to be heere in further informd, may make his recourse to the *Mirrouer* of precious Stones; set downe by *Leonardus Camillus*, and to *Cornelius Agrippa*, in his Booke of *Secret Philosophie*; to *Albertus Magnus*; and *Tabithus*, a Philosopher highly renowned, discoursing on this Argument; as the like doth *Iustinatus*, *Sosserinus* and diuerse other. Neuerthelesse, I doe not greatly rely on what they haue sayd; because I neuer experimented the vertue of *Magickall* Rings.

True it is, that such as make profession heereof, do say and auouch, That by obseruing the *Constellations*, requisite as well for forging the mettall, as for engrauing the stone enchased in the Ring, and vnder the Planet named *Mars*; that ring doth fortifie the heart, and hath the retentive vertue, working many other great effects; almost incredible. Likewise, such Rings as are made vnder the influence of *Mercurie*, doe adorne the speaking of a man; and maketh him a singular Orator, as also apt to deale in merchandise. And so the like may bee sayde of such, as are made vnder the obseruation of other Planets.

Others engraue in their Rings, the characters belonging to the signes of the *Zodiacke*, and according to their triplicities, saying; that they of the first triplicite, as namely, *Aries*, *Leo* and *Sagittarius*, doe serue for colde diseases, for Feauers occasioned by phlegme, and for dead Palsies. Also the characters appertaining to the second and ayrie triplicite, as *Gemini*, *Libra* and *Aquarius*; are singular against corruption and putrifaction of the blood. And so doe they say of other triplicities of the signes, according to their *Elementarie* qualitie. And indeed, this obseruation is very auncient, and was practised a long time amongst the oldest Philosophers, as well *Chaldeans*, and *Aegyptians*, as the *Iewes*.

Some also affirme, that the seauen fortunate Rings, which King *Lurchas* gaue to *Appolonius Thyaneus*. (according as *Philostratus* sayth) were of the same temper.

Helps for further information to such as are desirous.

Rings to be made vnder each seuerall Planet, and their secret infused vertues.

Characters of the Zodiack engrauen in rings, & their vertues.

Of rings tearmed fortunate rings.

Heliogabalus the Romane monster.

Aspects and influences of the stars enchased in rings, and ready trust vnto.

Magical rings made vnder the obseruation of Starres and Planets.

Rings baptized by naturall Magicke, and in what maner, being applyed for the curing ofundry iniuries.

Iarchas was  
cheefest of  
the Indian  
Philosophers.

A man liued  
130. yeares  
by vertue of  
a Ring.

Aristophanes in  
Pluto.

Erasmus Ro-  
terodamus,  
concerning  
Magical rings

Clauiques de  
Salomon.

Diseases cu-  
red by images  
engrauen vp-  
pon stozes.

Farther affirming, that the sayd Prince did daily weare a Ring, answerable to the Planet that day reigning: by the which meanes, he preserued himselfe for an hundred yeares, being alwayes as in the floure of his age. The grand-father to this King *Iarchas*, liued an hundred and thirty yeres, by vertue of the afore-sayd Rings, beeing continually in manly verdure. And here-vpon, the *Greekes* made great vse of these Magicall and sophisticated Rings, as may be seene in the Comedies of *Aristophanes*, where hee bringeth in a man-Bawde, peremptorily contesting against *Diseus*, who had threatened him: and these are his words: *I care not for all the threatnings that can be vsed against me, hauing this Ring vpon my finger, which his Mistresse solde for a Drachma.* And shewing the Ring, he proceedeth thus: *With this Ring I wil keep my selfe from his teeth, and from his barking.*

*Erasmus*, speaking of these Magicall Rings, hath these words: *Some daily vse to weare Rings, wherein are certayne characters engrauen, vnder obseruation of constellations and aspects of Starres, and firmly holde, that they serue for diseases in the sides, and are proper (also) for diuerse infirmities. Others, imagining this to be true, do counterfeit these Rings, but all is meere abuse. For, to giue them such vertue; the course of the Starres must be diligently obserued, and the constellations when they are made. Notwithstanding, many regarde not the influences of the Starres at all; but onely respect the nature of the stone enchased in the Ring, and the character there engrauen.* This may be seene in the Bookes of the wings of *Rogerius*, and in the writings of *Leonardus Camillus*, as also of *Tetellus* and *Caclus*, in those bookes which are attributed to *Salomon* for their credite, and which amply doe discourse thereon. For, according as *Tetellus* sayth, a *Iaspar* stone enchased in a Ring, hauing the Image of a Maiden engrauen thereon: preserueth the wearer from ill spirits, and from water. If a *Lambe* be engrauen thereon, the Ring defendeth from the *Apoplexie*, and cureth also the feauer quartane. A *Cornalline* also, hauing the shape of a man figured thereon, holding in his hand some goodly and respectable thing; doth stench the fluxe of blood. In brieft, they speake of so manie matters, pleasant to heare, and very hard to be credited: as I can say nothing in the

case; but let such as please, make their own experience of them.

But returning againe to Rings & Signets, in *Spain* they serue in all contracts, instead of full determination: also in matter of marriage, the two parties giue rings to ech other, as a signall and confirmation of the mutuall promise, which they haue made one to an other. In like manner, when religious women doe vndertake the veile; in signe of their profession, Rings are giuen them, as well from the religious house, as from their Parents, in testimony of this true and chaste marriage. There is yet another poynt, concerning this case in question, and though of small importance, yet it doth diuers needfull seruices. Many will change their Rings from one finger to another, for better remembering some occasion to be performed, which otherwise might remayne forgotten. Wherefore, if we consider well the vse of rings, they are not so much to be blamed, as *Pliny* and some others doe: For, (in all times) men of vertue and honour haue vsed them. Here: we may adde, that God created golde and precious stones, for the seruice of man, and to maintaine him in health; enduing them with such sundrie proprieties, to the end they might be the more commodious for men. Finally, Rings are particularly attributed vnto *Bishops*, in signe of dignitie.

## CHAP. XXV.

¶ *Whence it came at the first, that the name of Gentleman was giuen, aswel to Knights, as to the sonnes of Presidents & Councellers. What Armes the ancient Romans carried: And whence came the inuention of emblazoning Armes first in Escutchions.*



THE custome ordinarily obserued in *Fraunce*, *Italy* and *Spain*, is to call him a Gentleman, that is a Knight extracted of a noble house; especially such a one, as is a Gentleman by name and Arms. Also, when a King sends a man of noble house in *Embassie*, he stileth him so in his Patent, by these words: *I send you a Gentleman of my house.* Kings and Princes, as well in these dayes, as in times past, vsed to haue (ordinarily) in theyr Courts, men of learning, and Knights, who

What vse is made of rings and signets in *Spain*.

Rings necessarily vsed for mens remembrance, and haue bin respected by men of honour and vertue.

Customes for the stile of a Gentleman.

Knights and Gentlemen of the kings house.

Gentleman signifieth Nobleman.

Whence the name Gentle or Gentile came at the first.

Cicero in l. Top.

bookes of Iocall inuention.

Cicero in Topic

Cicero de Cl. Orat. et Aft. 1. ver

Budeus, his 3. degrees of Romane duties.

The name of Gentleman among the Romanes.

who were named Gentlemen of the kings house, or Gentlemen seruants. And these Gentlemen were discended of great houses in the Kingdome, as well Schollers as Souldiers, and they remained continually in the Court, attending on the King in times of peace and warre. Wherefore, the name of Gentleman, signifies as much as Nobleman, and extracted of a noble linage. Neuertheless, it appeareth not much differing from our purpose, to say somewhat, concerning whence came the name of Gentleman, or of Gentilitie, together, with the custome of bearing Arms in Escutchions.

As touching the first point, the name of Gentile came from the Latines, who called such men Gentles or Gentiles, as were of one and the same race, and of one selfe same name; being at libertie, and of free condition from all Antiquitie: and those houses also were tearmed Ancient Gentiles, euen as now-adayes wee call them houses of Noble race, houses of Gentlemen. Which Cicero well witnesseth, in his Topickes, speaking thus: *We call them Gentiles, that are of one name, and who from all times haue bene of free condition: so that no part or parcell of their race, was euer seruant or slaue, and much lesse, degraded from honour, and of the Romaine Burgeship.* And Batius also sayth in his Topickes, *we call ancient Gentiles, all such as are issued of one ancient house and race, franke and free: as were the Scipioes, the family of Brutus, & other noble houses of Rome.* Cicero likewise taketh this name of Gentile, *For one that is of our race, and that beareth the same name and Armes as we doe.*

The learned Budeus, speaking of deuouires or duties of parentage, obserued among the Romaines, sayth: *They were three in number: Duetie of consanguinitie; Duetie of bloud and linage in direct line; And duety of Gentilitie, as much to say, as when a man is discended of the same name & Armes.* The title then of Gentle or Gentility, was and should be attributed onely to Noble houses. And therefore the name of Gentleman among the Romaines, valued as much as a Nobleman among the Castilians and French. And assuredly, the Romaine Gentlemen did (ordinarily) shew the Images and Deuices of their predecessors, that had illustrated their memorie by their worthy deedes: and this repre-

sentation of Nobility, was highly esteemed among the Romaines, euen as yet to this day, are ancient Armes, and Penons and Standards, belonging to the predecessors of Gentlemen, who would not forget any thing of Antiquitie (concerning their linage) in funeral orations, made at the obsequies of their parents, thereby to haue the man accounted so much the more Noble.

In this respect Cicero reprooued *Piso*, in the change and pleading he made against him, saying; *The honours and estates which thou hast obtayned, were giuen thee, onely for respect of the smoakie images of thy predecessors, of whom thou carriest the colour onely; so that thou canst not be denied to be a Gentleman.* And in another place, speaking of himselfe, he confesseth: *To haue no Images of his race; for by his excellent knowledge, admirable wisdom, and highly esteemed eloquence, he so much ennobled himselfe; that he came to be Consull of Rome, enjoying other degrees and prerogatiues, euen as if hee had bene a Gentleman of race, and issued from the house of a Senatour.* Which himselfe also further confesseth in his last pleading against *Verres*, saying: *Thou being great Surueyour of Rome, for some especiall seruices done by thee to the Common-wealth, hast a place appoynted for thine Image, and enjoyest the priuiledges of a Gentleman.*

I reade, that the Romaines were verie careful of those images, which were called *Stemmates*: for commonly they were made of waxe, and placed ouer the portalles of their houses; or else prouidently kept in aptly contriued boxes, and so preserued in places appoynted for theyr standing, as witnesseth *Iuuenal*, *Martial*, *Seneca*, *Plinie*, and many more.

And when there was question of some publique ceremony or of funerall pompe; the people of the houses would make a goodly shew of the Images belonging to their Auncestours, with their names fixed vpon them, according as *Plinie* reporteth. He also declareth in his ninth booke and fift chapter, that the Romaines would place before their houses, the Ensignes, Penons and other Coates of Armes and spoyles, which they had wonne from their enemies in war, and remained there to perpetuities: so that if the house were solde, it was not lawfull for the buyer to take them away, because they serued for

Ancient armes in Penons & Standards belonging to Gentlemen.

Cicero cont. Piso

Cicero in Orat. lib. 3.

Cicero in De-clamat. cont. Verres.

Images made of waxe, and crowned with Garlands of Flowers.

Plin. in lib. 9 c. 5

Ensignes and Coates of Armes fixed before the Romans houses.

an honour and preheminence vnto their houses.

From hence came the custome of bearing Armes in a Escutchian, as now-adaies Gentlemen vse to do. Notwithstanding, it seemes that the emblazoning of Armes, receiued their originall from those deuices, which were on the Banners and Ensignes, as well of the Romaines, as other strange Nations, and carried by them in warre. As at this very day, the Emperors beare an Eagle in their Armes; because *Julius Caesar*, the first Emperour of *Rome*, carried an Eagle in his Ensignes. As much may be said cōcerning the Flowers de Luces, which the Kings of *France* carrie, and of diuers other.

Now, concerning mine owne opinion, I finde, that long time before the *Romains* were, the Armes of Gentlemen were in vse. For, it is said, in the first Booke of the *Macchabees*, that *Simon*, Captaine generall of the Jews armie, made a very sumptuous sepulcher for his father, mother and brethren, which was enriched with Pyramids and Pillars, whereon was engrauen Ships, in maner of a Deuice; and thereon were fixed coats of Armes, wherewith he had vanquished his brethren. *Messala Coruinus*, in the Oration which he made, to honour the lineage of the Emperour *Octavianus* (although the Oration deserued not the title of *Messala*, alleading *Virgil*, vpon that he wrote; affirming *Antenor* the *Troian*, to be the founder of *Padua*) sayth; *The Troians Armes were placed by Antenor, on the Temple of new Padua*; and that the emblazon of the Armes, was a Swine in a field golde. So that, if *Messala* do speake truely, the vse of Armes is very auncient. Heereupon I conceiue, that the emblazons of Gentlemen, took name of Armes or Armories, because they were continually engrauen neare to their Armes. For, as *Messala* saith; *Our Auncients, after they had obtained any victorie, ordinarily placed in their Temples, the Armes and Ensignes, wherewith they wonne the victorie from the enemye.*

Wherefore we may well say, that the name of Gentleman, and the manner of bearing Armes in Escutchions, is no moderne matter, but very auncient; and that the name of Gentle or Gentile, came from those ordained and appoynted for horsemen in the Romaine Cauallerie:

who were of the third estate or degree amongst the common people. And they that wore the long robe or Gowne, were the Order of Senators, and their sonnes aunciently called *Patricians*; as much to say, as issued from fathers. For, in the time of *Romulus*, according as *Titus Linius* auoucheth: *The Senatours were called Fathers, and their sonnes Patricians, and this degree was the most noble and chiefest in Rome.* Other Gentlemen, that were not of this rancke, were stiled Knights: from whence insued, that Gentlemen in *Spaine* are called *Cheualiers*. The like wee say of the long gowned men, who commaund ouer the people, as Senatours; and yet notwithstanding, they come after the other. Briefly, the name of *Knight* is come to such credite, as the very greatest doe holde themselues honoured to be called *Knights*: albeit the name of *Knight* was but the proper title of a Souldier of the ordnances, or of the light horse.

CHAP. XXVI.

¶ Of the Septuagint, or Seauentie Translations of the olde Testament, out of Hebrew into Greeke: At what time it was done, and for what occasion.

**T**Veryman is very briefe, concerning the traduction of the Seauentie persons, who translated the Olde Testament out of Hebrew into Greek; but yet very few do know, whence it came, and wherefore that translation was so appointed: wherein assuredly, many Diuines, in their publique preaching, haue declared ouer-much sloath & negligence. First then it is to be obserued, that this Translation of the Seauentie men, hath beene only in the Church holily and religiously respected: but in the time of Pope *Damasus*, Saint *Hierome* conuerted it into Latine. And to speak seriously, the traduction of the Septuagint hath beene of such authoritie, that it is alleadged for diuine: for so it appeareth by our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, in often alledding Scriptures, according to the saide Translation.

And

The original of bearing Armes in an Escutchian.

The Romane Eagle borne by Emperors.

1 Macchab. 13 27, 28, 29.

Armes in vse long before the Romaines time.

Messala Cor in Or. 2. Octa. Imperat.

The Troyans! Arms vpon new Padua.

Messala in lib. vbi supra.

The name of Gentleman, & bearing Arms very auncient.

Senators Fathers, & their sonnes Patricians.

The name of Knight.

Negligence in many, concerning the Septuagint.

The credite authority of the Septuagint's Translation.

And because the historie of that Translation is very worthy and famous, I will set downe that which is sayd by Saint Augustine, in his Booke of the Citie of God, Iosephus the Jew, Eusebius, Irenaus, Iustinus, Ruffinus, and many other.

Here is to be noted, that the five books of Moses, the Prophets, and other Histories of the holy Bible, were first of all written in the Hebrew tongue, which was the first vsuall tongue among men; before the confusion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of Babylon. In that tongue and language God spake first to his Prophets; as the like our blessed Lord and Sauour did, when he was conuersant among men. This language then being particular to the Iewes, and the mysteries and prophecies (as also the coming of Christ) being concealed therein: it was very requisite, that such mysteries should bee written in a tongue more common then the Hebrue: as that was then among the Greekes, who were sole Gouvernours of the wide Vniuerse, by the fresh and recent victories of Alexander the Great. So that, by the frequentation and traffique of men, the Greeke tongue had course generally, and was esteemed the most common of all other Languages whatsoever.

To the end then, that the mysteries of sacred Scripture, might bee vnderstood of euery one, before the coming of Iesus Christ; it was requisite of necessitie, that the Scriptures should be traduced into a common and vulgar tongue, for feare lest the Iewes at the Messias his coming, should suppress them, or else falsifie them (for that race of people was of bolde and most wicked inclination) because it might not be sayd, that the Christians had added or diminished any thing from the Scriptures, according to their owne humour and phantasie. And therefore, about two hundred and seauentie yeares before the Incarnation of Iesus Christ, it pleased the goodnesse of Almighty God, to inspire Ptolomie Philadelphus King of Egypt, to procure the translation of the holie Bible. But seeing we are fallen into discourse of that Prince; we will reach into his Historie somewhat higher.

After that Alexander the great had subdued Asia (which he performed in small compasse of time) and that he had ranged

a great part of Europe and Africa: he died without any lawfull heire, that might succede him in such great Empires. He being dead, the Princes and Captains of his Court, who were all most valiant and famous men: laboured by force of Armes to possesse themselues of what they possibly could: So that the kingdomes appertaining to Alexander onely, became diuided into many parts: for Antigonus possessed himselfe of Asia, Seleuchus of Chaldaea, and of many other Prouinces. By the same meanes also Ptolomie, the sonne of Lagus made himself king of Egypt, of Phoenicia, of Cyprus, and diuerse other Countreies, among which Iudea then was one. Being Lord of Iudea, he made there many great booties, leading away store of Iewes captiues into Egypt, where hee had ordained the chiefe seate of his Kingdome. So that he was the first King of Egypt, that called himselfe Ptolomie: which name remained hereditary to the successours in the sayd Kingdome; for, before that Cambyses, sonne to Cyrus, King of Persia, had conquered Egypt, all the Egyptian Kings called themselues Pharaohs.

But returning againe to our Ptolomie, after he had reigned a long time, he dyed, and then succeeded him Ptolomie Philadelphus, who likewise reigned peaceably in Egypt.

This Prince gaue leaue, and set at libertie all the Iewes, which his father led prisoners into Egypt. And then it came to passe, according to the pleasure of Almighty GOD, that this King erected a goodly Librarie, in Alexandria the capitall Cittie of Egypt, by the meanes of Demetrius Phalareus the Athenian; a man much renowned for his knowledge, and to whome hee gaue full power and commission. So that, by the diligence of Phalareus, hee compassed the finishing of the fairest and most compleate Librarie, that euer was seene in the world, as well for number of Bookes, as the qualitie of Authors, and diuersitie of disciplines.

This King, vnderstanding that the Books of the Iewes, contained admirable and vnexpressable mysteries, resolved to haue them reduced into the Greeke language. And to effect this his purpose, he dispatched an Embassie to Eleazar, Prince of the Iewish Synagogue, with great presents; intreating him, in memory of fauors

The death of Alexander the Great.

Alexanders Kingdome diuided into many parts.

The first Ptolomy King of Egypt, after the Pharaohs.

Demetrius Phalareus, a Noble Philosopher and Oratour, Scholler to Theophrastus, for his excellent vertues governed the Athenians ten yeares.

Ptolomies Ambassage to Eleazar the Iew.

Aug in Cinit. Dec. lib. 4.

The hebrew tongue the first generall tongue.

God spake to his Prophets in the hebrew tongue.

The Greeke tongue esteemed the most frequent tongue.

The necessity the Scripture in a vulgar tongue.

The Translation of the Bible, 270. yeares before Christs incarnation.

by him to those of his Nation, and for the good neighbourhood betweene them, to send him a Bible in *Hebrue*, as also such learned and skilfull men, as could translate it into the *Greeke* tongue. *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* haue set downe the forme of the Letter, which was as followeth:

*The Tenour of the Letter,*  
sent by King *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, to *Eleazar* the High-Priest.

*Ptolomy a King, to the High-Priest Eleazar, health.*

NO man can be ignorant, that manie *Iewes* haue dwelt in this kingdome of *Egypt*, being brought thither prisoners by the *Persians*, at such time as they subiugated *Iudea*. And againe, when the late deceased king my father brought diuers hither also, to whom (neuerthelesse) my said Lord & Father trusted so much, that they did him seruice in his warres: yea, he planted them in strong forts, by way of Garrisons, to keep the *Egyptians* in awe & feare. As for my selfe, from such time as I came to the Crowne, I haue alwaies vsed humanity towards your Nation, and haue sent home more then 100000 that were detained here as slaues, paying their ransome & charges to them that held them prisoners. Such as desired to follow the wars, to them I haue giuen wages, euery one answerable to his worth and merit. Many of them I haue lodged in mine owne house ordinarily, as hoping by this means, to do somewhat acceptable to God, who deliuered this Kingdome into my hands.

And the better to declare the affection I beare in doing all pleasures that I can to you, and all the rest of your nation, as well for the time present as to come: I haue determined, to cause your Bookes in the Hebrew language, to be translated into the Greek tongue, because I would not haue my newly erected Library, to remaine vnfurnisht any way. And therefore you shall do me a great fauor, to chuse sixe auncient men out of each Tribe, that are expert in your Lawe, and well versed in the Greeke for this intended translation. Nor doubting, but that it will redound to our great honour, and ample contentment of mind. For this purpose, I haue sent vnto you *An-*

*dreas* and *Aristeus*, who more at large will informe you of mine intention: to them haue I deliuerd large summes of gold and siluer, to fulfill the Sacrifices as I haue appointed them, desiring you to send mee by them, such as may further this negotiation. Assuring you, that you cannot doe me a greater pleasure, nor more, to maintaine the friendship begun betweene vs: if (as I intreat you) this may be done with some expedition.

*Ptolomie.*

After that the High-Priest *Eleazar* had receiued the Kings Letters, and vnderstood the further trust referred to the Ambassadors; he entertained them very honorably, receiuing (with chearefull looks) the golde and siluer sent by king *Ptolomie*, which (according to *Iosephus*) was a mightie quantitie. And hauing assembled the principall men of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*, hee acquainted them with the Kings intention, and to what end he had sent the Ambassadors. Wherein, to satisfie his desire, they elected out of each Tribe sixe aged men, well experimented in the Lawe, and expert in the Greek language. For the *Iewes* had a custome to send their people into *Asia*, to learne the Greek and Latine tongues, as also the Artes and Sciences comprised vnder those languages, euen as yet to this day they obserue the same; so that all the men made choice of, were seuentie two. After they were thus chosen, they were sent with the Ambassadors to King *Ptolomie*, and the Bookes of the Old Testament with them, written (as *Iosephus* sayth) in most places all in golden Letters, and vpon such parchment, the most ingeniously made that euer was seene. Moreouer, he sent diuers great gifts to the said Prince, returning him answere in maner following.

*The Answere of the High-Priest Eleazar, to great king*

*Ptolomy Philadelphus;*

*Eleazar, to his friend King Ptolomie, health.*

I Am very glad of your present welfare, and the health of *Queene Arsinoe* your wife, with the young Lords your Sonnes, or any thing you can wish to your contentment: certifying you likewise of my instant

The Iewes were diuers times broght as captiues into *Egypt*, by seuerall kings conquests ouer them.

King *Ptolomy* vsed great kindnesse and humanity to the Iewes.

He desireth the full furnishing of his goodly Library.

Two men of great honour and worth, sent by the King.

*Eleazar* entertained the Ambassadors very honorably.

The Iewes frequenting *Asia*, learne the Greeke and Latine Languages.

The High-Priests vsed to write very familiarly to such kings, with whom they were lodged in an

instant healthfull condition. By the Mis-  
 sive you sent vnto mee, I vnderstand the  
 faire loue and affection, which you beare  
 to our Nation, and haue caused your let-  
 ters to bee publikely read before all the  
 people, and to let them fully vnderstand,  
 what holy deuotion you declare towards  
 God; I haue exposed to open view, the  
 twenty Vessels of gold, and thirty of sil-  
 uer, together with fifty Cups, and a Ta-  
 ble of siluer for the sacrifices, beside forty  
 Talents of gold, and as many of siluer,  
 sent by you to furnish the Ornaments of  
 our Temple. All which I haue receiued  
 from the hands of the Noble Lords *An-  
 dreas* and *Aristeus*, your faithfull Coun-  
 sellors and Ambassadors, who haue am-  
 ply enstructed vs in the cause by you re-  
 quired. And therefore, we haue sent them  
 backe againe vnto yee, offering our selues  
 by them, to accomplish your good plea-  
 sure.

And because the extraordinary great  
 fauours which you haue done to them of  
 our Nation, are such, as it is impossible for  
 vs to vse or return any condigne requital:  
 wee must make our recourse to solemne  
 prayers and sacrifices, for the prosperity  
 of you, of your Queene, and of the Noble  
 Lords your sonnes. In which holy action,  
 all our people very voluntarily desire to  
 imploy their vtmost paines, in crauing of  
 God, to further and finish your desires, as  
 may best stand with the conseruation of  
 your Estate, and maintainance of your  
 Kingdome in glory and honour.

Now concerning the Translation of  
 the Bookes of our Law, by you so greatly  
 and earnestly desired; we haue elected six  
 Auncients out of our feuerall Tribes, who  
 we send vnto you, with the Bookes of our  
 Bible. But when the Translation shall be  
 perfected; according to the office of a iust  
 and louing king, wee desire that they may  
 be sent back againe to their natie Coun-  
 try.

*Eleazar, and the people of the Iewes.*

When King *Ptolomy* had receyued  
 the Letters of *Eleazar*, with the Books of  
 the Bible, and such Presents as were sent  
 by *Eleazar*; he most royally welcommed  
 the seuentie two aged men, and (as *Iose-  
 phus* saith) ioyed not a little for their arri-  
 uall. Their lodgings being prepared, &  
 all things necessary for their employment,

they setled themselues to the Bibles tran-  
 slation: wherein happened an admirable  
 and miraculous case; for the seuentie two  
 men being placed separately, according  
 to the kings Commission, without any  
 meanes or power of conferring one with  
 another: after they had thus diuidently fi-  
 nished their Translation, they all appea-  
 red before the King with their feuerall  
 labours, and were found therein all so co-  
 forme and agreeing, that one man had  
 not a sillable more then another; which  
 doubtlesse could not bee done, without  
 the power and especiall grace of the holy  
 Ghost, according to the saying of *S. Au-  
 gustine, Ireneus* and *Tertullian*; who auou-  
 cheth in his time, to haue seene at *Alex-  
 andria* in *Egipt*; the written Bookes of the  
 seuentie two Translators, vnder their own  
 hands, which were in Hebrew and in  
 Greeke.

As much is said and maintained by *Iu-  
 stinus* the Philosopher, in the book of *Ad-  
 uertisements*, which he wrote to the Gen-  
 tiles and Pagans, where he speaketh thus.  
*King Ptolomy* caused to bee builded without  
 the Cutty of *Alexandria*, seuentie two Halles,  
 to lodge therein separately; the seuentie two  
 Translators, and there provided for them all  
 things necessary, in most honourable manner.  
 In which places the Translators remained,  
 without seeing one another; untill the trans-  
 lation was perfected. Nay more, he affir-  
 meth to haue seene the ruines and olde  
 wals of those buildings, which were este-  
 med as reliques and sacred things And al-  
 though *S. Hierome* and *Ruffinus* do disa-  
 gree concerning the number of those  
 Halles or Chambers: yet notwithstanding,  
 that is no matter of any moment, co-  
 sidering (according to *S. Augustine*, and  
 many other Authors) each Translatour  
 wrote his bookes alone by himselfe, not a-  
 ny way conferring one with another, and  
 yet neuertheless, all the Translations  
 were found conformable.

And assuredly, when I consider adui-  
 sedly on this mystery, I hold it for a migh-  
 ty miracle, that they should agree in such  
 a conformity of stile, order and method,  
 traducing matter so long and diuers, al-  
 though they had bene admitted altoge-  
 ther, and had begun the worke with their  
 owne agreement, because we see it a mat-  
 ter of no meane moment, to finde two mē  
 agreeing vpon one and the same point,  
 when

The royall  
 life sent by  
 Ptolomy  
 Philadelphus.

confession  
 the Iewes  
 ablenes to  
 quite so  
 ear & gra-  
 uous a kind-  
 esse.

he 72. trans-  
 tors separa-  
 d one from  
 other, and  
 it differed  
 ot one sill-  
 le in al their  
 hours.

*Aug. in Ciuit.  
 Dei lib 8.  
 Ireneus cont.  
 Valent.  
 Tertul. cont.  
 Gentiles.*

*Iustin. in Aduert.  
 ad Gent.*

The difference  
 of *S. Hierome*  
 and *Ruffinus*  
 about the  
 buildings.

The admi-  
 rable conformi-  
 ty of stile,  
 method and  
 matter, in so  
 long a labour.

when they are to intermeddle with one argument together. But, after the translation was finished, the Iewes which dwelt in Egypt, and were very learnedly skilfull in their Law, commended these Sacred writings to the King, wherewith hee was most highly pleased. And according as *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* do maintaine, King *Ptolomy*, beeing amazed at those Scriptures, and the holy mysteries in them comprized, demanded of *Demetrius Phalareus*, who had the charge of his Library, how it hapned, that *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and other Law-makers, were silent in this law of the Iewes? Whereto *Demetrius* thus answered.

*Sir, this Law, as your selfe haue sufficiently seene, came from God; and no Lawyer euer durst be so bold, to meddle with it unreuerently, or misuse any text therein contained. Theopompus was smitten with the hand of heauen, with an extraordinary perturbation in his senses, and mighty paine at his hart: because he medled with the holy Histories of the Hebrues among his owne, beautifying the with borrowed words, and rhetoricall phrases. But upon his true repentance and humiliation to God, committing himselfe wholly to his mercy, it was reuealed to him in his sleep: that this disaster happened to him, because he durst be so bolde, to embellish and enrich the sincerity of holy Scripture, with curious and adorning words; and thereby to impart them to Pagan and Infidell Nations.*

*I remember also to haue read, that Theodorus a Tragicall Poet, lost his sight sodainly for taking a place of Scripture to maintaine an argument in his Tragedy: and yet upon his vnfeigned repentance, his sight was restored to him againe.*

King *Ptolomy* wondering at this discourse of *Demetrius*, placed the translated Bible in his Library, and hauing thankfully respected the ancient Iewes, he licensed their departure, giuing to each man sumptuous gifts; thanking likewise (by his Letters) the Prince *Eleazar*, to whom he sent Kingly presents. Thus you see, how the translation of the Septuagint was performed, they being men (as *S. Augustine* and *Saint Hierom* saide) that then had the spirit of Prophecie: which appeared plainly, in that our blessed Lord and his Euangelists, alledged Scriptures according to their translation. And if perhappes any thing is found in the Hebrew Bible, which

is not in the translation of the Septuagint, wee may well say, that the holye Ghost would not reueale it by their means. And contrarywise, if some thing bee in their translation & is not in the Hebrue text: we must verily beleuee, that the blessed Spirit reuealed the passage by their means. For the selfesame Spirit that directed the Prophets, when they set down their Prophecies in writing, gouerned the seauenty two Translatours in traducing the holy Bible; so saith *S. Augustine*, concerning the version of the Old Testament.

This was the first, before the coming of Iesus Christ; for, after our Sauours Passion, *Aquila* the Iew wrote another. Two other translations were afterwarde performed, but by whom it was not known: notwithstanding, they came to the hands of *Saint Hierom*, as *Eusebius* maketh mention in the sixt booke of his Ecclesiasticall history. By these translations the Bible was reduced out of Greeke into Latine: but *Saint Hierom* did his out of Hebrew into Latine, without staying on the Septuagints labour, nor the other Greeke translations. Beside, Psalmes and other thinges are sung and sayde in the Church, whereof no disputation neede to be made, whether they were of *S. Hieroms* writing or no.

## CHAP. XXVII.

¶ *Of the admirable vertues and proprieties, which God and Nature hath giuen vnto the Ant, Emmet, or Pisse-mire: And what worthy examples haue from it bin deriued.*



You may well say, that it is no difficult matter for mee, to speake of the Nature and properties of Creatures, hauing for my Patronest, Maisters, and Guides, *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Aelianus*, and many other, writing on that argument: but because my desire extendeth it selfe beyonde ordinary compasse,

coue-

King Ptolomy amazed at the Sacred Scriptures.

Theopompus punished for prophaning the Sacred Scriptures.

Gods sacred word hath no need of mens vaine adorning.

The punishment of Theodorus a Tragicall Poet,

*Aug. in Ciuit. Dei. l. 7. Hier. in Praefat. Bibli.*

One and the same blessed spirit guided the Prophets and Septuagint.

*Aquila* the Iew wrote the second translation.

*Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. lib. 6.*

*Arist. in l. An. Plin. in lib. 5. Elian. in hist. nim.*

coueting things curious, and knowne to few people; I purpose to say something of the Ant, Emmot, or Pisse-mire; albeit in regard of the creatures smalnesse, some may thereby take occasion to condemne my discourse. Neuerthelesse, let their humors serue them howsoeuer, I cannot exclude this creature out of our rich & spacious Forrest: for there is not any garden how warily or closely soeuer it bee kept; but the Ant will make his entrance, euen in despite of the Master and Owner. And how little in our iudgement and substace of the creature, it seemeth to vs; yet many renowned Authors haue written wonderfull things thereof.

Very true it is, that *Pliny* sayeth; *This creature is vnprofitable, and of no worth at all, but onely for it selfe: when contrariwise, the Bee, as little as it is, doeth (neuerthelesse) giue a pleasing taste to our food, by the sweet saour of his hony, whereas the Ant doeth gnaw and eat them.* But yet in another place, he speaketh wonders of the Ant, & extolleth it extraordinarily. For, concerning the blamefull imputation hee imposeth on this little creature, it proceedeth from a certaine kinde of Couetousnesse, whereunto man is so inclined for his own particular profit, that he would deriue benefit from all creatures, how small soeuer they be, being greatly offended, that our Ant should prouide it selfe of one poore graine of Corne. But if we would consider things, in such kinde as duly appertaineth to them, we should finde more profit from the Ant, then from the Bee. For the Ant serueth vs as an example of industry, prouidence and friendship, and of many other vertues beside, related at large by *Salomon* in his Prouerbes, who sendeth the sluggard to the Ant, to consider what paine and sollicitude she taketh, and to learne discipline and direction of her. *For, hauing neither guide or Captaine, or any to command and direct her: shee prepareth her food in the Summer for Winter.*

From hence it ensued, that *Saint Ambrose* (speaking of this silly little creature) vseth these words: *The desseignes and enterprises of the Ant, being iustly considered, do farre exceede her power and strength. And although she haue none to incite her to labor: yet notwithstanding, by a certaine kind of dominion or authority, she prouideth for after-claps and future necessities.* Behold what

*Saint Ambrose* hath saide, who speaketh much more amply concerning the proprieties of this little Ant; whereon *Cicero* likewise discoursing, sayeth: *That the Ants Commonwealth is to be aduised to every City.* For, not onely they haue vnderstanding like other Animalles: but also they haue sense, reason, and memory.

*Pliny*, *Aristotle*, and *Elianus*, are verie stayed in iudgement, for their consideration of the Ant, and not without great reason: for in duly obseruing her forme, her dreadfull aspect, her hardnesse, her liuely colour, and her piercing snowte; there is not any Lion so fierce as this creature, were it but as great as it is little; it is so strong, bold, and dreadfull.

First, there is not any animal, that can carry the weight of himselfe: but the Ant carrieth and draweth ten times a heauier load then it selfe, so that if this smal creature were as great as a horse, it would easily beare the burthen of foure Waggon. Other beasts can hardly defend theselues against her assaults; for, although shee is so small a worme, yet notwithstanding, her teeth are so strong, as the very hardest graine of Corne is not able to withstande them. Nay, she wil carry hard stones in her teeth, and howsoeuer she fasteneth ypon them, shee will squash and bruisse them, holding them so forcibly: that no pincers are able to open her mouth. And so opiniuie is she is of her power, as shee will rather suffer her selfe to be rent in peeces, then to forsake whatsoeuer shee holdeth: which strength would be farre greater, if her body were equiualent thereto.

But leauing her strength (whereof so small account is made, in regard of her littleness) let vs somewhat consider the naturall instinct, together with the vertue & wisdom abiding in her. For nature (thoroughtout the whole wide world) hath not produced any other creature, making more demonstration of vertue, then the Ant: nor such profession of amity, industry, prouidence, and diuers other singular vertues, as wee shall haue occasion to speake of heereafter, in theyr apte places.

In the prime place, Ants haue the form of a Commonwealth among themselues, according as *Pliny* saith, for they haue neither King, Lord, nor any Commander; as much is affirmed by *Aristotle* and *Salomon*:

*Cicero in Tusculan. Cap. 19.*

*Pliny, Aristotle, Elianus.*

No beast able to beare so great a burthen as the Ant.

The wonderfull & great strength in her teeth.

What vertues are in the Ant by naturall instinct.

The Ant will haue room in all mens places.

*Plin. in l. 5. c. 3.*  
The Ant good for none but it selfe.

The couetousnesse of men to gather benefite from all kind of creatures.

*Prou. 6. 6, 7, 8.*

*Ambros. in Homil. Trinit. scilicet.*

*mon*: And yet their Commonwealth is so well policied and ordered, as they haue neuer any Warre or ciuill contention among them. Likewise they are neuer seen to fight or kill one another, as men doe: but, as hath bene obserued, all labour for the Weale-publike, without laying aside any thing for priuate vse, as other Creatures do, that fight for feeding of their bellies.

Ants helpe and assist one another, in conducting home their store, and make their prouision generally for all together; and if any one be ouer-loaden or wearie, his fellowe giues his supply, and in such decent manner, as one is no hinderance to another. And if there be any thing ouer heauy to bee carried away with their prouision, they take so much thereof as is needfull, and easie to bee trained along, going on together so chearfull and dexteriorously, that they may well be said, to bee creatures fit and apt for portage. Other creatures haue their nestes and retreats a part by themselues, so that (oftentimes) they necessarily war against them of their kinde, for their nestes and lodgings: whereas the like silly Ants haue but one roome or receipt for them all in general, without any diuided chambers or Parlors for particular persons: by which meanes, they maintaine loue and friendship one vwith another, therein giuing vs a familiar example, to vse the like sociable vertue as they do.

Moreouer, the industry which they declare in their Caue or roome, is a matter maruellous; because if it bee possible for them, they will alwayes make their dwelling nere to a riuer, or some little running brooke, and plant the earth which they bring to the mouth of their caue, to serue as a rampier against rough winter, as fearing least water should winne entrance: & within the entry, they winde and turned diuers wayes, to the end, that their maine abiding should not easily be found, & the mouth or doore is very narrow, in regard of the spaciousnesse within.

Beside, they haue three roomes or stages within their Caue; one whereof is for the males, the second for the Females, where they produce their yong ones, for there are male and female of these small Creatures. In the third stage they make their Garner, wherein they bestow their

food and prouision, according as *Aristotle* affirmeth. Vsing their store so measurably, as they neuer haue any want of vituals. And because the most part of their purueyance is Corn, to preserue it in such sort, that moysture may not make it sprout; they bite and nibble the Graine within the midst, where the sprouting yfsueth foorth; a thing most admirable and miraculous in Nature, notwithstanding, *Pliny*, *Ælianus*, and many other good authors, do auouch it to be certaine & true. If they finde their Corne to bee wette and moistned with winter raines, they haue a naturall vnderstanding, to dry and refresh it againe in the Sunne, to preserue it from putrifying: so that the little poore Ant is neuer idle either day or night, for then she vseth the helpe of the Moone, when the Sunne-shine is denied her, which ensueth from incomparable prudence.

Such as haue written on this argument, and daily experience confirms the same, that the Ants are well inured to these labors; for they dayly come abroad from their Caues, to bring home fresh and new nourishment. And after that such nouell prouisions is brought in, whether theyr knowledge consisteth in the smelling it, or by a naturall instinct giuen from God, instructing how to order and vse it, all come forth together, to refresh both their olde and new prouision, and following theyr guides in great crowds, conuey their store in all by one way, without the least iniury one to another: because in doing a kinde of courtesie, they make way for each others free passage, and sometimes walk on in couples together.

Now here is a further matter to be obserued, what order they keepe, when they come to the place, where they do charge themselues with their prouision. For some get the Corne out of the straw; Others, carry it to the Caue, at the entrance whereof, there stand diuers other readie to receiue it, and so conuey it into the garner, euery one doing his duty according vnto his office and degree. And when they carry a Pease, a Chiche, or some other grain, more weighty then a graine of Wheate; three or foure vndertake the burthen, or so many as the case requireth, pacing on very gently together, without any crowding or disorder.

And if by chance they come vnto any place,

Hnw they sup-  
ply one ano-  
thers weake-  
nesse in liking  
their prouisiō.

Antes haue  
their dwelling  
in frendly ma-  
ner altoget-  
her.

Their caue is  
commonly  
nere to some  
Brook or Ki-  
uer.

*Arist. in Lib. de  
anim. 4. cap. 6*

A miraculous  
industry in the  
Ant for pre-  
seruing her  
prouision.

Daily care &  
endeuour for  
fresh supply  
of food.

Courtesy don  
each to other  
in the portage  
of their pro-  
uision.

The maner of  
carrying their  
prouision to  
the garner, &  
in what mutu-  
all order they  
are helping  
one to ano-  
ther.

place, irkesome or offensive to their passage, the order is admirable which they obserue therein. For, some raise vp the load aloft, and others labour to thrust it forward, by stepping vnder to ease theyr fellows: and if any meete them accidentally by the way, they all lay helpe to get home the burthen. And being come vnto the Caues entrance, if the graine be greater then the mouth thereof will admitte: they cut it in quarters, and so carry it into the Granary. In the while of this their busie toile, others are not negligent, in bringing home purueyance beside: so that wee may say (in conclusion of this point) all generally labour for the Weale-publique.

After their prouision is thus made, and their Garner well stored for the season, they fortifie and fast close vp the Caue, against the iniurie of winters stormes and raine: norishing themselues all the while, with their plenty formerly brought in. Which naturall instinct is denied vnto all other Animals, man onely excepted: and yet there are many men, scarcely provided for a morrowes necessity. Moreouer, that the Ant maketh a double prouision for her age, is very considerable; for, according as *Virgil* saith: *She prouideth for her aged yeeres, which ensueth to her by instinct of Nature, preparing still (euery yeare) for a following Winter, implying the Winter of her age.*

This creature, hath also a naturall inclination, quite contrary to all brutish behauiour. For, she seemeth to haue some knowledge of God, and a kinde of religious vnderstanding. For as *Pliny* and *Aelian* do both affirme, they obserue Religiously certaine festiuall daies, as all the new Moones; a matter somewhat hard to be credited, and yet possible neuerthelesse. The same authors say also, that they haue a naturall kind of charitie amongst them; because they will bury their dead, euen in meere compassion.

*Cleanthes* reporteth an admirable history, which by *Aelian* is maintained to be true. *Cleanthes* being a learned Philosopher, and sitting one day by an Ant hillocke, to consider their naturall disposition: he espied two Ants bearing a thirde Ant that was dead, and comming neere to the Caues entrance, which belonged to the other dead; they set downe theyr

load, and two other Ants came out of the Caue to them, seeming to confer & talke together by outward action. The last two returned into the caue againe, & brought forth a little Worme betweene them, which the other receiued of them, as in payment for their paines, and returned backe, leauing the dead Ants bodie, that they of the Caue might giue it buriall; the which they presently did, so soone as the other were departed.

Vndoubtedly, it is a matter maruellous, that these creatures, being so smal, as some of them can scarcely be seene, should thus serue as an example to me, to study peace and concord, and to be good house-keepers, laborious, prouident, and charitable; aptly therein enstrusting the spirit & vnderstanding of men; not reputing the Ant to bee so vnbeneficiall, as *Plinie* did, though it produce no hony or other food. Yet it is greatly auailable for the health of man; especially her Egges, which (as *Pliny* saith) being incorporated with the milke of a Bitch, healeth all paine and anguish in the ears. If they be beaten in powder, they make an Vnguent, which mixed with salt, taketh away all pimples and pufes in the face: and Ants beeing eaten, dooth cure all diseases incident vnto the eyes.

Neuerthelesse, because this poore Animal feeds on graine, herbes, and fruits of trees, onely to conferue her selfe in her being, and to perpetuate her generation, whereby some damage may redounde to the fields: reuengefull man, finding himselfe offended at so little harme, hath inuented a thousand wayes to worke her death. For (as *Pliny* sayth) the power of Origan, incorporated with sulphure, and a little vnslaked Lime, killeth Ants. He sayth moreouer, that damming yppe the mouth of their Caue with Sea-mud and Ashes, they can neuer get forth. Notwithstanding, there is not any thing more proper to kil Ants, then the Hearb called *Heliotropium*. And beside, *Auicenne* studied in a whole Chapter, how to be the death of this poore Creature, taking as much paines therein, as if it had beene to expel the plague, or the feauer quartane.

I reade of certaine Ants in the Region of the *Dardas*, who doe inhabite the *East Indiaes*, toward the North seashores, which are as grosse and great as Wolues, and

These admirable qualities in the Ant are auouched by many good Authors.

Many melesse prouident then the Ant, that maketh prouision for her age.

*Virgil in Bucol.*

The Ant deuout and religious.

The Ant charitable.

An admirable history recorded by *Cleanthes* and *Aelianus*.

What an example the Ant is to men in many matters.

The Ants eggs helpfull for paines in the eares.

The malice of man against the poor Ant, onely to destroy it.

Meanes whereby to kill beds of Ants.

Ants in India, as big as our Wolues, that cast vp Golde in the fieldes.

and the people feare them as they do Lyons, according to the testimony of diuers Authors. And some say, that in digging and turning vp the earth, they throwe vp great quantities of gold; which the country people go to gather, when these dreadful Ants are retired; which they dare not do, if they but sent them in the fields. For sometimes, these Antes hauing winded those seekers for Gold, rush soorth vpon them, and kill as many as they can meete withall.

And they haue no other means to seek for gold with safety, but by comming thither mounted vpon light Camels, for their better expedition in flight. And if (by mischance) these Ants do winder those Gold-finders; they haue some peece of flesh hanging about them, which sodainly they let fall, and so escape away. Finally, it seemeth a thing monstrous, that our Ants should be charged with wings: Neuerthelesse, there is a common Prouerbe, saying: *To the damme of the Ant, wings are proper.* Whereby it appeareth, that some further meaning is hid therein: because such creatures as haue Wings, the winds will carrie them whether they please.

### CHAP. XXVIII.

*From whence it proceedeth, that some men liue long, and others farre lesser while. And what complexion is the best for liuing long. Also how we are to vnderstand the place, where it is said, that The dayes of a man are numbred.*

**T**HE Apostle S. Paul sayeth, *That all men are subiect once to dye, and therein all men are equall and alike. Notwithstanding, there is a difference in the tearmes of life; because some liue long, and other lesse space. Neuerthelesse (as Job saith) The time of our life is compassed, and no man can passe the boundes which God hath limited and determined to our life.* These things then standing thus (as in truth they do) it is not ill or amisse, to vnderstand that which causeth the life of man; wherefore one liueth longer then

another; what complexion is most proper for long life: and lastly, how it ought to be vnderstood, when it is said, that our dayes are counted and determined, being no way able to passe on further, which are points sufficiently obscure, and comprehended by few people.

To vnderstand therefore the cause of long life, it behooueth vs to presuppose in the first place, that the life of man, and maintenance of this his humane bodie, consisteth in the concord and hermony of the foure Elementary qualities whereof it is composed, as namely heate, colde, moysture, and drinesse. But expressly in the proportionable hermony of heate and moisture, which *Aristotle* well declareth: who onely maketh mention of the conueniency of these two qualities, for the support and continuance of man. In like manner, we perceiue by experience, that man hath little care of his owne failing, so long as he keepeth his naturall heate: for that heate is the principall instrument, to conserue the vegetatiue soule.

Now, to speake vprightly, the life of man consisteth in nothing else, then in maintaining the instruments and organes of the soule; among which, naturall heat (by right) holdeth the prime place: for this heate is so necessary to support mans body, as whensoever it is failing, the soul is constrained to forsake the body, & giue a period to the life of man. And because this naturall heate holdeth of fire, which (of his owne nature) consumeth whatsoever it meeteth withall: it was truely conuenient, that another contrarie qualitie should be opposed against it, for conseruation of the inferiour bodies. Vpon which occasion, God placed the radicall or naturall humor, with this natural heate, onely to nourish and maintaine it, euen as fire feedeth it selfe by Oyle. And, in regard that this radicall humor consumeth and diminisheth it selfe daily; to supply & defend it, it was necessary, that all Creatures should browse and feede, and that by meanes thereof, the humor (being the cause of digestion) should supply the naturall defect.

But seeing that (according to *Aristotle*) the humor which is cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall and naturall, although it serueth much for maintenance: of necessity the radicall humor decayeth

Riding on light Camels, to escape fro those Ants,

The hermony of the foure elementar qualities gouerne the body of man.

Wherein the life of man mainly consisteth: natural heate being the chiefe instrument,

Of the radicall or naturall humour.

Though all men are subiect to death, yet the number of their dayes are not alike.  
Job. 14, 5.

The humour which is cause of digestion, neuer so perfect as the radicall humor.

cayeth it selfe dayly (for the accidentall humour, cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall, which vanissheth away) and by this meanes of intirely vanishing, naturall heate looseth it selfe, and the body takes ending. For, if the humour radicall, and cause of digestion, were so perfect as the naturall humor vanished away, a man should liue infinitely, according as Diuines say. Who maintain, that the propriety of the Tree of life, which God placed in the terrestriall Paradise, consisted in this principally: that eating the fruite thereof, it should re-establish the radicall humor, that else would vanish & be lost. From hence it ensued, that this tree was prohibited to *Adam* and *Eue*, after they were excluded out of terrestriall Paradise. For, if our first Parents had kept themselues in their originall righteousness; they and their successors, feeding on the fruite of that tree, had liued eternally in the flower of their time, without euer tasting corruption, or old age: vntill such time as God had glorified theyr bodies, without enduring the passage of death. But seeing that humane Linage hath lost this prerogatiue by sinne, which brought death into the world; it is no wonder, if this defect sheweth it selfe in vs all.

Proceeding nowe to our former purpose, I say, that life endureth more or lesse, according as the radicall humour is concordant and proportionable: for they in whom these qualities are most temperate and best proportioned, liue longest, and not such as abound in those qualities. From thence it cometh, that wee see many small animals, who haue least heat and humidity, to liue (neuerthelesse) longer then they that are of bigger and greater bulke, and abound more in the saide qualities; which likewise commeth so to passe in trees, as well as in men. So that we may say, and say truly, that long life consisteth in the temperature and iust proportion of heate and moisture: which wanting their kind companion life, dissolueth it self. For when heate ouer aboundeth humidity, it consumeth the body in little time, as may be discerned in chollericke men. Where contrariwise, by excessiue humiditie, heat feeleth it selfe to be quenched, as in Flegmaticke persons it happeneth in the same maner. Neuerthelesse, we do not by these examples vnderstand, that hee must also

faile, who hath as much of the moyst humor as of heat; because it is necessary, that a proportion should be obserued therein: that is to say, heate to exceed humiditie proportionably. For, one thing being agent, hath no great vertue in working on the other, if it surmount not the part patient. And this did *Aristotle* couertly declare, when he said; *Among those two qualities before remembred, there ought to be a little coldnes mingled, to moderate the heat of the radicall fire, to the end; it may not whollie consume the humour naturall. And drinesse also is as requisite, to dry up the radicall humour, so that it may not extinguish the naturall fire.* As we often see to happē in yong children, that dy by ouermuch humidity; notwithstanding, among these foure qualities, heate and moisture are held for the principall, as being vitall complexions, & causing life. As for the humors cold and dry, although they serue greatly to the conseruation of life: yet neuertheles these two qualities are held for the doore & entrance to death. Because cold is enemy to heate, wherein principally consisteth the point of life: and drinesse is opposite and contrary to moisture, which yet is the nourisher of naturall heat. According as wee see in aged people, who grow to be colde and dry, when they draw nere to death; as chiefly in dead bodies, which ordinarily are dry and cold. A man then (according to the good temperature of heaue) ought also to temper his complexion by these foure qualities, and that in such sort: as, to maintaine his heate in the first place, and humidity next after, causing cold and dry to do seruice, according to their offices & quarters. By which meanes, they that finde not themselues thus proportionably temperated, are naturally of short life: thus then you see the causes of long life.

Now remaineth that somewhat should be saide, concerning the best complexion of all other, for the maintenance of long life. First of all then is to be noted, that of the foure complexions, as *Choler*, *flegme*, *Blood*, & *Melancholy*, blood is the best, to help him in the length of life; for blood is hot & moist, which qualities are the aptest to prolong life. But the humidity must not be watry, but airy, being hot & moist, and so the sanguine complexion, participating of some temperate heat and moisture sufficiēt to nourish the heat, it is most

Heate ought to exceed humidity proportionably.

*Arist. in Anim. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

Yong childre dying by ouerabounding moisture.

Concerning the diuersitie of contraries.

By the good temperature of heauen, a man should gouerne his own complexion in those foure qualities.

Blood the best of all the four complexions in man.

The Tree of life in the terrestriall Paradise, preferring from corruption & old age.

The lasteth longer or lesse time, according to the proportion of the radicall humor.

Life dieth, losing her companions heate and moisture.

The Choleric  
complexion.

The Phlegmatic  
& watric.

The Melancholy.

Choller and  
Phlegme.

Blood and  
Melancholy.

Compounded  
Complexions

The life of  
man limited  
by power of his  
complexion.

Many men dy  
before nature  
faileth in the  
through they  
owne extre-  
mity of ex-  
cess.

proper of all the complexions to make long life. As for the Choleric complexion, it is of lesse continuance, because the vivacity and force of his fire, and also of the heate, cannot long endure with his drynesse. The Phlegmaticke & watric complexion, cannot bee digested by heate, in regard of his excessive humidity: & therefore falleth easily into corruption, which (in the end) procureth death.

The melancholy complexion, being earthie, abridgeth life by his coldnesse & drought, which are qualities contrary to heate and moisture: and therefore it is not to bee wondred at, though they shorten life, by ouer-abounding in some bodyes. Notwithstanding, if Choller mingle it self with Phlegme, and that it surmounteth proportionably the Phlegme; that Complexion also is very apt to maintaine long life. When likewise blood surpasseth Melancholy in a good proportion, that complexion is good: for the heate and humidity of the blood do beguile themselves, with the cold and driness of melancholy. Whereby we may gather, that there are compounded Complexions, which are much better then the Sanguine simple, to preserve and prosper the length of life.

By that which formerly hath bene said, we may perceiue, that the life of man is limited by power and vertue of his Complexion, and by the proportion of Elementary qualities: so that the diuersitie of proportions doe cause the diuersity of termes of life in man. And some hold, that a man may liue so long as naturall heate lasteth, and the radicall humor giueth maintenance. Also, whereas some say, that the life of man hath his limit, beyond which, it is impossible for him to passe; it is to be noted, that although the complexion and naturall vertue of man, may supply and maintaine vnto the latest point; yet notwithstanding, of a thousand men, hardly one attaineth to that point, because there are so many disasters which happen accidentally, or else by some disorder; that the most part die, before nature failes in them, either by hunger, pestilence, poison, gourmandize, whoredome, bad victuals, or by diseases, caused thorow infinit excesses in me, by them daily committed, and so the true naturall terme of mans life, is, when nature faileth, being the

utterly impossible for them to passe that point.

Thus are we to vnderstand that place in *Iob*, where it is sayde: *Lord, thou hast established the bounds of mans life, which is impossible for him to go beyond.* Whereby may clearly be discerned, that a man may very easily shorten his life, but not lengthen it. So that we see many of good complexion, and likely to liue a Worlde of yeares: who neuertheless are of short life, by some exterior cause, which hastens on the expiration of their daies. Notwithstanding, that passage in *Iob* may bee otherwise vnderstood, in regard of Gods prescience or foreknowledge, who giueth to euery one his terme of life; be it by his naturall complexion, or by some other meanes, which he hath assigned to the life of man. And because ther is nothing hidden from the wisdom of God (for, hee knoweth all the causes and accidents that can happen to man) it is impossible for man, to haue any power of lengthening his life, beyond the ordination of God, although there were contingent causes.

In this respect it may be said, that there are two termes in the life of man, one whereof, dependeth vpon the hermony & proportion of the Elementary qualities; and the other is according to the preordination and prescience of God. Between which termes, there is onely this difference, that a man may come or proceede so farre as the first, and yet without passing it; but all men attaine to the second. And although that (by course of nature) some one may passe on to his second terme: yet notwithstanding, there is not any that can go beyond it; as the like may bee sayde of other creatures and plants.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*How the life of man hath bene abridged and shortened from the beginning of the World, & that in diuers times. Of the diuersity of termes allotted to men: With many histories tending to that purpose, especially of such as haue liued longest.*

**H**Auing shewne how to maintaine this life, & declared also the reasons, why some liue long, & others lesse time; it may appear

Many men likely to liue long, haue their dayes shortened.

Two termes in the life of man, and how they are attained vnto

peare good to vnderstand, at what times the naturall hermonie of the Elementary qualities (which support the body of man) began to grow into decadence; which, from the beginning of the world, euen to this instant day, hath kept alwayes in diminution, concerning the temperature of Complexions, with the quality of foode, which do conferue and establisth life, and yet mans life daily waxing to be lesse and lesse in continuance.

In the first world, men liued eight hundred and nine hundred yeares, according as we haue already declared in our former volume, and the eight Chapter, where is amply related the yeares of our auncient fore-fathers, farre differing from ours. Our present intention and purpose, is to speake concerning the decadence of the age of man; a matter very remarkeable, & whereof the sacred Scripture doth make mention. For it is written, that the first declining of mans yeares or age, was ruled and limited to an 120. yeares, immediatly after the flood, according as we read in Genesis, where the Lord God himselfe said, *The life of man shall be an hundred and twentie yeares.* Not that hee saith, that a man cannot out-liue six score yeares; but as if that the rest or ouer-plus of his life, will be but wearisome and insupportable old age.

Abraham, who was long time after the deluge, liued an hundred seuenty and five yeares. *Iacob* was an hundred and thirty yeares olde, when he went down into Ægypt, where hee yet liued ten yeares longer. And so of many other to bee alledged, that liued many happy yeares. Since then, the life of man became shortned againe, euen in the time of *Dauid*, who speaketh thus in one of his Psalmes. *The dayes of our age is threescore yeares and ten, & though men be so strong, that they attain to foure score yeares; yet is their strength then, but labour and sorrow, so soone it passeth away, and we are gone.* Now a dayes we see, that such as are of feeble Complexion, passe not aboue five and fifty yeares, and (very strong men) but three score & five (I meane in lusty disposition, for operations and actions to be in men) & therefore the life of man in these our daies, lasteth not the twentieth part; of those men liuing in the worlds first Age, and howe much shorter they will be, God only knoweth.

The ancient Philosophers labored very seriously, in seeking a reason for this difference and decadence in mens yeares. Some attributed it to the celestially influences. Others alledged farre contrarie reasons, as *Plinie*, and many more beside, that limit the life of man to fixe score yeares. *Berosus* alloweth no more then an hundred and seauenteene; *Petofiris*, an hundred twenty six: but *Censorinus* (following the opinion of the Philosopher *Essatius*) assigneth a man to liue but foure score yeares. *Dioscorides*, imitating the Egyptians, and speaking of the life of man, saith: *It is long or short, according vnto the poise or weight of his heart.* Euen as wee haue more at large deliuered, in the precedent part to this Volume, where manie reasons are alledged, making to this purpose, without presuming into any secret, concerning the will and prouidence of God.

In the first place, God ordaind al creatures to eate and drinke, for maintenance of the naturall and radjcall humor, graunting them means also, to perpetuate their seuerall kindes, by the acte of generation. But, as eating & drinking is not sufficient enough, to re-establisth the radical humor, which diminisheth and vanisheth away of it selfe daily, so that life may likewise be lost as soone as it; so is it not possible also, to yeeld a body by the act of generation, of such compleat perfection, as others were, that liued in the first age of the world. For the vertue and power of the radical complexion (which is called the principal complexion) is mightily decayed: & from hence it ensueth, that the life of man became abridged and shortned dayly more and more.

Another reason, which neuertheles dependeth vpon the former, is this; that the food wherewith man sustaineth himselfe, hath lost, and commeth far short of such vertue, as it had at the beginning of the world. So that it is vtterly impossible, to haue mankinde in such bodily perfection, as the men of the first worlde had. And therefore the vertue of complexion failing in man, and the hermony of the Elementary qualities beeing adulterated and bastardized, and foode likewise decayed in goodnes; it is no maruel, if our present life be become so much shortned. And thogh those times then obserued, euen as an

The search of Philosophers for the reason of mans short life, as is to be seen in their seuerall writings.

All creatures appointed to feede for maintaining the humor radical and naturall.

The radical complexion, the principall Complexion.

A second reason concerning foode and sustentation.

concerning the naturall hermonie of elementary qualities, supporting mans body.  
The long life of our forefathers in the first world.  
Gen. 6, 3.  
Gods owne limitation for the life of man.  
Genesis 25, 7.  
Genesis 46, 6.  
Psalme 90, 10.  
The yeares of weak & strong men in these our instant times.

ordinarie limitation to the life of man: yet notwithstanding, diuers personnes (among them) haue bene noted to liue longer then some other, by being of a strong and good complexion; and, in regard it pleased God that it should be so, whose hand is neuer tied, much lesse subiected to any law or limit. Neuerthelesse, because we may not complaine, concerning our little time of life, and also to comfort vs in the breuity thereof: I will set downe certaine examples of some men, that haue exceeded others in length of life, though not speaking of any in the first age, because such as I purpose to discourse on, liued long since that large extent of life came to be shortned.

*Arpachshad*, sonne of *Sem*, and Nephew to *Noah*, liued two hundred yeares after the flood; and yet notwithstanding, he attained to foure hundred and thirty yeares before he dyed. *Shelah* also his sonne, liued foure hundred and three yeares. *Heber*, the son of *Shelah*, (of whome the Hebrewes took their name) liued foure hundred sixty and seuen yeares. In his time happened the confusion of tongues: but he safely preserued the Hebrue (which was the first language of the worlde) because he consented not to the proud building of *Babels Tower*.

*Terah*, the Father of *Abraham*, liued two hundred and five yeares, and *Abraham* liued an hundred, seauentic and five yeares; as also *Iacob* an hundred seauenty five yeares, after which time, the life time of men beganne greatly to diminish. Neuerthelesse, *Moyse* liued six score yeares, and *Aaron* sixe score and three yeares: *Sara*, that ancient matrone (so much renowned) liued sixe score and seuen yeares, and that valiant woman *Iudith* who smote off the head of *Holofernes*, liued an hundred and five yeares, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures, which render true testimony of all that hath hitherto bin said.

Now, as concerning prophane Histories, many are recorded to liue long time: as *Nestor*, who liued so faire and large an extent of life, that our reuerend predecessors, when they desired the long life of any man; they wished, that hee might liue *Nestors* yeares, hee being three hundred yeares old, when he went with the *Greekes* to *Troy*. For *Homer* sayeth: *Prince Nestor*

being about three hundred yeares of age, went to succour the *Greekes* against the *Troyans*, with a potent army by sea.

The same is also auouched by *Ouid*, *Iuuenall*, and *Tibullus*, with many other Authours besides. *Arganthonius*, King of \* *Andalouzia* (anciently called *Turditania*) liued an hundred and fiftie yeares, according as *Strabo* affirmeth, from the Poet *Anachreon*: Neuerthelesse *Herodotus*, and *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet do auouch, that this Prince liued the space of three hundred yeares.

*Valerius Maximus*, and *Pliny* also say, that he reigned fourescore yeares, and liued sixe score yeares. *Pliny* likewise maketh a large Narration, of certaine Kings in *Arabia*, and many other (as well men as women) that liued multitudes of yeares: but because matters secht so farre off, may raise doubt and suspition, I will insert other histories, which are maintained to be true and certaine.

*Valerius Maximus Coruinus*, did liue an hundred yeares, at it is auouched by *Valerius Maximus*, hauing bene sixe times Confull of *Rome*: and further saieth, That there were sixe and forty yeares betweene his first Consulship, and the last yeare of his honor in the same dignity, and that he liued the rest of his age in abledisposition, so that hee could make good vse of all the dignities and Offices imposed vpon him.

*Stephanus* the *Romane*, beeing farre entered into yeares, serued as dancer before the Emperour *Octavius*, in those Secular pastimes which he ordained in *Rome*: and seuentie three yeeres after, hee danced againe in the sports of the Emperour *Claudius*, and yet liued long time afterwarde. *Titus Fullonius*, borne in *Bologna*, liued an hundred and fifty yeeres, as appeared by the numbering and accounts, made from five yeares to five yeares in elder times, & wherein the Emperour *Claudius* tooke great paines to be informed in the trueth, for he was very curious in such matters.

And, not to estrange or barre women, from the benefite of our instant discourse, but to blesse them also with hope of long life; it is obserued that *Terentia*, the wife of *Cicero*, liued an hundred and seuenteen yeares. *Claudia*, the Wife of *Offellus*, attained to an hundred and fiteene yeares of age, hauing had fifteen male children.

Homers words of Nestors going to the Troyan warre.

\* Now Granada.

Arganthonius king of Turditania.

Kings of Arabia that liued long.

The life time of Marcus Valerius Coruinus, six times Confull of Rome.

These were spots vied from one to another hundred

The long life of diuers Roman ladies

The life time of men after the generall deluge. Gen. 11, 12, 13 14.

When the confusion of tongues was.

At what time mens liues began to shorten.

The liues of renowned women.

\* Son to Neleus & Chloris.

Nestors yeares

*Samura* a *Romane* Lady, \* was an hundred and ten yeares old when she dyed; who being aged an hundred and foure yeares, yet serued as Lady dancer, in the secular sports of the Emperour *Othanius*; hauing formerly danced in other secular pastimes, when she was fourescore and eleuen years old.

*Pliny* reporteth a matter very admirable, and yet true, that in the accounts and numberings made by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, then Censors, there liued three men at *Parma*, each of them being aged six score yeares, and two that were sixe score and ten yeares old; beside a woman, that was aged sixe score and twelue years. He saith moreouer, that in *Romania*, there were foure and fifty men, each of them beeing an hundred yeares olde: fifty seauen men being aged an hundred and tenne yeares: foure men, aged an hundred and thirtie yeares: and other foure men, who were feuerally aged sixe score & fifteen yeares: beside foure men more, each of them being seauen score yeares old, a thing not vsuall, and hardly to be seene in these daies of ours.

But leauing *Italy*, let vs looke vpon some further strangers, that liued long. \* *Gorgias Leontinus*, a Philosopher greatly renowned, who liued (in very healthfull disposition) more then an hundred yeares. Hee hauing attained to an hundred and seuen yeares, was demanded, why he tooke so great delight to abide in the world; whereto he thus replied, *I thanke God, I neuer did any thing, whereby I deserued to be blamed in mine Age.* An answer very excellent and singular, for such as are able to make or speake it truly.

*Seneca* the Philosopher, borne at \* *Corduba*, liued an hundred & fourteen yeeres. The famous *Appollonius Thyaneus* hadde passed an hundred yeares before he dyed. *Democritus*, by the testimony of *Diogenes*, liued an hundred and nine yeares; and dyed, hauing neuer felt Feauer, nor any other disease. *Galen*, the Prince of Physiti-

ans, liued (in absolute and able disposition) an hundred and forty yeares: and dyed by defect of Nature, without the sence of any sicknesse.

\* *Attyla*, King of the *Gothes*, who (in his time) was most cruell, and of great power liued an hundred and foure years, seruing as a scourge to mankinde, and making lamentable waste and spoile by his warres, and infinite cruelties. *Massinissa*, King of *Gninea*, liued fourescore and seauenteene yeares, hauing reigned threescore. This Prince neuer had his head couered, neyther from the Sun, windes, or raines, or greatest Tempests, but continued so (bare-headed) to his very latest dayes: marching alwayes on foote in his Armour, and as lightly as the youngest souldier in his Armie. When hee was fourescore yeeres of age, he begate a Son, and left (after his death) foure and forty sonnes, by him begotten.

As for *Hermites* and ancient *Fathers*, many are recorded to liue long, onely by their abstinence; as *Saint Paule*, the first Hermit, who liued sixe score yeares; *Saint Anthony* the *Aegyptian* Hermit, who liued an hundred and fifty yeeres; and *Creonius* (his Companion) an hundred. Now a dayes, wee finde few, or none at all, to liue so long, for (day by day) the life time of man groweth shorter and shorter; whereby it appeareth, that the end of the world approacheth neere. Neuerthelesse *God* hath declared his wonderful workes in all times; for in the life of the Emperour *Conrade*, which was in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, and forty, or nere thereabout, a man dyed, who had serued the Emperour *Charlemaigne* in his warres, so large a time, that this man was founde to haue liued three hundred and threescore yeares, and was called *John of Time*. Which name was giuen him (as I thinke) in regard of his great age; and I am halfe perswaded also, that of him was raised the old Prouerbe, when men commonly saide, *John, John, trust thou in God.*

*Galen*, Prince of all other Physicians.

\* A valiant Scythian Prince, who subdued *Pannonia*, &c.

He was also King of *Numidia*.

The long life of *Hermits* & holy *Fathers*.

*John of Time* hadde liued 360. yeares.

*Aleria* *Ca-*  
*iola* a fa-  
*mous* *Ladie*  
*dancer.*

*in in l. 10. c. 7*

note well  
worthy obser-  
uation.

A Rhetoriti-  
scholler to  
mpedocles.  
d Master to  
ocrates.

A Cittie of  
eueca in  
sainc.

## CHAP. XXX.

*A briefe Chronologicall Suruey, concerning the Netherlands, diuided into seventeene Prouinces: with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry (who was the first Earle of Holland and Zeland) to this instant time.*



Concerning the Originall of the people inhabiting these countries, we finde, that two Brethren, sonnes to the king of *Cathes*, the one being named *Battus*, or *Batton*; and the other *Zelandus*, were the first Fathers of them, and that (from them) they deriued their Names. For these two Princes, being too extreemly pursued by the hatred of a Stepmother, and no way pittied or supported by the King their father (escaping many traines and machinations, of poysoning, murthering, and diuers other dangers by her daily deuised and put in practise against the) were forced to forsake their natiue abiding, & fly to an Island within the *Rhine*: where *Battus* determining to make his stay, called it *Battauia*, after his owne Name; and that is (in plainer vnderstanding) *Holland*.

*Zelandus*, not liking to liue so neere, or with his brother (least pursute should surprize them both, and reuenge there fasten which in more desperate place they had auoyded) he trauelled on to the vttermost confines of the *Rhine*, and liking there to set downe his rest, imitated his Brothers example (in styling the country) and called it *Zeland*.

Concerning their building of Cities, Townes, Castles, and Forts, which afterward came to be ruined & defaced againe by warres with the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, &c. or to what order of life the people disposed themselues, and through how many and infinite encumbrances (from their originall) they passed, for no meane store of yeares together: these are matters meereley exempt from our intended breuity, and may more amply be seen

in the history at large, whereunto I refer any such desirous Reader, and borrowing fauour for so large a leap, I instantly proceed to the yeare, 863. when *Holland* first became to be an Earledome.

In the yeare before mentioned, *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*, at *Bladell* in the Prouince of *Campaigne*, hauing there (in his company) a generall assembly of his Princes and Barons, for consultation of many important matters; pleased to aduance the two sonnes of Count *Haghen* (who was Vnckle to the King) for their great deseruings, and for the farther encouragement of the like vertuous minded Gentlemen. *Walger*, who was the eldest sonne, he made Earle of *Teysterbaudt*; and *Thierry* the yongest son, or *Theodor*, as some tearme him, beeing formerly called *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*, he made earle of *Holland*.

This gift of the kings, especially that to *Thierry*, was much withstood by the *Frizelanders*, as scorning to be commanded by any new Lord or Ruler: wherefore they consulted with the *Hollanders*, and a plot was laid to expell this new Earle. But it proued to no effect, for the king comming thither (in person) with a powerful army, made such an example on the Ring-leaders in this rebellion, that the rest (in very great humility) submitted themselues, casting their Weapons not onely at the Kings feete, but likewise at the Earles, and (vpon pardon) they vowed their continuall bounden duty to *Thierry*. His authority was then further strengthened, in the year eight hundred sixty eight, by the letters Patents of King *Charles*, as also by them of *Lewes* King of *Germany*, confirming him to bee Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Frizeland*.

This *Thierry* married *Genna*, or *Ienna*, daughter to *Pepin* the Bald, king of *Italy*, sonne to the Emperor *Charlemaigne*. Hee worthily foyled the *Danes*, that then possessed the Towne of *Vtricht*, the *Wiltes* and the *Slaues*, disabling them from any further footing in *Holland*, which made them presume to meddle in *Zeland*, but thence they were repulsed likewise. By which meanes, he remained afterward in peace, beautifying his Countries both with faire buildings and good Lawes. He dyed very old, hauing reigned 40. yeares, and after him succeeded

863.

The two son  
of Count  
Haghen.\*A people  
neere to  
Scythians.Battauia is  
Holland.Zelad, named  
by Zelandus.Thierry Ear  
of Holland,  
Zeland, and  
Lord of Friz  
land.

2 *Thierry* his son, second of that name, Earle of *Holland, Zeland,* and Lord of *Frizeland*, who married with *Hildegarde*, daughter vnto King *Lewes* of *France*, the Stammerer, and Sister to King *Charls* the Simple. The *Frizelanders* did twice reuolt from their obedience, and would not allow Earl *Thierry* to be their Lord, slaying very many of them that obeyed the Earl, wasting, spoiling, and burning all the way as they went. But at length they were iustly repayed for their insolencie, and such a slaughter was made of the *Frizons* (without any mercy) that few or none of them returned home to their dwellings. Afterward, he forced them to make the doores of entrance into their houses, so lowe and narrow, that they must stoope verie lowe before they could get in; and this he did, to make them the more humble and seruite, receiuing a new Oath of allegiance of them. And hauing reigned about fiftie yeares, being then aged 88. yeares old, he dyed, leauing two sonnes behind him, the eldest whereof (being named *Egberi*) became Archbyshop of *Treues*, and *Arnold* his yongest son succeeded him.

3 *Arnold*, or (as others will haue it) *Arnulph*, yongest son to Earle *Thierry*, followed in rule as his fathers successor: but he held the Earledomes of *Holland, Zeland,* and Lordship of *Frizeland*, no longer of the crown of *France*, but of *Otho* the third, Emperour; and so became in fee to the Empire. A very fearefull Comet appeared in his time, with straunge Ecclipses both of the Sunne and Moone, beeing as red as blood, and terrible Earthquakes: a fire also fell from heauen, in similitude like an huge Tower, burning for a long time: after which ensued so violent a pestilence, that the liuing died burying the dead. The *Frizons* reuolting again from obedience, made all his reigne a continuall warfare, and the Armies (on either side) meeting neere vnto *Winckell*, so dreadfull a battaile was fought betweene them: that the *Hollanders* sustained the worst, Count *Arnold* being there slaine, and a great number of his cheefest Nobility. This battaile was fought the eighteenth of October, the morrow after *S. Lamberts* day, in the yeare 993. So this Earle *Arnold*, hauing reigned five yeares, and being thus vnfortunately slaine, was buried by his Father and Grandfather, in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

4 *Thierry*, third of that name, and son to Count *Arnold*, succeeded as fourth Earle of *Holland, Zeland,* and Lorde of *Frizeland*. Being desirous to reuenge his Fathers death vpon the *Frizons*: hee was much impeached therein by *Adelbold*, Byshop of *Vtrecht*, against whom (neuertheless) hee preuailed in two foughten battailes, in the yeare 1018. and (with great slaughter of the *Frizons*) brought them vnder obedience to his yongest son *Floris*, whom he made Lord of them. This Earle *Thierry*, liuing afterward in verie peacefull dayes, vnderooke a Pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, with the Lord of *Arckell*, his loyall subiect; who died at *Hierusalem*, & was there very honourably buried by *Thierry*. After whose return home, and some yeares passed in peace with his Wife and Children, hauing reigned 45. yeares, hee died in Anno 1039. and was buried by his father in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

5 *Thierry*, fourth of that Name, was the fift Earle of *Holland, Zeland,* & Lord of *Frizeland*, after the decease of *Thierry* his Father. In a Tourney of Princes and Lords, performed (for pleasure) in the Citie of *Liege*, it was this Earles hard happe, to kill a Brother of the Byshops of *Cullen* and *Liege*: whereby ensued such discorde and mollestation, that, after many aduictures of reuenge, vnderaken by the *Germane* Gentlemen, albeit therein they sustained much losse of men, the Earle was shot into the thigh with a poisoned dart, of which wound hee dyed the fifteenth of May, one thousand foure hundred and eight, after he had gouerned nine yeares, and was buried by his father, in the Abbey of *Egmont*. He was neuer married, and therefore left not any childe to succede him.

6 *Floris*, who (as you haue heard before) was Earle of *Frizeland*, now after his brothers death, became the sixt Earle of *Holland* and *Zeland*. The former mishap at *Liege*, could not as yet be forgotten by the Byshops of *Cullen* and *Liege*; but they wold needs profecute fresh reuenge on Count *Floris*, who being a man of vndated spirit, defeated his enemies in two attemptes. Once by a cunning stratagem, causing ditches and pitfals to be made in south *Holland*, couering them with straw and grasse, so that they could not be easily discerned. At this time a bloody batell being fought betweene

Adelbold byshop of Vtrecht.

1309.

The Byshops of Cullen and Liege.

10481

Two militatie Stratagems.

The Frizelanders rebell against.

A dreadfull Comet, ecclipses and earthquakes.

betweene them, there was forty thousand of the Earles enemies slaine, beside twenty sixe thousand more, who were drowned and smothered in those ditches, *Anno Domini* 1058. The second foyle of his aduersaries, happened foure yeres after this, when the *Hollanders* (putting the *Germans* to flight) returned with rich spoiles, and great store of prisoners; this was in the yeare of our Lord 1062. Yet was it this Earles ill fortune, to be afterward slayne vnarmed, as he sate vnder an Elme, taking the ayre, his enemies preuayling by this aduantage. He had ruled in *Holland* foureteene yeares, and in *Frizeland* 21. yeares, and lyeth buried at *Egmont*.

7. 8. *Gertrude*, widow to Earle *Floris*, in regarde that *Thierrie* her sonne was in his nonage, gouerned those Countries in his right. And in the yeare of our Lord, 1063. she re-married with *Robert the Frizon* (sonne to *Baldwine of Lisle de Bucke*, Earle of *Flaunders*) with the good liking of all the States and Nobilitie. Hee also was made Guardian of young Earle *Thierrie*, and (had by this *Gertrude*) three sonnés, *Robert*, surnamed the Yong (who went with *Godfrey of Bullen* to the holie Land, and was (after his fathers decease) Earle of *Flaunders*;) *Philip*, father to *William of Ixt*, and *Baldwin* Bishop of *Teroanne*; beside three daughters also, which he had by the said *Gertrude*. This *Robert* was called the *Frizon*, not in regarde of his birth, but of his bigge stature, strength and courage. For, hauing preuailed against the *Frizons*, and hearing of his Brothers death, *Baldwine de Mons*, Earle of *Flaunders*; hee layd clayme to the sayde Earldome, and (notwithstanding the opposition of *Kichild*, widow to Earle *Baldwine*: by meanes of the *Flemings*, he ouerthrew the King of *France* in battell, and she with her sonne *Baldwine*, remayning satisfied with the Countie of *Henault*, *Robert* became quietly Earle of *Flanders*. For eight yeares space, hee carried himselfe with great wisdome and valour, and dying in the yeare of our Lord 1077. was buried in the Cannons Church, founded by himselfe at *Cassell*. *Gertrudes* time of rule by her selfe, and *Roberts* after, are reckoned as two seuerall gouernements.

9. *Godfrey*, surnamed the crooke-backed Duke of *Lorraine*, in this time of yong Earle *Thierries* minoritie, was made an in-

strument (in regard of the former quarrel of *Count Floris*, and the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*, as yet not reuenged to their mindes) to suggest a false information to *Henry* the fourth, Emperour, whereby the sayde *Godfrey* became an vsurper of the young Earles right, for the space of foure years. But as he was sitting on the draught to ease his body, a seruant of young *Count Thierries*, did thrust a Iaueline vp into his fundament, whereof he died (not long after) at *Maestrecht*.

10. *Thierrie*, the fift of that name, who (by crook-backt *Godfrey*, and other strange oppositions) had long time beene debarred from quiet possession of his right; at length, by an absolute conquest of the *Frizons*, in two seuerall great battells, recovered all, and returned home as a Conqueror. Afterward, he married *Whithilde*, daughter to *Fredericke*, Duke of *Saxonie*, by whom he had a sonne and daughter: *Floris* that succeeded him, and *Mathilde*, married to the Duke of *Orleance*. Earle *Thierrie* hauing gouerned fifteene yeares, dyed, and was buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

11 *Floris*, the second of that name, & surnamed the Fat or Grosse, succeeded next after his father *Thierry*: he greatly fauoured Church-men, whereby the Abbey of *Egmonts* reuenews were largely encreased. He being a man of very peacefull inclination, little or no disturbances happened in his time: but onely by the *Frizons*, who, for their rebelling, were seuerely punished, and forced to submit themselves to his mercy. This *Floris* married *Petronilla*, or *Parnell*, daughter to *Didier*, Duke of *Saxonie*, and sister to *Lotharius* the Emperour: By her he had three sons, *Thierrie*, *Floris*, called the Blacke Prince of *Kenemerlandt*; and *Symon*, also one daughter named *Hadewicke*, who was Countesse of *Gueldres*. Hauing gouerned his Countries very honourably, for the space of one and thirty yeares; he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundred thirty and three, and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

12. *Thierrie*, sixt of that name, succeeded his father *Floris*, and was much molested by the *Frizons*, in regard that his brother *Floris* the Blacke Prince, enuying the happines and quiet of *Thierrie*, went and tooke part with them against him; vntill such

1063.

Robert the Frizon.

Robert Earle of Flanders.

1077.

The crooke-backed Duke of Lorraine.

The Frizon conquered two battells.

1119.

Didier Duke of Saxony.

1133

such time as the Emperour *Lotharius* (being theyr vnckle) had reconciled them, and made them friends. *Conrade* being ioyned as competitor in the Empire with *Lotharius*, caused a fresh quarrell between *Thierrie* and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, he ratifying the former graunt of *Henry*, which caused very long contention, and much bloud to be shed on either side. *Thierrie* hauing gouerned his Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* fortie yeares, died in the yeare 1163. and lieth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

Lotharius & Conrade Emperors.

1163

13 *Floris* the third, eldest sonne of *Thierry*, as heyre to his father, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*. The *Frizons* (pretēding their former freedoms and imperiall liberties) made still their reuoltes from time to time, imboldned thereto by the often suggestions of *Godfrey* of *Rhemen*, Bishop of *Vtrecht*, who (as his predecessors had done before him) still questioned the Earledomes of *Ostergo* and *Westergoe* in *Frizeland*: but the Emperour *Fredericke*, went himselve in person, and made an agreement between them. All which notwithstanding, much hurt was done on eyther side, as time and treachery fitted them with apt opportunity. A great controuersie happened betweene the Earles of *Holland* and *Flaunders*, for the Isle of *Walchren*, and *Count Floris* (in triall of fight) became prisoner to the Earle of *Flaunders*: who neuertheless vsed him princely, and they beeing accorded by the Archbishop of *Cullen*, and the Bishoppe of *Liege*; the great hole neare to the damme or sluice; was recovered with much adoe, by casting a dogfish thereinto, and speedy filling it vp with earth, whereon they named it *Hondidam*, that is, *Dogs-sluice*. This Earle *Floris*, assisting the Emperour *Fredericke*, *Phillip* King of *France*, *Richard* King of *England*, with many other Dukes, Christian Princes and Earles, at the siege of *Damieta* in *Soria*: fell there sicke in the Army, and died 1208. hauing gouerned his prouinces twenty seuen yeares.

Earledomes of Ostergo & Westergo.

1168.

The Dam or Sluice, called Dogs Sluice.

1208.

14 *Thierrie* the seuenth, hearing of his fathers death in *Palestine*; succeeded as his heire in all his Earledoms. The whole time of his regiment, was in war and continuall combustions. First by his brother Lord *William* of *Holland* (who was with his father *Floris* in *Palestine*, and performed

L. William of Holland.

there many honourable seruices) thorow diuers disagreements that happened betweene them; notwithstanding, as many laboured reconcilings, and pacifications. Next, *Baldwine* Earle of *Flaunders*, he was as molestuous to him likewise, for the Isle of *Walchren*: besides the *Frizons* rebellions, and his trouble with the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Liege*, as also his imprisonment to the Duke of *Brabant*, and then the intrusion of the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, after which, ensued a peace and vnited amity on all sides. This *Count Thierrie* had no heires male, but two beautifull daughters; *Adella*, marryed to *Henry* of *Gueldres*, who dyed without anie Children, and *Ada*, meanly marryed by her mother (after her fathers death) to *Count Lewes* of *Loos*, that so the gouernement might be disposed at her pleasure. In the yeare of our Lord, 1203. Earle *Thierry* dyed, hauing gouerned his Countries thirteene yeares, and and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

1198.

1203

15 *Ada*, daughter to Earle *Thierrie*, was Countesse of *Holland* and *Zeland*, after her fathers death; which mooued a great heart-burning in the Lordes and Gentlemen, that they should liue vnder a Woman, and a poore Earles command. Therefore, they sent into *Frizeland* for *Count William*, protesting to assist him in attayning the gouernement of *Holland*. The young Countesse *Ada* was surprized in their first attempt, and her husband the Earle of *Loos* driuen to flight; who yet wunne the Bishop of *Vtrecht* (by money and other promises) to ayde him, and by this means he had some small successe for a while. But the Countesse *Ada* dying without any children, Earle *William* was then the true and onely heyre to *Holland* and *Zeland*. In which right of his, hee went with his power against the Earle of *Loos*, and such was his successe, that the Women did beate his enemies with *Distaves* and *Stones*; they beeing glad to cast away their Armour for lightnesse, to saue themselues by flight; yet many were drowned in the Ditches, and a great number taken prisoners, with all the Earle of *Loos* Tents, Pauillions, Plate, Iewelles, and Munition, which *Count William* royally diuided amongst his *Hollanders*, remayning absolute Prince of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*.

The gouernment of a woman despised

Women beate Men with Distaves and Stones.

16 *William*, first of that name, succeeded

1128.

ded rightfully in all his Earledoms, by the death of his Neece the yong Countesse *Ada*. He had some strife with *Didier* Bishop of *Vtrecht*, and *Gerard Vander Are* his brother: but (vpon certayne Articles) all displeasures were qualified. By his first wife *Alix*, daughter to the Earle of *Gueldres*, he had *Floris*, that next succeeded him, *Otho* Bishop of *Vtrecht*, *William* Lieutenant of *Holland*, and two daughters, the one was Abbess at *Rhynsbourg*, and the other at *Delfte*. His second wife was named *Mary*, daughter to *Edmund* of *Lancaster*, son to *Henry* the third, King of *England*, by whom he had no issue. He gouerned 19. years; and dying, lies buried at *Rhynsbourg*.

17 *Floris* the fourth, succeeded his father *Count William* in his Earledomes. He took great delight in Iusts & Turnaments, and the Earle of *Clermont* proclaying a publike Triumph for all commers, at the Countesse his wifes request (who greatly desired to see this *Floris*, of whom she had heard much commendation:) this honorable Erle of *Holland, Zeland, &c.* was there treacherously slaine, onely through iealous suspicion of the old Erle of *Clermont*, who was there likewise presently slaine himselfe, and the Countesse (griewing for this great mishap) died soone after. This *Count Floris* had a daughter named *Mathilde*, or *Margaret*, as some call her, who was married to *Count Herman* of *Henneberg*. She despising a poore widdow, that desired her almes vpon vrgent necessitie, holding in either arme a sweet yong child, both which, God had sent hir at one birth; gaue hir very reprochful words beside, as, that she could not be honest of her bodie; and (by her husband) haue two children lawfully begotten. The poore woman, griewing to be reiected in such extreame want and need, but much more, to heare her reputation so nearely touched, knowing her soule cleare from al dishonest detection: made no further suite to the Lady, but (falling vpon her knees) appealed to God for defence of her Innocencie, and earnestly desired, that as she had conceiued and borne those two infants lawfully by her husband; euen so, if euer that Ladie should be subiect to the custome of Women, that it would please him, to send her as many children at one birth, as there are daies in the yeare. Not long after, the Lady conceiued with childe by her husband,

& (for her deliuerance) went into *Holland*, to visite the Earle her brother, taking vp lodging in the Abbey of religious women at *Losdunen*, and grew so exceeding great, as the like had neuer before beene seene. When her time came, on the Friday before *Palme-sunday*, in the yeare of our Lord God 1276. shee was deliuered of 365. children, the one halfe being sonnes, and the other daughters; but the odde childe was an Hermaphrodite, and they were all well shaped and proportioned in their little members. These children were layd in two basins, and were all baptized by *Guydon*, Suffragan to the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, who named all the sonnes *Iohn*, and the daughters *Elizabeth*, but what name hee gaue the Hermaphrodite, it is not recorded. They were no sooner baptized, but they all died, and the mother also. The two Basins are yet to bee seene in the sayde Church of *Losdunen*, and a memorie of them, both in Latine and Dutch. The Latine beginning thus: *Margareta, Comitiss Hennebergia vxor, & Florentij Hollandia & Zelandia filia, &c.* Vnderneath are these verses:

*En tibi monstruosum & memorabile factum,  
Quale nec à mundi conditione datum.*

This *Count Floris*, being so treacherously slaine, as yee haue heard before, had his body brought backe into *Holland*, by the Earle of *Cleues*, and other noble Lords, who buried it in the Abby of *Rhynsbourg*; he hauing honourably and vertuously gouerned his Countries twelue yeares. He left but one son named *William*, six yeares old, who was in the tutelage of his vnckle *Otho*, Bishop of *Vtrecht*, during his minority.

18 *William*, second of that name, succeeded his father *Floris* in all his dominions, being all the time of his vnder yeares, in the gouernement of *Otho* Bishop of *Vtrecht* his vnckle, who was a very worthy & carefull Guardian to him. The Pope hauing deposed *Fredericke* the second, and *Conrade* his sonne from the Empire: the Princes Electors (in despight of the Pope) made this Earle *William* King of the *Romans*, and crowned him at *Aix le Chapelle*, he hauing then attained to the age of 20. yeares. A long & tedious trouble hapned, betweene him, & *Margaret* Countesse of *Flanders*, a very high-minded and proude woman,

Earle William King of the Romans.

Edmond of Lancaster, son to the King of England.

The wonderfull birth of 365. Children

This History is auouched for a truth by diuers good Authors.

woman, for the country of *Walchren*, wherein, after a great foile and slaughter of the *Flemings*, (taking part with her) and imprisonment of her two sonnes (*Guy* and *John*) she implored the aid of *Charles* duke of *Arion*, against king *William*, & sped thereby no better then she had done before, but was glad in the end to seek reconcilment. This King *William* built the Pallace of the Earles of *Holland*, in the vilage of *La Hage*, or the *Hague*, where it is at this day, and a goodly Cloister at *Harlem*. At his warres in west *Frizeland*, where he preuailed very successfully, he would needs (without any other assistance then himselfe) follow the rebels ouer the Ice, where his horffe slipping in, himselfe almost drowned, and none neare to helpe him (but enemies of the *Frizons*, that lay secretly in ambush:) they beate him downe with clubbes and staues, not knowing that it was the King, and so they slew him. But when afterward they tooke better notice of him, by his Target and Armes thereon emblazoned: in very hearty sorrow for their foule deed, they buried him secretly, in a poore house in the village of *Hooktwond*, thinking so to wipe out all remembrance of him. But his body was after found, and buried in the Abbey of *Middlebourg*, in the Isle of *Walchren*.

19 *Floris* the fift, son to King *William*, who was slaine so inhumanely; albeit hee was but sixe months old, yet he succeeded his father, his vnckle *Floris* being his Gouernor and Tutor. At 17. yeares of age, he went with an army against the euer-reuolting *Frizons*, and ouercame them at a vilage called *Schellinckhout*, very seuerely reuenging his fathers death on them, and (by building foure Castles in *Frizeland*) brought them wholly vnder his obediēce. Afterward, Count *Floris* made a voyage into *England*, where a marriage was contracted, betweene *John*, eldest son to Earle *Floris*, and *Elizabeth*, daughter to king *Edward* the first: *John* being (not long after) sent into *England*, to accomplish the sayd marriage, where he remained in the Court of *England*, vntill his fathers vnfortunate death, which briefly was thus:

A knight liued in the Earles Court, named *Gerard van Velson*, who had beene a whole yeares space detayned in prison, & his brother beheaded; through certaine false suggestions whispered to the Earle,

which (afterward) appearing to be a meere iniury: the Earle sought to repayre this wrong, with very especiall fauors done to the knight, great aduancements, & would haue bestowed also his concubine in marriage on him. Which *Gerard* disdainng & replying, that he would not weare his cast shoos: the Earle rashly answerd, that he should take his leauings, in despite of his hart. To preuent marriage with the Earles minion, the knight bestowed his affections else-where, and wedded a Ladie of great honour and beauty. Which when the Earle vnderstood, he pursued his former rash folly, to the price of his own life: Sending *Gerard* on an employment of much credit & respect, and wherewith he was not a little pleased, not doubting anie such wicked intention. The Earle came to *Gerards* house, vnder color of hospitality, and there (winning her to priuate conference in her bed chamber) forcibly deflowered her, to performe his rash promise to her husband. At *Gerards* returne, and this foule wrong discouered, it was pursued with very bloody reuenge, by a resoluēd conspiracy sworne against his life: which albeit he had some warning of (by a paper deliuerd him by a poore woman;) yet his disaſter being ineuitable, a traine was laid for him as he rode a hawking, and twentie one wounds he receiued on his body, by the hand of the sayd *Gerard*. But hee and the rest of the conspirators escaped not vn-punished, for they had their heads smitten off, and were then laid vpon wheeles; but *Gerard* was put (stark naked) into a Pipe stucke full of sharp nailes, and was so rowled vp and downe through all the streetes of *Leyden*. Then was he beheaded, & layd on a wheele, and al his kinred (to the ninth degree) put to death, and laid on wheeles.

20 After the wicked murder of Earle *Floris* the fift, committed by the *Fryzons*, as hath beene declared: *John* his only son (being then in *England* with King *Edward* his father in law) was next to succeed him as his rightfull heire. But before he could leaue *England*, some partialities and facti- ons happened in *Holland* for the gouernment, which soone were qualified at Earle *Johns* being there present, notwithstanding the subtile policie of *Wolfart* of *Borſſele*, seizing the person of Earle *John*, and Lady *Elizabeth* his wife, thinking to haue the gouernment of the sayd Earle, because, as yet,

A seuerer re- uenge for the Earles death,

*Wolfart* of *Borſſele*, his secret intention.

King William  
welly slaine.

1290.

1297

the History  
the death  
erle Floris.

1300.

The end of  
the race of  
the Dukes of  
Aquitaine, &  
succesion of  
the Earles of  
Henault.

yet, he was but young. Earle *John* preuailed against the *Frizons*, and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, and hauing gouerned his Countreies about foure yeares, hee fell sicke at *Hurlem*, and there dyed. He was the first of al the Earles of *Holland*, that died without children: wherefore in him failed the line masculine of the Earls from the dukes of *Aquitaine*, which *Thierry*, or *Theodor*, the first Earle of *Holland*, had continued 437. yeares. He was buried in the Abbey of *Rhinsbourg*, his widdow Lady *Elizabeth* being caried back into *England*, where she was afterward married to the Earle of *Oxford*: So that by the death of Earle *John* in this manner, those Countreies were deuolued to the Earles of *Henault*, issuing by the mothers side frō the earles of *Holland*.

1301.

John de Re-  
uesse drown.

21 *John*, the second of that name, called *John of Henault* (claiming his right from *Alix*, Sister to *William* king of the *Romans*) succeeded after *John*, as Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*, &c. He had a long and tedious trouble with *John de Reuesse*, who perswaded the Emperour, that *John* Earle of *Holland* dying without issue, his Earledomes ought (in right) to returne to the Empire; according as *Charls* the bald, Emperour of the *Romans*, had at first giuen them in fee and homage to *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*. This suggestion raised the Emperour *Albert* in Armes against *John* of *Henault*; but the Bishop of *Cullen* compounded the matter betweene them; and *John de Reuesse* was afterward drowned, by which means, *John* of *Henault*, hauing gouerned *Henault* thirty yeres, and his countreies of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* five yeares, died, & was buried at *Valenciennes*.

1305.

The good  
Earle William

22 *William* the third, sonne and heire to count *John* of *Henault*, succeeded his fathers Earledomes: he was commonly called, *The good Earle William*, for his vertues, iustice, good life, and honourable actions. In his time hapned so great a dearth and famine in *Holland*, that poore people dyed with hunger, even in the streets as they went: seeking also for hearbs and rootes in the fields and woods, there they were likewise found dead, and in the common high wayes: little children dyed sucking at their mothers breasts, and some were enforced to feede on their dead children.

1316.

A wonderful  
dearth.

A strange ex-  
ample of an  
vnmercifull  
sister.

In this time of famine, a poore woman in the Towne of *Leyden*, being extremely ouercharged with hunger, entreated her

owne sister, (being a woman of better abilitye) to lend her some bread, which she would thankfully repay againe, when God should enable her. She, very vnkindly, and without any pittie of her extremitie, denyed her oftentimes, notwithstanding the others often vrgings; that shee was assured, that shee could not be without bread. Heereupon the vnmercifull sister (lying, both to God and to her owne poore sister) sayde: If I haue any bread, I wish that it may instantly be turned into a stone: wherewith the heauy displeasure of almighty God laid hold vpon her words, and going afterward to hir Cupboord (to relieue her selfe) she found all her loaves of bread conuerted into apparant stones, and died herselfe with extremitie of hunger. It is credibly said, that one or two of thote stones, are yet to be seene in Saint *Peters* Church at *Leyden*, as a memorie of this iust judgement of God.

There is also recorded another memorable Historie, of vpright Iustice done by this good Earle *William*, to a poore country-man, against a Bayliffe of South *Holland*, who had taken a goodly faire Cowe from him, that was the reliefe of himselfe, his poore wife and children; as there are some Kine in that Countrey, which doe giue twenty pottles of milke and more, in a day. The Bayliffe at the poore mans complaint to this good earle *William*, who lay then sicke in his Bed at *Valenciennes* (yet neuer debarred any suiters from audience, were he sicke or well) was adiudged to giue the poore man an hundred crownes of good gold, for the wrong he had done to him, which was accordingly performed. But for his iniurie to publike Iustice (being himselfe an Officer) and abusing the authority committed in trust to him; the Earle sent for an Executioner, and caused his head to be smitten off by his beds side. This good Count *William*, being a vertuous Prince, victorious in warre, a man learned, wise, wel spoken, and iudicious, a great friend to peace, gracious to all men, and beloued in all courts, hauing gouerned his Prouinces 32. yeares, dyed the ninth day of Iune 1337. and was buried with great pomp at *Valenciennes*.

A worthy  
action of iust  
done by this  
good Earle  
*William*.

23 *William* the fourth, son to the good Earle *William*, came to his fathers Earledoms by lawfull succession. He was a man of high merit, & a most famous Souldier, whereof

1337.

Earle *Wil-*  
a worthy  
diour.

wherof he made good prooffe; first against the *Sarazins* and *Moore*s, in the kingdome of *Granada*: Next, with the Emperour *Lewes*, and many noble Earles, ayding his brother in lawe *Edward* the third King of *England*, against the king of *France*; thirdly, in ouer-running *Lithuania*, *Liuonia*, and warring against the *Russian* Infidels, lading home his men with victory & wealthy spoiles: And lastly, in preuayling against the *Frizons*, and *Robert* of *Arckell* gouernour of *Vtrecht*: Yet it was his hard hap to be slaine vnknowne (amongest the *Frizons*) before any could haue power to helpe him: so that he left no lawfull child to succede him, and therefore his sister, (beeing *Empresse*) remayned his onelic heire.

24 *Margaret*, wife to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, (then Emperour) and the eldest sister to Earle *William*, slayne (as you haue heard) by the *Frizons*, by the Emperours interposition of his authority, and her owne native right, went downe by the *Rhine* into *Holland*, accompanied with a most princely and well-beseeming traine, and was acknowledged to be Ladie and Princeesse of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*. But before her returne back to the Emperour againe, shee constituted both his and her eldest sonne (named *William* of *Bauaria*) to bee her Regent there in those Countries, for a summe of money yearely payed to her: but remayning vnpayd, she might resume all her rights to herselfe againe. The Emperour deceasing, the *Empresse Margaret* came thither againe, and had resignation (from her sonne *William*) of all the aforesaide Countries, retyring himselfe into *Henault*, as being well contented there to liue: vntill by intestine discord, and dangerous practises of two intruded factions, called *Cabillaux* and *Hoecks* (wherin both nobles and gentlemen did too far enter) the mothers government did grow vn-sufferable, and Duke *William* was recouered from *Henault*, to vnder-goe the sole authority. Two very bloody battels were fought betweene the *Empresse* and her sonne; and in the first, Earle *William* escaped with great difficultie, and fledde into *Holland*, for this battell was fought at *La Vere* in *Zeland*. But in the second, there was so much bloud spilt, that (for three dayes after) the old Riuer of *Mense* (at full Sea) was (all ouer) red in that place. The

*Empresse* (by helpe of a sinall Barke) escaped into *England*; and vpon an agreement afterwards made betweene them: Duke *William* had the quiet possession of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* assigned him, and the *Empresse Margaret* had the countie of *Henault*; where (fue yeares after) she ended her dayes, and lyeth buried at *Vallenciennes*.

25 Duke *William* being peaceably possessed of his Seigneuries, according to the former composition, being also Duke of *Bauaria*, *Palatine* of *Rhine*, and Earle of *Henault* by his mothers death, tooke to wife the Lady *Matilda*, daughter to *Henry* duke of *Lancaster* in *England*, by whom hee had no children. Much strife, warre, and bloody bickering, hapned betweene him and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, with shrewd disadvantages on eyther side; till, by the meanes of some Noblemen, they were reduced to amitie.

This Duke *William* (vpon what occasion it could neuer be knowne) fell distracted of his senses, and slew a Knight with a blow of his fist: so that hee was shut vp (vnder good Guard) for nineteene yeares space, euen till he dyed. Having gouerned his prouinces of *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Frizeland* (before his madnesse) seauen yeares, and *Henault* two.

26 *Albert* of *Bauaria*, brother to Duke *William*, in the time of his distraction, was sent for from *Bauaria*, and made Gouernor of his brothers Countries, in hope of his recouery, which by no meanes could be compassed. Hee vanquished the *Frizons* in many rebellions, tooke the towne of *Delft*, and beheaded the Baron of *Eughien*, vpon sinister reformations, which caused great trouble betweene him, and sixe brethren of the said Baron: but, vpon their reconcilment, Count *Albert* builded the Chanonry of the Chappell, at the Court of the *Hague*.

In his time, a Sea-woman (by reason of great tempests at Sea, and extraordinary high Tides) was seene swimming in the *Zuyderzee*, betweene the Townes of *Campen* and *Edam*; which being brought to *Edam*, and cleansed from the Sea-mosse growne about her, by her long abiding there: she was like to another womā, endured to be apparelled, and would feed on meats as others did; yet sought she all meanes to escape, and get into the water

Qqq againe,

1342.

Robert of Arckell, Gouernour of Vtrecht. 1346.

Margaret the Empresse, Princeesse of Holland.

The factions Cabillaux and Hoecks.

1351.

great effusion of blood.

Matilda, daughter to Henry Duke of Lancaster.

1358

The Baron of Eughien beheaded.

1368

A Sea-Woman seene in the Zuyderzee.

1441

agayne, had she not very carefully bene tended. Shee did learne to spinne, and exercise other womanly qualities, beeing daily seene of infinite persons, who haue made perfect testimoniall of this rare accident, and signified it for an vndoubted truth, auouching, that she liued fifteene yeares, and lyeth there buried in the Church-yard. In the yeare of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred and foure, this famous Prince *Albert* dyed, after hee had gouerned his Countries fixe and fortie yeares: nineteene as he was Tutour to his distracted brother, and twenty seauen as Prince, heire and Lord of those Countries, beeing buried at the *Hague* in *Holland*.

27 *William*, sixt of that name, after the death of Duke *Albert* of *Bauaria* his father, succeeded as his immediate heyre. His first wife was daughter to *Charles* the fift, King of *Fraunce*, and she dyed yong, without any issue. He secondly married the daughter of *John*, sonne to *Phillip* the bold Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he had one onely daughter, named *Iaqueline* or *Iacoba*, as the Dutch vse to call her. This Count *William* wasted *Frizeland*, spoyled *Liege*, and preuayed against the *Gueldres*, and also the Lordes (father and sonne) of *Arckell* at *Gorrichom*, and reconciled the Duke of *Burgundy* to the French King. The Dolphine of *Fraunce*, sonne to King *Charles* the sixt, married *Iaquiline*, Count *Williams* daughter; but hee being poysoned, by putting on a shirt of maile, dyed without issue. As Earle *William* himselfe did not long after, being bitten in the leg by a mad Dogge, which hurt could neuer be cured. So that the Lady *Iaqueline* (his daughter, and widow to the Dolphine of *Fraunce*) was his true heire in all his Seigneries: Hee gouerned thirtcene yeares, and lieth buried at *Valenciennes* in *Henault*.

28 *Iaqueline*, or *Iacoba*, daughter and sole heire to *William* of *Bauaria*, succeeded her father in all his Earledomes and Seigneries, beeing then widdow to the Dolphine of *Fraunce*, and yet but nineteene yeares of age. In regard of her youth and widowhood, she endured much molestation in her gouernement, chiefly in *Holland*: for the two factions tooke head againe, and bandied their boldnes on both sides, the *HoECKINS* fauouring the Countesses faction, and the *Cabillantines* her e-

nemies, by which meanes her rule was greatly disturbed. For *Iohn* of *Bauaria* (forfaking his Bishoppricke of *Liege*) sought to make himselfe an Earle, and marrie his Niece *Iaqueline* (vtterly against her will) and yet to dispossesse her of her rightfull inheritance, for which purpose he leagued himselfe with the *Cabillantines*, and other powerfull friends, who neuertheless were slaine in their bolde aduenture at *Gorrichome*. And, to frustrate the Bishops vaine hope, the Pope dispensed her marriage with *John* Duke of *Brabant*, albeit he was her neare kinsman, whereby their patrimoniall inheritances were the more strengthened, and hee acknowledged as their Prince, in *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, &c. It were needelesse heere, to relate the following molestations of *Iohn* of *Bauaria* the Bishop, to his Niece *Iaqueline*, taking on himselfe the title of Earle, and therefore, (by some) rancked among the Earles of *Holland*, or the after-marriages of Lady *Iaqueline*; to the Duke of *Gloucester*, vnckle to *Henry* the sixt, King of *England*; the fourth and last time (in great priuacy) to *Franke* of *Borsselle*, Lieuteuant of *Zeland*, or her (no meane troubles) by the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom shee resigned vp all her Countries. Let it suffice, that shee liued in continuall vexations nineteene yeares, and dying at the *Hague*, was buried in the Chappell of the Court of *Holland*.

30 *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundie*, beeing (both by father & mother) rightfull heire and successour to the asorenamed Countesse *Iaqueline*; was thus entitled: *Phillip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Brabant*, and *Lembourg*; Earle of *Flaunders*, *Artois*, *Burgogne*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Namure*; Marquesse of the holie Empire; and Lord of *Frizeland*, *Salins* and *Macklyn*. Hee had three wiues; by the two first hee had no children; but by the last, named *Isabell* (daughter to *John* King of *Portugall*) hee had three sonnes; *Anthony* and *Ioffe*, who dyed yong, and *Charles Martin*, Earle of *Charolois*, and successour vnto his father. This *Phillip* of *Bourgogne* instituted the order of Knighthood of the golden *Fleece*, and had much discontent with his sonne *Charles*, whom (at length) he married to the Lady *Margaret*, sister to *Edward* the fourth, King of *England*. The rebells of *Gaunt* and *Bruges* dearely felt the valour of

*Iohn* of *Bauaria* Bishop of *Liege*.

*Iohn* of *Bauaria* the Bishop reckoned the 29. Earle of *Holland*.

1436.

The Titles of *Phillip* Duke of *Bourgogne*

The order of the golden *Fleece* instituted.

1404.

*Phillip* the bolde Duke of *Burgundy*.

1417.

of

of this *Phillip*; hee besieged *Callis*, surprized *Luxembourg*, subdued *Liege*; and ouer-came the *Hamecons*. Hee exceeded all his predecessors (dukes of *Burgogn*) in riches, Seigneuries, height of Pompe and State. He dyed the fift day of Iune 1467. hauing gouerned about fortie yeares. In his time was the famous Arte of Printing first in-vented; the men of *Harlem* in *Holland* do challenge the first honour thereof, but it was reduced to perfection at *Mentz*, by one *Iohn Faustus*, who had bene seruant to *Laurence Ianson* of *Harlem*, as they constantly affirme.

31 *Charles*, surnamed the *Warlike Duke of Bourgogne*, succeeded in all his fathers Titles and Dignities. The Inhabitants of *Gaunt* resisting him, he brought them vnder obeifance, and defeated the *Liegeois* in battell, which enforced *Liege* to yeelde to him. He made peace with the *Frenchking*, who doubted to be detained at *Peronne* by Duke *Charles*. Vpon a fresh rebellion of the *Liegeois*, the duke forced King *Lewes* to go with him to the siege of their town; which he ruined, and practised the like to the house of *Brederode*. He warred against the *Frizons*; and carried many Princes in hope of his daughters marriage. The *French King*, and the Duke, sought to deceiue each other, and the Constable of *Saint Paul* (waxing hatefull to them both) they resolu'd his ruine, and (on a Truce taken for nine yeares, betweene the King and Duke) the Constable was beheaded at *Paris*. The Duke warred against the *Swisses*, and was defeated by them, both at *Granson* and *Morat*, wherewith the *Swisses* were enriched. The Duke besieged *Nancie*, and was there slaine in battell, by the treason of the Earle of *Campobachio*, an Italian; where beeing engirt with a great troupe of Lanciers, he received wounds, one in the head, the second in the thigh, and the third in the fundament. Hee left one only daughter and heire.

32 *Mary*, daughter and heire to Duke *Charles*, the warrelike Duke of *Bourgogne*, succeeded her father in all his Countries: being but eighteene yeares old when hee was slaine before *Nancy*, wherefore she remained vnder the charge of the Duke of *Cleues*, and his brother the Lord of *Rauessteine*. The *French King* seized *Piccardie* & *Arthois*: and she hapning into the *Ganthois* power, endured much trouble, by

putting her chiefeft seruants and coun-cellers to death. The *Flemings* were defeated, and the yong Duke of *Gueldres* slaine. Afterward, a marriage was concluded be-tweene *Maximilian* Arch-duke of *Austria*, sonne to the Emperor *Fredericke*, and the Lady *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, albeit she would more gladly haue matched with the house of *Fraunce*.

33 *Maximilian*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, and sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, marrying the Princeesse *Mary* of *Bourgogne*; was thereby wedded to much warre and trouble. For, first the *Gueldres* reuolted from the house of *Bourgogne*. Next hap-ned the battell of *Guinegate*, wherein the Arch-duke was Conqueror: Then, *Tur-nay* yeilded to him; truce was taken be-tweene him and the *French King*, and the new tumults of the *Cabillaux* and *Hoecks*, were also by him pacified. *Dordrecht* was surprised by the yong lord of *Egmont*; also, many Townes in *Gueldres* yeilded to the Arch-duke: and (not long after) followed the death of the Arch-dutcheffe *Mary*; who had (the first yeare of her marriage, a sonne named *Phillip*, father to *Charles* the fift) the second yeare a daughter, called *Margaret*, betroathed in her infancie, to *Charles* the Dolphine of *Fraunce*, sonne to *Lewes* 11. and the third yeare, a sonne na-med *Frances*, according to the name of *Fraunces* Duke of *Brittaine* his godfather. *Maximilian* being chosen King of the Ro-mans, he made *Engelbert* Earle of *Nassau*, Gouvernour of the Netherlands in his ab-sence: and afterward, vpon the bold insol-ency of the *Ganthois* and *Brugois* (keeping the K. of Romans prisoner) *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, was made second gouernor of the Netherlands, & General for the Emperor *Fredericke* against the *Flemings*. But *Fre-derick* dying, his son *Maximilian* succeeded him in the Empire, by which means *Philip* of *Austria*, sonne to *Maximilian*, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, &c.

34 *Phillip*, second of that name, being 16. yeares olde, and succeeding his father *Maximilian*, Emperor in the Netherlands, had these Titles: *Philippe* Arch-duke of *Austria*, Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Lothier*, *Bra-bant*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Lembourg*, *Lux-embourg*, and *Gueldres*; Earle of *Haf-pourg*, *Flaunders*, *Arthois*, *Bourgogne*, *Ferretto* and *Kiburch*; *Palatine* of *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namure* and *Zutphen*:

The Duke of Gueldres slaine.

1479.

New tumults of the Cabillaux and Hoecks.

1482.

Engelbert, Earle of Nassaw. 1491.

1494.

The Titles of Philip, Arch-Duke of Austria.

1467.

The Art of printing first in-vented.

The warlike Duke of Bourgogne.

The Earle of Campobachio.

1477.

1497.

Marquesse of the holy Empyre, and of *Bourgogn*; *Landtgrau*e of *Elfat*e, Lord of *Windismarke*, *Portnean*, *Salynes*, & *Macklyn*. Vppon his full possession of the Netherlands, peace was made between him, and *Charles* the eight, King of France; war hapning betwixt the Arch-duke and the Duke of *Guelders*, great inconueniences followed thereon: but Duke *Albert* being slaine before *Groningen*, the Arch-Duke inherited the Realme of Spain by his wife, being made King of *Castile*, & *George* duke of *Sazony* (being then made Gouvernor of the Netherlands, for the Arch-duke *Phillip*) continued the Warres in *Frizeland*. For, vpon the death of *Isabell*, Queene of *Castile*, *Iane* her daughter being the onely heyre, and married to the Arch-duke *Phillip*; she hereby inuested him in the realms of *Spaine*, *Leon*, *Granada*, &c. as absolute King. But he enioyed that Dignitie not long: for in the yeare 1506. the 27. day of September, he dyed (sodainly) in the City of *Bourgos*, suspected to bee poysoned. After the death of *Phillip* King of *Castile*, the Emperor *Maximillian* took vpon him the gouernment of the Netherlands, as Guardian vnto *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, his Grand children, being the sons of *Phillip* and *Iane*, King and Queene of *Castile*.

1503.

Iane daughter to Isabel married vnto the Arch-duke Phillip.

1505.

1506.

1508.

1515.

1419.

1520.

Lady Margaret sole gouernesse.

1526.

35 *Charles* of *Austria*, second of that name, succeeded rightfully in al his fathers Lands and Seigneuries, and by the Emperors appointment, his daughter the Lady *Margaret* (Dowager of *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Princes *Charles* and *Ferdinand*) was Regent of the Low countries. Afterward, Prince *Charles* took possession of the Netherlands, and being crowned K. of *Spaine* and *Arragon*, soone after followed the death of the Emperor *Maximillian*, and in an assembly at *Francfort*, for choise of a new Emperor, *Charles* king of *Spaine* had free election, by the name of *Charles* the 5. Then was Lady *Margaret* (widdow both of *Castile* and *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Emperor *Charles*) accepted as sole gouernesse of the Netherlands, in her Nephewes absence. Troubles hapned in *Spaine*, by reason of the Kings departure thence, & not onely warre in *Frizeland*, but likewise betweene the French and Bourguignons, as also the warres of Boores or Peazants in Germany; and the *Groningeois* reiecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, did yeild themselues to the Emperor: then hapned the second

bloody edict from the Emperor, against the Netherland protestants, and then was the imperial diet at *Ausbourg*, where the protestant Princes presented the confession of their faith. After followed the deuouring inundation in the Netherlands, and the death of the Lady dowager *Margaret*, whereby *Mary* of *Austria*, second daughter to King *Phillip*, and Queen *Iane* of *Castile*, succeeded in the gouernment of the Netherlands. War hapned betweene the Emperor and the French king, but vpon the coming of queene *Elenor* of *France* to the Emperour her brother, peace was concluded betwixt them.

36 While *Mary* of *Austria* gouerned the Netherlands, for the Emperor *Charls* her brother, great troubles hapned vnto the Protestants, by opposition of the Pope & Emperor against them. The Emperor affected the Empire for Prince *Phillip* his sonne, which bred a quarrell betwixt the Emperor, and his brother *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary*, to whom the Princes of the Empire were more enclined, then to *Phillip*; and then the Protestants denied their comming to the Council of Trent. *Phillip* King of *Spaine* married *Mary* queene of *England*: And not long after, the Emperor resigned the Netherlands to his sonne King *Phillip* (whereby he was reckned the 36. Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c.) and the Empire to his brother *Ferdinand*, King of the Romans and *Hungary*, departing out of the Netherlands, to end his dayes quietly in a Monastery, not far from *Placentia*. Reseruing an hundred thousand crowns yeerely to himselfe, employing four thousand for his dyet and maintenance, appointing the rest vnto young Maydens marriages, and the releefe of Widdowes and Orphanes, hee not liuing aboute two yeares after. When not onely happened his death, but likewise the deathes of the Queenes Dowagers of *France* and *Hungary*, as also of *Mary* Queen of *England*; after whome, succeeded her Sister *Elizabeth*. In which time, *Emanuel* *Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, and Prince of *Piemont*, was Gouvernor, and Lieutenant Generall of the Netherlands, for King *Phillip*; till the King of *Spaine*s marriage (beeing turned into teares, by the most vntimely death of the French King) caused *Margaret* of *Austria*, Bastarde to the Emperor *Charles* the fift, and Dutcheffe of

1531.

Mary of Austria.

1544.

1549.

1555.

1556.

Elizabeth of England.

1559.

The Spanish  
Inquisition.  
1565.

1568.

1574.

The Prince of  
Orange, the  
Commander  
of Castile.

1575.

Don Iohn of  
Austria.

of *Parma*, to succede the Duke of *Sauoy* in the *Netherlands* regiment. King *Phillip* returned then home into *Spaine*, it beeing his last departure out of those countries: whereon (not long after) ensued the subtle bringing of the *Spanish* Inquisition into the *Netherlands*, by creation of new Bishops; and such was the power and priuilege of the Inquisitors, as none were able to withstand them, in confiscation both of their body and goods at their owne pleasure.

Now, albeit the tyranny of the Dutchesse government in the Low-countries, was more then the people could well endure, yet (to put a sharpe snaffle in their mouths) K. *Phillip* remoued his Bastard sister *Margaret*, & sent *Don Ferdinando Aluares*, Duke of *Alua*, who quickly brought the *Netherlands* into a most pittifull estate: making himselfe sure of *Gaunt*, and Count *Horne* and count *Egmont* (abusiuely) made prisoners: he built the Castle of *Antwerp*, where he erected his own proud statue, & proceeded to apprehend the prince of *Orange* by Commission, setting down Articles by the *Spanish* Inquisition (which were confirmed by the king) to ruinate the *Netherlands*, vpon which soone followed the execution of the sonnes of *Batembourg* at *Brussels*, as also the Earles of *Egmont* and *Horne*. *William* of *Nassan* prince of *Orange*, was made gouernor of *Holland*, *Zeland* & *Vtrecht* for the States, & proued very fortunate in many attempts against the D. of *Alua*, which made him labour his repeale home into *Spaine*, with *Don Fredericke* his sonne. *Don Lewes de Requesens*, the great Commander of *Castile*, was sent to spoyle the dukes place in the *Netherlands*, for the K. of *Spaine*, to whom *Aluaes* former behavior serued for an example, in his proceeding; and notwithstanding, his besieging of *Middlebourg* (near hand to *famishmet*) yet was his flect defeated before his face; and the town yielded vp by *Collonell Mondragon*, to the Prince of *Orange*. After many dangerous turmoiles on both sides, the States sent to require succour of *Elizabeth Q.* of *England*, and soone after dyed *Don Lewes de Requesens* at *Brussels*; in whose roome succeeded *Don Iohn* of *Austria* (bastard sonne to the Emperour *Charles* the fift) as gouernor for K. *Phillip* in the *Netherlands*, all the Prouinces whereof were vnited at the pacification of *Gand*; whereup-

on, the Castle was yeilded to the States and al the Spaniards departed out of *Antwerp* castle, which was also deliuered into the States hands. *Don Iohn* being receiued as Gouernor, he sought occasions how to renew warre against the prince of *Orange*, and diuers discontentments, as also treacherous practises, being noted in d. *Iohn*, the States grew iealous of him, & he was proclaimed the Countries enemy. Then was the Arch-duke *Mathias* called to bee Gouernor, and while the heart-burnings held betweene *Don Iohn* and the States, the Duke of *Aniou*, and Duke *Casimire* also were required to succour them, but to little effect, for *Arthois* and *Henault*: fell from the *Netherlannis* generall vnion, and then folowed the death of *Don Iohn*, of the plague, in the Campe neare vnto *Mamure*.

Then *Alexander Famase*, Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, bastard Nephew to the King of *Spaine*, succeeded *Don Iohn* in the *Netherlands* government: Whereupon, a stricter vnion (then before) was made betweene the Prouinces at *Vtrecht*. The D. of *Aniou* was called to be Protector, and partly Lord of the Countries in the Vnion, which made the King of *Spaine* proscribe the Prince of *Orange*, and set his life at sale, to which proscription the Prince (in euery poynt) made his iust answer. Then were valiant and worthie seruices performed by sir *Iohn Norris*, and Capitaine (afterwards) sir *Roger Williams*. In the yeare following, the generall Estates of the Prouinces, hauing declared *Phillip K.* of *Spaine*, second of that name, to be fallen from the Seigneury of the sayd Prouinces, in regard of his extraordinary and too violent government, against their priuiledges and freedoms (solemnely sworne by himselfe.) In way of right and Armes, took vpon them al the government of the politike Estate, & of the religion in those Prouinces, breaking the Kings Seales, absolving the subiects of their oath to him, and causing them to take a new oath, for preseruation of their country, and obedience to the said States. Vpon a bargaine made by the K. of *Spaine*, to kill the prince of *Orange*, the said prince was shot by one *Iohn Iurwegui*, a bakerupt-merchants seruant, who was instatly slain, but the prince escaped that attempt with life. Afterward he was traiterously mured by *Balthazar*.

1577

The Arch-Duke Mathias.

1578.

The Prince of Parma.

1580

The Duke of Aniou.

1581

The States for themselves.

1582.

The Prince of Orange shot.

1584.

The Prince of  
Orange mur-  
dered.

*Gerard* a (high *Bourguignon*) at *Delft* in *Holland*: whereon, Prince *Maurice* (being his Sonne) succeeded his father in the government. Then followed the siege of *Antuerpe*, in which time, the States once more, re-commended their cause to the Queene of *England*: eyther to giue her the full Soueraignty of the Netherlands, or else to succour and releue them with her forces, vpon good conditions offered. Her Maiesty graunted to send them assistance, but no soueraignty or protection of them, would she take vpon her: whereupon, certaine cautionarie Townes and Skonces were deliuered vp to her, for repayment of such summes of mony, as should be disbursed by hir, and Articles of couenant set downe betweene them. Also, *Robert* Lord *Dudley*, Baron of *Denbigh*, and Earle of *Leicester*, was appointed by the Q. of *England*, to be her Governour generall, ouer the English powers in the Netherlands.

1585.

The Earle of  
Leicester.

In the time of the earle of *Leicester*'s gouernement for the Queene, were sundrie worthy seruices performd by the Earle of *Essex*, sir *John Norris*, the Lord *Willoughby*, sir *Phillip Sidney*, sir *William Russell*, &c. besides the subtil pretences of sir *William Stanley*, *Rowland Yorke*, *Patton*, and others, who held faire weather with the Earle of *Leicester*, and had the gouernment of *Zutphen* skonce, and the strong towne of *Deuenter* (to the great dislike of the States) yet performed no such matter, as the Earles hope was perswaded of them: for, after the death of that matchles noble Gentleman sir *Philip Sidney*, he being shot before *Zutphen*, & therof dying; the Earle of *Leicester* (being gone for *England*) both *Deuenter* & *Zutphen* Skonce were deliuered vp to the Spaniards, by base corruption of money. And (not long after) the Prince of *Parma* beleagring *Scuice*; by composition it was also yielded vp, after it had endured 17000 cannon shot & more. Beside, vpon some discontentment, betweene the Earle of *Leicester*, and the States; the Queene called home the sayd Earle into *England*, and the Lord *Willoughby* remained there Generall of the English forces. The sundry worthy seruices, both by him, and the English performed, with the Spanish vndoubted hopes of *Englands* Conquest, in the dreadfull yeare, one thousand five hundred eightie and eight, Prince *Maurice* his entrance into the Netherlands re-

Sir Philip Sid-  
ney slaine.

1587.

Scuice.

The Lord  
Willoughby.

1588.

Prince Mau-  
rice.

giment, and the Dukes of *Parmaes* warres in *Fraunce*; all these do I passe ouer, referring such as desire farther satisfaction therein, to the large Historie of the Netherlands.

The Prince of *Parma* dying at *Arras* (after his retreat from *Rouen*) the second of September, one thousand five hundred ninety and two: *Maurice* of *Nassau*, borne Prince of *Orange*, Marquesse of *La Vere*, and of *Flushing*, &c. was made great Captaine and Admirall generall of the vnitd Prouinces in the Low-countries, by the Estates: and *Ernestus*, Archduke of *Austria*, was also made Lieutenant Governour, and Captaine generall for *Phillip* of *Spaine*.

Prince *Maurice* prouing very successfull in his warrelike attempts, a Renegade or Apostate Priest (in the habite of Souldier) was corrupted (by the Arch-duke *Ernestus*) to murder the Prince *Maurice* at *Breda*; and, vpon his owne confession thereof, he was executed at the *Hage*. Afterward, vpon Prince *Maurice* his valiant surprizall of *Gronning*, *Ernestus* had dealt in like maner with a Souldier, named *Peter de Four* (who had sometime serued in the companie of the Guard to Prince *Maurice*) to vndertake the murdering of him at *Lillo*: the which treason being confessed by the man himselfe, he was executed in the towne of *Berghenop-zoom*. Here might be much said of the honorable seruices of sir *Frances Vere*, and others, but our purposed breuitie is the onely imbarment; and the Netherlands Historie (at large) may thereof discharge me. The Arch-duke *Ernestus* dyed the twenty one day of February, one thousand five hundred ninety and five; *Mondragons* forces defeated by Prince *Maurice*, and *La Motte* slaine before *Dourlans*: the Estates (vnder the king of *Spaine*) gladly sought peace with the vnitd Prouinces, and sent Articles in writing to Prince *Maurice*, for consideration of their motion. This was not done, but vpon good aduice in the King of *Spaine*, perceiuing the Netherlands, and Prince *Maurice* his great fortunes against him, adding euery day, (more and more) to his vtter abolition thence. Hereupon, *Albertus* the Cardinall, brother to deceased *Ernestus*, and Arch-duke of *Austria*, was sent (by the King) to gouerne there for him; many Easterlings and Netherland

1592.

Ernestus D  
of Austria.

1594.

Prince Mau-  
rice should  
be murdered  
twice.Sir Francis  
Vere.

1595

Albertus  
Arch Duke  
of Austria.

therland shippes, which had bene stayed in *Spaine* to meete the *Indian* flecte, were sodainely released; and *Phillip* of *Nassau* (who is now Prince of *Orange* and Earle of *Buren*, that had long time bene restrained of his liberty in *Spaine*) for the better countenancing of th'intended busines, he likewise was sent along with the Cardinall *Albertus*.

The Cardinall being made Governour for the King of *Spaine*, tooke *Callice* from the *French* King, as his first peece of seruice: but for losse thereof, he recouered *La-fere* from the *Spaniards*. Whereupon, the Cardinall besieged *Hulst* in *Flanders*, which yielded in the end: but it was a deare purchase to the Cardinall, for this siege, (continuing some two moneths) cost him the liues of aboute three-score valiant Captaines, besides other Commanders, Collonels, and men of marke, and aboute fise thousand well approoued souldiers.

Then did the King of *Spaine* dispense with himselfe for payment of his debts, which made many Merchants in *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Antwerpe*, *Amsterdam*, and *Middlebourg*, to become Bankerouts. A league was made betweene the *French* King, the Queene of *England* and the States, against the *Spaniards*; and then did Prince *Maurice* go to *Tournhout*, where the Earle of *Varax* was slaine. *Amiens* also was surprized by the *Spaniards*; but soone besieged and recouered by the *French* King, albeit the Cardinall did offer succour, which proued in vain. Prince *Maurice* besieged, and tooke the Townes of *Alpen*, *Meurs*, *Rhinberg*, *Groll*, *Brefort*, *Enscheyde*, *Oldenzeel*, *Otmarsom*, *Goot*, and *Lingen*; all which seruices he performed in three moneths. Then happened another treacherous plot, against the life of Prince *Maurice*, by perswasion of the Iesuites of *Daway*, and vndertaken by *Peter Panne*, a Cowper by trade; but being then a Broker or Bankerout Merchant, who hauing receiued the Sacrament to performe the deede, eyther with knife, ponyard, or pistoll: the Prouinciall of the Iesuites made a long Sermon, to encourage him in the action, and assuring him of Paradice, if he performed it, vsed these words to him besides; *Goe in peace, for thou shalt goe like an Angell, in the garde of God*. But the man (being terrified in conscience) discouerd

the whole treason, without any compulsion, and was therefore executed at *Leyden* in *Holland*. The King of *Spaine* growing weake and sickely, gaue his Daughter the *Infanta*, named *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, in marriage to the Arch duke and Cardinall *Albertus*, with transaction of the Netherlands and *Bourgogne*: whereupon he left his Cardinales, habite, and went to fetch the *Infanta*. Soone after dyed the King of *Spaine*, on the thirteenth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord God 1598. beeing seauentie one yeares olde, and foure moneths.

The Arch-duke and the *Infanta* being come into the Netherlands, had their installment at *Brussells*, *Louaine*, *Antwerpe*, &c. The Emperour sent to the States, concerning a peace, but their resolution helde to make warre in *Flanders*. Then happened the siege and memorable battaile of *Nieuport*, where Prince *Maurice* tooke diuers Fortes from the *Spaniards*, and ouerthrew the Arch-dukes Armie, he beeing there in person: but gladly fled away, leauing his Armes, Horffe of Combat, all his Houshold, Artillery, and baggage behinde him, and lost fixe thousand men, besides eight hundred taken prisoners, among whom was *Don Francesco de Mendoza*, Admirall of *Arragon*, Marquesse of *Guadaleste*, and Lieutenant generall of the Arch-dukes Army, who was ledde to *Oostend*; *Don Baptista de Villa noua*, led to *Horne* in *Holland*; *Don Alonzo Ricquell*, to *Delft*; *Don Gonzalo Hernandez de Spinola*, to *Vtrecht*; *Don Pedro de Montenegro*, to the *Hague*; *Don Pedro de Valasco*, to *Berghen*, with *Don Francisco de Tarres*, and *Don Antonio de Mendoza*; and *Don Pedro de Leusina*, to *Enchuisen*: besides the Arch-dukes three Pages, *Count Carlo Rezi*, *Don Diego de Guzman*, and *Mortier*: *Don Pedro de Monte-maior*, his chiefe Taster; also his Phisition, Barber, Harbinger, Rider, Cook, Porter, Grooms of his Chamber, most of the Archers, Halberdiers of his Guard, and (in a maner) all his houshold; with three Priests or Monkes; forty Auncients, and thirty seauen Pentioners, tearmed (by them) Auncients and Sergeants reformed. Hee lost also fixe peeces of Ordinance, one hundred thirty and fixe Ensignes of foote taken, and fise Cornets of horffe, comprehending the Mutiners Standard, and the recouerd lost Colours.

Moreo-

1596.

Hulst besiedged.

The death of king Philip.

1599.

1600.  
The battaile of Nieuport.

1597.

Tournhout.

1598

The Iesuites conspire the death of Prince Maurice.

Moreouer, on the Archdukes side were flaine, the Earle of *Saume*, the Earle of *La Fere*, the Seneshall of *Montelimar*, the Baron of *Pimereult*, *Chassy Ottingny*, son to the President *Richadot*; *Don Gaspar de Sapena*, Colonell, who died at Oastend, *Don Diego de Torres*, *Don Gaspar de Loya-zo*, *Don Gonzalo d'Espinola*, *Don Ioan de Pardo*, *Don Garcia de Toledo*, *Don Lopode Capeta*, *Don Alouzo Carcamo*, *Don Louis Faccardo*, *Sebastian Velasco*, *Sebastian Dote-loa*, *Christianall Verdugues*, *Mattheo d'Ot-teuille*, *Ioannettin de casa nueua*, the Paymaster *Alines*, and many other neuer known.

Prince *Maurice* and the States, at the first encounter in the morning, and lastly in the battel, lost about 2000. men, among whom were *Bernard*, *Conteler*, & *Hamel-ton*, Captaines of horse, and some twentie Captaines of foot, but no man of marke or speciall note. In this braue exployte at *Nienport*, the vertue and valor of *Sir Frances Vere* Generall, and *Sir Horatio Vere* his Brother, Colonell, will for euer bee remembered.

The occurrences in the following years as the besiedging of Oastend, the enterprize on *Flessigne*, the practise to sacke *Antwerpe* againe, *Grane* yeelded vp vnto Prince *Maurice*; also his honorable offers to the towne of *Sluice*, and it being yeelded to him vpon composition, euen in the view of the Archdukes army: they require a larger field of discourse, whē by this breuity can be admitted. Proceed we then to speake of the long continued siedge at Oastend, which lasting three whol years and eleuen weekes, was at last compounded withall, and on the twentie two day of September, 1604. yeelded to the Archduke.

What numbers were slain in this long continued siege of Oast-end, can hardly be gathered, albeit, a note was found in a Commissaries Pocket (who had bin slain the seuenth of August, 1604. before *Oast-end*) wherein were diuers good obseruations; especially concerning the Archdukes Campe, and also what number

(of each degree) dyed and were slaine therein, during this siedge, vntill the yeilding vp thereof, viz) Masters of the camp feuen; Colonels fifteene; Sergeant Maiors twenty nine, Captaines 565. Lieutenants 1116. Ensigns 322. Sergeants 1911. Corporals 1166. Lanspizadoes 600. Soldiers, 54663. Mariners 611. women and Children, 119. all amounting to 72124. persons.

To continue the memory of this long siedge, as also the winning of *Sluice*; counters (of Siluer and Copper) were made in the vnited Prouinces, bearing (on the one side) the figure of *Oastend*, and on the other, the Towns of *Rhinberke*, *Grane*, *Sluice*, *Ardenbourg*, with the Forts of *Isendyke* & *Cadsant*, with this inscription round about; *Plus triennio obsessa, hosti ruderata, Patria quatuor ex me vrbes dedit. Oastend being more then three years besiedged, gaue the enemy an heape of stones, and to her Natine Countrey foure Townes*. Another Counter, concerning *Sluice*, had these wordes on the one side, *Traxit, duxit, dedit*, Anno 1604. And with the Armes of *Zeland* on the other side, were these words: *Beatus populus cuius adiutor Deus*. For the following yeares, from 1604. to 1608. I find no especiall or memorable accidents; but an enterprize by Prince *Maurice*, on the riuier of *Scheld* and *Antwerp*, with the taking of the Castle of *Wouwe*, neere vnto *Berghen Vp zoom*; *Spinolas* taking of *Linghen*, with an attempt on *Berghen* & *Groll*, taken by composition, &c. For a treaty of peace happening betweene England and Spaine, the like also chanced to be talked on concerning the Netherlands, and many other meetings were made to bring it to effect. At length it was brought to passe, by the labour and endeuor of a Friar (as it was reported) who made manie errands between Spaine and the Netherlands, vntill it was accomplished. Since when, nothing hath hapned of any consequence, but the taking of the Towne of *Guliche* in Germany, where the Prince *Maurice* did behaue himselfe very honorably.

Prince Maurice and the States losse.

1601.

1602. 1604.

The long siege at Oast-end.

The Archdukes losse at Oastend.

1605. 1606

1607. 1608

1609. 1610

THE



## The Eight Booke.

### CHAP. I.

Containing, a breefe discourse of the Originall of the Venetians; the foundation of Venice, and how it hath bene governed, from the yeare of our Lord, 421. to this instant.

**H**istoriographers who haue written of the Venetians, doe not agree together in their true Originall. For some doe write, that they are descended of the Venetian Gaules, inhabiting along the Ocean sea in little Britaigne, called *Armorica*, whereof one of the principall Citties (being a Byshops See) was called *Vennes*. Others, and (among them) *Titus Liuius*, born in *Padua*, assures vs, that they came forth of *Paphlagonia*, and that *Philemon* their Captaine (being slayne at *Troy* the great) they went with *Antenor* into *Italy*. Others write, that this Nation, hauing bene neighbours to the *Cappadocians*, and venturing fight with the *Cimmerians*, they hazarded farre further vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea in their Fortune. The most common opinion, is of them, who say, that the *Hinitians* or *Henetes* came with *Antenor*; and, in sometime after (by changing of a Letter) were called *Venitians*, or *Venetes*.

First of all, they expelled the *Euganeans*

who inhabited this country, between the *Adriaticke* sea and the *Alpes*, and builded the City of *Padua*. Afterward, by successe of time, they increased in such sort, as they would not be satisfied to be Masters (only) of that which had appertained to the *Euganeans* (consisting of thirty foure fayre Citties and Townes;) but inruded farther, to seize on *Bressano* and *Forli*. Some report this Countrey to be bounded with the Riuers of *Pau*, and that of *Adde*, as also the Lake of *Guard*, anciently called the *Benacke*, the *Alpes*, and the *Adriaticke* sea.

And so the ancient *Venitians* in this manner, extended their Dominion, both in longitude and latitude, in the most pleasant Countrey of *Italy*: but the seating of the places did daily beget the elder estate of the *Venitians* hatred. For on the one side, the ordinary robberies of the *Liburnians*, and on the other side, the frequent and frightfull courses of the Barbarians, did hinder them from any long time of continuing in quiet. For, without these impeachments, this Nation had bin most fortunate, in conquering (by the right of *Warre*) one of the most goodly & beautiful regions in all *Italy*.

Now ouer & beside, that on the south-side, it is enuironed with a most calme circuite of the sea, and in regard thereof, is the most capable of receiuing al strange Merchandizes: so it is likewise Watered with very delectable riuers, wherby whatsoever commeth from the Sea, is easlie transported to the very Nauen of the *Prouince*. It aboundeth in Pooles, Ponds, Forrests, and vnder-woods, & the whole Land is choisely fertile in Corne, Wine, Oyle,

People by the inner gulfe of the Adriatick Sea, towards the Alpes.

Liburnia, the country of Croatia, betweene Istria, and D. Inacia.

The situation of Venice, & capacity thereof.

Oyle, and all kindes of fruites. It is also plentifully stored with Countrey houses, Townes, Citties, and Villages, Castles, Fortes, and such like, verie commendable for the scituation & enclosure of their Walles.

These new inhabitants, when their weake estate beganne to grow in fayrer forme: they were sildom exempted from the Warres and incurfions of strangers. For, after many bolde insolencies of the Barbarians, with continued Warres against each other, euen from their verie beginning, vntill the time of *Attila*: they were yet much more dreadfully encumbered, with the furious assault of the *Goths*, a Tempest farre exceeding in turbulency, all other former disasters happening vnto them whatsoeuer. For first, the *Hunnes* (a people of *Scythia*, dwelling neere to the *Riphean* Mountaines) conducted by *Attila*, the Sonne of *Mandlucke*, dispersed themselues ouer *Italy*, and making horrible spoile wheresoeuer they went, fell into the Prouince belonging to the *Venitians*. After a long sledge, they tooke the City of *Aquilea*, and spoyled and burnt it wholly. In like manner did they also ruinate the two Citties of *Concordia* and *Altina*, and almost all the Venitian region.

At the fearefull newes of this Warre, the *Venitians* were more amazed then any other, and so much the rather, because they had bene formerly inured, to sustaine their cheefest mishappes amongst the Barbarians. Whereupon it is said, that (euen then) a great number of persons withdrew themselues from the firme Land, to the Isles where *Venice* at this instant is builded: hastening thither from all other parts, especially vpon the arriual of this cruell enemy *Attila*.

Some (of the better sort of *Padua*) first beganne the retreat, and being come to the entrance or issue of the Riuer, which was then very deepe (whence the name of *Rialto* hath remaind to the same place, as deriued of the word *Riuualto*) they there laide the first foundation of the Cittie of *Venice*.

The meaner people of *Padua*, enforced by the selfe-same feare; fled thence, and beganne to people themselues in *Chioggia*, *Malamocco*, and *Albiola*. Som of them of *Aquilea* (at the same time) betooke

themselues to the Marshes or Fennes of *Grada*; and, vpon the fresh returne of *Attila*, the peopleran (in mighty affluence) along the Coastes to the Neighbouring Isles. They of *Aquilea* bestowed themselues in *Grada*, a place neere vnto firme land, yet engirt with Waters. They that fledde from *Concordia*, made vse of *Coarlis* and the *Attinois*, sixe little Islands neere to one another, which they gaue names vnto, according to the names of the gates of their former lost and ruined Citties: to wit, *Torcello*, *Maiorbo*, *Buriano*, *Muriano*, *Amiana*, and *Constantiaco*.

These seuerall places, where at this present the City of *Venice* is seated, were (in elder times) very straight or narrowe Islands, and neere vnto each other; sauing onely that they were separated by the pleasing course of Riuers, which ranne into, and returned againe from the Sea, according to the changes of his fluxe and refluxe. Nor in these straights were then any dwellings to bee discerned, but onely of Sea-Fowles, that flew thither from the Seas, to disport themselues vpon the Sunny bankes; and Fisher-men likewise, would sometimes there put in for harbour.

The *Paduans*, that tooke vp the *Rialto*, were the first that beganne to builde, and it was in the very same place, where the first foundation of the City was layde: Namely, the five and twentieth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord, 421. and second yeare of the reigne of *Pharamond*, first King of the *Gaules* or French-men; in the time also of Pope *Boniface* the first, and of the Emperour *Honorius*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that at one and the selfe-same time, began both the kingdom of *France* and the Commonwealth of *Venice*. And that both the one and the other haue continued to this present, for twelue hundred yeares, very little, either more or lesse.

This City so newly begun, increased dayly both in people and buildings. But see what happened vpon a sodaine, a Greeke Carpenters house (or rather hee was one of the Shipwrights, named *Entinopus*) falling on fire; consumed in a moment (with a violent & continuall embracing) 24. faire new built houses. Which when these new come inhabitants perceiued, & fearing that heauen was offended with

Mountains in the north part of *Scythia*, where snow lieth continually.

An ancient City in that part of *Italy*, called *Forum Iulii*.

The first foundation of *Venice*.

Little Islands in the sea, and neere adioyning.

The prime estate of the place where *Venice* now standeth.

The first builders of *Venice*, and at what time.

Their first buildings destroyed by fire.

with this their manner of beginning, forgetting God, and seruing their owne appetites. They fell all to prayer, and made a solemne vow, to build a Church in the honour of God, and in memory of the Apostle Saint *James*; at which verie instant time, a mighty tempest of rain (as sodainly fell) whereby the rest of the new begun City was happily preserued.

That Church is yet at this day plainly to be discerned, with the markes and appearances of great antiquity, euen in the very midst of the *Rialto*: And it was then consecrated by foure Byshops, to wit; *Seuerianus* byshop of *Padua*; *Ambrose*, Byshop of *Altina*; *Jocundus*, byshop of *Treuisa* and *Epodius*, byshop of *Vderzo*, and a Priest was there appointed, to performe diuine Seruice.

The first foundations of this Famous City, were men of honest repute, Noble, and rich. For the ancient *Venitians*, at the change of their abiding, brought vwith them thither their wiues and childre, with the very wealthiest moueables which they had, and so (at leysure) withdrew themselves, to places of a more secure dwelling. But being impeached (by incursions of the *Hunnes*) to Till the groundes vpon the sea Coasts; such as had any meanes or apt commodity: gaue themselves to fighting, and to make salt, or to transport the goods of their neighbors; esteeming the benefit thereby gotten, to be no more dishonest or vnbenefiting, then to plough and husband the groundes of others.

As for the wealthier sort, they addicted themselves to traffick Merchandizes with strangers, and by their frequent aduenturing into diuers Countries, some of them being very skilfull Miners, and well experienced in the triall of seuerall Oares or Mettals hidden in the ground, which by industry and endeouour they found in the earth, became Finers or Tryers of those Mettals, and extracted (from the grosser substances) the purer perfections of Gold and Siluer, whereby, in theyr owne Language, they were termed *Orifici*, deriued of the Latine word *Aurifex*, Gold-smithes, or Hammer men, that (of those refined Mettals) could frame Cups, Pots, Rings, Basons, Ewres, or any other needful matter whatsoeuer, both for the seruice of God in Churches and Temples, and for the royalty of Emperors, Kings, & Prin-

ces. So that, by the consent of diuers good Authors, as *Linie*, *Florus*, *Cassidorus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and others, the first Goldsmiths, workers in Gold and Siluer, and framers of those excellent mettalles into such orderly meanes for vse (within the parts of *Europe*) liued in *Venice*, whereas yet (to this day) do remaine the very best ingenious, and perfect workmen for such matters (according to the iudgement of many) that are to be found in any part of the world. Concerning such as remained more ordinarily at home, for care & safety of the City; they applyed their spirits, to deuise good lawes and customs for generali benefit. During which time, such was their due respect of iustice, & so precise care of equity and right to all men; as among so great a number of people, there could not bee any disorderly differences noted.

Catholike religion they so singularly commended, and the dayly presence of some reuerend Prelates, who had saued themselves with their Compatriots; that it augmented (among them) a common affection to piety. And their assistance appeared verie requisite, not onely for the ministry of holie Offices; but also for retention of the inhabitants of this new City, in ancient piety and religion. Fearing least they might be infected with the poison of *Arrian* heresie; because nothing els made more spoile and hauock through all the Prouince, except the weapons of the *Gothes* and *Hunnes*.

Such was the beginning of the City of *Venice*, and in such manner of liuing, and in such exercises shee spent her first infancy; till (by her vertues) shee attained vnto greater groweth, and grounded her selfe in her instant state and condition. It hath constantly bene held, that this Commonwealth (euermore) retained that forme of government, which is termed *Aristocrazia*, that is, that the most noble and worthiest Citizens should guide and gouern. For, although it be saide, that it hath bene gouerned first by Consuls, then by Tribunes, and lastly by Dukes, and Maisters of warlike power: yet notwithstanding, all these dignities, being but elective, and not hereditary, the election should (in right) appertain to the most Noble Islanders, and Gentlemen of name, by whose aduice the Commonwealth ought to be mana-

The first goldsmiths known in Europ, were in Venice.

Care of iustice and common good.

Loue of religion in especial respect.

*Aristocrazia optimatum principatus.*

The first Church built in Venice.

Noble & rich men the first Founders of Venice.

managed, euen as it hath bin, and stil continueth to this day.

Consuls, to the number of three, were chosen for two yeares, and albeit that this kinde of Government lasted for about the space of threescore yeares, yet wee finde onely but three consecutiue or succeeding elections of them. The first Consuls, were *Albertus Phalarius*, *Thomas Candianus*, and *Zeno Danlo*. These men first gouerned the City in her Nonage, & some are of the minde, that they were the first Authours of the *Paduans* flight, and their retirement to the *Lakish* or *Marish* Isles, as also of their first building there. The second Consuls, were *Lucianus Graulus*, *Maximus*, or *Marinus Lucius*, and *Hugo Fuscus*. The third, were *Marcus Aurelius*, *Andreas Claudius*, and *Albinus Maurus*. The names of such as were elected after these, are not to bee found in anie Histories.

After, that the Isles (about the *Rialto* were filled with inhabitants: in stedde of Consuls, Tribunes were created, and for their creation, the matter was first debated priuately by few people, afterward, it was ordained and resolued in open assembly of the Islanders: that in each Isle there should be a Tribune, and hee should bee a yearly Magistrate, to render Iustice to the Cittizens, and with seuerity, to punish their offences. But the remaynder which concerned the generalitie of the Common-weale: was referred to the generall assembly of the Islanders, to bee by them determind. Afterward, there was but one Tribune created for government of the Isles, which continued for some yeares. Finally, they concluded to create ten, wherunto were added two more, who should dwell in *Heraclea*; & this Tribunary dignity held place for more then two hundred yeares. Heere is to bee noted, that the Tribunes of the Isles, abusing their authorities, did so trouble the State with ciuill dissentions, as it plainly appeared, that the maine body of the Cittie would be dissolued, without some good and immediate remedy. Which gaue occasion, that (to heare the complaints of euery one) a general assembly of the Isles was published, and their meeting to be in *Heraclea*.

In this assembly, *Christophero* byshop of *Grada* was President, accompanied

with a great number of the Clergie, and after diuine seruice was performed, the first proposition which he made, was, that (for good of the Common-wealth, each man might complaine of the future Tribune, which being done, and the offences no longer to be endured, for publike benefit of the state in generall, resolution was set downe, to make election of a Duke, who should represent all honor and Maiesty in the State or Seigneury, & he should haue power to assemble the general counsell, when questions were to be made, of any important matter concerning the Commonwealth. He should haue power also, to elect yearly Tribunes or Magistrates in euery Isle, and their appellations to bee brought before him. Moreouer, if any should obtaine any dignity, Prelacie, or Benefice, by suffrages of the Clergy or people: that he should not enioy it, or be possessed therof, without the good liking and consent of the Duke, whose power also ended with his life.

This being thus concluded, in the year 697. *Paullucio* was created the first Duke; and so hath that Ducall dignity continued euer since. Saue onely that in the yeare 737. after the death of the third Duke *Orso*, it was determind, that no duke should be elected, for six yeares, but that a Master of the armed troopes or Souldiours should be established, and his Authoritie to be annual; which lasted no longer then five yeares. For in the year, 742. they proceeded againe to a Dukes election; and since that time, the Common-wealth of *Venice* hath euermore had Dukes & Princes of the Seigneury; by whose wisdom (and his counsell assisting) it hath bin preserved in an euer flourishing estate, euen to this instant yeare, 1619.

## CHAP. II.

*A short Summary, of the liues of the Dukes and Princes of Venice: And a breuiate also of the most remarkeable actions, in the times of their Government.*

**D***Auluccio Annapesto*, was first Duke of the people, chosen in *Heraclea*. He took his

The gouernment of Consuls, and who were the first in Venice.

The creation of Tribunes, and what they were.

Who was the first Duke of Venice.

his Oath before *Christophero*, Patriarke of *Grada*, to gouerne according to the lawes, & to regard nothing more then the weale publike. He pacified the difference which *Luitprand*, king of the Lombards had with *K. Aribert*, and made friendship with them both: as well by his authority, as by arms. He brought the rebellious *Aquileians* vnder obedlence, encreased the Citties customes and reuenews, and dyed, hauing bene Duke twenty yeares, fixe moneths, and eight dayes.

2 *Marcello Tegaliano*, of the same place of *Heraclea*, was elected his successour, by common voyce of the people. He was deuoute, modest and affable; but much lesse diligent in gouerning, then his predecesour. The Patriarchat of *Grada* was transferred into *Aquileia* in his time, by *Luitprand*, and there hee had great warres, about the dissentions of the Bishops, wherinto he would not interpose himselfe; but dyed, hauing bene Duke nine yeares, and twenty one dayes.

3 *Orso Hipato*, a nobleman of *Heraclea*, wonne himselfe great reputation by his famous deedes. *Paulo* the *Exarcho* had recourse to him, the *Græbian* Armie beeing broken, and siege layd to *Rauenna* by *Luitprand*. He re-gained *Rauenna*, made the Kings nephew his prisoner, slew the duke of *Vicenza*, and re-seated the *Exarcho* in his due rights. Hee brideled the *Aquileians*, who troubled the publike peace, and put corage into the soules of the yonger sort. He was slaine, by reason of the dissentions of *Iesolo*, the eleauenth yeare, and fift moneth of his Principality.

4 *Theodato Hipato*, sonne of *Orso*, was proclaimed Duke 5. yeares after the death of his father: during which time, the people were gouerned by a Marshall or Maister of the Souldiers: and forsaking *Heraclea*, he brought the State to *Malamocco*. There he was the first created, and limited his Confines with *Astolpho* King of the Lombards. He was also slayne by *Galla* a Citizen of *Malamocco*, in the thirteenth yeare of his Principality.

5 *Galla de Malamocco*, a wicked and seditious man, yet shewing himselfe as Protector of publike peace, was established in the place of *Theodato*. But his wickednesse being knowne, and that (being but a subiect) he would needs make himselfe absolute Lord, hauing before

slayne his chiefe Maister *Theodato*: the people plucked out his eyes, and tooke from him the Dignitie, which hee had a yeare vsurped.

6 *Dominico Monegario*, of *Malamocco*, was seated in the steade of *Galla*. Somewhat to bridle this Dukes authoritie, the people ioyned two yearely Tribunes with him. But he, being a man audacious and arrogant, sought to tyrannize ouer the people: wherat they growing into furie, pluckt out his eyes, the eight yeare of his Principality.

7 *Mauritio Galbaio*, a noble *Heracleian*, for his iustice, wisedome, and wealth, was chosen to this dignity. He made his sonne Duke with him, and they gouerned together. In his time, the Church of *Grada* being molested, he sent an Ambassadour to Pope *Stephen*, to accord the difference. The Bishopricke of *Saint Peter de Castello Oliuolo*, was then erected. And he died, hauing gouerned twenty three yeares.

8 *Giouanni Galbaio*, hauing bene Duke nine yeares with his father; gouerned the Commonwealth yet nine yeres more, and after the sayd time, hee made *Mauritio* his sonne, companion with him in the Principality. But they being both of vsufferable and wicked life, hauing murdered *Iohn* Patriarchat of *Grada*, throwing him downe headling from an high tower: *Fortunatus*, successour in the Patriarchate, made a conspiracie against them, and another was elected Duke. Wherat, being not a little confounded, the father fled into *Fraunce*, and the sonne to *Mantua*, the sixteenth yeate of their rule.

9 *Obelerio*, being elected Prince by them that had intelligence with *Fortunatus*, tooke his brother *Beato* as his associate, and *Valentine* beside (being their third brother) was admitted with them in the same dignitie. And it is worth the noting, that of these three brethren, *Beato* is onelie placed in the ranke of Dukes in the Counsell chamber of *Venice*; whereas *Obelerio* incited *Pepin* King of *Italy*, to make warre on the *Venetians*: and *Beato* maintained the Commonwealth, raigning fve yeares.

10 *Angelo Participatio*, after he had wel borne himselfe in the warre against *Pepin*, was elected Duke, the people being summonsd to the *Rialto*. He founded the Dukes palace, in the same place where that now built, standeth. The diuision of the Empire

was made in his time, and the Venetians left in their owne liberty. The Citie was diuided into wards, streets, and precincts. The *Pregadi*, and the *Quaranta*, who (for criminall offences) was then instituted among them. He gouerned 18. yeares.

11 *Giustiniano Participatio*, hauing beene an associate in the dignity with his father, was (after his death) confirmed by the people. Hee repealed home his brother *John*, who was then at *Constantinople*, & accepted him as his fellow ruler: hee made the peoples authority greater then before, & gaue ayde to *Michael* the Emperour against the Sarazins. The body of Saint *Marke* was in his time brought from *Alexandria*, accepting it into his protection, and the Church remaining at this day, was consecrated in his memory. He died the second yeare of his dignity.

13 *Giouanni Participatio*, remained in the royalty, and enlarged the Church of *S. Marke*, placing therein a great number of Priests and Canons, & appointing a *Primicerio* to gouerne them. Hee caused the head of *Obelerio* to be cut off, whome hee had besiedged in the Isle of *Curtia*. He made war vpon the *Nauratines*, and ouercame them. In the end, a conspiracy was deuised against him, and beeing confined to *Grada*, in the eight yeare of his Principality, he shaued his head and beard, and made himselfe a Monke, in which estate he dyed.

12 *Pietro Tradonico* of *Pola*, hauing carried himselfe to the peoples contentment in the warres against *Pepin*, was elected Duke. He ioyned *John* his son in rule with him, and gaue succour to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, who made request thereof by *Theodosius Patricius*. He was made *Protospatary* of the Empire: in help whereof, he sent 60. Gallies. *Lewes 2.* granted him many priuiledges, and in the end, hee was slaine by a sedition, in his 27. yeare.

14 *Orso Participatio* hauing appeased the sedition, was made Du. The Turks hauing spoiled *Dalmatia*, euen so far as *Grada*, wer vanquished by him and *Giouanni Participatio* his son, whom he made associat with him in his gouernment. *Basilius* the Emperour, highly honoured him for that good seruice, and made him *Protospatary* of the Empire. He gouerned 17. yeares.

15 *Giouanni Participatio*, being confirmed in his dignity, tooke and burned *Coma-*

*chio*, watted the County of *Rauenna*, to reuenge himself on the Count of *Comachio*, who had imprisoned and wounded vnto death his Brother *Bradoario*. He growing much ouercome with sicknesse, caused the Church of Saint *Cornelius*, and *S. Cyprian* to be built at *Malomocco*; and hauing gouerned five yeares, and sixe moneths, renounced the Dignity.

16 *Pietro Candiano*, was elected after the voluntary dismission of his Predecessour. He was a valiant man, and verie expert in Armes; and yet notwithstanding, greatly addicted to deuotion. He went (in person) with ten Gallies against the *Nauratines*, who (as *Theeues*) robbed and purloyned from the Venitians. Fighting valiantly against them, hee dyed at the second time, with the Weapons in his handes. He gouerned no longer then five moneths.

*Dominico Tribuno*, is set (by some) in ranke with the Dukes: but others, lesse curious in search of the History, haue omitted him; because he was duke but three moneths, and thirteene dayes, and nothing is remarkeable in his time, but a certaine priuiledge, granted by him to *Chioggia*.

17 *Pietro Tribuno*, sonne of *Dominico*, was elected Duke. He obtained of *Guydo*, Emperour and King of Italy, a confirmation of all ancient Priuiledges. The Barbarian *Hunnes* came againe into Italy, and burned *Heraclea*, *Capo de Argier*, and *Chioggia*. This Prince ouercame them, with very much honour: and this was the third time, that those Strangers sought to vsurp on that State. He gouerned twenty foure yeares.

18 *Orso Badoaro*, called himselfe *Participatio*, and was the first that chaunged his name. He sent for his sonne *Pietro* to *Constantinople*, and hee was made *Protospatary*. In the yeare nine hundred and twentie, hee obtained of *Rodolphus*, Emperour and King of Italy, the confirmation of the Venitians ancient authoritie, to stampe Moneyes. Hee addicted himselfe wholly to piety, and in his 20. yeare, he renounced the Dignitic, to make himselfe a Monke, and liue priuately.

19 *Pietro Candiano* the second, was a worthy man, and made Warre on *Launterio*, Marquesse of *Istria*, who hindred the Trafficke of the Venitians. He ouercame him

him, and re-conquered the people of *Capo d'Istria*. He vanquished *Albertus*, sonne to the Emperour *Berengarius*, who impatronizing himselfe of *Rauenna*, impeached the passage of the Venitians shippes. In his time, Maidens were stollen by the *Testaines*, to ioyne in marriage with them; but they were soone recovered. He gouerned seuen yeares.

20 *Pietro Badoaro*, the sonne of *Orso*, was redeemed by him from the Sclauonians. He gouerned but two yeares and seuen moneths, alwayes in peace, which he much affected. *Berengarius* the Emperour did him many fauours, for his great deserts.

21 *Pietro Candiano* the third, sonne to the second *Candiano*, associated himselfe in his dignity with his sonne *Pietro*: and at two seuerall times armed three & thirty Shippes against the *Narentines*; but at the second time, he made peace with the. His sonne being reprobued by him for his bad behaiour; reuolted from him, and against the Common-wealth. The people would haue slaine him, but hee was sent thence into exile: wher ioyning with *Guydo*, sonne of *Berengarius*, hee endangered the Commonwealth: whereat his Father greewing, died in his fifteenth yeare of gouernment.

22 *Pietro Candiano* the fourth, being repealed from exile (albeit the people had sworne neuer to receiue him) was made Prince with very great applause. He dealt in such sort with Pope *John* the twelfth, that the Church of *Grada* was made Patriarchall, and Metropolitan of all the Venitians State, and of *Istria*. *Otho* the Emperour, granted him many honourable priuiledges. He rined *Vderzo*, and was slaine with his Sonne in a sedition of the people, hauing gouerned about twentie yeares.

23 *Pietro Orseolo*, was a man altogether deuout, and was elected by the people against his will. He would very often walk in an vnknowne habit, to visit the houses of poore people and Hospitals. Hee appeased the dissentions between the Venitians, and them of *Capo d'Istria*, who yeilding themselves tributary; hee went with *Beato Romualdo* of *Rauenna*, to liue Religiously. He gouerned two yeares and two months, doing many worthy and charitable deeds.

24 *Vitale Candiano*, Sonne of *Pietro* the third, made the confederacy with the Emperour *Otho*. He fell sicke so soone as hee entred vpon his charge: wherefore hee became a Monke, hauing gouerned about a yeare.

25 *Tribuzo Memo*, was very rich, but no man of State. In his time happened great dissentions, betweene the families of *Moresina* and, *Calloprina*; by reason whereof, many notorious murders were committed. He tooke part with the *Morisini*, which caused the faction to withdraw themselues to *Verona*, to the Emperour *Otho*. He gaue the Isle of *S. Giorgio Maggiore* to the Abbot of *Moresini*: and renounced the Principality in his twelfth yeare, entering into Religion.

26 *Pietro Orseolo* the second, beeing a very discrete man, ordered the matter so well with the Emperours *Basilus* and *Alexius*: that the Venitians were exempted from Tolles and Taxations. *Otho* the Emperour lying at *Verona*, did highly fauour him; and, among other graces, to holde one of his sonnes at Baptisme. Hee was the first that extended their Confines on the Sea, winning many places in *Istria* and *Dalmatia*. Hauing caused the Church and Pallace to be finished in his time, hee dyed in the eighteenth yeare of his Principality.

27 *Ottone Orseolo*, hauing Gouerned some space with his father *Pietro*, was confirmed in the dignity, at the age of eightene yeares. He wunne such reputation, that *Geta* King of *Hungaria*, gaue him one of his Sisters in marriage. In person he conquered them of *Istria*, who vvere become Rebelles; and went into *Dalmatia*, in the enterprize agaynst *Cresmura*. At length, the malicious enuiers of his glories, deuised a Conspiracie agaynst him, vpon the which, he was confined into Greece, in the seuenteenth yeare of his rule.

28 *Pietro Centranico*, or *Barbolano*, succeeded next to *Otho*. But hauing not well qualified all dissentions, as well concerning the Cittizens remoouing, as the other Neighbours; he was compelled to forsake the dignity, and make himselfe a Monke. *Orso*, Brother of *Otho*, returned from Constantinople, beeing Patriarche of *Grada*, and he was constituted in expectation of *Othos* coming. He continued

about a yeare in the Palace, and forooke the Principality, newes being brought of *Othos* death. *Dominico Orseolo* would then perforce vsurp the dignity; but he was expelled by the people the next morning, & died at *Rauenna*.

29 *Dominico Flabanico*, was elected during his exile, by the faction of them that had excluded *Dominico Orseolo*. In his time and in the year 1040. the national Councell was held, for government of the Ecclesiastickes. He made the family of *Orseolo* suspicious to the State, by his owne meanes, and laboured for their vtter supplantation. He gouerned ten yeares, foure months, and twelue dayes.

30 *Dominico Contarini* was verie pleasing to the people. He brought *Dalmatia* to peace, beeing heauily burthened with the rebellion of *Zara*. Hee fauoured the Normans against *Robert* King of *Apulia*. And the discord which hapned betweene the Common-wealth, and *Pepo*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, was by him qualified. Hee builded the Monasterie on the *Lido*, and dyed in the eight and twenty yeare of his Principality.

31 *Dominico Silino*, won himselve such reputation, that *Nicephorus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, gaue him his sister in marriage; by whose perswasion, he made war vpon the forenamed King *Robert* of *Apulia*; and (at the first attempt) returned with a very honourable victory, possessing himselve of *Duras*. But at his second aduenture, hee fought with small aduantage; whereby ensued the diminution of his credit. He pergetted the Church of Saint *Marke* with Marble, first and before any other, causing it also to be beautified with an artificiall Checker worke. He died in the thirteenth yeare of his gouernment.

32 *Vitale Faliero* being made Duke, he immediately obtained of *Alexius*, then Emperour, to haue the soueraigntie of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*. *Henry*, successor in the Empire, did him many great fauors: and coming in deuotion to Venice, hee helde one of his daughters at Baptisme. The Office of proprieties was constituted in his time, and the workmanship of *S. Markes* Church continued. He died in his sixteenth yeare.

33 *Vitale Michele*, by his worthy aduenturing on the sea, did very farre extend

the Commonwealths limites. Hee made the Easterne warre (by the perswasion of Pope *Vrbane* the second) for Conquest of the Holy Land, with the Princes of Christendome. The Isle of *Smyrna*, *Suria*, and *Ierusalem* were then recovered from the Infidels. He died in his sixt yeare.

34 *Ordelafo Faliero*, sonne of *Vitale*, assisted King *Baldwine* against the Infidels in conquest of the holy Land: and made such progression, as they deuided the Empire betweene them, thoroughout all the kingdome of *Iudea*. In the 8. yeare of his Principality, *Malomocco* was almost alburned and submerged; by reason whereof, the Episcopal See was transferred to *Chioggia*. He went in person to the Warre against *Zara*, which was becom rebellious, and winning the victory: he would needs returne thither againe a second time, and on the like occasion; where hee died in Armes, in the fifteenth yeere of his Principality.

35 *Dominico Michele*, being made Duke for his high repute and merite, went to giue aide to the Christians in the Holie Land. With 200. well appointed shippes and Gallies, he made the Infidels to raise their siedge from before *Ioppa*. Hee tooke *Tyre*, which he gaue to *Vaunmond* Patriarch of *Ierusalem*. *Emanuel* the Emperour made war against him, frō whom he won *Chio*, *Rhodes*, *Samos*, *Mitylline*, and *Ister*. He renounced his principality, in the 13. yeare of his rule.

36 *Pietro Polani*, kinsman to *Michele*, was a very wise man, insomuch as he was made Arbitrator of the diffrence, between *Comrade* and *Emanuel* the Emperour. Hee made war against them of *Pisa* & *Padua*, whom he conquered. He armed himselve against the Duke of *Apulia*, in behalfe of the same *Emanuel*, to whose Empire hee added many worthy possessions. Some say, it was his sonne that won all the battailes, and that himselve being false sicke, returned thence, and dyed in his 18. yeare of rule.

37 *Dominico Morefimi*, hee swept the Gulfe of certaine Pyrats of *Ancona*, the cheefe whereof beeing called *Guiscardo*, was taken and hanged. Hee layed siedge vnto *Pola*, which he tooke, with *Parenzo*; which Citties were become rebellious in *Istria*. He held confederacy with *William* king of *Sicily*, of whom hee obtrayned many

many exemptions for the Traffike of his Merchants. *Zara* made the Metropolitan Citie (at his instance) and hee so preuayled, that *Dominico* his Sonne was made an Earle. Hee beautified the Buildings of the Citie of *Venice*; and began the Tower of *Saint Marke*. He dyed seauen moneths after the eight year of his Election.

38 *Vitale Michele* the second, subdued the *Tarentines*, which now had rebelled the third time. He imprisoned *Vtrich*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and twelue Chanons. In an hundred dayes, he put forth an hundred Gallies, and twentie Shippes on the Sea, against the Emperor *Emanuel*. The great Family of the *Iustiniani*, were, in his time brought to one onely man, and hee was become Religious; whom hee tooke fourth of his Monastery (by the Popes consent) and gaue him his owne daughter in marriage, because hee would not haue so worthy a house to be extinct. There hapned a great Pestilence in his time, the occasion whereof, the people (in their weake judgment) laid vpon him. He was wounded, and dyed, hauing gouerned seuentene yeares, and xxvii. daies.

39 *Sebastiano Ziani*, was the first that euer was elected by the eleauen Electors. In his time there was a great Schisme in the Church, by meanes of the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, who caused *Alexander* the third to forsake the See, *Ostavian* hauing bene made Anti-pope, *Alexander* made his retirement to Venice, where hauing a long time serued in the Monastery of *La Charita*, he was in the end known, and taken thence by the Prince and Seignury: Heereupon, *Barbarossa* made warre against the Venetians: but his sonne *Ostavian* being taken, he mediated reconciliation betweene them. He died in the fift yeare of his gouernment.

40 *Orio Malipiero*, or *Mastropetro*, was the first Duke elected by the forty; and for that purpose was created by the death of *Ziani*. Hee had sixe Councillors allowed him to authorize his deliberations. Hee reconquered *Zara*, that had now the fourth time rebelled. Hee sent supply vnto the Christians against the Moores, who began to vsurpe in the holy Land 88. yeares after that *Baldwine* had deliuered it. *Ptolomais* was recouered, and *Andronicus*, successor to *Emanuel* the Emperour; deliuered

many Venitian Marchants. Hee renounced the Principality in his 14. yeare, and entred into Religion.

41 *Henrico Dandolo* was likewise elected by the forty. They of *Zara* were once againe vanquished, and *Pola* conquered. In his time was the surprizall of *Constantinople*, & the acquisition of the East Empire, wherein hee assisted the Princes and French Barons. He died in his thirteenth yeare, being Generall of all the Christian Army.

42 *Pietro Ziani*, sonne of *Sebastian*, was made Duke within a while after the death of *Dandolo*, the Correctors beeing then first instituted. In his time came Ambassadors from *Athens* and *Achaia*, to submit themselues in obedience to the Commonwealth. *Candia* was then peopled with a Colony of noble Venitians. He married *Constance*, daughter to *Tancred* K. of *Sicily*. In the end, he renounced the Principality, hauing gouerned 24. yeares.

43 *Giacomo Tiepolo*, was made Duke by chance, in concurrency of *Reineri Candolo*, who had as many voices as he. *Candie* rebelled, and the seditious were seuerely chastised. *Zara*, that had long borne the yoke, was now reduced vnder obedience: He had Warre against them of *Ferrara*, and against *Ezzelino*, who would haue inuested himselfe with *Padua*. In conclusion, he gaue ouer the Principality in his 20. yeare, and died soone after.

44 *Marino Morefimi*, was made Duke by the one and fortith, by reason of the precedent concurrence. In his time was another Courtly Noble man sent into *Candie*, who builded the *Canepa*. He made Warre against *Ezzelino*, who besiedged *Mantua*, and who (in a furious rage) caused 1200. *Paduans* to be hewne in peeces, which he had with him then in his armie. He died in the 4. year of his Principality.

45 *Reineri Zeno* *Podesta* at *Bermog*, was elected Duke, and sent to be fetcht thence with foure Gallies. Vnder him, the Commonwealth wonne a famous victorie, against them of *Genes*: but the contentment therewith was very breese, because *Michaell Paleologus*, expelled both the French-men and Venitians out of *Constantinople*, being ayded by the Geneway forces, which was eight and fifty yeares after the surprizing of the sayde Citie: yet once more (after that) the selfesame

people were againe reconquered: and hauing gouerned this dignity 16. yeares, he dyed.

45 *Lorenzo Tiepolo* was made Duke, in memory of the victorie hee had against them of *Genes* at *Tyre*. Hee allyed two of his sonnes (verie Nobly) with two strange Ladies: by reason whereof, a Lawe was then made, that the like might not be afterward done. He brought *Serua* in obedience to the Common-wealth, and the *Bolognians* were vanquished by him: hee gouerned seuen yeares, and fise and twenty dayes.

47 *Giouanni Contarini*, being aged eightie yeares, and Atturney of *S. Mark*, was made Duke. The law against illegittimates was then enacted, and they excluded from all publike Offices. There were some rebellions moued in *Istria*, and by them of *Genes*; but they were quickly appeased. At length, thorough vnwelidnesse of age, and by aduice of the Senat, hee gaue ouer the dignity, hauing gouerned in this authority, foure yeares, and six moneths.

48 *Giouanni Dandolo* was elected, being then absent. The City was (in his time) much afflicted by water, & an earthquake. He made warre in *Istria*, agaynst the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and the Count of *Goritia*. At the instance of Pope *Nicholas*, he assisted the Archbyshop of *Tripoli* with 25. Gallies. He died seuen monthes after his eight yeare of rule.

49 *Pietro Gradanigo*, a man of great courage, deliuered the Common-welth from two important dangers. One, was a high disgrace, which happened in a battell against them of *Genes*. The other was the conspiracie of *Baiamonte*, which was boldly checked with weapon in hand, vpon the place of *S. Marke*. It was then ordayned, that Noblemen onely should gouerne, and the counsel of ten was then instituted. Hauing ruled 22. yeares, and nine monthes, he dyed.

50 *Marino Giorgio*, was a man of such life, that they termed him a Saint. *Venice* was continually excommunicated in his time, by reason of the taking of *Ferrara*. *Zara* rebelled again the sixt time, & much labour it cost, to reduce it vnder obedience againe. After he builded the Monastery of Saint *Dominicke*, and died (at the age of eighty and one yeares) in his first

yeare, hauing gouerned ten monthes, and ten dayes.

52 *Giouanni Soranzo*, had the honor of recouering *Zara*, and many other places, which had reuolted in his predeceffours time. *Negropont*, was re-obtained, & war afresh commenced against them of *Genes*. The excommunication was quitted from *Venice*, by the interposition of *Francisco Dandolo*, kneeling before the Pope, with a Chaine of iron about his necke. The number of Atturneyes of *S. Marke*, was increased to sixe. Hee gouerned fixteene yeares, and six monthes.

52 *Francisco Dandolo*, who had so lowly humbled himselfe for his Countreyes good, was therefore exalted to her highest dignity. They of *Pola*, and of *Valesia*, submitted themselues to the Common-wealth, which gaue way vnto the warre against the Patriarch of *Aquilea*. *Padua* was taken on *Albert Scaliger*, and *Trenisfa*, and the County remained to the Common-wealth. This man was of the league with the Christian Princes, against the Turke, and in his time were sixtie seuerall Ambassadors at *Venice*. He gouerned ten yeares, and ten monthes.

55 *Bartolomeo Gradenigo*, Atturney of *S. Marke*, was made Duke at seuentie six yeares of age, by the intercession of *Andrea Dandolo*, and his cessation. In his time was *Venice* myraculously deliuered from a mighty imminent inundation. *Candie* rebelled, and the rebelles were seuerely punished. There hapned a great dearth in the City, which droue the people to discontentment: he dyed in his fourth yeare.

54 *Andrea Dandolo*, who had before resigned his place vnto *Bartolomeo Gradingo*, caused the dearth for to cease; by sending for great store of Corne out of *Sicily*. Hee obtained of the King of *Babylon*, free Nauigation into *Egypt*. *Zara* rebelled the seauenth time, and was reprimed.

The Warre betweene them of *Genes* and the City, was troubled by two great accidents happening; the one, was an Earth-quake very dreadfull; and the other, was a greuous Pestilence. Hee gouerned twelue yeares, wanting some fewe monthes.

55 *Marino Faliero*, was elected Duke, being then Ambassador at *Rome*. Hauing  
recei-

received an iniurie by some particulars, which was not reuenged according vnto his owne desire : hee determined in the eighty yeare of his age, to make himselfe absolutely Lord, without any controule. The conspiracy being discouerd by *Nicholao Lion*; he had his head smitten off with in the Pallace. And it was ordayned, that his Picture should not be placed amongst the other dukes, but the place being left voyde, had only this Writing : *This is the place of Marino Faliero, who, for his grieuous offence, had his head cut off* : hee was duke but ten moneths.

56 *Giouanni Gradenigo* had an excellent spirit, but a much mis-shapen countenance. The warre was renewed against the *Genes*, which tearmined with a mutual peace. He had warre against the King of *Hungarie* for *Dalmatia*. *Treuisa* was besieged in his time, and thither he went in person. Hee gouerned one yeare, three moneths and foureteene dayes.

56 *Giouanni Delfino*, was elected Duke when hee was in *Treuisa*, defending it against the King of *Hungary*. The Senate sent to demaund free passage for him; which being denyed, he came forth with two hundred horffe to beard the enemy, and so attained to *Margliera*, where the Senate in person receiued him. In short time he gaue end to this warre, and recovered *Conciliانو*, *Serualla*, and *Asola*. He made peace for the soueraignty of *Dalmatia*; and dyed aged forty and fiue yeares, hauing gouerned foure yeares, two moneths, and eleuen dayes.

58 *Lorenzo Celfo*, vpon a false bruite, of a victorie against them of reuolued *Genes*; was made Duke in concurrence of *Pietro Gradenigo*, *Leonardo Dandolo*, and *Marco Cornaro*. *Candie* rebelled againe, and it was regained with a very great difficulty. On this occasion, a Iust and feast was publiquely made in the place of *Saint Marke*: he dyed two daies after the fourth yeare of his Principallitie.

59 *Marco Cornaro*, a man very wise and learned, was sent into *Candie*, which was rebellious, and there he made a cruel bloody warre: the Pope granting plenary Indulgence to all such as went thither. The Rebels being seuerely punished, the common-wealth sent to Pope *Vrbane* the fift, a certaine number of their Gallies. He gouerned two yeares, fiue months, and foure

and twentie dayes.

60 *Andrea Contarini*, fled to the *Paduans* fearing to be elected Duke, and as presaging the ruine which (in his time) would betide the Common-wealth. First of all, he made warre with them of *Triesto*, then soone after, with *Carrara* for the confines of *Padua*: and such was the fortune, that *Chioggia* being taken, the City of *Venice* found it selfe to bee in extreame danger. But in the end, he went and opposed himselfe (in person) against the enemies, vanquished them, and regained *Chioggia*: he dyed, hauing gouerned fifteene yeares, foure moneths, and fifteene daies.

61 *Michele Morisim*, was a man well furnished with Learning and Wisedome. Some say, that in his time the Isle of *Thenedos* was taken, and not in the time of his predecessour *Contarini*. There were diuers Lawes then made (and amongst others) it was ordayned, that Homicides, who had formerly beene hanged, should afterwards haue their heads smitten off. He liued but foure months, and fiue daies in his dignitie, and dyed in the threescore and foureteene yeare of his age.

62 *Antonio Veniero*, was a rigorous obseruer of Iustice. He confined one of his owne Sonnes in exile, because he had (ouer-lightly) offended the familie of a noble *Venitian*. Hee made league with *Galeazzo* the Vicount, against *Carrara*, where vpon he tooke *Padua*. He assisted the Emperour *Emmanuell* against the Turke, and gaue aid also vnto *Sigismund*, King of *Hungaria*, who afterwards came to the Empire. The place of *Saint Marke*, and that of the *Rialto*, were greatly beautified in his time. Hee dyed two moneths, and three dayes, after the eighteenth yeare of his rule.

63 *Michele Steno*, had the dignitie of Attourney of *Saint Marke*, with that of Duke. Hee wonne an important battell against the *Genewaiers*. *Carrara* was now the last time vanquished, and *Padua* and *Verona* surprized. They of *Vicenza*, to free themselues from his tyrannie, yeilded themselues to the Common-wealth. *Ladislaus* King of *Hungaria*, did likewise forgoe *Zara*: Hee dyed, hauing gouerned thirteene yeares, and three dayes.

64 *Thomaso Mocenigo*, was first Generall of the Goulfe. He embraced peace, to the end, that the Cittizens might traffike.

*Vdina* became obedient to the Commonwealth, with the Countrey of *Friuli*; by meanes of the Lords of *Sauorguani*, who were made noble-men of *Venice*. The *Florentines* were also succoured against the Duke of *Milaine*. In his tenth yere he died.

65 *Francesco Foscarei* stoutly repressed the Duke of *Milaine*, who proceeded too farre on the liberties of *Italy*. *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and other Citties of *Lombardy* were then wonne: amongst which were *Loda* and *Parma*, and *Rauenna* in *Romania*. Hee made also a large progresse, on the Seas, euen into *Morea*. The Senate assisted *Paleologus* the Emperour, against the Turks, who vsurped *Constantinople*, in the yere 1453. Hee was made Arbitratour by the Duke of *Milaine*, in certaine differences of neighbour-hood. The King of *Dacia* was made a noble *Venitian*: And afterward, the Duke (in regarde of his age and infirmities) was dismissed, hauing gouerned thirty foure yeares, and sixe moneths.

66 *Paschale Malapiero*, was appoynted in the place of *Foscarei*, being Attourney of *Saint Marke*, who dyed two dayes after his dismissal. He made a Lawe, That in following times, the Duke should not be deposed. In his dayes, the famous Arte of Printing was brought into *Venice*. The *Arsenall* was greatly encreased: And hee maintayned the people in peace, during foure yeares, sixe moneths, and five daies that he gouerned.

67 *Christophoro Moro*, a Procuratour of *Saint Marke*, was made Duke. He liued for some time in peace, till the second yere of his gouernement; and then the *Turke* (proud of his surprizall of *Constantinople*) declared warre against the *Venitians*. He made peace with Pope *Pius* the fift, and the Duke of *Burgundy*: But the Pope dying, they remayned alone, and maintayned warre which lasted twentie yeares. And yet he dyed, hauing reigned nine yeares, and sixe moneths.

68 *Nicholo Trono* had such good hap, that (in his time) the Commonwealths affaires went well against the *Turke*. *Pietro Mocenigo*, Generall in the *Archipelagus*, vnnited his power with the Popes. The king of *Naples*, and they of *Rhodes* sent eightie fiue gallies together, and tooke *Satalia*, a Cittie of *Pamphilia*. He made league likewise with the King of *Persia*, against the *Turke*. *James* King of *Cyprus* comming to

*Venice*, espoused *Catharina Cornara*, adoptiue daughter of *Saint Marke*. He gouerned one yere, eight moneths, and five dayes.

69 *Nicholo Marcello*, Attourney of *Saint Marke*, after some laws made by the Correctors; was elected Duke. In his time there was a conspiracie in *Cyprus*, to haue the Kingdome fall into the power of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Pietro Mocenigo* went thither with a great Armie, where he appeased all troubles, and seuerely chastised the Rebels. *Scutari*, a Cittie in *Liburnia*, was besieged by the *Turke*, and valiantly defended by *Antonio Loredano*. This duke gouerned one yere, foure moneths, and seuteene dayes.

70 *Pietro Mocenigo* was elected Duke, in desert of all his worthy deedes. *Lepanto* was besieged in his time by the *Turke*, and vertuously maintayned by *Antonio Loredano*. They brought their power likewise before the Isle of *Stalimena*, but the same *Loredano* (by his valour) defended it. The daughter to King *Ferdinand* came to *Venice*, with the Cardinall her brother, where they were roially entertained. This Prince caused a Money to bee stamped; which hee surnamed by his owne name: And gouerned but two yeares, and nine moneths.

71 *Andrea Vendramino* had such ill hap in his gouernement, that the *Venitian* Army was two seuerall times put to flight by the *Turkes*: Once, neare to *Croya* in *Albania*, and the other in the countrey of *Friuli*. He was a goodly man of person, and had a most beautifull Lady to his wife, by whom he had as goodly children; whom he allied in marriage with the chiefest Families: he gouerned one yere, and eight moneths.

72 *Gionanni Mocenigo*, brother to *Pietro Mocenigo*, hauing continued the warre against the *Turke*; in the end made peace with him: ordering the matter so, that he left *Scutari* and *Stipula* in liberty of Commerce, and power to keepe a Deputie at *Constantinople*. Hee made warre against *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, at the instance of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, which occasioned the long warre called *Sociale*. In the end, peace was made, the Commonwealth hauing gotten *Rouigo* & *Polesana*. The Cittie became much disgraced by fire, and a pestilent sicknesse: The prince dyed,

dyed, hauing raigned seauen yeares, and sixe moneths.

73 *Marco Barbarigo*, the plague being ceased, caused all to be new builded, which the fire had defaced in the Pallace. Hee was greatly differing from all other Princes, to wit, in pardoning, and forgetting particular iniuries doone vnto him: but such as were committed against the State, he would haue reuenged with strictest seueritie. The grand Signeur or Turke sent a particular Ambassadour vnto him, to congratulate his election. He gouerned but nine moneths.

74 *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, withstood the progresse of *Charles* the eighth King of *Fraunce*, when hee made warre against them of *Arragon*, for the Kingdome of *Naples*, which he conquered. The Turke vsurped on the Common-weales of *Lepanto*, *Modona*, and *Corona*. The Kingdome of *Cyprus* was brought vnder the tutelage of the Senate, and *Qu. Catharina* brought thence to *Venice*. The office of *la Sante* was created, by occasion of the pestilence: This Duke gouerned fiteene yeares, and twenty one dayes.

75 *Leonardo Lauredano* sustained a very rigorous war, against the chiefest Princes of the world: there beeing a League made betweene the Emperour *Maximilian*; the King of *Fraunce*; them of *Naples*; and the Dukes of *Sauoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, incited thereto by Pope *Iulius* the second. All the whole estate of firme land was surprized, except *Treuisa*; but in the end it was recouered. He liued in the Principality nineteene yeares, eight moneths, and twenty dayes.

76 *Antonio Grimani*, being Generall, had a most infamous dis-rout or foile, by which occasion, hee was dismissed of the charge of Procurator of Saint Marke, and confined to *Cherso*. He brake his limitation, and withdrew himselfe to *Rome* to the Cardinall his sonne: where he had so many worthy Offices imposed vpon him, as, not onely he was re-established in his Attorneys place againe; but he was likewise made Duke, at the age of foure score and two yeares, and gouerned but one yeare, ten moneths, and two dayes.

77 *Andrea Grutti*, gaining the best part of the glorie, for the reprizall of *Padua*, was in very great esteeme. Hee dealt so with the King of *Fraunce*, (to whome he

was prisoner) that his Maiestie allied himselfe with the Common-wealth, and *Brescia* and *Verona* were reconquered. He knew very well, how to make his carriage pleasing to the Senate, during the warres betweene *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, and King *Fraunces* the first, as also against *Solyman*. He gouerned fiteene yeares, seauen moneths, and eight dayes.

78 *Pietro Lando* continued the defence of the Commonwealth against the *Turke*: with whom (at last) he made a peace, knowing how to make vse thereof, and maintaine his owne charge, whilest the warre continued betweene *Charles* the fift, and King *Fraunces* the first. Hee gouerned sixe yeares, and eight moneths.

79 *Francesco Donato*, making benefite also of this peace, beautified the Cittie with many goodly buildings, besides that of the Pallace. He sent succor to the Emperour, against certaine Rebels in *Germanie*. The Princes of *Guise*, coming to *Venice* in his time, were entertained as fitted their degree. He gouerned seauen yeares, and sixe moneths.

80 *Marco Antonio Treuisano*, a man altogether deuout laboured that the Common-wealth might abound in goodnesse and ciuill manners; preuenting (by his owne worthy example) that vices should not be wincked at, as, in too many countries they are. He gouerned a yeare, wanting three dayes.

81 *Francesco Veniero*, could so well skill of gouerning the Common-wealth, that albeit the *Turke* (in his time) made warre in *Apulia*, and the King of *Fraunce* in *Tuscany*: yet all was well at *Venice*, and the Queene of *Poland* roially welcommed thither. He gouerned two yeares, one moneth and twenty dayes.

82 *Lorenzo Priuli*, was sollicitated (by the Pope) to make warre against the Emperour. But, he being a friend to the Common-wealth; by no meanes would offend him, but mediated a pacification of those affaires. In his time peace was made betweene *Fraunce* and *Spaine*, and *Charles* the fift dyed. This Prince gouerned three yeares, eleauen moneths, and eight dayes.

83 *Girolamo Priuli*, brother to the precedēt prince, enioyed those great honors, which Pope *Pius* the fourth gaue vnto the common-wealth: And all his delight was to heare ambassadors in the hall of Kings.

In his time the Council of *Trent* was concluded, whither he sent (as Ambassadors) *Nicholo de Ponte*, and *Matheo Dandolo*.

The Common-wealth helde (at Baptisme) the sonne to the Duke of *Sauoy*, by a Deputie borne of *Margueret of Fraunce*. He dyed, hauing gouerned eight yeares, two moneths, and foure dayes.

84 *Pietro Loredano*, by the concurrence of two others, was elected Duke, contrarie to the hope of all, or his owne expectation. The *Arsenall* was burned in his time, and there then also happened a very great dearth of all things. *Selim*, successeour of *Solyman*, tooke occasion to breake peace with the Common-wealth, demanding of them the kingdome of *Cyprus*, and moued warre vpon this Subiect. He gouerned foure yeares, five moneths, and eight dayes.

85 *Luigi Mocenigo*; warre being kindled against the *Turke*, lost the kingdome of *Cyprus*, *Nicosia* being taken, and *Famagosta* surrendered. The Common-wealth made league with Pope *Pius* the fifth, and *Phillip* King of *Spain*, so that their armies (being ioyned together in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred seuentie one) they obtayned a worthy victorie against the *Turkes*. Soone after, *Henry* the third, king of *France*, came to *Venice*, where he was magnificently entertayned. This Prince dyed in his seauenth yeare.

86 *Sebastiano Veniero*, was elected by common voyce, and with such applause, that diuers *Turkes* ranne to him and kissed his feete. He created five Correctours of the Lawes, for ruling the affaires of the Pallace. The City was deliuered of a dangerous plague, and the Pallace was againe very greatly defaced by fire. This prince gouerned not aboue a whole yeare.

87 *Nicholo de Ponte*, was created Duke, a man very learned in all the Sciences, and whereof hee had made publike profession in *Venice*. He passed thorow all the honors of the Common-wealth, wherewith the Citizens could possibly gratifie him. The Seminary of *Saint Marke* was instituted by him. Certaine princes of *Iapponia* arriuing then at *Venice*, were by him most honourably entertained. He builded the bridge of *Canareggio*: and gouerned seuen yeares, nine moneths, and thirteen dayes.

88 *Paschale Cicogna*, Procuratour of *S. Marke*, was elected when he was at diuine

Seruice in the Church: In his time there was great warres, betweene *Fraunce* and *Spain* about *Piedmont*, and betweene the Emperour and the *Turke*; for some parts in *Hungaria*. He caused the towne of *Palma* to bee builded, in the confines of the Countrey of *Friuli*, and a new castle or fortresse, in the Isle of *Cephalonia*. He had the honor of the wonderfull bridge of the *Rialto*, which he builded: And gouerned ten yeares, or thereabout.

89 *Marino Grimini*, Procuratour of *Saint Marke*, was so highly in grace and fauour of the people, that on the day of his Election; they declared extraordinarie signes of ioy, and continued them for many following dayes. The second yeare of his Principality, he caused the dutchesse his wife to be crowned in great triumph. At which time, Pope *Clement* the eight sent her the *Rose of gold*. In his time was much ioy and triumph made, for the peace concluded betweene the Kings of *Fraunce* and *Spain*. Vpon occasion of the Popes comming to *Ferrara*, obtained by the Ecclesiasticall Estate, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* passed thence to *Venice*, where he was most honourably wel-comed, with diuers other Cardinalls. There was such an extraordinary ouer-flow of waters, in the fift yeare of his Principality, that the Barks, Boates, and Gundoloes floated on the place of *Saint Mark*, euen as if they had beene in a full maine riuer. He dyed, and was much bemoaned of the people, hauing gouerned ten yeares, and eight moneths.

90 *Leonardo Dandolo*, hauing by his worthy deseruings, singuler wisdom and dexterity, managed passed affaires, and gone thorow all honors of the Common-wealth, giuing euident testimonie of his care and faithfullnesse; was aduanced in the place of *Grimani*, the tenth day of Ianuary, 1606. He had beene sent Ambassadour to *Constantinople* to *Mahomet* (hee being newly come to the Empire of the East) in the Common-wealths name, to salute him with accustomed complements. He hath such a practick braine, & so happy a memory, seated in a soule so religiously zealous for common benefite; that the Senate hath referred more vnto him, then to any other of his Predecessours.

The Cctie hath (in his time) beene excommunicated, by *Paulus Quintus*, now Pope,

Pope, about some pretensions appertaining to his See: But it may well be sayd of this Prince, that, against such Thunder-clappes and Lightning flashes, hee hath shewne himselfe an immoueable rocke, in defence of that estate in generall. In like maner, two principall Pillers of Christendome, threatned great disaſter and ruine: but that most Christian *Henry* the fourth, King of *Fraunce*, embracing those two Collomnes, vpheld both the one and other, and redressed all discontentment, by the entermise of his Ambassadors, and hath erected a triumphall Arche, to the immortalitie of his glorie. This Prince now liuing happily in peace, doth daily acknowledge to *Fraunce*, his particular affection for such fauour, & may (in time) much better declare it. God long preferue him, and all other good Princes.

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CHAP. III.

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¶ Of Wounds made by Gun-shot, and other fierie Engines.

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**I**N the yeare of our Lotd, 1536. the victorious king *Fraunces* sent a great Armie vnto *Piedmont*, to vitaille *Thurin*, and to recoter those townes and castles, which had beene taken by the *Marquesse Du Gnaſto*, Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, where Monsieur the Constable, then great Master, was Lieutenant generall of the Army, and Mounſieur *de Monte-jan* Captaine generall of the Footmen (of whom I was then Chirurgical.) A great part of the Armie arriued at the *Pas of Suze*, where we found the enimie keeping the passage, and had made vnto themselves certayne forts and trenches; in such fort, that before they could be raised from thence, wee entered into battell: in which confict there was many hurt and slaine, as well on the one side as on the other. But they were inforced to quit that passage, and to recouer the castle; which they held not long, but were compelld to giue it vp; marching away in their shirts onely, hauing each of them a white *W* and in their

hands: of whom, the most part went to the Castle *de Villane*, where there was about some two hundred *Spaniards*. To this castle my Lord the Constable drew his forces, because hee would make his way cleare before him. It is situate vpon a little Mountaine, which giueth great assurance to those within, that there can be no Ordinance planted against it, to batter it downe. They were summoned to restore it vp, or else were threatned to haue it battered in peeces; which they flatly refused: answering withall, that they were as good and faithfull seruants to the Emperour, as Mounſieur the Constable was to the King his maister. Their answer being vnderstoode, the same night there was mounted two great Canons, by the force of armes with ropes and cordes, by the *Switzers*, where, (as mis-fortune would) those cannons being planted, a Gunner by indiscretion fired a barrel of Gun-powder, wherewith he himselfe was extreemely burned, together with tenne or twelue soldiers. Moreouer, the flame of the powder was the cause of the discouerie of the Ordinance, whereby those of the Castle, the night following, discharged their Ordinance at that place where they discouered our Cannons; insomuch, that we had many of our men hurt and slaine.

The morrow after, very early wee beganne the battery, and in few houres after the breach was made; which those of the Castle perceiuing, desired a parley, but it was too late; for in the meane time some of our foot-men, perceiuing them to be astonished, mounted the breach, and entered the Castle, putting euery man to the sword, except onely a certaine beautifull *Piedmontese*, which a great Lord entertained into his seruice. The Captaine and Ancient were taken aliue, but were presently after hanged vpon the Gate of the Towne, to terrifie the rest of the Emperours souldiers, not to be so foole-hardie, to hold such places against so great an armie. Now, the souldiers of the Castle seeing our men rushing in vpon them in such great furie, made all the resistance they could to defend themselves, in killing and wounding a great number of our Souldiers with their pikes and muskets; where the Chirurgicalshad a great deale of work cut out to their hands.

I was (at that time) but a yong Chirurgical,

The Castle de Villane besieged and taken.

The Author  
entred into  
the matter.

gian, and but little experienced in the Art, because I neuer (as yet) had seene the curation of anie Wounds made by Gun-shot. True it is, that I had read *John de Vigo*, his first booke of Wounds in generall, chap. 8. where he saith, That those wounds made by fiery Engines, do participate of venosity, because of the Powder; and for their curation, he commands to cauterize them with the Oile of Elders mixed with a litle Treacle: yet neuertheless, because I would not be deceiued, before I would make vse of the said boyling oile, knowing that it brought with it extreme paine to the Patient, I obserued the methode of other Chirurgicalians in the first dressing of such wounds; which was by the application & infusion of the foresaid Oile, as hot as possibly they could suffer it, with Tents and Setons: wherefore I became emboldned to do as they did. But in the end my oile failed mee, so that I was constrained to vse in stead thereof, a digestiue made of the yolke of an egge, Oile of Roses and Terebinth. The night following, I could hardly sleep at mine ease, fearing lest that for wāt of cauterizing I should find my Patients, on whom I had not vsed of the aforesaid Oyle, dead and empysoned; which made mee to rise earely in the morning to visit them: where, beyond my expectation, I found those on whom I had vsed the digestiue medicine, to feele but little paine, and their wounds without inflammation or tumor, hauing rested well all that night. The rest, on whom the aforesaid Oile was applyed, I found them inclining to Feauers, with great paine, tumor, and inflammation about their Wounds: then I resolued with my selfe, neuer to burne so cruelly the wounded Patients by Gun-shot any more.

When we entred *Thurin*, I was tolde of a Chirurgicalian, who was exceeding famous, especially for his curing wounds made by Gun-shot, with whom I found the means to acquaint my selfe: yet it was neare two yeares and a halfe, before hee would acquaint mee with his Medicine which hee called his Balme. In the meane time, Mounseieur the Marshall of *Montejan*, who was Lieutenant generall of the King in *Piedmont*, dyed: then I tolde this Chirurgicalian, that I had a desire to returne to *Paris*, withall, requesting him, that he would performe his promise, which was,

to giue me the receit of his Balme, which he willingly did, seeing that I was to leaue that country. He sent me to fetch him two yong whelps, one pound of earth-worms, two pounds of the oyle of Lillies, six ounces of the Terebinth of *Venice*, and one ounce of *Aqua-vita*: and in my presence, he boiled the whelps aliue in the said oile, vntill the flesh departed from the bones. Afterward, he tooke the wormes (hauing before killed and purified them in white Wine, to purge themselues of the earth which they haue alwayes in their bodies:) being so prepared, he boyled them also in the said oile, till they became dry; this he strained thorow a napkin, without anie great expreffion; that doone, hee added thereto the Terebinth: and lastly, the *Aqua-vita*, and called God to witnesse, that this was his Balme which hee vsed in all wounds made by Gun-shot, and in others which required suppuration; withal, praying me not to divulge his secret

From thence I returned to *Paris*, where shortly after, Mounseieur *Siluius*, Lecturer of the King in Physicke, a man greatly esteemed among learned men, requested me one day to dine with him, which I did willingly; where hee asked me many Questions, and among the rest, of the essence of wounds made by Gunne-shot, and of the combustions made by Gunne-pouder. Whereupon, I presently prooued vnto him, that the pouder was not any thing venomous at all; because that no Simple that enters therein is any way venomous, much lesse the composition. Also, I haue seene by experience, that some Souldiers being hurt, will take of the said pouder in wine, saying; That pouder so taken, doth preferue the body from the ensuing accidents, the which I approue not. Also, others hauing vlcers on their bodies, doe commonly vse of the said pouder drie, and heale them without any daunger at all. And as for the Bullets, they can not containe any such heat, that they should haue the facultie of burning: for a bullet being shot against a stone-wall, it may presently be helde in the naked hand, although the collission made against the Stones, should (in reason) heate it the more: And as for combustions or burnings made by Gun-pouder, I neuer found any particular accident in it, whereby the cure ought to be diuersified from the cure of other combustions.

A remedy  
found by ac-  
cident.

Gunpowder  
not venomous.

wounds made  
by gunshot,  
are without  
cumbustion.

History. Whereupon, I related this History. A certaine boy of the Kitchin, of Mounſieur the Marshall *de Monte-jan*, fell into a Caldron full of oyle, almost boiling hote; to dresse whom being sent for, I went presently to an Apothecarie, demanding of him such cooling medicines, which are commonly applyed vnto burnings. An auncient Countrey-woman being by, hearing mee speake of this burning, counselled me to apply for the first dressing (to prevent the rising of pustules or bladders) of rawe onions, bruised with a little salt. I demaunded of this woman, Whether she had euer made experience of that Medicine before: Shee presently sware vnto me in her language, *Si messe, à la fe de de*; which did incite me to make experience heereof, on this scullion of the Kitchin, where truly I found the morrow after, that in those parts, where the Onions had touched, to bee altogether free from vessickes or blisters, and the other parts, where the Onions were not applyed, to be much blistered.

Not long after, a certaine Dutch-man; one of the guard of the said Lord *de Monte-jan*, having drunke hard, by indiscretion; set his Flask afire, which caused a great disaſter, both to his hands and face; and being called to dresse him, I applyed of the saide Onions on the one halfe of his face; and on the other side, of other common remedies. At the second dressing, I found that part where I had applyed the Onions, to be altogether without blisters, or any excoriation, and the other altogether blistered: then I first purposed to write of the effect of the said Onions.

Moreouer, I tolde vnto the sayd *Syluius*, that for the better extraction of bullets which are hidden in any part of the body, it is requisit, the Patient should be placed in the same situation, that he was in at that time when he was wounded: Many other things I discovered vnto him, which are contayned in this Booke following. My Discourse ended, he prayed me very earnestly, that I would publish it by writing; to the end, that that false opinion of *Vigo* might be altogether abolished; the which I willingly consented vnto, and caused many instruments, to be cut, such as had not bene divulged, for the extraction of Bullets, and other vnnaturall things out of the body.

And it was first Imprinted in the yeare, 1545. and well received, which caused me to renew it agayne, and publish it the second time, in the yeare 1550. and lastly, in the yeare, 1564. where I haue enriched it with many other things; because I haue since followed the warres, haue bene in many battells, and besieged Townes, as in *Metz* and *Hedin*. Also, I haue bene entertayned into the seruice of five Kings, where I haue alwayes discoursed with the most excellent Physitians and Chirurgians of those times, to learne and discover, if there were any other methode or way, to cure those wounds made by gun-shot; whereof the most part (specially those that haue followed the warres, and are guided by reason and experience) are of my opinion, which is, to vse Suppuratiues in the beginning, and not boiling oyles. And I did protest moreouer to the sayd *Syluius*, that I haue found those wounds as easie to cure (being in fleshy partes) as all other great contused wounds are. But, where the Bullet meeteth with the bones and neruous parts, it teareth, dilacerateth, breaketh, and shiuereth in peeces, not onely where it toucheth, but also the circumiacent parts, without any mercy; causing great accidents, which happen specially in the iouinctures or ioyns, and in bodies of euill constitution, and in time subiect to corruption, that is to say, where the Ayre is hote and moyst, then is the cure most difficult, and oftentimes impossible; not onely of wounds made by gun-shot, but also of those which are made by other instruments; yea, though they were but in fleshie parts.

Therefore, the aforesaid accidents do not proceede from the venenosity which is in the powder, or by the combustion or burning of the Bullet. For prooffe of which, I will alleadge this obseruation, which I haue experimented (not long since) on the person of the Earle of *Gordon*; Lord of *Schindon*, a Scottish-man, whom I cured by the commaundement of the Queene-mother, who was hurt with the shot of a Pistoll cleane through both the thighs, without fracture of the bones; he standing so neare the mouth of the Pistoll, that the fire tooke holde of his breeches; neuerthelesse, hee was perfectly cured in two and thirtie dayes, without a Feauer or anie other euill accident. I

The cause that maketh wounds by gun shot, hard to be cured.

History.

dress him at *S. Iohn de Latran*, in the house of the Archithoppe of *Glasco*, then Ambassadour for *Scotland*, who came euery day to see him dress. Moreover, for testimony, I could produce Mounseur *Brigard*, Doctor Regent in the facultie of Physicke, who was an assistant with me; together with *James Guillemeau*, Chirurgian to the King, and sworne at *Paris*, who was with me vntill his perfect curation. The same likewise Mounseur *Hautin*, Doctour Regent in the faculty of Physicke can testifie, who sometimes came to see him. Also *Giles Buzet*, Scotchman and Chirurgian; euery of them maruailing how hee became so soone cured, without the application of hot and sharp medicines. Now, the reason wherefore I haue made this little Discourse, is to demonstrate, that it is about 30. yeares agoe, since I first found out this maner of curing wounds made by gunshot, without the vse of boiling oiles, or any other sharp or burning medicines, vnlesse I was constrained to vse them, for such accidents which hapned in *Cacochymed* bodies, or through the euil disposition and malignancy of the ayre, as I will shew more amply in this Discourse following, which I made vnto the deceased King, after the taking of *Roan*.

### CHAP. III.

¶ *A Answer vnto a certayne demaund, propounded by the victorious Prince Charles the ninth, as touching the qualitie and Essence of wounds made by Gunne-shotte, at his Maiesties returne from the siege, and taking of the Towne of Roan.*



One day pleased your Maiestie, together with the Queene-Mother, my L. the prince of *La Roche-sur-Yon*, and many other Princes and great Lords, to demad of me how it came to passe, that in these last warres, the most part of such Gentlemen & Soldiers, who were wounded by Gun-shot, & other instruments of war, died, or were very hardly recovered from their diseases; although the wounds they receiued were but of small apparace, and the Chirurgians which were employed for their cures, did performe their du-

ties according to Art; I haue bin the bolder to publish this discourse, to satisfie (in some measure) the duty of my Art, & that my Profession might not be spotted with the least dishonor; and that your Maiestie might vnderstand the reasons, which might haue bin the cause of the death of so many valiant mē; the most part of whom I haue seene (to my great grieve) to finish theyr dayes pittifully, without any possibilitie in mee, or anie other more experienced then my selfe to giue them remedy.

I know that this following Discourse will astonish some, who reposing themselves vpon their owne particular opinions, and not examining the matter deeply, will finde the first front of my disputation very strange; because that the contrary hath bene so long imprinted in their fantasies. For I doe hold, that the cause of the malignancy of wounds by Gun-shot, not to proceed from any poyson or venomous quality in the powder (as they imagine) or from the Bullet it selfe, being rubbed or infused in any venomous mixture. Neuerthelesse, if their meekenesse and patience will extend so farre, as first to weigh the motiues, which first moued me to vndertake this subiect, which was a zeale of the publique good; towards the which the Lawe of Nature bindeth me, to shew the vitermost of my power in such things which the singular prouidence of Almighty God hath reuealed vnto me. And secondly, that they will examine with iudgement, the reasons which I shall vse in this present Treatise: then I shall bee certayne, they will both accept my labour thankfully, and free it from all future calumnie. Otherwise they will shew themselves to be so ill affected toward me, as if I should present my selfe before them, enriched with all the treasures of the auncient Philosophers; and they should place mee in the number of the poorest and ignorantest men in the world. To preuent therefore all the Arguments of venome and poisoning, which the Aduersaries heere about mentioned may alleadge, I will make it plaine vnto your Maiestie, that such as are wounded by gunne-shot; I say the malignancy of such wounds, not to proceed from the venome of the Powder; beeing of it selfe simply considered: and much lesse from the combustion or cauterization which the Bullet

Insinuation into the good acceptance of those who are of the contrary opinion.

Occasion of this discourse.

The Author proposeth two points, which he would re-  
fute, viz. the poyson of the powder, and the fire of the Bullet.

Bullet so heated by the fire of the powder can make in those parts, which it rendeth & dilacerateth thorow the violence thereof: although neuertheless some do strue to maintayne; alledging for all, reasons, That a certayne Tower full of powder hath heeretofore bene seene ruinated in an instant, onely by the meanes of a Cannon shot. Also of a thatched house set on fire with a Musket shotte. Moreouer, because that such wounds which are made by Gunne-shotte, we commonly behold their Orifices and other circum-iacent parts so blacke, as if an actuall Cauter had passed thereon. As also the fall of a certayne escarre, as they say. All which Arguments are so ill framed, that they deserue no authoritie, beeing builded on so slender a foundation: much lesse, that the resolution of your demaund should be taken from them, as I trust to giue you plainely to vnderstand in the Disputation following. Which (after I had seene a great number of those wounds, and diligently obserued them, handling them according to the methode) I haue collected from the auncient Philosophers, Physitians, and Chirurgicalians to present vnto your Maiesty, and to withdrawe your minde from the admiration of the lamentable death of so many braue Gentlemen and Souldiers.

Now, to enter into the matter proposed, and to answer the Arguments before alledged, we are first to examine, whether there be any poyson inclosed in the powder, or no: And if there bee, whether it may infect by meanes of the pretended poyson thereof. Which, that it may appeare plainely, wee must search into the composition of the sayd powder, considering that it is not of substance simple, but compound: and so by examining the nature of such Simples, which enter into the composition thereof: I meane their qualities, effects, and operations, we shall the sooner attaine to the scope and intention pretended.

As for the Simples it is a most assured thing, that there are but three in all, which make the composition thereof, that is to say, coales of willow or birch, sulphure, and salt-peter, and sometimes *Aqua-vita*: which ingredients feenerally considered, are altogether exempt and free from poyson, or any venomous qualiry. And first

for the coales, there is not any thing considerable in them, vnlesse it bee a drying quality; of subtile substance, by meanes whereof it is apt to take fire, euen as a linnen cloth burned into Tinder doth the sparkes that fall from a Flint stone. Sulphure is hote and drie, neuertheless, not excessiue, and of a more oilie and viscuos substance, yet not so easie to inflame as coales, although it doth retaine the fire more forcibly when it is once inflamed, and is very hardly extinguished. As for the salt-peter, it is such, that many make vse thereof instead of salt. Now let vs examine, whether there be any venosity in the nature of these simples; namely, in that of sulphure, which is the most suspected. *Dioscorides* in his fift booke, chap. 37. prescribeth it to be taken in an Egge, in the astmaticke passion, coughes, and to such which spit matter, and those that haue the Jaundise. And *Galen* in his ninth booke of his Simples, cha. 36. ordaineth it as a topical remedy, vnto such who are bitten by venomous beasts; and in all malignant practises or itchings; as for the *Aqua-vite*, it is a thing subtile, that it will evaporate if it be set in the ayre; besides, it is vsed by most Chirurgicalians inwardly in drinkes, and outwardly in embrocations as a most singular medicine. These things considered, make mee to affirme, that the whole composition of powder is altogether free from venome or poyson, seeing that the ingredients are altogether cleare from the least touch in that kind.

Moreouer, I haue obserued it to bee the practise of the *Hollanders*, beeing wounded by Gunne-shotte, to dissolue two charges of powder in Wine, and to drinke it off, hoping, by that meanes to be freed from all future accidents which might happen to their wounds (although I doe not approoue thereof, because it is a most insufficient remedy.) Also, such vlcers which are made through the combustion of powder, are of no other nature then those that are made by fire, or scalding water. But, wherefore should I alledge any forraine example? Do we not see amongst our owne souldiers, I do not know on what occasion, but only to shew themselues braue fellowes, to emptie their charges of powder into their cuppes, and drinke it without anie inconuenience at all; and others in like manner, beeing

Salt-peter is  
Salt of Stones.

The present  
disputation is  
taken from  
Philosophers,  
Physitians &  
Chirurgicalians.

The composition  
of the  
powder.

Refutation of  
those that af-  
firme the Bul-  
let to be im-  
poysoned.

hurt on any part of their bodies, will apply of the same vpon their vlcers to drie them, and finde much profit by it. As for those which do affirme that it is not in the powder, but the Bullet, which being subtilly pierced in many places, or filled vp with venome, or stieped, rubbed, or mixed with any poyson, causeth the aforesayd dangerous accidents: To such do I answer without further trouble, that the fire set to the powder, is sufficient to purifie the poyson of the Bullet, if any there were; the which can not be done by impoysoned Swords, Pikes, Arrowes, and such like, because they passe not thorow the action of the fire. Briefly, to confirme my opinion to be true, there is not anie one of those that were in your Maiesties Campe at *Roan*, that doth not assuredly know, that those Bullets which were shotte against those of the Towne, to be altogether free from poyson. Neuerthelesse, the besieged Towne-men affirmed, that all those Bullets were poysoned. Also, the Souldiers of your Maiesties Camp had the same opinion, of such Bullets which were shot at them out of the town, that they were all impoysoned by them; rather beleeuing and iudging of the qualitie of the wounds by their euill successe, then by the Causes whereby they were made.

True it is, that as in Physicke, according to the Sentence of *Hippocrates* in the *Epidemies*; as *Galen* noteth on the twenty sentence, and the twenty one of the third Section of the third booke, all diseases are called Pestilentiall and venomous, being from common and general causes of what kinde soeuer they be, and such kill many persons: so in the like maner, we may call such wounds as are made by Gunne-shot venomous, which are more difficult to heale then others; not because they doe participate of any venomosity, but from some generall cause depending, either frō the *Cacochimie* of the body, putrifaction of the aire, or the corruption of the victuals, whereby those vlcers are brought to be more malignant *Cacoethes*, and rebellious to all medicines.

To affirme, that it is onely the combustion of the bullet, which causeth the aforesaid danger; I cannot conceiue their reasons, seeing that the Bullet is (for the most part) made but of lead, and therefore vna-

ble to indure any great heate, without being altogether dissolued, which we neuerthelesse do see to passe thorow a coat Armour, and to penetrate the body through and through, and yet to remaine whole.

Moreouer, we do obserue, that if a Bullet be shot against a stone, or against anie solid matter, it may in the same instant be handled of vs in our hands, without feeling any notable heate, although the violent striking and collission made against the stone, should in reason encrease the heate, if anie there were. And which is more, if a Bullet bee shot against a bagge full of powder, the fire will not endanger it. This I dare be bolde to say and affirme moreouer, That if a quantitie of powder should take fire, being kept in a Tower, or any other place, by the meanes of a Bullet shot; it was not the heate of the Bullet, but rather the violent striking of the Bullet against the stones of the said Tower, which might cause sparkes of fire to fall amongst the powder; euen as the smiting of a steele against a flint stone. The like wee may iudge of such thatched houses, which haue bene set on fire by a musket shot, to haue rather proceeded from some wad, either of Towe or Paper, rammed in with the powder, and so fired with it. But that which doth most confirme mee in the assurance of mine opinion, is, that if a ball of Waxe be shot out of a Musket, it feeleth no force of fire at all; for then would it melt; neuerthelesse; it will pierce an inch boord. An argument of sufficient weight to prooue, that the Bullets cannot be so extreame heated by the force of the powder, that they should cauterize and burne, as many haue esteemed.

And as for that blackenesse, which is ordinarily found to be about the Orifices of such wounds, and other adiacent parts: I affirme, that this accident doth not proceed from any qualitie of fire accompanying the Bullet, but because of the great convulsion that it maketh. For it cannot enter into the body otherwise then by an extreame and incredible force; because it is of a round figure.

Vpon this point, if the wounded persons themselues be demaunded; I beleeu they will testifie the truth of my saying, because they are no sooner strooke with the Bullet; but they doe feele in the same instant, as if a club or some other heauie

An example  
of a Ball of  
Waxe.

Whence it  
procedeth,  
that wounds  
made by gun  
shot, are ordi-  
narily black.

Refutation of  
those that af-  
firme that the  
Bullet causeth  
combustion.

burthen

burthen were false on the offended part, in the which they feele a heauy paine, with a benumbed stupifaction of the part; which dissipateth and sometimes extinguisheth the naturall heate, together with the spirites containd therein; from whence there foloweth oftentimes a gangrene and mortification of the part, yea sometimes of the whole body. And as for the Escarre which they affirme there to be, and fall away as they say, they doe abuse themselues: for it is onely some certaine portion of the membranes and contused stesh, dilacerated by the Bullet, which becometh corrupted, and so separateth it selfe from the sound parts which are greatly contused.

Although that these reasons doe make it manifest enough, that there is no venomous qualitie in the powder, nor action of fire carryed with the Bullet; neuerthelesse, many, building their opinions vpon naturall Philosophie, doe maintayne the contrarie, affirming that Cannon shot is like vnto the clappes of Thunder, which burst forth of the Clouds in the middle Region of the ayre, and so fall violently on the earth. From the which similitude they would inferre and conclude, that there is both fire, and a venomous qualitie in the Bullet, as it proceedeth out of the mouth of the Cannon. I know (I thanke God) that Thunder being ingendered from a grosse and viscusous exhalation, by means of vapour conioyned with it, doth neuer breake forth of the Clouds to penetrate heere below; but it draweth and bringeth immediately with it a certaine fire, sometimes more subtile, sometimes more grosse, according to the diuersitie of the matter, whereof the exhalation is composed. For *Seneca* writeth in the second Booke of his Naturall Questions, chapter 49. that there are three kindes of Thunders, all differing the one from the other, according to the quantitie and manner of their inflammation. The first, by reason of the matter thereof, it being most thin and subtile, it doth pierce & penetrate suddenly the objects which it toucheth. The second kind, by reason of the violence thereof, breaketh and dissipateth the same things, because the matter thereof is more violent, and compact as a tempest. The third sort being composed of a more earthie matter,

burneth with manifest tokens of the heate thereof. I also know, that the Thunder is of nature pestilentiall and fetide, because of the grosse & slimy matter thereof; which being burnd, leaueth behind it such a stinking sauor, that all animals do so much auoid it, that if it do happen to fall into their dennes, other places of haunt, they will vterly abandon and forsake such places; so much do they hate the infectious stinke of that poison. The same is noted by *Olaus Magnus*, in his Septentrionall Historie, that in certayne places where Thunder hath falle, presently after the fall thereof, the fields haue bene found afterwards to be couered & strewed ouer with sulphure, neuerthelesse vnprofitable, and almost extinguished. For all these reasons, I must not confesse, that the blows of Gun-shot are accompanied with poyson and fire, as the clappes of Thunder are. For although they doe agree the one with the other, in some similitude, it is not therefore in their substance and matter, but rather in the manner which they haue to batter, teare, and dissipate the objects which they doe meete with, that is to say, the clappes of Thunder through the force of fire; and of the bolte or stone sometimes engendered therein: and the blowes of Gunne-shot by the meanes of the Ayre forced away by impetuositie, and so conducting the Bullet, causeth the like disaster. What if I should be conuicted by stronger Arguments, so that I were enforced to auouch, that Thunder and the Cannon to be of the like substance; yet I should neuer bee forced to say, that the shotte of the Cannons and Muskets doe participate of a fierie qualitie. *Plinie* saith in the second Booke of his Historie, and the 51. chapter, that among Thunder, one kinde is composed of a maruellous drie matter, dissipating all such things it meeteth withall; neuerthelesse, without anie signe of burning: others, of a more humid nature, which in like manner burneth not, but blacketh and discoloreth much, more then the first. Others are composed of a very cleare and subtile matter: the nature whereof is most maruellous, forso much that it is not to be doubted (as *Seneca* hath well said) that there is therein a certayne diuine vertue: and it is in melting Golde or Siluer in a mans purse, the purse it selfe not being so much as touched therewith.

Answer to  
the contrary  
Reasons.

A maruailous  
effect of thun-  
ders.

Reasons of  
ofe of con-  
ary opinion.

Seneca. Three  
kindes of  
Thunders.

Also in melting a sword, the scabberd thereof remayning whole. Also, in dissolving into droppes the yron head of a Pike, without burning, or so much as heating the wood. In shedding the wine out of a vessell, without burning or breaking of the caske. According to the aforesayd testimony, I can assure you, and that without any preiudice, that those Thunders, which onelie breake and dissipate without any burning; and such which do leaue effects full of great admiration, not to be much vnlike in substance to the Cannon shott, and not those which carrie immediately with them the action of fire.

Example.

To prooue my saying true, this one example shall suffice. A certaine Souldier receyued a wound in his Thigh with a Musket shot, from whence I extracted a bullet; the which beeing wrapped in the Tassatie of his breeches, made a very deepe wound. Neuerthelesse, I drew it forth of the wound with the same Tassatie, it being without any signe of burning.

And which is more, I haue seene many men, who not beeing shot, nor anie thing touched therewith, vnlesse it were in their apparrell only; haue receiued such an astonishment by a Cannon shot, that onely passed nere them: that their members thereby haue become blacke and liuid; and shortly after, haue fallen into a gangrene and mortification; whereof in the end they haue dyed.

These effects are like vnto those of the thunder before spoken of. Neuerthelesse, there is not in them any fire or poyson: which maketh mee conclude, that there is no poyson in the common and ordinarie powder. Seeing therefore, that this disauster was common to all those which were hurt in these last warres, and yet neither by fire or poyson that so many valiant men dyed. To what cause may wee impute this euill? I am so confident of the true cause (my Liege) that I hope presently to make your Maiestie vnderstand the same, to the end that your demaund may be fully satisfied.

Those which haue consumed their age and study in the secrets of naturall Philosophie, haue left vs this amongst other things, for authenticke and appouued of all times. Which is, that the Elements doe symbolize in such sort the one with

the other, that they doe sometimes transforme and change themselues, the one into the other, in such sort, that not onelie their first qualities, which are heate, coldnes, driness and moysture: but also their substances are changed; by rarification or condensation of themselues; so the fire doth conuert it selfe ordinarily into ayre, the aire into water, the water into earth; and contrariwise the earth into water, the water into ayre, and the ayre into fire. The which wee may dayly behold, and prooue it by those bellowes of Copper which the Dutchman brings vs, being composed in the forme of a Boll; which being filled with water, and hauing but one hole in the middest of the Sphericall forme thereof: receiue the transmutation of the water within it into ayre, thorough the action of the fire, neare vnto the which the Boll must be placed; and so thrusteth the aire forth of it with violence, making a continuall noyse or sound, vntil all the ayre be gone foorth of it. The like may be knowne by Egges or Chessnuts; for eyther of them being put into the fire before they are crackt, or the Rhinds broken, presently the watery humidity contained in them, doth conuert it selfe into ayre, through the action of the fire: and the ayre in making his passage, bursteth the shell, because it occupieth more place being in the forme of ayre, into the which it was changed by rarification caused by the fire, then it did vnder the forme of water; and not finding passage, is constrained to make one by violence, according vnto the proposition helde for most certayne and true amongst all Physitians; that is to say, of that one part of earth is made tenne of water: and of one part of water is made tenne of ayre, as of one part of aire ten of fire. I do say and affirme so much of the matters contayned in the said Gun-powder, which by meanes of the fire is conuerted into a great quantity of ayre; the which because it cannot be contained in the place, where the matter was before the transmutation thereof, is compelled to issue foorth with an incredible violence: by meanes whereof, the bullet breaketh, shiuereth and rendeth all that euer it meets with, yet doth not the fire accompany it. Euen as we see a Bow, or a Sling shoote foorth an Arrow or Stone, without any aire at all.

The effect of  
Artillery like  
to the thunder

But the bullet driueth before it such a subtle winde, and so swiftly agitated, that sometimes the very winde it selfe, without the action of the Bullet, causeth strange and wonderfull effects. For sometimes, I haue knowne it make a fracture in the bones, without any diuision of the flesh. And heerein it may be compared (as wee said before) vnto the effect of Thunder: euen so we see, that if the saide powder bee inclosed in Mines and Vaults of the earth, and being conuerted into aire thorough the action of the fire set vnto it, howe it doeth ruinate and reuerse huge masses of earth almost as bigge as Mountaines. Also in this year, in your Maiesties Towne of *Paris*, a certaine quantity of powder, but newly made in the *Arcenall*, by taking fire, caused such a great tempest, that the whole Towne shooke at it: for with an horrible fury, it leuelled with the Earth all the houses neere vnto that place, and discovered and battered down the windowes of all those that stood within the fury of it. And to be brieft (euen as a clap of thunder) it did reuerse heere and there many men halfe slaine; taking away from some their eyes, from others their hearing, and left others no lesse torne and mangled in their members, then if foure horses had drawne them in pieces: and all this by the onely agitation of the ayre, into which substance, the powder was conuerted. The which, according to the quantity and quality of the matter thereof, and according to his motion, either more or lesse violent, hath caused so many wonderfull accidents in our Prouinces; altogether like vnto those which are caused through the inclosing of windes in the bowels and cauities of the earth, not being perspirable. The which, struing to haue vent, bloeth with such a strong and violent agitation, that they make the earth to tremble & quake thereat: thereby debolishing Cities, and ruinating buildings, and transporting them from one place to another. As the Townes of *Megara* and *Egina*, anciently much celebrated in the Country of *Greece*, perishing by Earth-quake can witness vnto vs.

I omit to discouer (as but little seruing to our purpose) how the winde enclosed in the Entrailes of the earth, maketh a noyse of diuers sounds, and very strange, according to the diuers formes of the

conduits and passages, through the which it issueth by, euen after the manner of muscicall Instruments; the which being large, do giue a great and base sound, & being narrow, do make high and sharpe notes, and being crooked or replied, make diuers sounds; as wee see by experience in the Huntsmans home, and in Trumpets, the which also, being moistned with water, do make a hollow gurgling sound.

In like manner, these noises, murmurings, and clamors, are sundry wayes diuersified, according to the places whence they proceed; in such sort, that sometimes hath bene heard a clamorous cry, representing (as it seemed) the assault of a City, the cryes and lowings of Bulls, or the neighing of Horses, roaring of Lyons, sound of Trumpets, reports of Artillery, and many other dreadfull things; yea sometimes humane voyces. As it is reported by one, who had heard a voyce (as it were) of a woman beating; which made (as he imagined) such a wofull and grieuous lamentation, where-with he became so greatly affrighted, that he had scarcely breath sufficient to make this report. But when he had well vnderstood the cause of this plaintiue voyce, he was presently deliuered from that feare, which otherwise might haue killed him.

But some perhaps will say, that these things haue alwayes bene, and no lesse ordinary in the times past, then they are at this present: and therefore it is a great folly in me to alledge them, for efficient causes of the death of so many men. The which imputation, I should freely confesse, if I should present them for such: but seeing, that by them I would onely paralel and compare the impetuosity of Artillery, with that of thunder, and the motions of the earth, which being so, it will appeare, that it maketh nothing against my first intention, as I hope to demonstrate cleerely, that I am slandered without a cause, if you please to giue eare to the deduction following. In the which, I will plainly and brieftly describe the true causes of the late mortality, which hapned among your Highnesse Soldiers.

Amongst the things necessary for our liues, there is nothing that can more alter our bodyes, then the ayre; the which, continually (willing or vnwilling) we inspire by those conduites which Nature hath ap-  
pointed

Diuers sounds  
issuing out of  
the veins of  
the earth.

Diuers sounds  
issuing out of  
the veins of  
the earth.

Diuers sounds  
issuing out of  
the veins of  
the earth.

The true ex-  
plication of  
the question.

pointed for that end; as the mouth, the nose, and generally through all the pores of the skinne and Arteries therein infix-ed, whether wee eate, drinke, watch, or sleepe, or doe any other action, whether Natural, Vitall, or Animall. From thence it commeth, that the aire inspired into the Lungs, the Heart, and the Braine, and vniuersally in all the parts of the bodie, to refresh, and in some measure to nourish the same, is the cause that a man cannot liue one minute without inspiration; according to the which wonderfull benefit, the excellent Physitian *Hippocrates* hath pronounced, and that truly, that the aire hath a kinde of Diuinity in it; because, that in breathing and blowing ouer all parts of the world vniuersally, it doth circumuolue all things therein containd: nourishing them miraculously, strengthening them firmly, and maintaining them in an amiable Vnion; altogether symbolizing with the Starres and Planets, into the which the diuine prouidence is infused, which changeth the aire at his pleasure, and giueth it power not only ouer the mutation of times and seasons, but also of the alteration of naturall bodyes. And therefore the Philosophers and Physitians haue expressely commanded, that we should haue a principall regarde vnto the situation and motions of the heauenly bodies, and constitutions of the Ayre, when the preseruacion of health, or the curation of diseases are in question: but especially the course and mutation of the aire is of great power, as wee may easily iudge by the foure seasons of the yeare. For the Aire being hot and dry in Sommer, our bodies in like manner doth thereby become heated and dried: and in winter the humidity and coldnesse of the ayre doth likewise fill our bodies with the very same qualities; in such order neuertheles, and in so good a disposition of nature, that although our temperatures seeme to bee changed, according to the foure seasons of the yeere; we neuerthelesse receiue no harme thereby, if those times doe keepe their seasons and qualities free from excessse. But to the contrary, if the seasons be so peruerred, that the Sommer is colde, and the Winter hotte, and the other seasons in the like distemperature; this discord bringeth with it a great perturbation, both in our bodyes and in our spirits,

constrained neuerthelesse to receiue the danger, by reason that the causes are extreme, and on euery side encompass vs; so that we are constrained to lodge it in vs by those Organes and Conduites appointed by Nature to that end; as partly, to expell the superfluous excrements of our nourishment, and partly to receiue the said externall causes, which is the ayre or winde, producing in vs diuers effects, according to those parts of the world from whence they do proceed.

For, it being so, that the Southerly Windes are hot and moyst, that of the North cold and dry; the Easterly Winds for the most part are cleare and pure, and the Westerly cloudy and subiect to rain; yet it is a most assured thing, that the aire which we do inspire continually, holdeth in all, and through all, the qualitie that is most predominant. And therefore, wee should of necessity consider in all diseases, and the inconueniences which happen therein, the quality of the winds, and the power which they haue ouer the bodies; as *Hippocrates* hath lernedly left vs by writing, in the third Booke of his Aphorisms. Chap. 5. and 17. saying, That our bodies do receiue a great alteration through the vicissitude of the times and seasons of the yeare. As by the South-winde our bodyes are subiect to all diseases, because that moysture is their primitive cause: it also weakneth our naturall heate, the which in the opposite case is much fortified thorough a cold and dry winde, which also maketh our spirits more quick and subtile. The verity of which sentence, the inhabitants of the Territory of *Narbonne* doe too much experiment to their dammage. For being themselues betweene the lustiest and healthfullest people of all *France*; yet neuerthelesse they themselues are very sickly for the most part, their bodyes leane, their countenances sad and heavy; their faces tawny, or of an Oliue colour, do manifestly shew the same. Also among other diseases, they are almost all subiect to the white Leprosie; and the last Vlcers which they haue, which we make no account of at *Poictiers* or *Paris*, do ordinarily continue with them a whole yeare together. Not for any other cause, as they themselues confesse, and as all straungers know that haue liued in their country, but onely because they are for the most part,

blasted

Hyp. in the Preface of his Prognost.

Hyp. in the beginning of his book de Aere locis & aquis.

The alienation of seasons cause of diseases.

blasted and breathed vpon with a Southerly Winde, which in their language they call *Altan*, & maketh the aire to be grosse and cloudy; causing in their bodies al the effects which are attributed by *Hippocrates* to the Southerly winds, in his third booke and fift Aphorisme, that is to say, when it reigneth, it dulleth the hearing, dimmeth the sight, swelleth and aggrauateth the head, weakneth and abateth all the forces of the body.

Lib. 13. Aphor.  
15.

Also, when *Hippocrates* compareth the temperatures of the one qualitie with the other, he resolueth vpon this point; That the dry seasons are farre more healthfull then the humid, that haue continued for a long succession of time, because excessive humidity is the true matter of putrifaction, as experience telleth vs. For wee see, that in those places where the Marine or Sea-winds haue long blowne, all kinds of flesh (though neuer so new and fresh) will corrupt in lesse then an hour. These things beeing considered, that it is most necessary for the conseruation of our bodies in health, that the seasons should follow their naturall temperatures, without any excesse or contrariety, there is no doubt to be made, but that our bodies will fall into many vnnaturall diseases, when the naturall qualities of the seasons are peruerted thorough the euill disposition of the aire and winde, that predominateth therein. It being so, that for these 3. yeares space heere in *France*, the seasons of euery yeare haue not kept their ordinary qualities. In the Sommer wee haue but little heate, in the Winter a little or no cold at all. Also the other haue bene continually distempered with raine and moisture, together with much southerly winds whose nature we haue declared before, & this throughout all *France*.

I know no man so little seene in natural Philosophy, or in Astrologie, which will not finde the aire to be the efficient cause of so many euils, which for these 3. yeares space haue happened in the Kingdome of *France*. For from whence should proceed those contagious Pestilences, which happened indifferently to old and young, to rich and poore, and in so many places, but from the corruption of the Ayre? From whence should proceede so many kinds of Feauers, Pleurisies, Apostumes, Catars, defluctions of small Poxe and Meazels?

So many kinds of venomous Beastes, as Frogges, Toads, Grasshoppers, Caterpillers, Spiders, Flies, Waspes, Snailles, Serpents, Vipers, Snakes, Lizards, Scorpions, and Aspicks, but onely from a putrifaction resulting from the humiditie of the aire, accompanied with a languishing heate. This is it (I say) that hath engendered in vs, and in all the Country of *France*, so many strange and vknownne accidents. Behold therefore how our naturall heate hath beneweakned, how our blood and humors haue beene corrupted through the malignity of the ayre, which these Southerly winds haue caused, thorough the hote and moyst quality thereof.

Thus much I haue obserued, that wher there hath bene need of Phlebotomizing, there hath bene but little blood drawne from any, whether they wer yong or old, wounded, or not of so good or euill temperature, but it hath bene corrupted, and appeared of white or greenish Colours. This I haue alwayes obserued in these last Warres, and in other places where I haue bene called to cure the wounded: such as haue bene phlebotomized by the prescription of the Physitian, either for the preuention of accidents, or the furtherance of the cure. In all which, I say indifferently, I haue found the bloode putrified and corrupted.

This beeing so, it must needes follow, that the fleshy parts of our bodies cannot be otherwise then euilly disposed: and all our bodies Cacochymate; seeing that their nourishment which is the blood, is putrified, and the ayre altogether corrupted. From whence it followeth, that those bodies which were wounded in the fleshy parts, were difficult to cure, considering that there was in them a perdition of substance; the which hauing neede of the regeneration of the flesh, could not bee accomplished, neither by Medicines, nor any Art of the Chirurgian; such & so great was the Cacochimy or euill constitution of their bodies. Euen as in an Hydropicke person, there can no flesh be regenerated, because the blood is too colde and watery; and in the Elephantick or leprous disease, the flesh and other parts do abide in putrifaction, because of the corrupted blood wherby they are nourished. In like manner, in wounds of Cacochymed bodies,

A similitude.

dies, there can be no regeneration made of any good substance, because that to restore a lawdable flesh in the wounded part it is required, that the blood should not offend neither in quantity nor quality, & that the offended part bee in it naturall temperature. All these things were wanting in the times of these last Warres: and therefore it is not to be wondred at, if the woundes which were then receiued (although they were but small and of little cōsequence in the noble or ignoble parts) haue brought with them so many tedious accidents, and in the end death; because that the aire which doeth encompasse vs, maketh the woundes to be corrupt and putrified, by reason of the inspiration and transpiration thereof, especially when it selfe is corrupt and putrified, by altering & corrupting the humors.

Of this point I haue had the experience in many Wounds, which I haue bin called to dresse, that haue rendred a most insupportable stinking sauour, as a ceraine witness of corruption and infection, insomuch, that the assistants could hardlie endure to be present at their dressings. It need not to be here alledged, that this was for want of being cleanly kept, or often dressing, or for not administering to them things necessary: for this corruption was as common to Princes and great Lords, as vnto poore soldiers; whose woundes (if by chance one day escaped wherein they were not drest, so great was the number of the hurt soldiers) you should finde in them the morrow after, a great quantitie of wormes, with a maruellous stinking sauour. And moreouer, there hapned vnto them many Apostumes in diuers parts of their bodies opposite to their hurts. For if they were shotte in the right shoulder, they should haue an Apostume on the left knee; and if the wound were in the right leg, the Apostume would arise in the lefte arme. As it hapned to the late K. of *Nauar*, to Mounseigneur *de Neuers*, and to Mounseigneur *de Rendan*, and almost to all others. So it seemeth, that Nature being so much oppressed with corrupted humors, could not be sufficiently purged and discharged of them by woundes onely, but sent some part of the corruption to some other part either hidden or apparent. For, if the Apostumes appeared not outwardly, they should be found in the inward part; as in

the Liuer, Lungs, or Spleen. Frō those putrifications were stirred vp certain vapors, which through their combination vvith the heart, causeth continual Feauers; with the Liuer, a let and hinderance of the generation of good blood; & with the brain swoonings, faintings, convulsions, and consequently death.

Now because of those aforesayde accidents, it is vnpossible for any Chirurgicalian (were he neuer so expert) to correct the malignity of the aforesaid woundes: neuertheless those that are employed therein, ought not to be reprehended; because it is impossible for them to warre against God, nor against the aire, wherein oftentimes are hidden the rods of his diuine iustice. If therefore, according to the sentence of ancient *Hippocrates*, who saith; That all contused woundes ought to be brought to suppuration, thereby to bee perfectly cured; which method wee are sometimes constrained to change, because of the putrifactionous Gangrenas and mortifications which doe accompanie such woundes, thorough the corruption of the aire; and can any blame or accuse vs, because we are constrained through necessity to change and alter that manner of curation, and insted of suppuratiue medicins to vse other remedies, to resist such accidents which not onely happen in woundes made by Gun-shot, but also by swords or staues: which remedies shall be described in this present Discourse. Besides humane causes, that man is ill instructed in the knowledge of Celestial things, which doth not beleeu for certaine, that the wrath of God hangeth ouer vs, to punnish the faults which ordinarily we cōmit against his Maiesty. His scourges are prepared ready, his rods and weapons haue theyr ministers alwaies at hand, to execute the commandement of his diuine iustice, into whose secrets I dare enter no further, but will conclude with the opinion of the best aduised Practitioners, that the principall occasion of the aforesaide mortalitie, did proceede from the pure and determinate will of God, who by the temperature that he hath giuen to the ayre and windes (as the *Héraclès* of his diuine Iustice) hath made vs apt to receyue the aforesaide inconueniences, which we haue incurred by our iniquities.

CHAP.

Intollerable  
stinke proceeding from the  
wounded  
parts of men.

Venomous  
wounds.

CHAP. V.

*¶ Of the Excellencie of the Arte of Physicke, going farre beyond all other humane Arts and Sciences whatsoeuer.*



**V**E vnderstand humane Artes (as well Liberall as Mechanicall) to bee all those, that Man (inspired by God) hath inuented for his necessitie, commoditie, or recreation. Amongest which also is Physicke, the practise of naturall Philosophie vppon the bodies of men, for whom all mechanicall Artes were deuised; as Artes liberall for exercise of the minde. We except onely from all ordinary professions of Man, the sacred Science of Diuinity; which we vnderstand, not to come within compasse of this comparison, when we extoll Physicke to be aboue all humane Arts: because it is neither Art or humane Science; but a matter meereley and purely diuine, not inuented by men, but infused by God; concerning soules, and not bodies; eternall, infallible, immutable, hauing (for obiekt) God Almighty, Creator of the World, who made it of nothing, and for the seruice of man. In whom we are to consider a reasonable soule, the body, and benefits which are giuen vnto him, for the support and maintaining of his life.

Diuinity hath her especiall care of the soule, and next to her, Moral Philosophy. Skill and knowledge, restrained vnto humane Lawes, do discourse on goods and proprieties appertaining to men, rendering to euery one that which is his owne. Betweene them both is Physicke, conseruing the body in health, expelling Diseases, and sauing from death; so farre as it pleaseth God to permit. If then the excellency of professions, is to be esteemed in and by their subiects, according as they ought to bee: Physicke will then assume the second place, For, the soule is more then the body, and the bodie more then garments.

I will not heere contest with my Grand Masters the Magistrates, who haue power ouer mens bodies, as well in case of

life, as death: for their authority is nothing else but a meere declaration; either of pardoning, or punishing with death, according to the quality of desert. As for the power of absolution or pardon, if it be in grace, as the sole Prince or Soueraigne Magistrate may do it: it proceedeth from the priuiledge giuen him by God, and not from any knowledge of the Lawes. Like to the other, that declareth the innocence and preuention of the accused: the which is properly to saue, or giue life, because the party standing so accused, hath not therefore deserued death.

And as for power of putting to death, therein is no praise; at least, it ought not to be compared with the power of sauing life. For, so much doth the Physitian (the grace of God assisting) to man, beeing attainted with deadly diseases, and doubtles should dye, except they were succoured in such manner. Now, whether it is effectable, or no, and that (by the Art of Physicke) life may be prolonged: that we shal more amply relate in the following chapter. Onely our intent heere, is, to shewe the excellencie of man; to confirme the excellency of that Art, which is dedicated onely to his conseruation.

The principall dignity of Man, is in this, that God hath vouchsafed to bestow on him his owne Image and resemblance, giuing him an immortall soule, capable of the Diuinity: in regard that all thinges were submitted to him, for his necessitie, commodity, and recreation; hauing made (for his seruice) Heauen, Earth, the Sea, and all that is in them. For God hath no neede of any thing, made by himselfe: All is for our vse, and therefore it is easie to vnderstand and know, that Man is more worthy and excellent then all the worlde. So, to speake truly, Heauen and Earth, which haue had a beginning, were ordained for an ending, and to wexe olde like a Garment. Onely Man shall neuer end, but change his condition, and of beeing mortall, he shall become immortall; in a short while after the soule shal receiue her diuorce from the body, taking it vp again, in much more glorious manner then before, and in such a perfect temper, as neuer can be subiect to corruption.

Seeing then, that Man is the worthiest thing in all the world, beside al other whatsoeuer: the Science ordained for his person,

The power of Magistrates in cases of life or death, holding their authority from God.

What diuersity there is betweene the two powers, of sauing life, and putting to death.

Wherein the cheefest dignitie of Man doth consist.

Man was created neuer to haue ending, but to change his present condition.

Man the only worthy thing in al the world

What humane Arts are trulie aide to bee.

All Arts intended for the use of man.

Diuinity expred from all humane arts.

The nature or qualitie of knowledge in humane lawes.

The place allotted to physick in the second degree.

son, must needs bee the most excellent a- boue all other, next vnto that which properly concerneth his Creator. For, Man is the most worthy creature of all, and (by consequence) the Art or Science which maintaineth him in life and health, is the onely excellent of all humane Arts. This is a strong argument, for the preheminence and dignity of Physicke, according to the singularity of the subiect whereon it discourseth.

I could giue a glance at some other matters, which make (in like manner) for his commendation: As his Antiquity, Necessity, and Vtility, together with the Authority of them, that haue the more reuerenced and esteemed him, for the same reasons. As concerning his Antiquitie, no man doubteth, but it is as olde as the transgression of *Adam*, and that so soone as he had sinned, he (thereby) becam subiect to sicknesse. He must needs be Physition to himselfe, to whom God had giuen knowledge, concerning the vertue of all thinges whatsoeuer, and causing him to giue them seuerall names, answerable and according to their seuerall proprieties.

Prophane Histories, doe attribute the inuention of Physick to god *Apollo*, which is the Sunne: signifying therby, that from the Sun proceedeth the vertue of Plants, and other medicaments, which the earth produceth. Hereupon they conclude, that *Æsculapius* (the first that made profession of this Art) was his sonne; and he the Father of *Machaon* & *Podalirius*, vulnerarie Physitians (otherwised called Chirurgeons) who were in the warre of *Troy*, the History whereof, is the very ancientest in the world.

Now, concerning Antiquity, it is one of those conditions, that commendeth something; provided, that it hath beene continued. For, if it be neither vse-able, nor beneficiall, it will soon haue ending. But we see (euen to this instant) that Physicke hath beene well maintained, euer more in augmentation, beauty, and liberrall bounty. And that, by industrie of the cheefest persons that haue bin, not onely Philosophers by profession, but likewise by Kings, Princes, and other men of greatest esteeme, it hath beene highly honoured, according as ancients Histories, and their learned labors left to vs of Physicke,

do plainly testifie.

True it is, that the *Romaines* did let it passe by them, for about sixe hundred yeares, as holding it in detestation; for the cruelty of some Chirurgeons which came forth of *Greece*, a Nation to them very suspicious. But since those times, Physitians were honoured, much respected, & maintained in *Rome*; holding ranke with the cheefest Noblemen and Knights.

Now, touching the Necessity thereof, it is so manifest, as nothing more. But it seemeth, that this may diminish the excellency of the Art; because it is not expetible or desireable of it selfe, but onely for neede. Like as in Moral Philosophy, that is most esteemed, which is desirable of it selfe (As to haue children, then affectable, for some other respect, as to haue goods for those children;) Euen so, Physicke, being not desirable of it selfe (like to Musicke) but for necessity; it appeareth to be the lesse commendable, euen as Mechanicall Arts, which cannot passe without vse. Yet notwithstanding, this is contrary; for, the more necessary Physick is, so much the more it is to bee desired: and the excellency of her effects, maketh her to be the more excellent.

And heere, Vtility or commodity ioy- neth with it, commending it in the highest degree. For, as there is nothing in the world more welcome then Health, nor more desireable then long life: Physicke, providing both for the one and other, is the more beneficiall to the contentment of men, then any other humane Science can be. For (by the contrary) as who- soeuer that hath not health, is vnprofitable to the world: euen so he y hath lyued but a litle while, brought therto the lesser benefit with him. For, as the Father of Elo- quence sayd; *We are not borne for our selues onely, but our Parents, Kindred, & Friends, our Countrey, yea the whole world; all these do urge from vs some emolument; and commodity.*

It remaineth now, to confirme al these reasons by great and good Authoritie, of such as haue much esteemed and extolled Physicke, and the professors therof, commending it infinitely by their Writinges. In the performance whereof, I shall content my selfe, with the exhortation made in *Ecclesiasticus*, and the remonstrance of our graue father *Hippocrates*. Nor is he to

bee

The Antiquity, necessitie, and vtilitie of Man.

Adam was Physition to himselfe.

What attribution is made to Physick by profane histories.

Chirurgions termed vulnerarie Physitians

Philosophers, Kings, and Princes, haue bin Physitians

Plin. in li. 29. c. 1

Physicke neglected in Rome for some time.

Of the necessity of Physicke.

Physicke not desireable of it selfe.

Mechanicall Arts cannot passe without vse.

Of the vtilitie of Physicke.

Sicke men are vnprofitable to the world.

Cicero in lib. 1. de Senectute.

Authority for the honour of Physick.

be suspected in the matter, because he was a Physition: for, he was neuer mercenary, nor at the seruice of any man; but free and most liberall of his profession. And he it was, that first diuided Physicke from Philosophie. Because (in elder daies) Physitions were not distinguished by themselves, but Philosophers did contemplate vpon diseases, and their remedies among naturall things: for their vse principally (as *Celsus* witnesseth) who had most need aboute other, in regarde of their bodies weaknesse, being overcome with continuall depressions of Age.

*Hippocrates* then was the first, that deuided this Art from Philosophy, and made profession therof publikely; as (afterward) did *Diocles*, *Praxagoras*, *Chrysippus*, *Herophilus*, and *Erasistratus*, all his successours. And they (at length) diuided Physicke into three parts, for better accommodation thereof to sicke persons: referring mechanickall people to manuall operation, called Chirurgery, and the preparation of Medicines, which are tearmed *Pharmacie* or Apothecaries skill, according as (in these our dayes) it is exercised among vs. But it is by mercenary people (for the most part) whose testimonie in the Art of physick, can carry here no credit; no, not that of *Galen* himselfe, although he was one of the first subiected seruants thereto.

Wherefore that shall satisfie me, which is recorded by so great a Father, after I haue made recitall of the words of *Ecclesiasticus*, the wisdom of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, writing thus in his 38. Chapter, verse 1. Honor the Physition with that honor which is due vnto him, because of the necessity thou hast of him; for the Lord hath created him. 2. Healing commeth of the most High, and the Physition shall bee honoured euen of Kinges. 3. The knowledge of the Physition exalteth his head, and in the sight of Princes he shall be had in admiration. 4. The Lorde hath created Medicines of the Earth, and he that is wise will not abhorre them. 5. Was not the water made sweete with woode, that men should know the vertue thereof? 6. So he hath giuen knowledge vnto men, that hee might be glorified in his meruailous workes. 7. With such doth he heale men, and taketh away their paines.

8. The Apothecarie maketh his commixtions, and yet hee cannot finish his owne work: for, it is from God, that health commeth ouer

all the earth.

9. My sonne, faile not in thy sicknesse, but pray vnto God, and he will make thee whole.

10. Leaue off from sinne, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thine heart from all wickednesse.

11. Offer sweete Incense, and fine Flour for a remembrance; make the Offering fatte, for thou art not the first giuer.

12. Then giue place to the Physition: for the Lord hath created him; let him not goe from thee, for thou hast need of him.

13. The houre may come, that their enterprises may haue good successe.

14. For they shall also pray vnto the Lord, that hee would prosper that which is giuen for ease, and their Physicke for prolonging life.

These diuine words do conclude (& verie sufficiently) our purpose, for the dignity, excellency, necessity, vtility, and prerogatiue of Physitions: condemning all such, as hold them in vile esteeme, and (in them) do despise the great goodnesse of Almighty God, who hath bestowed vpon men such meanes of healing. Let vs now heare what was spoken by the learned *Hippocrates*. The good olde man, in the Booke of the Lawe, complained so long since, that (euen in his time) Physick was but slenderly esteemed, in regarde of abuse; much more then must it needes be now at this day.

The Art of Physicke (saith hee) is the most apparant of all other: but by the ignorance of some that vse it, and such as indge of the Professours; it is too farre ouergone by all other Artes. The faulte (mee thinkes) proceedeth principally from this: That in Citties, there is no punishment appointed to the Art of Physicke, as to other. Except dishonours done it, which are not inflictions sufficient for such as faile therein.

They may well bee compared vnto the Actors in a Tragedie, who haue the habite, visage, and outward behauiour, of those personnes which they represent and counterfet. In like manner, there are many Physitions in name and repute; but verie few that are the men indeede. For, in him that would truly haue the knowledge of Physicke, sixe severall qualities or conditions, are necessarily required, which followe thus. 1. The Nature. 2. Discipline. 3. Good Manners. 4. Learning from his Childe-hoode.

*Hippocrates* first seuered Physicke from Philosophie.

Physick distinguished three severall waies

*Galen* disallowed in this respect.

*Eccles.* 38

*Exod.* 15, 25.

Concerning the Apothecaries.

Sufficient prooffe for the authoritie of Physicke.

*Hippocra.* in lib. de Leg. cap. 14.

A familiar comparison for the bold abusers of so singular a Science.

Six things required in a true Physitian, and (without which) he is no body.

Plin. l. 19. c. 26

Pliny his reprehension of prating Physicians.

No punishment for capital ignorance

Ignorant Physicians are meere murderers of men.

The reason why Physicke is contemned by many.

5. Love to the toyle and labour; 6. And observation of apt times and seasons. With, and by these he shall become a good Physitian, not onely in name, but in deed also. But Ignorance is a wicked treasure, & a Jewell of vile price, to such as haue it, and liue but as in a dreame or opinion.

Plinie pursuing this matter, and to the same purpose, taxing the vulgare, that know not how to distinguish betweene the good and badde Physitian, listening onely to such as are full of talke, making great vaunts and bragges of themselues, hath these wordes: They get (saith hee) a little taste of the Arte onely, and their rash iudgement sodainly conceiueth, that presently they are skilfull Physitians; albeit (in anie kinde of bying) there is no greater daunger, yet it is not easily discovered, so pleasing is the sweetnesse to a man, in perswasion, and commending himselfe.

Moreouer, there is not any Lawe, for the punishing of capitall ignorance, where it importeth the liues of men, neither is there anie example of vengeance: for, they undertake matters of difficulty and danger, and make their proofes by killing men, and yet passe unpunished for thus murdering men. Nay, and that which is farre worse, when themselues do iustly deserue the reproch: they excuse it, by the sicke patients intemperancie, and impudently doe lay their owne sinne vpon the dead.

I thought it expedient to set downe these words, to the end it may be known, that (euen in these dayes of ours) there are many, that wearing the maske and appearance of Physitians, cause Physicke (thorough their abuses) to bee greatly despised. Euen as many other things (good of themselues, or newtrall) are made worse then they be indeede, in regard that they are very easily abused. But because I haue formerly promised, to declare in another Chapter, whether life may be prolonged by Physicke, or no, which is an action singular and excellent: I will next set downe in ample manner, what mine opinion is concerning that point.

CHAP. VI.

Whether it bee possible, or no, to prolong the life of man, or woman, by Physicke.



His Question hath alwayes appeared to bee verie difficult, and hath much afflicted the verie greatest spirits: as lying hid and concealed in the darkest and deepest secrecie of Nature; and therefore it hath bene the more painfull, to such as haue curiously sought after it. The reasons of them that haue debated it, are so strong and powerfull on either side; that hardly can any resolution bee yeilded, or what best may be saide in the case. For there are very many Arguments, absolutely concluding; that the life of man cannot be prolonged, by any remedies or meanes of Physicke. On the contrary, Physitians haue and doe maintaine, that it is possible. Therefore, for the better disciding of this doubt, I will first of all defend each of the seuerall sides, and in the end (like to an honest and indifferent Arbitratour) deliuer therein, mine owne opinion and iudgement.

That there is a tearme or limitation, appointed vnto the life of man, and that hee cannot goe beyond it by any meanes whatsoever; wee haue (in the first place) that which the patient man Job said, chap. 14. verses 1. 5. inspired by the Spirite of God. The dayes of Man are short; the number of his Moneths are with the Lord; He hath ordained the boundes and limits of his life, which he cannot passe.

Aristotle affirmeth the same, in his second book of generation and corruption; The time and life (saith he) of euery thing, hath his infinite count and determination: For, in all thinges there is an order, and all life and time is measured by a period. Also, in his fourth booke of the Generation of Creatures, hee sayeth; It is but reasonable, that there should be periods and seasons, as well for Groweth, as for Generation and Life: which are accounted by dayes, monethes, yeares, or other times that are decree-

A question of no mean difficulty to be decided.

Arguments on either side very contradictory to each other.

A certain date of time prefixed to the life of Man.

Arist. in Lib. 2. de Generat. et Chap. 10.

Arist. in Lib. 4. de Generat. Animal. cap. 10.

decreed for them heere. And *Auerroes* explicating the same saith; *All things that are, haue (necessarily) life determined vnto them.*

Seeing then, that all the works of Nature do (necessarily) consist on a certainty of order, so that they neither can bee otherwise, or auoide it: And seeing also, that Art is heerein much inferiour to Nature: it may easily bee concluded (as *Galen* disputeth in the Booke called *Marasmus*) that life is no way to bee prolonged by any cunning. Whereunto *Auicenn* consenteth, where hee maketh an expresse search, for the causes of our ineuitable death, saying: *This naturall death is vndiuidable to euery man, differing one from another, according to their prime complexion; vntill the time they haue in their power, for conseruing their naturall humidaty. For, euery one hath his tearme prefixed, which is diuers in their indiuision, by diuersity of their temper: who haue naturall tearmes, which in other are shortned, and yet all according to the will of God, &c.*

If then the tearmes of life are prefixed and assigned to euery person, by the will of God, and his ordinance (Nature being but a seruant to God, to wit, establishing things (by order in this World) from their beginning;) it is not to bee exceeded or out-stept, by any meanes in Man, but onely by the grace & goodnesse of Almighty God. As to King *Ezechias*, to whom the Prophet *Isaiab* had signified his death. Yet vpon his Repentance, life was prolonged to him for fifteene yeares, onely by the mercy of God. Who also promiseth in his sacred Law long life vnto children, *That Honor their Father and Mother*, and are no way ingraterfull to them.

Thus we see, if (contrary to these allegations so certaine) wee can extend and prolong the naturall termes of life, by any ordinances or remedies in our Arte. Because there are some store of reasons, which perswade, that not onely the order of Nature, but also our industry, doth promise long life. First of all, Astrologers do maintaine it, where they discourse on elections, figures, and Images. And this hath bene confirmed by experience, in the care and diligence of Physitions to manie persons, who being assisted by remedies and good gouernment: haue maintained themselues in health. And being crazy &

sickly, haue held out for long time: whereas otherwise, they had dyed yong, and neuer seene so many yeares.

*Plato & Aristotle* (great and graue Authors) without all exception, doe testifye (to this purpose) that a learned man, named *Herodicus*, the most subiect to sicknesse of any in his time: did yet neuertheless liue an hundred yeares, by great skill, and exquisite manner of Gouernment. *Galen* also (in diuers places) confesseth his owne naturall infirmity; but he saith withall, that he had so wel corrected it, as hardly was he (at any time) sicke; at least, after he gaue himselfe wholly to exercise Physick. Except, when he was once or twice affected with the Ephemerie (which is of a daies continuance) onely being painfull to him, in trauailing to visit his Friends. And, if wee may credite some that haue written, he liued about seuen score yeares, which may be counted a goodly time.

We shall not need to cite the authority of *Plutarke*, who speaketh of manie verie weak (yet delicate) bodies, that liued long time by the meanes of this Art: because we see the same now daily experienced on as many. Nor shall we likewise neede to oppose against them, diuers intemperate and dissolute persons, that daily haue despised all good gouernment; and yet notwithstanding, haue attained to great yeares, yea, to decrepite age. For, it is verie certaine, that if such persons as are wel borne, and of good temper, woulde liue and be assisted by Physicall means in their necessities: they should be slower to Age, and haue the benefit (doubtlesse) of long life. Which is easie to proue, because wee oftentimes see, that some, who are vnhealthfull by nature, or else by accident: do yet liue longer time, the others that are more strong and lustie. Because strong bodies, trusting onlie in their strength; do liue disorderly, without any lawe or gouernment at all. Others, being sober and continent, abstaining from hurtfull things, and obseruing a certaine manner of liuing, by direction of a skilfull Physition indeede; haue hadde their life time longer, and much more healthfull. Whereuppon grew the old Prouerbe, *A crackt Pitcher (sometime) lasteth longer, then one that is new.*

Heereupon *Galen* saide well: *It is verie credible, that such men liue lesse time, then*

Sickly *Herodicus* that liued an hundred yeares.

*Galen's* experience approoued on himselfe.

Intemperate bodies haue liued long, without any helpe of Physicke.

Of personnes welborn, and of good temper.

All Natures works consist on a certainty of order.

*Galen* in Lib. *Maras.*

*Auicenn* in Lib. 1. *Temp.* 1. *lib.* 3. cap. 3.

Reg. 20. 1. 5.

Exod. 20. 12.

Of remedies and good gouernment for maintaining health.

is ordained them by Nature: who (being ignorant) do despise the healthfull maner of living. For, the Science of Physicke, prouiding for the health and life of Man, hath such vertue; as if any one shal rashly contemne the ordinances thereof; he not onely liueth in misery, and all irkesomnesse of diseases, but also cutteth off his length of life, and abridgeth the tearme which Nature had prefixed for him, anticipating his death, and (as we may well say) thereby cutteth his owne throate. As much to say, when (by vsing euill gouernment) he consumeth his radicall humour, sooner then it was ordained for him, or suffocatheth, or quenctheth his naturall heate: on both which, do consist the continuance of life.

Now, if such be the law and nature of contraries, that they are said to be in one and the same subiect; as, if the one hold, the other also must do the like: it followeth then necessarily, that if the one can shorten life, the other likewise can prolong it. And seeing it is most eident, that if the life of Man may be abridged, by diuers faultes and blemishes of excessse: it may also as sufficiently be concluded, that life may be prolonged by good gouernment and discrete order. For, although the discommodities, which depend vpon the principles of our generation, are not (by any means) to be auoyded or preuented (as the effluxion and continuall dissipation of our whole substance, which is done by naturall heate, being the reason of Ages sooner ensuing, in regard of excesssiue and ineuitable exsiccation:) yet notwithstanding, it may be tardyed by Physicke, and so hindered, that the last day shall not come so soone, nor so hastily.

Hath it not beneene (almost) in generall obseruation, that diuers haue lien gasping, yea, euen ready to giue vp the ghost; who (neuertheless) haue bin continued in life for longer time, by taking a small quantity of Malmesie, *Aqua vita*, *Aqua Imperialis*, the Confection of *Akermes*, or some other cordiall thing? The period and last limit of life being then so neere; hath it not bene deferred (by those means) vntill another houre? It is reported of laughing \**Democritus*, that being entreated by his Household seruants (seeing his health very crazie) that hee would banish

all greefe and sorrow from his house, during the *Thesmophorian* Feasts, which were then neere at hand, by prolonging his life till then: that he did it by the smel of Hony, though some others say, that it vvas by the sauour of hot bread. Thus you see what our Physitions haue deliuerd, wherein there is a verie great apparence of truth.

Wee haue heard the two parties plead and debate, by contrarietie of sentences and reasons on either side: it behooueth now, to qualifie the contention, and to resolue on that which hath the best hold. And to the end, that it may be done with the greater cunning; it is necessarie also, to distinguish the tearmes of life; that some are super-naturall, others naturall, and others accidentarie, which wee call shortned or abridged.

We call those super-naturall, which GOD Almighty ordained and prefixed to some, out of his owne meere will, such as are not to be instituted by anie Arte or Councell. As the date of verie long life, which God appointed in the first Age of the Worlde, and before the Flood, for the multiplication of mankind: and especially to *Noah*, for the restauration thereof.

Those which we tearme Naturall, are they that be bestowed vpon euery man, according both to the diuersity of temper and building, as they are in the principles and foundations, eyther strong or weak. In regard whereof, some may liue long, others lesser while, according vnto the order of Nature. And they that doe attaine vnto these tearmes (the grace of God assisting) except they fall into disorder, or some inconuenience happeneth to them; which are (already to be called) the limits or termes of the thirde kind, and which we haue named accidentarie, or accidentall, that may happen in, or to any age, by casuall and inopinate cases; as Wounds, Poysons, Burnings, fals, ruines, shipwrackes, plagues, and other populare harmes. Such inconueniences are (most often) ineuitable, and it lyeth not in the Science of Physicke, to vse any precaution against them; but onely to heale the harme already happened, if it be possible. So leauing these tearmes of life to the arbitration of fortune (which is nothing else, to speake more piously) then the

For such as despise the art of Physicke.

The radicall humour and naturall heate

If disorder do shorten life, good gouernment may prolong it.

The reason of the sodaine stealing of age vpon vs.

Life kept and retayned in great extremitie by drinckes and Cordials.

\*A Philosopher that laughed at the follies of the worlde.

The feuerall termes of life distinguished by themselves

Of supernaturall life as before the flood;

Naturall life giuen to euery one, though not all alike.

Accidentall life hapning in any age whatsoever.

Inconueniences no way to be auoyded.

After the seventh Paradox of the first Decade.

then the pure will of God; without order of Nature, as elsewhere we have entrusted: let vs speake onely concerning the tearme of naturall life, and explicate the manner thereof more amply.

Naturall heat and the Radicall humor do prolong life.

All the Philosophers and Physitions do agree together, that we ought to measure and bound the continuance or duration of our life, on that which may lengthen naturall heate, and the radicall humor. Now, to the end that these things may last the longer in vs, our good Mother Nature (as Galen speaketh) hath placed in vs a meruailous power, which by continuall application of Nourishment, defendeth the ordinary dissipation of our substance and Radicall humour, maintayning our naturall heate, as well by this meanes, as by respiration, and the pulse of Arteries.

An admirable power giuen vs by Nature.

But such a kinde of power as we terme Nutritiue, being limited, and not infinit; cannot alwayes defend and conserue the sayde humour in suggesting another. Whereby it commeth so to passe, that the body waxing dry, by little and little; procureth thence, that that power (afterward) is not well exercised in it selfe: but weakneth dayly more and more, so that in the end, the bodies power ceaseth, from being nourished sufficiently. In this manner, those parts becomming saplesse and withered, the body waxeth meager & diminishing: and so passing on further thus, it dryeth; and then this condition is called wrinkled Age. This is the principall natural necessity of corruption and death, to all bodyes begotten: for death ensueth then, when the humor primitiue, sustayning or radicall, sayleth, and natural heat becommeth quenched; and this is the end of life, which we terme naturall ending.

The reason of our soon coming to wrinkled Age.

As concerning the Art of Physicke: *It is an Art (saith Auicenne) that exempteth not from death, nor can conduct euery one, so farre as to the latest tearme of humaine life. But it assureth and exempteth from two thinges; the one is from putrifaction, that it can no way seize vpon the body, except it bee by some externall occasion, as the Pestilence, or poyson; the other is, in defending the naturall humiditie, to the end, that it may last the longer, and bee the slower in consuming.*

Auicenne his words concerning the Arte of Physick, assuring it two waies helpfull to mans life.

These two things are in the power of Physicke, whereby it may prolong life, for

so long time as it is due, according to the temper of euery man, and that by three meanes. The first whereof, is, to preoccupate straunge heats; to hinder opilations; and to eiect the excrements, from whence ensueth the generation of putrifying; or when they ate engendered, to qualifie and quench them. The second is, the due administration of drinking & eating; in substance, quality, quantity, time, and order. The third is, to abstaine from things, which, in consuming and exhausting the Radicall humour; in a very short while doeth resolue, or dissipate together the naturall heate; as excessiue trauaile or labour; vse of sharpe or piercing things, watchings, cares, and diuers passions of the minde. But about all other, immoderate carnall Copulation, and at incommodious houres; with some other such like things, which a man may, and ought to shunne, by following the good and wholesome ordinances and rules of Physicke.

Three seuerall means for the prolonging of life.

Testimonies of some particular things hurtfull vnto health.

But (say you) no man neede doubt of these things, for euery one will gladly agree, to moue the foresaide Reasons; that such cannot but liue long, as keepe within the compasse of temperance, and haue an especiall care of their health. This is not the matter, of attaining vnto the end and tearme ordained by Nature, without abridging or shortning it, although this is a case verie rare. But I demaund principally, whether the end and naturall period of life, may be aduanced and prolonged by the Arte of Physicke, or no? The Answer heere to, is, That life is not onely conserued by Physicke, but likewise prolonged. For, it standeth with good reason, that the thing must needs be the more confirmed and auanced, the principles, foundation, and produced causes whereof, may be continued and extended, yea, & (especially) made the stronger. Nowe, the principles of life (that is, naturall heate, and the primitiue humor) if they cannot bee re-integrated, yet (at least) they may be repaired, & made more vigorous by this Art. According as the curing of Hecticke or continuall Feauers doth shew vs, and the recovering or amending of euery complexion; whereby the naturall heate is ordered and tempered.

A yeelding to the former allegations, with a further obiection.

An Answer to the principall point in question, concerning the power of Physick

If then, by way of liuing humectiuelly,

The way and meanes for preferuing the radical humor and naturall heare.

Concerning moistening of the solide and spermaticke parts.

A further enforcing, for better information in the maine Argument.

How Physick enstructeth to alter temperatures.

or moistly, as by Bathes of pure fresh waters, and other such like remedies, the radical humour may be the longer conserved, which otherwise would be ouer soon consumed; and naturall heat kept temperate; so that it may consume her feeding the more sparingly, by defect whereof, death naturally ensueth: wher is the man who wil not confesse, that life may be prolonged by Physicke, which else wold haue bin much shorter, and according to Nature? I know well, and I confesse it, that the solid and spermaticke parts, cannot be moistned substantially, & of themselves: neuertheles, you will grant, that they may be moistned through the voided spaces and pores, by which the feeding humour insinuateth it selfe, and whereby also the wasting of the radical humour is the more tardied. And it is almost in the same manner, as when we put water with oyle into a Lampe; to the end, that the Oyle may the more strongly resist the flames deuouring.

But yet (say you) although the termes of life may bee lengthened, yet it is not strongly enough proued by this argumēt. Let me then reply, that of the Complexions or tempers of the body, that of the most and cheefest life, is moisture, or that which is in like manner (or together with it) hot and moyst, which vulgarly wee vse to terme Sanguine: the contrary, which we call Melancholy, is of far shorter life. So that, whensoever both of them shall vse one gouernement together, and like maintaining; yet notwithstanding, the first will be of longest lasting, because it hath the terme of it owne life furthest off, from the principles of it own generation. Now, the Art of Physicke enstructeth, & the vertue thereof is so great, that it can change (by little and lirtle) the naturall temperature of cold and dry, into theyr contrary: as *Galen* teacheth how to do it, in his two last bookes of the preservation of health. Doth it not follow then hereby immediately, that the tearme of life may likewise be prolonged by the Art of Physicke? Yea, and that some one, vnfortunately borne, and (euen bound as it were) to shortnesse of hte; hath yet chaunged the condition, and become thereby farre more lively and chearful. Ohely by this meanes (in mine opinion) that euerie one easily vnderstandeth, how to learn of an-

other; which is nothing else, but how to lengthen the limits of all Ages, wherby ensueth, that the course of euery life may be prolonged.

And first of all, that the vigor and flour of youth, may long time be preferued by the Art of Physicke; *Galen* declareth it in this manner: *There are two principall ends in the conseruation of health, which are in our power: namely, to restore the substance dissipated by meats and drinks conuenient, & to reiect the excrements proceeding from them.* If no defailance bee made in any of these: the body (so long) shal inioy helth, and will bee very long time conserved in the strength of his owne vigour. In like manner, and by the selfesame reason, Age (altogether vnauidable, of such as ought to dye by naturall death) is to bee prolonged by the helpe of Physicke: so that swoonings, trances, and the pale ashie countenances of extreme olde Age, shall come very slowly.

Heereby finally we may conclude, that as in all ages (for we may in like manner, and much more easily, vnderstande the tearmes of childhood, infancy, & youth) and euery estate of life: the tearmes may be prolonged by Physick, for further time then they are ordained by Nature. And these are the limits, which God (the principall Authour of Physicke) would haue subiected to this Art: which are in our power, so long as God permitteth, and cutteth not our thred of life, vntill it pleaseth him. Euen as in like manner heretofore, and beyond all the order of Nature by him appointed: he sustained and prolonged life myraculously, without anie Physicall helpe, yea, euen without eating and drinking.

## CHAP. VII.

*Against such as hold opinion, that Physitions do delay, and prolong hurts & diseases, and are meere abusers of the world.*

There is not any other Art, so much subiect to slander and calummie, as the Art Military; and that of Physicke: which

Euery one is couterous in desire how to lengthen out life in all degrees.

*Gal. in Lib. vii. de Regim. Sant. cap. 9.*

The stealing on of Age to be holpen by physicke.

Life in all degrees of Age, may be prolonged by physicke.

The Art of Warre & the Art of physick compared together in hardnes of fortune

which agree likewise (very wonderfully) together in many other things, as may more at large be discerned, by diuers discourses following. For, to explicate (familiarily) the deeds of Physicke, I shall often borrow similitudes from warre-like actions, and namely at this instant (mee-thinks) I may serue my turne with one, which aptly offers it selfe for my purpose, thus. If a Generall besieged a Towne, & take it not within some promised time, or else so soon as they hope, who are far off, without knowing how it might be taken; although the Captaine performed his utmost diligence: he shall be suspected and accused in diuers kindes, as of negligence, slothfulnesse, intelligence, corruption, treason, ignorance, precipitation, or tardinesse in his enterprizes, badde conduction, pusillanimity, or some other defect in his charge, & yet all these vtterly false. But they which iudged thus peremptorily, knew not what resistance the besieged made, what good prouision they had, what strength of men, and all thinges requisite to defend themselves, beyond the expectation of the besieged; who might be abused by his scowtes and spies, and diuers, making report of the estate of the place, and of some other exteriour semblances, whence might be imagined, what was within the Towne.

So fareth it with the Physition, who besieged any disease, treacherously entred into the bodye of Man, to enforce him forsake the place. Oftentimes, hee is abused by exteriour signes, and very goodly outward resemblances: whereby, thinking that he is at the end of the Cure, he is compelled to beginne againe. For, hee meeteth with more corruption and ill humours, then hee knew how to fore see, the Disease making farre greater resistance, then the Physition thought on: re-enforcing, and repaying it selfe dayly more and more, against the best succour and remedies applyed. So that the sicknesse will last longer, then himselfe that hath it expected, and cannot be cured so soone, as (perhappes) the Physition promised, or others immagined, that had intelligence thereof. Whereuppon, hee groweth suspected presently, cyther of ignorance, or of negligence, of couetousnesse, malice, or some other vice, which induceth him to lengthen out the disease,

longer then it ought to be.

As touching ignorance, I suppose it could not bee so, but that the Physition was held to bee skilfull, expert, and an honest man. If hee prooue not such a one, it was ill done to call him, and to commit the patients life into his handes: so that the Patient may well say, as Iesus Christ replied vnto Pilate, Iohn 19, verse 11. *He that deliuered mee to thee, hath the greater sinne.*

As for negligence, I grant that there are Physitions learned, expert, and men of good esteeme, who may passe (somewhat ouer-lightly) their visitation and curing of sicke persones: but I can neuer thinke, that it should bee to any such end, as to prolong the paine; but rather that it is a negligence of inaduertence, as may happen in diuers of their other affayres. For which, there is very good remedy, by earnest solicitations, inciting them (as they ought) to doe their dutie, and wishing them to be more frequent in attendance; or else, by giuing them a coadiutor or assistant, to make them the more diligent in their care.

The most that is to bee doubted (in mine opinion) is greedie Auarice: For the vulgar sort thinke, that Physitions (commonly) lengthen out Diseases, and draw thẽ into some time of continuance, to deriue the greater profite from them. Wherefore, I would gladly stand somewhat the longer vpon this point, to refute this false opinion, which is the most erroneous of all.

First, I am of the minde, that the the Physition should bee an honest man, in regarde; that hee ought to loue his owne Honour and Reputation. I desire also, that hee should profite in his profession; as euerie one should gette Goodes honestly by his Vocation. If hee bee an honest and Worthie man; hee hath bowelles of Christian Compassion, and neuer will suffer any man, (by or with his will) to languish out in sicknesse or disease: but if hee bee no such man, hee ought not to bee employed, as I haue formerly saide. But if hee be badly enclined; he may make his aime and intent, to graspe vp Wealth; getting a name for no other end, but to become rich. Yet let me tell yee, if hee prolong Diseases, which he may and can shorten: he

Concerning ignorance in the Physition.

Iohn 19, 11.

For Negligence in their attendance or sicke & weak patients.

Auarice and couetousnesse to prolong the patient in paine.

The Authors answere concerning this couetous point, in behalfe of good and honest Physitions.

Example of a Generall in his besieging a town or City, and what rash imputations (vnderstandedly) may be laid vpon him

They that see by imagination, are worse then blind.

The former discourse aluded vnto the Physitions labour.

The best Art man may be deceived in his owne skill.

It is a matter of no great consequence to be famous and to haue great resort of Patients.

Physitions are not able to cure or recouer at their own pleasure.

Physitions should take small delight in lingring diseases.

he is no able man, but goeth quite contrary to his intention. For, if he can cure in lesser time then other men do; he shall be in the greater request: hee shall haue such crowdes of patients resort vnto him, as hee can hardly come neare them himselfe, and rather they wil giue him a french Crowne, then a Tester to any other. For, what is hee, that would not rather pay double, treble, yea foure-fold more then ordinarie, to be so soone recouered? If, to some other Physitian, who commeth ouer-late to the cure, ten Crownes bee giuen: there needeth no complaint, if fittie Crownes be distributed to him, that shall abridge the time of a mans agony, in halfe the third or fourth part of sufferance.

But, to speake vprightly, it is not in the Physitians power, to doe any such acte at his owne pleasure. He would gladly wish it so, that he had such a vertue, as to heale by touching, seeing, or the very first receipt giuen, or onely by good gouernement, or any other such light direction. He should haue the lesser paines, be tenne times the more esteemed; and gaine infinitely to his owne aduantage. Oh good God! how soone might hee be rich, that could be so prosperous and successfull. It is not then to be imagined, that Physitians (prouoked by couetousnesse) should delight in prolonging diseases: seeing they may gaine so much with good-will, reputation, yea, and extraordinarie recompence, if they had power to cure with such expedition. But I pray you tell me one thing, Is there a Physitian, that hauing parents, kinred & familiar friends, of who he wil take nothing for his paines? Can hee cure them (for his credite sake) in lesser time: the disease being alike, and the subiect answerable? Hee winneth nothing by the length of such sickenneses; it is enough if he loose not the good opinion conceiued of him, and diuers kind of offices done vnto him. Let mee say moreouer, when himselfe, his wife, or children lie sicke; they depend vpon his owne expence, and neede not to haue any delay in their recouerie: but can he sooner cure them, then any other beeing in the same distresse? Questionlesse, it is a great folie, to thinke, that Physitions should be so forgetfull of themselues, as, to prolong diseases willingly, and with their know-

ledge; in regard of iust affection to their owne honour and profite.

It may fall out with them, as it often doeth to hardie Souldiours, in besieging some appoynted or determined place, who thinke to effect the businesse in three dayes compasse, and yet continue there a moneth before it, without dissembling or sparing any paines. They were perswaded, that a wall could not resist tenne shotte of the Cannon; and yet it out-stoode more then an hundred. They held opinion, that the besieged were not stored with victualls and munition, for aboute eight dayes; and finde them furnished for more then two months. Whatsoeuer is thought or conceiued in this kinde, be they neuer so many, they are but coniectures, idiomes of some resemblance, examples and obseruations, which faile as often as they speed. And yet (for all this) the valiant Captaine assaylant, ought not to bee accused, for ill doing his duety, when hee perfourmed all that Arte and Industrie could require.

In all respects, this is the Physitians case, who is most excusable altogether, when hee sayleth in the quantity and efficacie of his remedies. For this is the principall matter (as Galen auoucheth in many places) that makes the Arte of Physicke coniecturall, *Defining coniecture to be a meanes or condition, between perfect knowledge, and pure ignorance.* Therefore it ought to bee interpreted to the best, and taken in good part, what successe the remedies sort vnto, which a learned, expert, diligent and honest Physitian applyeth fittest for the purpose, and the most iustly as is possible for him; euermore referring the euent and issue to Almighty God, who giueth and taketh, augmenteth and diminisheth the power of those remedies, according as it best pleaseth him, whether the disease shall be soone or slowly ended; one while indifferently amending, another while agayne as doubtfully depending.

Mallice or spleene now remayneth; which may be suspected in the Physitian. If there be the very least occasion of rancour, hatred and ill will betweene the Physitian and his patient: there was no good aduice or discretion, in calling such a man to the businesse. For (on the contrary) it is very expedient, that the sicke person

Another familiar allusion of Martia discipline, to Physicke.

Of mallice or hatred in the physitian towards his Patient.

son should loue his Physitian, and he him agayne in like manner, although they haue no knowledge of each other, eyther by name or action. In this case, a strict concordance of amity, ought to be contracted betweene their hearts: For otherwise, the patient will neuer kindly receiue his Physitions best succour, nor the other care for administring, where hee findeth his paynes not to bee affected. As for deliberate and purposed mallice, with an intent to doe hurt secretly; if there be any Physitian to be taxed with such a sin: hee ought rather to be rancked with impoysoners, and not any way to bee imployed.

But, I vnderstand by the vulgare sort, that they take this word Mallice in another kinde of sence, to wit, that Physitians (with their intent and knowledge) doe cast downe their patients bodies ouerlowe, by abstinence and euacuations, euen endangering the very latest passage. And that this is done, but in ostentation of their Arte, and to winne the worthier reputation, when they can come off with any credit: or else they salue and shield it, with some prognosticke opinion, conceyued at the beginning and vndertaking the businesse, that the patient was (euen then) in daunger of death; but this doth proceede from such, as haue formerly fallen into the same perill. Thus doe I comprehend the doubtful coniecture of the common people, and (many times) they spare not to speake it.

In very truth, it were most maliciously, traiterously and wickedly doone, if anie Physitian should play such pranks with a poore sicke bodie: yee, as vilely done, as if a man should throw such a one into a riuer, as knew not how to swimme, hoping quickly to cast a cord after him, thereby to get him on shoare agayne. For, it may so fall out, that the party thus sowed and submerged in the water, knowes not how to catch the cord, or cannot hold it strongly enough, or hath not power sufficient to be drawne forth, and so is drowned in this distresse. But surely, it is not credible or likely, that any Physitians should be so bad minded, as to bring sicke bodies so lowe by their applications: which (if they are not) ought to bee well instituted, and accordingly as best appertayneth to the case. It is the disease it selfe, which con-

tinually vndermineth the forces of nature, encreasing still his owne power to a certayne poynt, which is the vigour and soveraigne condition of the sicknesse. After which, if the disease be curable, ensueth the declination and diminution of the maladie; and thorow all these accidents, the patient proceedeth on to health, as wee shall haue fitter occasion to speake of heereafter.

There are people somewhat more modest, who say not, that Physitians do take downe their patients bodies so lowe, and bring them into daunger: but that they stretch forth the sicknesse in length, eyther by their indulgence (that is, by ouermuch pleasing the sicke persons humour) or to binde him in the larger aduantage to them, by recouering him out of a long lingering maladie. As touching indulgence, or tender-heartednesse, it is verie true, that many sicke men affect rather, to be slowe in recouering, then speedily, only by being the gentlier handled: which is an excuse sufficient for the Physitian, provided, that hee makes protestation thereof, for safetie of his owne honour and reputation.

As for such as prolong sicknesse, thereby to deriue the greater benefite: that were a smoothe-faced kind of treason, and (indeede) meere villany. And surely, it cannot be credible (if the Physitian do vnderstand himselfe well) that he should (at any time) offer to delay a disease. For, he is not able to measure, or comprehend the times length; and, by giuing way to such protraction, the interiour euill may grow the worffe; wherein is greater perill, then delaying simply, or the cure waxing long. It is another maner of thing, then vlcers dealt withall by the Chirurgian: for they may well bee maintayned, without any preiudice to the person, because the inner parts of the body may be safe enough, purging themselues by the vlcere, and that there be no other harme, then the vlcerated parts.

For prooffe whereof, wee oftentimes appoynt, that Fistulaes should be enter-tayned with delay, and make issues and fontanelles in many places of the body, which wee must haue kept open for verie long time. But inward maladies are of another consideration; and neuer ought to be dallyed withall: but if they can be cured,

Of purposed mallice to do harme priuily

How mallice in the Physitian is vnderstood by the common people, in their vulgar interpretation.

No excuse can salue or couer such treacherous dealing in any Physitian.

How sicknesse vndermineth the strength of Nature, to gaine the vpper hand thereof.

Of such as are more modest in complaining on Physitions, for lengthning their diseases.

Of prolonging sicknesse for the larger benefite.

Vlcers and sicknesse of the body are not equall in curing.

Inward sicknesse is to be speedily cured and no way delayed.

red, to procure it with all possible speede, or so soone as may be.

Another point of calumny, is, that Physitions doe abuse the world, that men may well be cured without them; nay, much better and sooner: and, they doe nothing else but deale confusedly. Wee haue already sufficiently confused this follie, by the sacred authority of *Ecclesiasticus*. Notwithstanding, I will borrow one similitude more from that famous (and as much wronged) Militarie profession, our Arte holding therein equall comparison. Some places doe gladly yeelde themselves to the besieger, in regarde hee hath cutte off all their victualls and prouision. Others, at the very first view of the Cannon: Other at the first assault: And contrariwise, some there are that remain impregnable. Now, if we should argument in this manner, we daily see places, that yeelde themselves without enforcing: what neede is there then of besieging, assaulting, fighting, ruinating the walles or any other hostile acte? What neede we to make warr e on Towne or Cittie; when (many times) wee see them voluntarily submitte themselves? It is then but an abuse, and a foolish idle expence to the country (how seditious soeuer it be) to haue Souldiers, Artillerie, and any other furniture for warre: where such employment is counted a meere inuention, and cheating of the people, who liue free from such molestation, and all goes well with them.

To our purpose then. If all places be feeble, and no resistance is made, by men well munited, and prouided with courage, and other things requisite for their defence; those places may easily yeelde themselves. As the like doe light diseases, against which needeth no force of notable remedies; but many times do weare away of themselves: yea, and sometimes the very strongest, as burning feauers, when there is no great munition within the body to entertaine them, but that the naturall forces make worthy resistance, against the insolencie of the euill. Otherwise, there is neede of succour, to employ batterie, and all kindes of the best remedies: albeit often it commeth so to passe, that all these doe aduantage nothing, the disease remaying still incurable.

What benefite is it to sorrow then, or say, that the partie might haue bene bet-

ter holpen without all this, or that the patient is meerly abused? Rather account that truly for an abuse, if a man promise cure of a disease, which is held to be incurable; hee not knowing any remedie, that hath power sufficient to ouercome it. Euen as he shall be abused, that attempteth to compell a Towne to yeelde, by blowes of his fists, or to beate downe the walles with a harquebuze shot: where the Cannon is rather too little, and no answerable engin or instrument is to be had. Such are the notable abuses, & true cheateries, which Mounte-banke Emperickes impose vpon the people, promising the curing of all diseases, and more then all many times. Wel may it be said, that they abuse the world, and not naturall Physitions, being learned, expert, and approued honest men.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*¶ That it is neither sinne, or any acte ill done, to call for the Physition, and to vse his remedies, when men are diseased.*

**H**ere is an other kinde of error grounded on the foolish superstition of some Ideots, who thinke it an offence to God; if they call for the Physician, to cure their harms & sicknes; saying, *It is to contradict, and oppose our selues against the will of God, who hath visited them with such an affliction, and onely for their good: because, by chastising the bodie, the soule is purged from sinne.* Adding further, as maister *Guydo Chauliac* declareth in his singular chapter. *God hath sent it me, as he pleased, and he will take it from mee, when he pleaseth, the name of God be blessed, Amen.* Referring their health and recouerie (wholy) to the intercession of the Saints and the Saints of *Paradise*, making Vows, Almes, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, &c.

This opinion most erroneous, is easily refuted, by that which wee haue already alleadged, out of the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, where he piously exhorteth the sicke (and with great wisdom) *To reconcile himselfe first to God, whome hee hath offended: and after, to giue way to the Physition, whom God hath created, & giuen him knowledge,*

Where the Physition is refused, no meruaile if the cure grow desperat.

Such are the beggerly wnderers about the countrie

That physitions doe nothing else but abuse the world by their confused dealing.

Another allusion to Militarie seruice.

The Country that is free from warre, hath no need of weapons.

Sicknesses incident to the body with their apt comparatiues.

Curious Coxcombes that well vnderstand nor what they say but rather offend God themselves by their nice curiosity.

The aduice of the Wise man to euery sick person.

ledge, to be glorified in his wonderfull works. It is most true, that God sendeth afflictions for our chastisement, and hath made vs subiect vnto them, because wee should acknowledge our owne infirmities. From him also procedes health and recouerie, by those means which he hath ordered in nature: giuing vertue to plants and other creatures, to ouercome and expell diseases: ordaining the Science of Physicke, & the Apothecaries skill to that effect, euen as well as Tillage and husbandrie, ordayned for the sustentation of men, and support of this fraile and mortall life.

Well may wee say then, that these are the meanes which ought not to be despised; for, a wiseman will no way disdayne them. Otherwise it is to tempt God, as if (vainely) wee would haue him to worke myracles, according to our appetite. For, he that saith, *If God will that I shall be healed of this sickness, I shall be healed, without using the Physition: And if I must die, the Physition can not saue mee.* This is euen as if hee should say, *If I must yet liue a yeare longer, and that it be so appoynted by God: I shall safely liue without eating or drinking, and then such expences may well bee spared. For, if I must liue so long, it is impossible that I should die before, although I neither eate nor drinke.*

An extraordinarie follie and rashnesse, for a man to promise to himself, that God will worke a miracle vpon him: euen to tempt him by such an essay, hauing foode fit for him, and appointed by God for the nourishment of his body. Is not this meerly temptring of God, to trie whether hee will worke against the order of nature, or no? He may suffer him to die in this follie by meere extreamitie of hunger, and the poore Idiot shall then finde by effect, that he vainely collected this fantasticke brutallitie in his minde, that God should maintaine him in life, without receiuing sustentation. If God will, he can doe so, but we know the ordination of his owne will, for all men to make vse of his blessings in their foode; whereto we are to keep vs, and not to seeke after other extraordinarie means, which are vnknowne to vs, and not to bee employed, according to our presuming appetites.

So standeth the case of Physicke, appointed by God, for the health of the sick, and conseruation of them in sound condi-

tion. For, whosoeuer will be cured otherwise, and hath gotten an opinion, that if he must haue health, he may haue it without helpe of the Physition; who hath the only meanes to doe it: he tempteth God, and expects, that hee should performe a miracle, foolishly contemning the naturall course, which God ordained against diseases. Euen as if his house were on fire; and hee will suffer none to quench it with water, saying: *If God will that it shall be saued, the fire will be quenched by other means.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the ingratitude and unkindnes in sicke and diseased persons, towards Physitions.



Ingratitude is most odious both to God & men, and hath iustly bin reputed for so notorious a vice: as he that speaketh of Ingratitude, speakes of all the euills in the world. And this sin is so common amongst men; especially in the case of Physitions; as I am amazed many times, that any generous heart will be a Physition: his profession being euerie where subject to calumny, and cosine germaine to Ingratitude.

But there are some friends, men of reason, honest and acknowledging, who can yet cleanelly couer this offence: seeming willing in any goodnes towards the profession, and not altogether so vnthankfull as others are. For there are some so compleate in courtesie, as they haue protested publicly, & very often: that (next vnder God) they hold their liues of such & such Physitions. And, hauing acknowledged (according to their faculty) the labor and industry of the Physition; will also confesse freely, that they are vnable to recompense him with all their goodes, as therein they speak no more then truth. For, if they owe their liues to the Physitions succour, and life is of greatest valew about all their goods: it is not in their power to discharge that debt, though they gaue him all their substance.

But the chiefest poynt of recompence, is, their thankful protestations to the Physition, saying; they stand obliged to him, and

God onely is the giuer and maintainer of helth, by such meanes as he hath appointed.

Proud and arrogant words in temptng God.

There is small wisdom to tempt God in such bolde manner.

All things that God can doe, he will not do to please presumptuous men thereby.

Physicke ordained by God, for benefit of the sicke and healthful; and that no man should despise it.

An ingratefull man is the onely foule name in the World.

Outward professors of loue to physitions, all in ceremony, but little in acte.

Life is more worth then all the wealth in the world.

Wherein the chiefest point of recompence consisteth in gratifying Physitions.

The common words of many ingratfull men in these wretched times.

How the words of saving life, and preteruing from death, are harsh to many nice hearers.

Cures performed by physicke in extremity of danger.

The words of Herophilus, concerning physitions.

and are indebted to him for their life. This is euen as much, as if a man should snatch a sword out of anothers hand, that stood ready to kil him therewith; or a strangling cord, by which he meant to end his daies. Were it your case, stood you not beholding to that man for your life? And could (all you had) make him sufficient recompence? Some will say, I haue well payed my Physition, yea, ouer-payd him; I haue giuen him so much euery day, I owe him nothing. If he haue made me well, I haue as wel requited him. Alas poore man, that which is giuen to the Physition, is a small acknowledgement, for so great a good as thou hast receiued: for thou payest or recompencest him with the fruit of his own labour: If hee preserued thee from death, (as happily he did, the grace of God assisting) there is no equal recompence in thy power, except thou expose thy life for him, as he made no spare of his for thee. In this maner thou remainest (for euer) indebted, and thus thou confessest truely thy obligation, when (with an intire and vpright heart) thou makest such an acknowledgement to him.

I know there are some, who wil thinke these words to be hard, and harsh; when I say, he saued thy life, and preserued thee from death; notwithstanding, it is discerned evidently. Put the case, that a man being wounded, loseth his blood in extreme abundance, and doubtlesse dyeth instantly, except the blood be staied: he that puts his finger into the wound, & thereby ceaseth bleeding; is not he worthily said, that hee saueh life? As much, and farre more doth he, that restraynes it by medcins, and so consolidates the wound, as (otherwise) it could not be healed. As much also doth he, that restrayneth a fluxe in the belly; an extreame vomiting, or some other pernicious and deadly vacuitie: Or (conueniently) healeth a Pleurisie: Or him, whom the Squinzie hath stuffed and halfe strangled. As much also (questionlesse) doth he, that catcheth a child out of the fire, where he had bene burnt to death, but for such present succour.

No lesse account ought to be made of Physitions, who make prouision against inward euilles, and succour nature secretly by diuers means, the power whereof appeareth by worthy effects; because they are (as *Herophilus* saith) *The hands of God.*

For he relecueth and draweth from deadly dangers, by the means of apt remedies, which the Physition vseth in needefull time. Is it not then a worke more diuine then humane, and can no way be sufficiently recompenced? whereof *Ecclesiasticus* spake very well. *The Science of Physicke, and knowledge in the Physition, shall exalt his head, and make him admirable among Princes: the Physition shall be honoured of Kings.* These are the principall acknowledgements due vnto him, honour and gratitude, as a certaine obligation: and not perswasion, that money can returne him sufficient, or equall recompence.

But there are some, that doe deal farre worse, who, after they haue bene healed, by the means of good and loyall succour: can not endure to be tolde, that they are beholding to the Physition, but growe hatefull against him, that saued their liues. Oh extreame ingratitude! but yet not only in these our dayes: For *Hippocrates*, in his Epistle to *Damageses*, maketh *Democritus* to speake in this manner. *I thinke (saith he) O Hippocrates, that in our Science, many things are subiect to obloquie and ingratitude. For, sicke persons (if they escape) referre their recouerie to the Gods, or else to Fortune, or else to their owne good complexion, robbing the Physition of all honour: Whome (oftentimes) they hate afterwards, being angrie and offended, that anie should thinke them beholding, or indebted to him.*

*Moreover, they will not attest or confesse their obligation: but rather are well pleased; that ignorants in the Arte (who neuertheless lie by the Profession) should be of the same temper, kicking enuiously against him, &c.*

This suiteth (best of all other) with these our dayes. For, the most part of sicke people now referre theyr recouerie wholly, to some he-Saint or she-Saint of *Paradise*, to whome they vowe and deuote themselues.

And although (many times) they do not perfourme their voves; yet can they follow that which the Italian sayd: *Passato lo malo gabato lo Santo*: The disease being past, the Saint is cheated. Euen (for all the world) as men make great promises to the Physition; so long as the extremitie of anguish lasteth, protesting to giue him mountaines and maruailes; yea, to pay all in Golde and precious Stones, or else, a good pension all his life time.

In

Eccles. 38, 3, 4.

Ingratitude in the very highest degree, to hate him that preserued their liues.

Hip. in Epist. a Damageses.

Our times learnd ingratitude of former Ages, but not a iote of thankfulness.

contains omitted, and or Mole-hills reformed.

All means devised, to rob the Physitian of his due honour.

or performing of promises to physicians.

there are too many such in these vngratefull times.

Two apt comparisons agreeing with the physicians fortune.

In briebe, much goodnesse is pretended to be doone him; but when the patient commeth to health, then hee is of a quite contrary minde: Eyther, that the Physitian performed not the cure, but that it might haue bene doone without him. Or else, from the sollemne vowe he made, came the cause of his recouerie, with the good attendance of his Keepers, and diuers comfortable broaths. Or else, from the Apothecarie, to whome hee rather will attribute all the successe, rather then to the Physitian; although the other did nothing but by his direction. Else, hee will attribute it vnto the goodnesse of his owne complexion: or to some casuall chaunce, by some disorder in him committed and doone: some of these must haue the reference of his healing: So that the Physitian shall surely haue the smallest part, or rather none at all, of the honour, gratitude, kindnesse and recompence.

And as concerning promises, the man being recouered, then he considereth, what charges the sicknesse hath cost him; how long hee hath depended vpon the cure, and what an hinderance it hath bin vnto him. Thus his debt to the Physitian is forgotten, and to him hee imputeth a part of his expences, reputing all superfluous, and keeping his bedde ouer long, hoping hee should haue bene restored much sooner, and with a great deale lesser charges. So that (in his account) the Physitian should be indebted to him: and if hee could finde Iudges answerable to his minde, hauing iudiciall authoritie; he would haue him condemned in the greatest part of his expences. Heere is good acknowledgement of a benefite receued; was there euer the like ingratitude?

Surely, I can compare it with none other, then as if a man should strangle himselfe by despayre; or otherwise, and some one comming to succour him, did cut the cord: when the other (maliciously) afterwards, should make him pay for cutting the halter. Or an other man, ready to be drowned in the water; any man endeavoring to saue him, put his own life in perill (by chance) teare a lapper of his garment; and the drowned man (after) to enforce repayment for his torne garment. So, they which should be payers, doe

become demanders; confessing neither gree nor grace, for all the good seruice performed vnto them: but rather affect, that an ignorant varlet, or some charre-chamber woman, procured their healthfull recouery, then the care and industrie of the painefull Physitian. And I guesse this to ensue from one of these two reasons; eyther that they are so dull and sottish, as they haue not the capacitie of comprehension. Or else, knowing it well enough; they are ashamed and confounded, for not hauing the will to acknowledge and confesse it. Well may I then conclude, as I beganne this Chapter: Ingratitude is most contemptible to God and men.

Two imagined reasons of this base ingratitude to well deseruers

CHAP. X.

*¶ That the vulgare sort doe account it nothing, if they be not cured or healed contrary to their owne opinion. That the latest applyed remedies haue all the honour: And happy is the Physitian that commeth to the declination of the disease.*

**O**Vr next ensuing error, is strongly in conjunction with the former, and (oftentimes) is the cause of the sayde Ingratitude. For, if a sicke person bee not healed against his owne opinion, or of such as come to visite him; there is nothing at all doone, and therefore they know not how to conceiue of the Physitian.

Now, to heale or recouer a man against opinion, consisteth of two partes: One is, to heale in least time, and (as it were) at vnawares. As, if the disease last commonly with so much accesse, or so many dayes; to cure it in much lesser space. For otherwise, say they: Well sir, the malady hath made his full course, and yet the Physitian hath doone little or no seruice at all; as well might it haue bene done within the same time. Poore iudgements, doe yee not beholde, that in one and the same kinde of infirmitie, some are short, and others long? There are tertian Feauers or Agues, and of conti-

Recouery contrary to opinion, is distinguished two wayes.  
1. Of healing in lesser time, then the disease lasteth.

Of tertian  
Feuers, and  
them of con-  
tinuance.

nuance also, which last and hold for a moneth or two, you imagine, that the Tertian should not exceed (at the most) a seuenth acceffe, which are fourteene daies, and the continuer to consist of seauen, eleauen, or foureteene, as you haue heard Physitions speake, which is the tearme of exquisite feauers. But you know not, that of a thousand, we shall hardly meete with two such, because the most part are confused and mingled, whereby their tearme is much more lengthened, as in all diseases engendred of diuers humours.

You imagine (and it is true) that if the tertian Ague doe end within three weeks, or a moneth, beeing well beaten by our remedies: that (but for such encountering) would haue endured two or three moneths, as hath bin seene in many others. Was it not well rebated, and cunningly out-stept for the patient? Yet nothing at all is doue (saith he) if much more be not performed, then he pretended. For, he is of the mind, that a Physition may handle sicknesse, as men doe Stirrop-leathers, in lengthening or shortening them as they list. The acte is not sufficient to abate or extenuate a quarter, a third part, or the moitie of the paine, and to hinder or appease those diuers accidents, which commonly happen in all kindes of diseases, deliuering sound and probable reasons, for the best account that can be possible, and the charges equall to his owne desire.

Yet this is falling into an other part of vulgar opinion, as namely, that all is nothing worth Sir, except ye can heale such as are held for dead. For, admit the sicknes to be deadly, as all diseases are, which we call eager (that is to say, cutting, goes on swiftly, and is not without terrible accidents) if the patient or his visitants hold opinion, that this great danger may be recured, and it prooue to be so: yet still nothing is done. Contrariwise, if the sicke man chauce to die, then the Physition is in all the fault. For, the assistants were perswaded (though the Physition found the contrarie in his prognosticke rule) that he might be recouered. But if they imagine that a man will dye, or hold him alreadie for dead, then the Physition beholdeth great wisdom. For, though he doe nothing else, but appoynt Broaths for him, with some drogueries or confections, especially restauratiue and cordiall things

(albeit they are not to any purpose;) yet hath he performed a chiefe piece of work. Heere is a rare cure; hee hath recouered such a man, giuen ouer for dead: he hath rayfed him agayne: Oh, he is a great and worthy man, & pittie it is he should want.

The same Doctour, at the very same time, hath another patient, whose sicknes is not reputed deadly, because the euill lies more closely concealed. He takes very great payns to restore his health, and to compasse his intent, imployeth all his skill and industry for the patients safety: whom he knoweth to be in greater danger, then all the friends (standing by) doe or can imagine. At the last, he dyeth, quite contrary to their common opinion. Look then vpon Maister Physition, his reputation is sodainely lost, and then they tell him: That hee meddleth with too many matters at once: The other man was much better gouerned. Thus, neuer is any thing doone of value, if it be not performed, against the hope and expectation of the vulgare.

An other error propounded in this Chapter, is, the attribution of the successe in the cure, to the latest administred remedies: euen as they referre the occasion of sicknes, to the last hurtfull acte that the party committed. As if a man had fed on some fruit, salad, or other thing lesse ordinary, & (soon after) the party falls sicke, of some disease more then of a months continuance) yet that must be the only cause: neuer remembring other precedent disorders, which procured the greater part in preparation. For, euill humors will haue a meeting together by little and little, till they come to a certayne quantity, against which, nature hath power to resist no longer. Euen as wee see a Glasse (set in the raine) to fill it selfe by many drops of water, so long as till they come to the brim: but being full, the least drop then following, makes an ouer-flow. Euen so, the least addition, to that which nature hath already supported, makes hir to sinke vnder the ouer-plus: as a yong Mule, vsed to a common charge: how little soeuer is added to her vsuall burden, she is (by no meanes) able to beare.

It was not then the last morsell, meate, or disorder, that did the harme, the precedent riots had performed their parts before. Euen as in the felling of a tree, 100.

curs

The sick man  
accounteth  
nothing to  
be well done,  
if it be not an-  
swerable to  
his owne opi-  
nion.

2. It is nothing  
to cure sicke  
men, except  
they be repu-  
ted for dead,  
or very neere  
it.

Men repute  
themselves iu-  
dicious and  
wise in their  
owne conceit.

The recouery  
of one pati-  
ent, is not a  
warrant for  
all other in  
the like case.

3. The third  
proposition.

Sicknesse im-  
puted to late  
occasion, wh-  
the infirmity  
hath bin of  
longer conti-  
nuance.

Nature is so  
sufficient of  
selfe, that  
needlesse ad-  
dition breed  
death but dis-  
cases.

Sicknesses may seeme sudden, but they haue other precedent occasions.

It is not the last application in physick, that is the Master-piece.

The Argumēt still holding between physicke and Military Discipline.

Perswasion may do somewhat in physicke, but not absolutely performe the Cure.

cuts (giuen with an Axe) appeare to be in vaine, and stil it stands; for tis the hundred and eleauenth stroake that ouerthrows it. Now, if a man shal say, the last odde blow did the deed; should he not do great wrōg to all the rest? As also, when a strong Tower hath endured 1000. discharges of the canon, and at the last shot of all, it falleth: Did the last do any more then the first? It is all one in iudging of remedies, which abate the harme, and expell sicknesse out of the body. The last application (whatsoeuer it was) may haue the honor by vulgar censure, speaking according to their capacity: but what was the labour and paines perfourmed before, of purging, glysters, drugges of diuers kinds, administred both within and without, did all these nothing? In the end, some one thing is added, and then the man is made well. Poore idle opinion, if this last admired acte had bene done at the first, it had serued to no vse at all: but, after the hot seruice of so many other remedies, which controuled and disheartned the euill, shaking, and renting it from the root; the least thing in the world could then quite displace it.

Like to poore besieged people, no longer able to hold out; let but a man be slain among them, and they yeelde themselues immediately. Shall it therefore be sayd, that all the battery, all the assaults, cutting them off from vittrailes, and other good means for conquering; these serued to no purpose at all? But only he did the deed, that discharged the last Musket; and yet (notwithstanding) he killed but one man: If he had slaine a chiefe Commaunder, it had bin a matter of much more moment: Euen so, a brieffe or ticket, hung about the necke; or drugges tied about the wrist of a man; shall haue the honour of healing Agues, affirming, that they could not bee cured by any other applyed good orders, directions, remedies, and great medicines. This is all one, as if the disease hung but by a twine threed, which may easily bee broken by perswasion and opinion, and thereupon the sicke man restored: but if this had bene applyed in the beginning, the patient could not haue bene cured, by an hundred times as many perswasions, or the very strongest imaginations. Perswasion & imagination may do somewhat in healing, but not all, nor alone of themselues. Thus you see how true and

certaine remedies, are robbed of their due honour, by iudging ill of the successe; because men would be cured suddenly, before any thing at all is done to effect it: otherwise, all indeuor else is but in vaine, & serueth to no purpose. He only is the author of the happines, after whom (immediatly) a man findes himselfe to be recouered.

And bicause it is commonly said (which is the fourth poynt of this Chapter) *Happy is the Physitian, that comes to the declination of the disease*; we must imagine, that whatsoeuer was done before, health stood at the doore, tarrying but for his entrance, & healths introduction is attributed to him. And although that Physitian shall do nothing at all, nor appoint or giue direction; yet (say the people) he is the cause of the happines: and if he had bin sent for at the beginning, the sicke man had sooner bin set on foot. But if the Physitian be wise & honest, he will not be bonneted with this honor, consenting to thieuiſh larceny and detraction; against them that well entreated the patient, & (vnder God) were truly the Authors of his restoring: Rather he will reforme those poore opinionists, by shewing them, that the accidents formerly past, were of the nature of the sicknes, which hath had such a course; and that (by good directions already administred) all succeeded well, and to the aduantage of the patient.

If he doe otherwise, and attribute that honor to himselfe, or accept it from their vulgar ignorance; he commits a shamefull wrong, and the like Jewell may afterwards hang at his owne eare. For, of what sufficiency or reputation soeuer he be, it may so come to passe, that another Physitian shall be called, vpon the ending of some cure by him taken in hand at the first, and he may requite him in the same kinde. Euerie man therefore ought to be well aduised, and honestly content himselfe, with such honor as is due vnto him; not robbing his colleague or fellow-labourer in painefull endeauours, yeelding good and faithfull testimony, of each others laudable performed actions. Accounting himselfe happy (neuerthelesse) that he came to the declination of the disease; where, taking no more pains, yet he shared a part in the gratefull acceptation, due vnto them that were employed from the first beginning.

4. The Physitian is esteemed a happy man, that comes to the ending of an infirmity.

No honest man will be the base preferrer of another mans truly deserued reputation.

Whosoever doth another man wrong, may meeete with the like himselfe.

A duty necessarily required among learned and honest physitions.

## CHAP. XI.

*Against such as censure and iudge of Physitions sufficiencie, by their successe: which oftentimes is more due to a happy chance, then skill or knowledge.*

Badly can a blinde man iudge of colours, no more can a foole of Physicke.



**T**is a great matter, that the Science of Physicke should be so obscure & profound, as nothing more: and yet notwithstanding, there is not any so foolith but will take on him to censure the knowledge of a Physition. To iudge soundly & iustly, concerning the sufficiencie of anie man: it behooueth him (at the least) to be of the same profession, and to know something therein too. It must needs then be great rashnesse, for men that vnderstand nothing in Physicke, to enterprize to iudge, who are the best and most skillfull Physitions. Their eye and censure waites on the successe of their practise; & if some one heale (by chance, or sodainely, as we said before:) he is censured for a singular Physition, although he did not any thing deseruing speech. On the contrarie, the Physition little knowes, whether the patient shall die, or linger long in the agonie; which the vulgar esteeme lightest of all. Modesty will neuer say, such a mā is more or lesse skilfull; if he be reputed learned among men of knowledge: but will rather say he is not happy among sicke men, and consequently, no great Physition; euer more censuring by the successe.

It is vndoubtedly true, that in al things there is a happinesse and vnhappinesse, & (as the *Italian* saith) *La buona é la male sorte, Good fortune and bad.* And the best happinesse for the Physition is, not to be called or employed, for such as are certain to die. For, there is no reputation to be had, no, not in respect or friendship; neuertheless, he shall be sure not to escape blame, although he hath done his very vtermost endeouour, and ought to be no lesse esteemed, then if the patient had escaped. Euen as we may say of a Captain, that shall defend a Town to the very latest Effort and labour, hauing eaten vp all the horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, Rats, which the besieged place could afford, hides, parch-

ments, and other vile foode (as is sayde of them of *Sanferre*, in the yeare 1573. who fed vpon the very tiles and slates, making bread of them, as I know not how.) Hauing lost the most part of his men, the wal all battered, and no meanes wherby to resist any longer; constrainedly (in the end) renders vp the Towne. Shall hee deserue lesse commendation (nay rather not farre more) then he that saued his own town, being well munitioned and provided of al things needfull, which he preserued without any paine, & very easily might do so?

If this case should bee controuersed, it were easie to be discided; prouided, that the censurer be a man of iudgement, and not transported with affection; as the most part of men are, in being wilfully blinded. Whereuppon ensueth, that they will not bee perswaded, but that there must bee a fault in the Physition, if the patient (of whom he is most carefull and diligent) amend not as they desire and hope. Nor doth this case differ from the Captaines, that was the Gouvernor of the lost Town, against whom remaineth continuall rancour and discontentment; because he did not sufficiently foresee the sieges affaires; but thus is all his paines baffulde in particularities of opinions, euen to the valewe of a straw. Whereas contrarywise, he shall be accounted for a valiant man (although hee bee the basest villaine in the world) if hee haue but good successe in his enterprizes.

Assuredly, it is no meane matter, for a man to bee happie in his attemptes; but this happinesse dependeth not vpon his knowledge or sufficiency, because it is an especiall gift of God; without which, he may be called to succour such as shall escape; continuing and effectuating the vertues giuen to remedies; as also, in not being called to such as shall dye, to whome the greatest paines and skill profiteth nothing. It is then verie ill done, to censure the sufficiency of a Physition by successe, which is more due to happinesse, and to the grace of God, then to all the knowledge that can be in man.

And yet wee may not from hence inferre, or conclude, that it is all one, whatsoever Physition is called, to say; If God will that the sicke man shall recouer, hee will bestow his blessing on the remedies, if they bee ministred by the most ignorant man

No, thanks for a Generall to saue a Town, when he is able to withstand all resistance.

Men are euer much addicted and led by their own selfe: swasion, & wilfully blinded.

Successe of practise is the vulgars direction in censure on the paines of any Physition.

Good and ill hap awaiteth vpon the actions of al men, and consequently vpon Physitions.

It is a great matter for a man to bee happy & successful in his affaires.

man in the world, and they shall prooue happy. It is very true, but yet it is to tempt God, as we haue formerly alleadged. As if we would haue him, that of stones, he should make bread; and, of a remedie to no purpose, make it profitable. It is a common saying: *Helpe thou, and God will assist thee*. Let all the best meanes bee sought that may be vsed, and referre the issue to God, in whose hands are all things.

CHAP. VIII

*Against such men, to whom all things are suspected, and Physitions slaundered, in the most part of those accidents, which happen in diseases.*



None of the very great paines, which a Physition (beeing the most generous, and of the best spirit) hath, is, to support the reproaches, and false accusations of the sicke person, or of his assistant friends, who are so vnreasonable; that all the accidents which do happen in sicknesse, they attribute them to the remedies; and those of good successe, they doubt whether they are due to the Physition, or no.

For, first of all, when they see the person very weak, they accuse the abstinence and paucitie of food, appointed to him by the Physition: or else letting him bloud, or the purgation, and that they are the causes of the weakenes; imputing no vertue to the remedies; which (in diminishing the euill and bad humours) sustained the sicke body in farre greater strength; for, but by the vse of them, his estate would be a great deale weaker. That this must needs be so, do we not see some, who, condemning abstinence, bloudletting and purgatiues, become in farre more feeble condition? If they that make no vse of such remedies, maintaine themselues in greater strength then other; one then might better say, that the remedies are the occasion of weakenes but on the contrary, we behold those despisers to be more feeble, and (in the end) to die sooner then the other.

So is it of the other accidents, imputed vniustly to the remedies; as vomiting, flux of the belly, distaste of meates, alteration, paine, want of sleepe or watching, rauing

and such like, happening by reason of the disease properly, & from the nature thereof: but not from applyed remedies as ignorant people suppose. For, if after the patient hath taken something, by ordination of the Physition, or onely some matter is applyed vnto him, and then (quicke-ly after) he hath a casting, or fluxe in the belly: this was the cause, by reason he did it not before. After such a medicine receiued, this Syrope, that Restauratiue; this Cordiall potion is so distastefull, as nothing can be more, alteration hath made the impresseure far greater then before.

It is true, that these occurrences happen after, but not thereby caused. And is it not as ill argued, if a man should say: Since it snowed, my cloake grew more torne then it was before; therefore the snow was the cause thereof. Or otherwise; Since I fed on that Capon, I haue had the head-ach, the Collicke, or fluxe in the belly; therefore the Capon caused al these accidents. Sillic capacities, whatsoeuer commeth after, proceeds not from all that which hath preceeded. The fluxe in the belly, the casting, distasting, alteration, lacke of sleepe, rauing, and the like other causes (to you vnknowne) which produce such effects in their due time: was, as the learned Physition knew how to direct the medicine, by breaking the course of the disease, foreseeing the dangerous accidents, and diminishing them. All which notwithstanding, in despite of what hee hath doone; the sicknesse will make his part good against him, and encrease it selte to a certain point commonly called, the estate of the disease: but that may grow on more gently, then is to be permitted.

And if alteration, distaste, and other accidents doe encrease, after the vse of some medicaments well appointed: beleue assuredly, that they are from the diseases further progression, notwithstanding all the re-trenchings and resistances formerly made. Credite also, that the sicknesse would haue bene more furious, and the aforenamed accidents lesse supportable, if no meanes had bene made against them: as wee see by good experience, in such as mis-prise those remedies. For if it be true, that many do die through want of helpe (which is a Maxime receyued generally) it must needs fall out then; that

Of idle Arguments, pretending causes without any true sence or reason.

When the sicknesse is violent, it checketh much skill in the physition.

Wilfull refusal of helpe killeth many, and diuers dye for lacke of helpe.

A heauy burden to the very best Physition.

Accusations vpon the patients weaknesse, and imputed to the Physitions error.

For such as despise all good meanes ordayned for their health.

Imputation laid vpon diuers other accidents, by ignorance of such as are seuerely censured.

that they haue had more accidets, & more tediousnes, then such as escape in the like perils. There is no need then of suspecting, or calumniating the remedies, which haue bin followed by some accidents, olde or new, and then to say; This frontall (after the vse of it) he hath slept lesse, or raued more; for the fronrall was no cause thereof, but the sickenes it selfe, that could not by the best meanes then be tamed.

Next, after the Cordiall potion, he had the hiccoke, the dissenterie, or the cramp. It is very true: but this taile belongs not to this Calfe, as we say in the common Proverb, this is another maner of straine. I deny not, but remedies may be shrewd occasions sometimes, for they may be ill ordered, and but badly to the purpose. But I euer presume, that the Physition should be learned, diligent and affectionate: of all which he should continually relish, for the better interpretation of his ordināces, and receuing them in the more respect; attributing rather to the disease, or the expresse will of God, those accidents which happen (be they new or olde) then to the remedies. For there are diuers sodaine encounters, and which cannot any way be foreseene, to make a garde or prevention of them: as sometimes of a very light medicine, we shal proceed so far as bloud, because the patient was then vpon the poynt, of hauing the fluxe in his belly.

The Physition, who can not diuine, especially on a neutrall body, neither sicke nor sound, that keeps not in bed, because he would be no sicker then he listeth: if nature make some euacuation of it selfe; hee (knowing it needfull) makes his medicine light enough. It hapneth hereupon, that after the operation, nature passeth on further, and makes a flux in the belly, which continueth inordinately: because the expultrix vertue, being pricked by the eagle and mordicant excrements, cannot of her selfe restrain them. And the matter being corrosiue, cuts out the way as it passeth along, that bloud ensueth of it. The medicine must endure the accusation of al this, which (notwithstanding) gaue but two or three small sieges: all the rest was but a surrounding, & as a meere torrent of humours, gathered together of longer time. As somtime it comes to passe, that a man pulling but one stone out of a wall; a fadome or two follows after, because it was

so old and ruinous. Against a strong wall, there needs a Cannon or double cannon; but for a weake and feeble wall, a fieldpeece there will make a great breach.

And also, to iudge well of the effects of medicins; their true condition & estate must first be knowne, which none can so well do as the Physition, and not to iudge only by the effects. For, if during the operation, or soone after, we see that happen, which is not of that nature, caried or forced from the medicine; it is not to be attributed therunto. No more then as if a child, should giue a blow with his fist to a drunken reeling man, and hee should sodainely fall to the ground. It was not the stroke of the hand, that had such strength; but the wine or strong drinke which had ouercome him, whereby the fall happened to him.

Neuerthelesse, some one may reply by the selfesame comparison, that in like manner, to a sicke man (very weake) a light medicine being giuen, it hath the power to ouerthrow him to the ground. Then may we well couple therewith this other comparison; If a man should giue a fillop on the arme, to a woman being great with child, immediatly after she should miscarry. Hapned this by the fillop? The arme is far enough from the belly, & the fillop too light to enforce it: It is to be vnderstoode then, that from some other inward occasion, this so sodaine mis-hap receiued such vigour. Euen so, many other things doe meet together of themselues, not any way depending one vpon another; but casually & accidentally, & the causes (commonly) neuer pretended, or by any means discerned.

## CHAP. XLIII

¶ That there are more store and plentie of Physitions, then of anie other sort of people.



Finde recorded, that *Alphonso de Este*, Duke of Ferrara, being on a time in familiar cōference, demanded; of what trade or profession there was most people. One answered, of Cordwainers or Shoemakers; another saide, of Tailers; another, of Carpenters; another, of Mariners; and another, of Lawyers. *Gonello*, a famous Buffone,

Faults are easily found, but few good reasons can be shewne for them.

Of diuers encounters, no way to be foreseene or prevented.

Nature will haue her free passage in the body of man, beside all application of physicke.

The quality & condition of remedies must be known rather then their effects.

Comparison that hold no true correspondency with the rule of physicke.

A pretty question moued by the Nob Duke of Ferrara.

Buffone or Iester, replied, that there were more store of Physitions, then of any other kinde of people: and waged agaynst the Duke his master (who was far off from any such conceite) that he wold approue his wordes, within the compasse of foure and twenty houres.

On the morrow morning, *Gonello* went from his lodging, with a great Night-cap on his head, and a Kerchiefe binding vp his chin, and then a huge hatte covering them all, beside a warme cloake about his body. In this furnishment, hee tooke the way towards the Pallace of his Excellencie, along the streete called *La rue des Anges*. The first man he met withall, demanded of him, what he ayled? Where to hee answered, that he had an outragious pain in his teeth. O my good friend (sayde the other) I know the best receipt in the world for it, telling him the matter & the means. *Gonello* wrote downe his name in his Tables, making shew, as if he had set downe the receipt. Not two paces further had he gone, but hee found two or three talking together: who demaunding of him the same question; each man declared to him a seuerall remedy; he writing downe their names, as he did the first.

As he held on his way along the same street, going a soft and gentle pace, euerie man he met withall, stil gaue him counsel for seuerall receipts, and no one agreeing with another; yet still each friend assured him, that (what he spake off) had bin approued certaine and infallible; and still he wrote downe euerie mans name. Being come to the low Bulwarke of the Pallace; hee was round engirt with many people there attending; because he was most familiarly knowne to them all; and euerie man pittying to see him thus distressed, (vnderstanding the reason of his pain) aduised him to many receiptes; which each man auouched to be the verie best in the World: he writing downe their Names, gaue them infinite thanks at his departing.

Being entred into the Dukes chamber, his Excellencie no sooner sawe him, but running to him, saide: How now *Gonello*, what aylest thou? In pittifull manner hee replied (euen as if he had bene scarce able to speak:) Ah my Lord, I haue the tooth-ake, in the most cruell manner that euer man had. Whereuppon, his Excellencie

saide vnto him; Alas poore *Gonello*, I know a thing that will helpe thy paine presently, yea, if thy teeth were spoiled and rotten: *Messer Antonio Mussa Brassouolo*, my Physition, neuer found a better in all his practise; take it, and it will immediatly helpe thee. Sodainely, *Gonello* threw off all his sickely outside, saying out aloud: How now my Lord, what are you become a Physition too? See heere my roll of Physitions, how many I haue met withall, betweene mine owne Lodging, and your Court: they are in number almost two hundred, and yet I haue past through but one streete only. I will gage as much more to my wager, to finde aboute ten thousand in this Cittie, if I should but go thorow it, as I haue done this one streete: finde you out as many more my Lord, of some other profession.

A history well met withall to our purpose, and verie true; for, euerie man will be a Physition for one thing or other, and there are very few people, but they pretend to knowe enough, nay more then some Physitions do. I set aside some Chirurgeons, Barbers, Apothecaries, Nurses, or attendants vppon sicke persons, wife women, Mountebankes, and other Emperickes, euen to very Merchants, who, to make some profession of a part of Physick become meere Polypragmons; pretending to vnderstand more then Maister *Mouche*, making great outward shewes, and meddling with many diseases, accompanied with shamelesse assurances, and no meane promises. I would leaue them, but that they are such a goodly number, and daily they encrease by multitudes, out of the basest mechanical trades; as it is most lamentable to behold, and many liues perish by their meanes.

There are diuers of them, that will controule the directions of a Physition, presuming to handle the patients pulse, and obserue his Vrine. Deliuering their own aduices, quite contrary to that which the Physition appointed. If there be any, who are better aduised heerein; I thinke the number of them to be so small, as a man had much rather write of those presumptuous companions, making vp a role of so manie vndertakers, as (indeede) they would appeare to be infinite. Some of the are so bold and impudent, as before the learned Physition (yea, euen in his presence)

Euery man perswadeth himselfe, to haue much more knowledge, then diuers Physitions haue.

The name of a cunning Iugler, a Mountebanke in France.

Among verie base mechanical Trades, there are plenty of these Physicke professors, leauing their owne, because they cannot liue by them.

The policy of *Gonello*, to make good what hee promised to the Duke.

Many are medlers in giuing counsell but fewe or none can giue right directions.

The fool cunningly beguileth the Duke his master, for the winning of his wager.

sence) they will deliuer opinion; whether the patient should be let blood, or no: and when he bleedeth, that so much may be taken, and no more: That it is not good to purge, the season is not proper, but fitter for nourishing; when to minister restoratiues, diets, coullises, preffis, *Orges mondes*, &c. which must be giuen by their order, or else the patients friends will neuer be quiet.

In brieft, the great controller, euen the prime and cheefest Iudge of all, is, the ignorant vulgar, most vniust and vniindifferent, who (as *Terence* saide) *Thinke nothing to be well done, but what they do themselues.* And if their aduice be not followed, it is attributed to the Patients death, or to the prolonging of his sicknesse, if that some other course is nottaken. Let thē but imagine, and the Patient bee perswaded (by them) that it must be so; all other proceeding is absolutely erroneous, and thinges else is blamed, be they applied to the true purpose indeede. Is not this a miserable case? In other Arts, which are lesse obscure and difficult, and all thinges (well-neere) apparant to euery eye; the Artizan is permitted to follow his owne mind. In Physicke, the most secret and hidden of all, and wherein the people cannot discern a iot; euery man will dominere, like Rats in straw. Nor shall wee euer see better successe by the order of Nature, for the most part of diseases, in persons of degree, that haue great visitation of followers: but alwayes they haue health soonest of whom the least account is made.

### CHAP. XIII.

*That it is not for the sicke Patients profite, to haue many Physitions, as in ordinarie: but one Physition sufficeth, being assiduate and skilfull.*



His proposition may be vnderstood, by what we haue lately saide, touching vulgar estimation of Physitions: but I would not be mistaken, because my meaning here properly is; of such as are truly Physitions, in

skill, knowledge, and profession. It is very reasonable and necessary, that the aduice of many should be had, in difficulties, and matters doubtfull concerning a sicknesse. For (as the common saying is) *Foure eyes may see more then two*; that is, supposing them all to see clearly; for, one may aduise one thing, and a contrary party another; whereby, their meeting and agreement, is to the profit of the patient. But to haue many Physitions, in ordinary (as it were) and all to haue equall care of the sicke person; can no way be for his good and profit. For, in euery purpose, they may contradict one another in some thing, or else about a matter indifferent, one in enuy of another, and more for ostentation then necessity.

*Pliny* did very well obserue and note this writing thus. *It neede not to be doubted, that Physitions (coueting reputation by some nouelty) make a sodaine Traffick of our souls. Hence ensueth those miserable contestations, about sicke bodies; none of them becing of one and the same opinion, because no repetition must be made. Thence came that superscription on the unhappy Tombe: I was spoilde, by hauing too many Physitions.* Meaning thereby the Emperour *Adrian*, who (in dying) cryed out: *That the multitude of Physitions had kild him.*

The reason of this mischeefe is diuers waies vnderstood. As first, the enuy or ielousie, which (commonly) one man beareth to another; especially such, as are the worst created; ambitious, and couetous, beyond the ordinary course of other Artesmen. For, it is vsually scene: *That one Potter is enuious at another*, according to the ancient Adage. But much more (without comparison) the Physition, because he desireth, that the whole honour should be referred to him, of well predicting, well ordering, and well finishing the disease. Wherefore, hee cannot willingly endure, that any other should share a part with them. I speak of the couetous ambitious man: who is likewise (commonly) quarrellous, a detractor; and insupportable.

You haue some men very modest, but yet ialous of the honor, which they conceiue is due to them; chiefly, in such occasions, which they thinke may be done by themselues, as being cases light, common, and ordinarie. They can be well con-

The verie  
chiefe contro-  
ler of all Arte  
and knowledge.

All Arts else  
but Physicke,  
are not sub-  
iect to so much  
controule &  
obloquy.

The Authour  
wrieth heere  
to such as are  
Physitions in-  
deede.

Aduice of one  
Physition to  
another, can  
not be hurt-  
full to the pa-  
tient.

*Plin. l. 29. c. 1.*

The words of  
the Emperour  
*Adrian* on his  
death bed.

One Begger  
is wo, another  
by the doore  
doth go.

Of couetous,  
ambitious, &  
quarrellous  
Physitions.

contented, not to be contradicted; & yet notwithstanding, they will give consent, and yeelde to the desire or pleasure of the Patient, or those friends that are about him. But this is not for the sicke parties profit, as I have vnder taken to proue. For, although there be three or foure Physitions, one assisting to another for cure of the man, being all modest, peacefull, and skilfull: yet notwithstanding, wee knowe not how to preuent and auoide, the most part of such inconueniences as I will sette downe, and are (oftentimes) ordinary. For I leaue to them, who haue obserued it by others, to iudge, how much this manner of proceeding is incommodious, and hurtfull to poore patients.

First, if there be but one or two Physitions ordinarily employed: they will (no doubt) be most carefull, most diligent, most affectionate, to come off with their credit and honour. And yet one man alone, who shall haue the charge layde on his shoulders, may be there much more attentiu, because the trust is wholly reposed in him, and all the worth must redound to him. If that man haue a good heart, he will studie and labor, to do much better, then if he were consorted with another; considering euermore (as he ought to do) that in all difficulties he may quickly haue counsell.

Another discommodity is, that manie Physitions can hardly meete together, to visit the sicke patient, and all at one hour. For each of them haue other cures of visitation, beside some hapning in the meane while, and other affaires of importance: whereby, men are oftentimes compelled, to faile of the appointed time, that all cannot be present with the sicke person. In this case, the Physition most vsed, or such as meete there, are greatly hindered in giuing their aduice, or for ordering against some occasion which may happen; fearing least the absent parties or partie, shall not allow their iudgement; whereupon, it may breede an error in the patient, or his assisting friends, who will after knowe his opinion, and demand it alone by himselfe. Sometime, this may chance but about a Cherry, or a difference of as small moment, deseruing (of it selfe) not to be spoken of; but yet all must agree together, and giue consent in the case. This keeps the attending Physitions in no meane af-

fliction, and many times the patient in much more.

In like manner (comming now vnto a third point) they may endure many small things, which the ordinary and present Physition would order otherwise, following such occasions as present themselues at euerie mornent. I do call them small of themselues, yet often might bee brought to the patients great benefit; but hee dare not apply them, dreading discontentment in them which are absent. Hereby the patient may passe thorow diuers afflictions (from which hee might haue bene freed) as, during too much drought, or beeing kept ouer-hot, or too much pressed vith foode and Medicines, or prohibited of some pleasure and recreation, no way preiudiciall to his healing, and such like. I hold my selfe satisfied, in setting downe these three inconueniences, which are ordinary in the plurality of Physitions, to shew and approue, that it is much better (without comparison) to haue but one Physition; provided, that he be assiduate and carefull.

It is the greatestt happinesse for the sick man (that can be) to haue but one Physition, that goeth not away from him: For, by visiting him once or twice in a day, the patient cannot bee well cured: this may be called healing in grosse, and not exactly. For the present Physition, obserueth many particularities, which causeth him to change opinion euery houre; as wel of his nourishment, as in other Remedies. Wherefore *Celsus* saide very well, where he sheweth, what diligence a Physition ought to vse, in well directing the patients foode, for due houres, and measure of them, because it is one of the cheefest points in the whole cure. For (as hee writeth) *Foodes fitted to purpose, is a most singular Medicne and remedy. It ought alwaies to be obserued, and generally, that the attending Physition do continually respect the Patients strength: When it shall be good & able, to vse abstinence; and when hee beginneth to doubt his weakenesse, then to make supply of food. For it is his duty, that he surcharge not the sicke body with superfluous matter; neither to betray it to feeblenesse, by famine, or staruing, &c. Heereby may easily bee understood, that many (together) cannot bee cured by one Physition: & that he (if he vnderstand truly his Art) is most proper, that neuer parteth*

The 3. inconuenience.

Many afflictions hapning to a man in sicknesse, yet easily helpen.

Great happinesse to a sick patient, in hauing but one Physition, that shall attend him diligently.

The words of *Celsus*, a most learned Physition.

Of the first in conuenience by multiplicity of Physitions.

Of the second inconuenience.

Many Physition can hardly meete all at an houre.

teth from the sicke person. But such as are addicted to gaine, because much is to be had by a multitude of people: they willingly embrace those Rules, which require no such great curiosity, as in this case. For it is verie easie, to account daies, and houres, and other times of accessse; especially in such, as use not often to see their patients. But it behooueth him to be attendant, that must haue a care of all needfull things, and when the patient shall bee once feeble, to see that hee haue good nourishment.

Heereby you may perceiue, how important the sicke mans seruice is, that he must alwayes be assisted by a good Physition, both for his gouernement, and also for the vse of remedies. For, by being present, hee may aduance or tardie, encrease or diminish, and doe many things in other manner, then when the sick-man is scene but by starts and leysures, as is too much practised vpon the people. Wherefore, it is best to haue but one Physition, though he be of the lesse sufficiency or reputation (and consequently of lesse persure; so that he be honest, most frequent, and diligent. For diligence, vigilancy, & carefull obseruation in the ordinary Physition; may counterpoize one of greater knowledge, that is not halfe so much imployed.

## CHAP. XV.

*Against such as complaine on the ouer-short visitation of some Physitions.*



Vr life is ful of contrarieties, according as *Democritus* declared to *Hippocrates*, in the conference which they had together: as *Hippocrates* writeth to *Damagetes* in his Epistles. For, that which pleaseth vs now, will discontent vs within an houre. The labourer would bee a souldier, and (in short time) fall to his former condition againe. The Merchant would be made a Gentleman, and (soone after) returne to his Merchandize againe. But contradiction is yet more palpably discovered, when wee see contradictorie quality in one and the same thing. As, to

be a souldier, and yet not engaged to follow war, to be a great landed man, and yet not subiect to suites in law; to haue Varlets and Drabs in the house, and yet to be free from robbing; to liue dissolutely, and neuer to be sicke. So is it in many, who would haue Physitions of greatest following, and most reported of for practise, (of whome the vulgar giue great iudgement, that they are men of singular knowledge, as oftentimes it so fals out, though not alwaies.) And sodainely they make complaint, of their too short or seldome visitation, and that they come not (so often as they ought) to see them.

This is a complaint commonly made of our *Parisian* Physitions, being the most famous, who in so great a Citie, haue ordinarily such plentie of patients, as it is vterly impossible, that they should stay long with any one of them. For, if a Physition haue twentie patients to visite in a day, is it not much, if hee abide with each one a quarter of an houre at a time? For, in the longest day, which may consist of xvi. houres, I would haue him begin to visite at five of the clock in the morning, and so continue vntill ten: then begin againe at noon, and hold on till five in the euening, heere are ten houres imployed in visitation. It is verie necessary, that hee should haue some time of rest, as from tenne to twelue for his dinner, & refreshing from five to seauen in the same euening, and then to sleepe in quiet: for if he cease not day nor night, it is not possible for him to haue long continuance.

I will yet allow six houres for the morning, and six more after dinner. For, to go from one house to another, to mount and descend againe all the staires, importeth wel the space of two houres, in visiting of twentie seuerall persons. For no man whatsoeuer, can ride in poste quite thorough a Cittie; and then in the Sommer, when the dayes bee long, the swiftnesse of motion is very dangerous, by ouer-heating, sweating, alteration of body, and other such like accidents. There remaineth then ten houres wholly cleere, that the Physition may bee by each sicke mans bedde, and that is the most for such imployment: And howe much time is heere allowed then to each of the twenty? If I could account well, there were (for euerie one) a quarter of an houre in the mor-

Contradictions contrarye to themselves

Complaint made of Physitions visitings.

The Physitions of Paris in France.

Allowance of times for visitation.

Six houres for morning, and sixe more for afternoon for visitation.

A very short time for visiting twentie patients.)

The great importance of the sick mans seruice.

One honest painfull Physition is better then twenty.

Hip. in Epist. ad Demag.

All conditions are ful of contrarieties.

morning, and as much againe after dinner.

But very certaine it is, that the most famous Physitions, haue to visite (som such dayes) aboute thirty patients; and besides that, to vse consultations, where a man is constrained to stay longer then a simple visiting. Whence ensueth necessarilie, yea, and inuitably, that each of the other visitations, cannot bee halfe a quarter of an houre. For, hee must content euerie man, and he that imparts himselfe among so many, must needes allow euerie one a little. Thus the Physition doth but enter and depart, and (cursorily) informeth himselfe of the patients estate; feeles his pulse, obserues his vrine, speaketh a word of that which is to be done, and then away to another.

He is not iustly to bee blamed, for his celerity and summarie visitation, seeing it is not possible for him to doe otherwise; and they that call such men to their cure, are not well informed. Nay more, if the Physition answer sometime, that hee can haue no leysure, considering the great number of patients he is to attend: some one or other will reply, *O good Sir, if you do but looke in a doores, and then depart; the sicke man will thinke, that he shall bee healed by your verie sight onely: if you woulde but once in a day see him, as you passe along, hee were well satisfied.* As much saith another, yea, three or foure: What shall we say to such a man?

But some one will answere mee: He ought to haue regard of the persons quality, and make longer stay with a great Lord, Byshoppe, Abbot, Earle, Baron, President, Councillor, Treasurer, Generall of the Finances, and other men of Honour, who haue where withall to acknowledge and recompence him better, then ordinarily other men doe or can. I heare one make reply, that he ought to do his duty towards all men, and to acquitte himselfe faithfully of his Charge. Beside, that (by some) he is to be much more commanded; as his parents, neere Kindred, Friends, Familiars, and some to whom he standeth in high degree obliged. Such persons indeed (according vnto humane sense and iudgement) ought to be preferred before the other, what ranke or degree soeuer they hold. And such, of whom no money is to be taken, in regarde of the

fore-named obligation; do iustly require of the Physition, much more care and diligence, then they from whom hee may expect recompence. And therefore, it is no small matter, to haue a learned & wise Physition obliged and affected vnto anie one, who will alwayes make more regard of friendship, then of greatnesse.

And although the most part of our greatest personnes, haue no other knowledge of the Physition, but by his Fame onely, and are much lesse knowne to the Physition; yet such knowledge being not recipocall, and hauing no familiaritie, friendship, nor mutuall Obligation; the Physition is no more proper to them, then any other beside of the same profession, who hauing fewer crowds following the, may (happily) as soone minister succour, and giue more respect. But passion is so preualent in these our dayes, as none must bee had, but hee that is in most request; and euerie man would very willingly haue him, which properly is no way possible, and yet they complaine of his slack attendance too.

If a man say, I am none of the meanest persons, and I haue wherewithall to pay him, as wel as another: you shal haue an hundred to speake the same Wordes. What shall the Physition then doe? But diuide his visitations into so many pieces, as euerie one may haue a little. But euer more let him reserue the longest, for such to whom hee is most obliged, and standeth engaged; as reason and humanitie commandeth him.

Wherefore, it were much better (in my minde) that men heerein would take more aduise, and to desire y which they may haue: that is, a Physition easyer to bee had, among them that are accounted learned and expert, and yet haue not such busie employment; because their season is not as yet come, beeing post-posed to others, that haue more name, and longer time. And if there bee any difficultie in the disease, it may as iudiciously bee consulted on, as they that bragge most, and performe least. Belceue it vndoubtedly, that if the Physition be an able mā, he can soone vnderstand, and hath fewest words; which he had rather shold appeare by prooffe, then waste the time, in vaine lip-labour.

This is the best aduice that a sicke patient

Famous Physitions haue many cures to attend on.

Physitions that vse summary visitations, with nimble celerity.

That gre<sup>r</sup> persons shall bee more respect<sup>d</sup>, then men of meaner quality.

Parents and kindred challenge no mean privilege in ceremony and respect.

Great men are guided by the fame of Physitions.

When all will haue one man onely, what vse is like to be made of the rest?

Men of lesse note may haue as good experience as greater boasters, & what they prolong, performe in lesse time.

tient can take, of what quality soeuer hee be, for his soonest helpe and succor. And if his meanes be such, as to haue the Physitian still with him, or that hee goe but little from him: it wil be much the better for him, imitating what hath bin discoursed in the precedent Chapter.

### CHAP. XVI.

*How much it importeth, that the sicke patient should repose confidence in his Physitian.*

**S**OME may mis-vnderstand, that which I haue set down in the neighboring Chapter; as if I reprehended the affection which many haue to be visited by the most famous Physitians, and who (for their great reputation) haue most access in the best Cities. God forbid, I should therein do wrong to very venerable and rare persons, who (by their merit) haue acquired such renoune: And I should also offer iniurie to the sick if I perswaded them from affection, and recourse to the healers of theyr harmes. For, on the contrary, if men may ioy plainly, and so much as neede requireth; none in the Worlde may better doe it then they.

I taxe onely vulgar complaint, and in such as (to their owne shame) are discontented, because they cannot enioy what they would haue. I alwaies maintain, that they are onely the meetest men, in regard of themselues, and for their respect. Onely this is my desyre, that men of such fame and reputation, remaining alwaies in so great request: should also be most skilfull and expert, happy in their practises, and conformable to their patients. For otherwise, their high sailes will strike, and their reputation (badly grounded) will flie vp in smoake.

But for the choise men themselues, they are verie meete, apt, and correspondent, to cure the greatest diseases, and in the worthiest personages: in which respect, they holde reputation, and the cheefest ranke among Physitians, onely for happinesse in their cures. Because opinion conceiued of them, giues certaine confi-

dence to the sicke man, to bee recovered better, and more securely by their means, then any other whatsoeuer. Whereupon, we commonly say in our schooles, *He healeth most diseases, in whom most confidence is reposed.* And this proceedeth from strong imagination, which hath mightie power, to make impression in vs; as I sufficiently haue shewne, in the Preface to my 2. booke of Laughter.

It is a power of the soule, which strongly moueth the blood and spirits, in such a strange manner; that if she walke along (hand in hand) with firme opinion and confidence, the very powers of Nature assemble, to fight against the sicknes. And thereupon, great changes are noted in the Patient, onely at the very presence of a Physitian deuoutly attending. For, desire and hope being satisfied, the soule releueth it selfe, and re-enforceth against the sicknesse. So that (verie often) Nature maketh some braue sally and effort; chasing the matter of offence impetuousslie, by a *Crisis* as we vse to call it, which is the conflict of Nature and Sicknesse. Contrariwise, if the Physitian be not verie answerable in liking to the patient, perceiuing him not so succourable, as hee desireth or would haue: such a Physitian shal neuer proceed successfullly, and the sicke man (contristing and discouraging) will become much more feeble then euer hee was. For his spirites being danted, they haue no vigour at all; onely by the feare and distrust which hath before seized vpon his heart.

There is another benefite, which returneth to the patient, by hauing a Physitian at his owne deuotion, and according to his wish and liking; because from him hee hopeth to haue great comfort. For, hee willingly apteth and accommodateth himselfe, to whatsoeuer he ordaineth for him: with a chearefull confidence, that all this will surely helpe and heale him. As on the contrarie, what hee receiueth (from another Physitian) all is in dislike & disdain, whereby, nothing can be profitable vnto him. For, although it were the best, and most delicate thing in the world, if hee haue not a good opinion of it; the stomach fals to a loathing, and neuer can it come so gladsome to his heart, as when he takes it with a chearefull disposition. Wine, the brothe of a Capon, and the Brawne of a

Par-

The Authors clearing himselfe concerning the former chapter.

He taxeth nothing but vulgar complaints onely.

In commendation of the renowned generally by the world.

Confidence in the patient, is halfe a helpe to the Physitian.

The power of Desire and hope on their satisfaction.

An vnpleasant Physitian can do no good to his patient.

Nothing can be welcome to the patient, if he be out of loue with his Physitian.

Partridge, are most excellent nourishments, delicate, and dainty: but if a man take them frowningly, with an ill opinion of the Butlers bringing them, or that the Cookes dressing them is not agreeable; all will doe no good, the stomach being directly opposite vnto them. What will he thinke then of things, which (are of themselues) very vnpleasing, and sicknesse abhorreth naturally, as medicines & other druggeries?

It followeth moreouer, that the patient will endure many annoyances; wherein he shall be greatly impatient to his owne prejudice: if he haue not a good opinion of his Physition, and be confident in him. For, hee may approoue him to bee such a man, as the credite of any other could neuer perswade him. Therefore, it is not in vaine, that poore sicke men should desire such as holde great reputation, and of whom (commonly) passeth good opinion; for such haue the best efficacy in their proceedings and directions. But yet they are not so much to bee affected, as no respect at all should be vsed of other: whereof choise also may bee made at a second or third time of occasion, and they then must needs bee vsed, for want of the former. When any such man happens to be called: the patient must likewise repose his trust, confidence, and affection in him, without desiring any other; relying onely vpon God, who giueth vertue to remedies, at his owne good will and pleasure.

For, in mariage, Maids couet to match in great houses; but if it will not come so to passe, they must content themselues with meaner place, giuing all their loue and affection, to the husbands chosen by themselues. And God may giue them as much (or more) happinesse and contentment with their meane match, then if they had the richest husbands in the Worlde. This may redound to an honest household life, whereas the other might haue prooued iust nothing like the Physition, standing out of his patients affection, beeing daily desirous of another.

Many afflictions happens to the patient if he bee not confident in his Physition.

Mariage vsed as a comparison with the present argument.

CHAP. XVII.

*Of such as will haue Physitions, and yet deny to do as they appoint and direct them.*

**N**Or long since, I met at *Narbona*, with a Gentleman of *Venice*, who was Ambassador to the Seignery, and he talking purposely concerning Physitions, pleasantly said: That he wold beleue them well in their Negatiues, but not in their affirmatiues. This was a good old man, gallant and pleasantly disposed, who came from *Spaine*, hauing accomplished the tearme of his legation with King *Phillip*. Hee thus interpreted Negatiues prohibited by Physitions: As not to drink Wine, nor eate fruite, nor to feede on windie meates, and such like. And their affirmatiues were, to take medicines, glisters, Inleppes, and other things by them appointed. Was not this a goodly proposition, which many put in practise, to their extreame harme. For, they are willing to haue Physitions: but go looke for such as shall do as they direct them. Hardly will they keepe within the boundes of this *Venitian*, who (at least) would abstaine from what he was forbidden: but the most part of patients now a dayes, do quite contrary. What auaieth it to haue a Physition, if a man bee resolued, not to execute and accomplish his counsell, for the defence of his owne life?

Some will answer, that the presence of the Physition comforteth, delighteth, and encreaseth courage; whereby they feele the infirmity to diminish, & their strength to augment. Another saith, I will doe something that the Physition doth aduise mee, at least of foode and gouernement; but of his Drugges I will not heare him speake.

Well may wee compare this case, vnto people besiedged in a Towne or Cittie; calling some good and expert Captaine or Commander, for their succour and defence. Hee being come to them, they wil not obey him, nor accomplis any of his

The Negatiues of Physitions better credited then their affirmatiues.

The Physition may be kindly welcome, but his counsell nothing respected.

Friuolous answers in denying the Physitions counsell

ordinances, but say: That they are well pleased with his presence, and they are sufficiently fortified; it is enough for them, if he but take order for victuals, & be provident in policie. As for fight, mounting the Artillery, and other needfull preparations, they will not heare a word of that. Is this any thing else, but meerly to mock a braue soldier for his paines, & send him away with losse of credit?

I durst not tearme this folly, if Ecclesiasticus had not taught me, saying; *Hee that is wise, will not abhorre the Physition.* Oh, but Physicke (say some) is very irkesome to take. It is true, and God hath so ordained it, that it may the better fight against the euill. For, as health is pleasing and acceptable, so is it entertained with as acceptable things: and as sicknes is vnpleasing, so must distastfull things helpe to conquer it. It is not wisdom, if we apply not our willes, to whatsoeuer the Physition appointeth, without contemning any thing. For oftentimes, thorough defect of one obseruation, which may seeme but small: the disease impaireth, euen to death. Like as a Towne may (sometime) bee lost, by lacke of a Sentinell; or by the meanes of a little hole or passage, which appeared to be of no importance. Sometime, a sparke of fire enflames a whole heape of Straw, and thereby a house, and of one house, a whole Burrough or Towne. If a small fault grow into excesse, or faileth of help in due time, no meane disorder ensueth thereon.

What then shall become of such as despise the Physition, when he (many times) hath worke enough to doe, to saue them, that are willing to doe whatsoeuer hee would haue them? Commonly, it falleth out with them who are so difficult, that (in the end) they would yeeld to all, & more, euen then when there is neither meanes, nor time, and can no way bee preferred from death, as they might haue bene before, by Gods gracious assistance. Euen like to besiedged people, that began but coldly in their owne defence, not employing all their means; but sparing theyr bedtickes, balles of Wooll, Chests, Cuppeboords, and other mooueables, for re-impairing their victualles and money, that their Soldiers, Armes, and persons might be the better secured, and to fight valiantly. But at length, beholding themselues

constrained; then they can offer bags of Gold, Plate, Jewels, yea, all to their verie bowels, onely for safety; when there is no remedy at all to sted them, but become wise too late, with the *Phrygians*, according to the Prouerbe. Wherefore, let euery man determine with himselfe (euen in the very beginning) to doe willingly what the Physition shall counsell and ordaine for him, without restriction, or distinguishing Negatiues and affirmatiues, that God may the better giue his blessing, to concurre with the Physitions true endeour.

Delay in such cases is euer more dangerous, & hardly recovered.

Eccles. 38, 4.

By tasting sicknesses, we know the better how precious a thing health is.

Small errors may grow ouer great to be easily appeased.

Contemners of Physicke seek for helpe thereby, when it is too late.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Of such as in their sicknesse, will admitte no medicine or remedy; but only for the present paine and anguish.*



Observed this opinion, in a Gentleman of *Viuares*, affected greatly to his pleasures. He made no particulare account of infirmities, which were without grieuance, thinking remedies to serue little or nothing at all for them; euen as if it were necessary, that the disease should haue his course. And whatsoeuer was done, the infirmity would passe his foure times, if it were recoverable: but if it were deadly, then there was no remedy that could bee proper for it; which were erroneous speeches, grounded on those folies heretofore refuted. In breefe, he would not allow of any Physition, nor any medicine; but to take away instant anguish. But, if he were false into a palsie, which is a disease without paine, I beleue he could gladly haue desired, that it might be cured by medicin, or any other helpe else whatsoeuer.

No application of remedie, but to the place of present paine.

Now, concerning dolorous and painfull diseases, it is to bee vnderstoode, that greefe there is not the principal (although of very great importance) and that the euill must and ought to be taken away, from which the anguish proceedeth, if men do deale iustly in their cures. For, if one stand trifling simply vpon the paine, & the cause is mistaken (which is the source, root, and mother of euill:) there are then but two

Concerning dolorous and painfull diseases, wherein anguish is not chief.

meanes;

meanes; the one is by *Anodyne* medicines, which diminish the pain in some measure, and causeth the party to endure the rest more patiently.

The other is by *Arcotick* medicins, that is to say stupifying, making the member sleepey, in astonning the Naturall heate. Which is not to be vsed, but in extreme necessitie, and very wisely: but, as wel the one, as the other, do not let passe or lessen the greefe, but onely for a time.

Euermore, wee should come to Cure the principall, otherwise it is still to begin againe. And if our remedies serue not to take away the euill, which is without paine, or which causeth paine: that were the greatest falshoode in the worlde, as I haue apparantly proued before, where I ouerthrew the idle imagination, that Phisitians serued to no purpose, but abused the world. If any yet shall reply vnto me, that many are well re-cured, both without Phisitians and Medicines: I answer also in the same manner, that as many lose their greeuances, without Physicke, or any other applyed remedies, whereby that proposition is meerey confounded of it selfe.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ That such as are subiect to diseases, are in like manner subiect to Physicke: and others not.



ANY throw aspersions of blame and reproofe, on such as obserue some orderly rule and government, subiecting themselues to certaine remedies, to maintaine their healthfull condition, and preuent some knowne euilles, whereto they are subiect. They that condemne those meanes, are (doubtles) verie healthfull, and of good Complexion: in which respect, the position is verie true, according to that which is saide in Sacred Scripture, *The law was not giuen to the iust.* But more expressely, where it is saide, *The whole need not the Physition, but they that are sicke.* These words likewise do confirm the contrary, to wit; That such as are sick, haue need of the Physition; & such as are

subiect to any sicknesse, are also subiect to some rule. Euen according as we are subiect to sin, so are we subiect to the Law.

I shall alwaies giue consent with most eloquent *Celsus*: That the healthfull Man, while he carieth himselfe well, and is truly himselfe: needeth not to be tyed to any Law or Government, nor to imploy the Physition. It is very expedient, that he should haue diuers manners of life; one while in the field, then againe in the City, but more often in the field: To Navigate, hunt, to be at rest and ease sometimes, but yet to exercise himselfe more oftē. For, sloath and idlenesse, maketh the bodye drowsie and dull; but trauell confirmeth it: The one is the hastner of Age, the other is the continer of iolly youth.

It is good also sometimes to bath, and sometimes to use colde waters; one while to anoint, then againe to forbear. Feare no kind of meats, that are used among ciuill people; to be sometimes present at Feasts, another while to refraine them. One while feede some-what immeasurably, and afterward soberly. Make two meales a day more oftner then one, and alwayes eat well, so long as it may haue digestion, &c. As concerning carnall Copulation, it may not bee desired too much, nor too much feared neither: That which is rare and sildome, exciteth the body; that more frequent dissolueth it, &c.

These rules are to be obserued by such, that haue their health firme, and can so keepe themselues; that remedies ordaind for euil carriage be not employed & consumed in vaine. In this maner are men of sound health indifferent to all, and subiect to nothing, while they beare themselues well, and are so firmly in health, as *Celsus* hath limited. It were very great shame for a man, to make himselfe delicate, soft, and tender, soupling and eneuing his good and strong Complexion; which would extend it selfe a great deale more, by bolde, valiant, and manly exercises. But for valetudinarie personnes, vnhealthfull, subiect vnto manie Diseaser, as Epilepsies (commonly called; *Mal de S. Iean*) Megrimes, Rheumes, Catarhs, shortnesse of breath, Ache in the bones, Oppilations in the Liuer or Spleene, the Winde Collicke, or Stone, Gowts, and the like infirmities (whereof the most part are Hereditarie, yea, and the Leaproffie too) who makes any doubt or question, but that such men ought to liue

*Celsus in lib. 1. c. 2*

Excellent aduice giuen by learned *Celsus*, to a healthfull man.

He that is well & cannot keepe himselfe so, the blame is his owne.

Many diseases and infirmities, that are said to be hereditarie to some men.

The ground & cause of euils are to bee taken away, or else all our labour is to no purpose.

Men strong & healthfull, condemne such as are weak, and sickly.

Math. 9, 12.

within rule, if their owne ease they be not enuious of, and desire to see manie dayes?

Concerning  
Students and  
men in pub-  
like offices.

Such also as addicte themselues to studie, or vnto publike charges in the Common-wealth, because they are subiect to many necessities, ought to be gouerned; otherwise, they often fall into diuers infirmities. For they tie & constraîne themselues to store of things, which are verie hurtful for them. And *Celsus* in the words before alledged, presupposeth, that the healthfull man, must also be wholly himselfe in all respects.

How we are  
to vnderstand  
our being sub-  
iect to sicknes

Now, in the position formerly alleadged, saying, *Subiect to diseases*; we vnderstand a particular subiection & aptitude. For all men in the world are subiect to all kinds of sicknesse, euen as we are all subiect to death. But we say, some are subiect thereto particularly, that haue an inclination and disposition to some euil, the rudiment wherof is in them: not that they are already sicke, but because a small matter will throw them into sicknesse; and therefore, they ought the more respectiuelly, to carry themselues. By example of him formerly spoken of, who being the only sick man in his time: made shift yet to liue an hundred yeares, by great cunning, and exquisite manner of life.

## CHAP. XX.

*That such as know some little matter in Physicke, are more dangerous to be neere sicke personnes, then they that know nothing at all.*

In the 13.  
chapt. before.



Must confesse, that this error ought to haue followed a former Chapter, where we declared, that there were more Physitians, then of anie other profession. But fearing to offend any succorable people, I had a long conflict with mine owne cogitations, whether I should taxe and reprocue them in such publike manner. At length, I concluded to holde on my course; knowing, that ther is more danger (then we wold easily think) in such

as know something, and imagine to know all things. For out of this ouer-weening, either they presume, and vndertake the very greatest cures; or withstand and hinder Physitians, from beeing employed in principall remedies, necessarily requiring quick and sure healing. But these insolent controllers, keep them so engaged to fear; that they neither dare, nor vwill aduventure.

There are some persons, who know not any thing in Physick, in regard of discourse and reason; as ignorant women, who can neither write nor reade; but onelie haue certaine obseruations and rules, knowing how to make a good Broth, a Cullise, a Restoratiue, to make a bed well, and knit a kerchiefe about the sick mans head. Beside, they know some infant remedies, against itch, scabs, burnings, falling of the *Vuula*, wormes, the Mother, &c. Hereupon, they imagine themselues compleat in knowledge, and make many things out of their owne braine and fantasie; and if their experiment succede ill, they spare not to yaunt, that the Physitians great Gowne shall couer all this.

It were very good and expedient, that assistants about sicke patients, did knowe nothing else, but to obey the Physitians directions. It were a knowledge very beneficiall to the patient; for, such as do not presume of theselues, will neuer attempt to execute any thing, but what is prescribed, ordained, and commanded. Others, that dreame they haue knowledge; they will adde, diminish, alter, or else do iust nothing at all. Like to lewd Apothecaries, who execute the Physitians directions at their owne pleasure, as presuming to know the curing of the disease, and the nature better in course, then he doth: being drunke with some opinion concerning the like; as hauing obserued diuers the like sicknesses, attended many Physitians, and seene the successe of the like receipts.

O dangerous ouer-weening! see here the verie ruine of most sicke personnes. It were much better (before God I speak it) not to know any thing, then to know thus in this Empericke manner. What more unhappinesse for the patients life, and honour to the Physitian, then to haue an Apothecarie so ouerweening, temerarious, and presumptuous? In *Italy*, and in *Spain*, the

The left skill  
or knowledge  
in some small  
matter, pre-  
sently inciteth  
to presumption.

Of ignorant  
women Physiti-  
ans, that can  
neither reade  
nor write, yet  
haue know-  
ledge in some  
petty curat.

There should  
be no presu-  
mers about  
sicke personnes  
when they ly-  
vpon their  
sicke beddes.

Better to kn-  
nothing at a  
then to haue  
knowledge  
dangerous  
manner.

the sicke are in much better manner serued. For, the Apothecary goeth not to see the sicke man, except it be in courtesie and friendship; and yet not as an Apothecary neither: nor do the Physitions vnder write their bills of receipts, by or for whō the remedies were compounded. Whereby, the Apothecarie knowes as jitle of the Physitions intent, euen as if hee were acquainted with nothing. By this meanes, hee cannot abuse the Physitions directions; or, much lesse then our Apothecaries, to whom all is imparted ouer familiarly.

Next to Apothecaries, I speak of those vile and bad (not good, prouident, modest, and honest people, that meddle not, but what they haue to doe withall) yea, most dangerous keepers or seruants, attending about poore weak patients, who thinke they haue more knowledge then the Physition (especially, if they be anciently traded in the businesse) touching nourishing principally; because it ought to be of inestimable importance, qualitie, fit houres, and measure. True it is, of the quality they credite enough by the Physitions order; but for the houre and measure, they do all at their owne liking. I spare the drugeries they couertly vse, and the omissions of Ordinances appointed to them, when they meete with patients fite for their purpose. Such people are most daungerous, and much better to haue them that know no such cunning, neither haue learned any other lesson; but to doe what they are apointed, which is the main article of their duty.

CHAP. XXI.

*The manner of knowing Opportunity truly, for vnderstanding or performing such actions, as we would haue to be well done: And how our graue Elders vsed to depict or figure Occasion.*



Here consisteth no meane wit and iudgement, in knowing howe to make vse of Opportunity; & to perform our actions in due time: be-

cause great care is to be had, either for doing, or not doing a thing at a time; in regarde there is no alteration or returning backe, when defect falleth vppon the aduenture. Heereupon, the Grecian Philosophers leste vs many notable sentences in writing; making to that purpose: in regard that they truely vnderstoode, what wisdom depended vppon knowledge, for doing a businesse in apt opportunitie, and taking occasion when it is fairely offered.

*Salomon saith in his Ecclesiastes: To all things there is an appointed time. There is a time to be borne, and a time to dye: A time to plant, and a time to plucke vp that which is planted: A time to kill, and a time to heale: A time to builde, and a time to ruinate: A time for warre, and a time for peace.* In breefe, many examples might bee alledged, whereby to demonstrate, what losse relyeth on dooing any thing out of due time; and what benefite redoundeth vnto men, when things are accomplished aptly to time and place.

*Menander, a Greeke Poet said; That all things done to purpose, & in time, haue great grace, for Opportunity hath more power then Law.* So that a little attendance given on time, is esteemed highly worth. *Hesiodus, a Greeke Authour also, appointed vs te keepe meanes and obseruation of times: For, the importance of all affayres (saith he) consisteth in attending on time and opportunity.* *Pindarus said; Time hath great power in all things.* Also (according to *Horace,*) *A man should alwaies set forward his affairs, when he seeth due time.* *Socrates, writing to Democritus, said; All things are naught, being done out of due season.* In breefe, there is no man of iudgement or experience, but will pursue his busines in fittest times.

All which notwithstanding, it is to be noted, that as it is good to waite on Opportunity, and aptest times to perfourme any thing: so likewise, the point or instant is not to bee slipt, for exact executing any matter when it commeth. This is that which hath commonly beene sayde, Occasion is neuer to be misprized. For, all things y are done out of their constellation, & consent of the stars (although occasion commeth otherwise) can neuer grow to good perfection.

And to speake seriously, occasion and opportunity for our actions, was in such

Ecc. 3, 1, 2, 3, 4  
A discourse made by Salomon concerning times.

The wise saying of Menander.

Hesiodus.

Pindarus.

Horace.

Socrates.

Democritus.

Opportunitie must by no meanes be let slip, but taken while it may be.

A great inuention against ouer presuming Apothecaries.

For Nurses, keepers, and attenders about patients, pretending to haue no mean knowledge.

Opportunity is the greatest matter, belonging to the life of man.

high esteeme with our Ancients, as well Greeks as Latines; that they had alwaies her portraiture, like as a Mirrour before their eies. The Latines figured Occasion in the form of a woman; but the Grecians figured her in the shape of an infant, holding one foot vpon a turning wheele, and all before the face couered with Hayre, dangling downe in long tresses; but al the head behind was bald and shauen. This shape was giuen to occasion or Opportunity, by *Posidius*, or *Posidippus* as some called him, a Greek Poët, translated into Latine by the learned *Erasmus*, and *Ausonius* the *Lombards* Poët. Whom Sir *Tho: More of England*, a man much renowned for wisdom and learning, traduced into the *Castillian* tongue, in forme of a dialogue. For *More* said, that Occasion, standing so vpon a wheele, declared thereby her instability; and hauing wings both at her handes and feet, shewed, how lightly shee past away, without tarrying. Moreouer, said he, her forehead and face being couerd with hairy long locks, expressed; that she might easily be held, by such to whom she presented her selfe; but being vnwilling to be known to others, shee kept her face so couered, because she would escape away vnknown: being also bald and shauen behinde, for feare she should be stayed, after shee was once past. Whereby may be comprehended, that Opportunity once lost, is not to bee recovered, by all our paines applyed afterward.

*Ausonius* making a further addition to this picture, placed the figure of Repentance, sitting vpon the shoulders of Occasion: declaring thereby, that whatsoever happeneth by the losse of Occasion, may well be repented. And truly there are two kinds of people, who might make good vse of this example. For, some are so sodaine in their affaires, that they can neuer bring them about, by not tarrying for oportune time. And others (on the contrary) are so long and tedious in concluding their businesse, being troubled with so many inconueniences, which may happen; that in the time of this lingering negotiating, Occasion hath past by the. Both which extremities are to bee auoyded by men of good iudgement, who, in waiting the time for best performing their busines suffer no occasions (in the meane while) of faire offer, to ouer-slip them. For other

wife, they may fall into a tardy repentance, which will be little to their credite and benefite.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of Favour, Grace, or Good opinion: How it hath bene described by picture, and also concerning the Morall signification.*



The precedent discourse, concerning the portraiture of Opportunity, or Occasion, hath brought that to my remembrance, which the ancient *Romanes* gaue and granted to Favour, Grace, or good Opinion: as well for the great coueniency which these two things hold together, as also because the tru time and very occasion of wel-doing any thing is, when Favour standeth fairest for him; as much to say, as when the Prince lendeth an attentiu eare, and vouchsafeth (withall) a gracious countenance: For, a man that is in credite with a Prince, is very much made of by all men, euerie one thinkes well of what he doth, or saith; because all things succede to his good and honor: for all are full of fauour towardes him, either with an honest heart, or else in outward ceremony.

Little need is there to produce Histories or examples to this effect, considering that (at all times) it hath bin in practise, & euery yeare is a breuiate therof; wherfore it shal suffice me only to represent the true figure of Favour, according to the draught of our graue Elders, which may som way conforme it selfe with that of Occasion. For, in their truest picturing Favour, they figured a yong infant blind, being alone, & without any company. *Bartholomeus Dardanus*, moralizing vpon this picture (introduceth himselfe) speaking; to the Painter *Apelles*, by way of dialogue, in this maner.

*O Apelles! Perceyuing the great paines that thou hast taken, to portraite truly the Image of Favour: I pray thee tell mee, of what race shee is descended? Whereunto Apelles* sodainly replying, sayde; *Her Race is knowne, but to verie few people. And indeede, the Originall of Favour is hardly*

Occasion or Opportunity, moralized in Figure.

Occasion familiarly described by Syr Thom. More, Englishman

Repentance figured sitting on the shoulders of Occasion.

A worthy president for two sorts of people.

The excellent correspondencie betweene Opportunity and Favour.

The fauour of Princes are meane blessings to such as haue them.

The true picture of Favour according as it was drawne by Apelles.

The impairement betweene Dardanus & Apelles.

to be found. For some say, that fauour cometh by corporall beauty: Others hold, that she cometh by aduenture, or good hap. Yet some will haue her to be the daughter of Fortune, or of accident. And yet neuerthelesse, many are of the minde; that shee yssueth from true Noblenesse of the minde. As is easilie discerned, by this short Dialogue following, where a Poet, speaking to Apelles, beginneth thus.

**A discourses Dialogue** (according to Morall sence) betweene a Poet and Apelles, concerning the true Image of Fauour.

Poet. **W**Hat is that Woman, standing on yonder side, who is neuer forsaken, but still hath store of company?

Apelles. Her name is Flattery.

Poet. And what is shee that attendeth, or followeth after her?

Apelles. Her Name is commonly called Ennie.

Poet. What people are they that so round engirt her?

Apelles. They are such as continually keep company with Fauour, and are especially obedient to her: As namely, Riches and Pleasures, the source and originall of all vices.

Poet. Why hast thou (in figure) giuen wings to Fauour?

Apelles. Because she cannot step a foote abroad, but she mounts aloft, when the wind of good Fortune raiseth her.

Poet. And wherefore hast thou painted her blinde?

Apelles. Because such as are in credite, will no more take knowledge of their ancient Friends.

Poet. And why hast thou placed hir feet vpon a wheele?

Apelles. Because she followeth the steppes of Fortune, being euermore as inconstant as Shee.

Poet. But why dost thou make her puffed and swell so proudly?

Apelles. Because prosperity blindeth the vnderstanding of all men.

This Dialogue, reported in the Language belonging to it, would haue much more grace, then any tongue else can be-

stow vpon it. Neuerthelesse, the most gracious Fauourites may heereby take aduice, to know, what companions attend vpon Fauour, and the instabilitie both of them and her. To the end, they may the better gouerne themselves with modestie in their credit, without puffing or swelling vpon into pride. For, ouer and beside, that God is greatly there-with offended, there are many other dangers else, by the obseruation of passed times: as true testimonie hath beene made, by the vnhappy and lamentable end of many Princes Fauourites, that knew not howe to vse their credit so wisely, as they should haue done.

The greatest Fauourites of Princes, haue bene subiect to many misfortunes

CHAP. XXII.

Of those seuen Wise men of Greece, commonly called the seuen Sages: With many notable Sentences which they left behinde them in writing.



**S**Mong the ancient Gracians, such were called Sages, or Wise men, as now we vse to terme Philosophers. But Socrates, accounting the title of Sage or wise to be ouer-arrogant (because it was onely proper and peculiar to God, to be absolutely called Sage or Wise) inuented the name of Philosopher, as much to say, as a louer of wisdom; and being somewhat better qualified, and more moderate then the name of Sage or Wise; so that al wise men, which were since the time of Socrates, were well contented with the Title of Philosophers. Notwithstanding, there were seuen seuerall men, vnto whom the name of Sages or Wise-men, were attributed, by common consent of all Greece, in regarde of their Knowledge and Vertue.

Socrates first inuented the name of Philosopher, as thinking the title of Sage or Wise, to be ouer-arrogant.

And indeede, many Authors (as well Ancient as Moderne) do make mention of them, and of notable sentences lefte by them for memory: whereof (I purpose) to set downe heere a breefe summarie, that vnderstanding Readers (yet ignorant in the originall Language) may the better be acquainted with their wittie sayings.

The Authors intention, concerning this Chapter.

Setting aside then that vaine and foolish Booke of the Seauen Sages, which hath runne thorow too many Countries, with many opinions divulged, concerning their liues (which yet were discredited, and rent in peeces by *Diogenes Laertius*) I will shap my course, according vnto that which hath beene auouched by *Saint Augustine*, *Erasmus*, *Phlip Melancthon*, *Beroaldus*, *Raphaell Volateranus*, and many other Authors of great fame. The names of those seauen men, were *Solon*, *Chilo*, *Cleobulus*, *Thales*, *Bias*, *Pittacus*, and *Periander*, and they are all liuing together at one time: although some of them were more aged then the other, and (happily) liued longer then the rest did. For, all of them were in perfect beeing, during the reigne of *Cyrus King of Persia*, at such time as the Iewes remayned captiues in *Babylon*: which was about the space of fīue hundred and fiftie yeares, before the comming of our Lord and Sauiour *Iesus Christ*, as *Eusebius* saith.

We purpose to speake of them particularly, and likewise of some of their principall Sentences, which they left respectiue for vs: albeit memory hath embraced infinite common sayings of theirs, as ordinarily all Authors haue concluded in their writings. *Ausonius*, a famous Poet of *Lombardie*, verie elegantly reduced into verse, many notable Sentences of those Sages, whereof he maketh very ample relation, in three seuerall Bookes published by him.

First then, we will begin with wise *Bias*, who was borne in *Priene*, a Sea-coast towne of *Ionia*, a Region in *Greece*, hauing a very poore man to his father, named *Totamus*. This *Bias* was a great Oratour, a good Aduocate, and well seene in all the Sciences; beeing otherwise endued with many vertues. Among which, he held in highest estimation, to contemn the riches and honors of the world. *Cicero*, speaking of him, saith, that when the enemy destroid the towne where he dwelt, and euery man labored to saue and carry away the best of his goods: *Bias* would not saue any thing belonging to him. And being demanded, why he was so respectlesse of his goodes: he answered; *All my goods I carry with mee*: meaning his wisdom, which (indeed) is the greatest wealth of all.

Above all things, this man sought still to maintaine loue and amity, & therefore he was held the chiefest in the Commonwealth: he would say, he had much rather be a iudge between two of his friends, then between two of his enemies: for in condemning a friend, he should loose his friendship; but in iudging betwixt two enemies, hee for whome the sentence was giuen, would become a friend.

A lewd man once demanded of him, what was to be pittied in religion? wherto *Bias* answered not a word: the man growing angry, mooued the same question againe; and *Bias* replied; *Why dost thou aske such a case of me, as concerns not thee at all?*

He vsed oft-times to say, that the greater part of men, were the worst men; and *Ausonius* took great paines in confirming this saying. But it is so manifest and true, that it needs no other confirmation, then what is auouched in the Gospell, where it is said: *Many are called, but few are chosen*. *Cicero* also maintaines it to be true, affirming the race of the wicked to be great. *Plato* also saide to the same purpose, That good men were gone, and growne to nothing: but contrariwise, the vices of the wicked encreased daily, euen as if they were watered hearbs.

There are some Authors, who alledge many other sentences of *Bias*, very singular, and necessary; as, *Attribute to God all the good thou doest*: *Neuer be enuious at the rich*. *Hec may well be called a good man, that hath no remorse of conscience*. *The greatest danger that happens to a man, commeth from man*: *The very richest gift in a woman, is to be vertuous and honest*.

*Aristotle* attributeth this to *Bias*. Degrees of honor and offices, do most manifest what a man is: for, many appeare to be honest men (as indeede their actions shew no lesse) beeing priuate persons: but hauing power to command, doe manifestly declare the malignitie of their hearts: He addeth also. That a man should so carry himselfe to his friend, as if (another day) he should become his enemy: and so to deale with an enemy, as hoping (one day) he may be his friend. Yet *Aristotle* himselfe reprobued this saying, in his *Rhetoricke*. Notwithstanding, in due consideration of managing friendship in these dayes, wee shall finde this Sentence to be most true.

Of Friends and Enemies.

Irreligious fooles should alwayes be so answered.

*Ausonius in lib. 1. cap. 5.*

*Cicero in Tuscul. cap. 3.*

*Plato in Timæ.*

Many worthy sayings attributed to *Bias*.

*Arist. in 1. 7. a. 4.*

*Arist. in Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 4. 10*

There

Authors of great & good sufficiency. The names of the seuen Sages of Greece

At what time the seauen Sages liued.

*Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. c. 7*

*Ausonius* the Lombard Poet.

*Bias* one of the Sages, and where he was borne.

*Cicero in Orat. pro Cluent.*

*Omnia mea mecum porto.*

There are many other sayings, well deseruing memorie, which are attributed to this Philosopher, & would aske too much time heere to insert : and therefore I will leaue them, hauing first informed the Reader, that after the death of *Bias*, his funerrall was sollemnely performed, at the cost and charge of the Common-wealth, in signe of his perpetuall honour.

**T**He second Sage or wiseman of Greece was *Solon*, although some ranke him in the prime place. *Plutarke*, and many other haue written at large of his life, saying; That hee was borne in *Salamina*, an Iland in subiection to the *Athenians*, issued of an auncient and most Noble house; his fathers name being called *Aecrestides*. The *Athenians* made such pretious esteem of *Solon*, as well in regarde of his wisdom, and the victories which he had obtayned against them of *Mytilene*, with sundry other enterprises, which hee had finished very dexteriously; that they limited themselves to his ordinances, which were great (as *Plutarke* affirmeth) recording many of them by particular mention.

Especially he moderated the Lawes of *Draco*, which were very rigorous, so that for the very least facte committed in *Athens*, life depended thereupon. For, *Demas* the Oratour sayd, *That the Lawes appointed by Draco, were written downe with the blond of men.* *Solon* therefore corrected them, and confirmed in *Athens*, the Councell of the *Areopagites*, according as *Aristotle* and *Plutarke* do plainly maintayne.

Hee had a concurrent or corriuall in *Athens*, a kinsman of his owne, named *Pisistratus*; so that, the more *Solon* labored the libertie of his Countrey, so much the more did hee study and endeavour to oppresse it. Neuerthelesse, in conclusion, the eloquence of *Pisistratus* had more power, then all the approoued goodnesse in *Solon*, whereby hee possessed himselfe of the Seigneury and Rule of *Athens*; which *Solon* might haue done (much more easily then hee) if he would haue vsed but his owne meanes. For, when the men of *Athens* offered him the soueraignie of their City, hee made them answer thus: *The house of tyrannie is very pleasing, but it must haue a winding stayres to mount it: And therefore, I will neyther be a tyrant, nor*

*subiect to a tyrant.*

Heereupon, after that *Pisistratus* had gotten full possession of *Athens*, *Solon* departed thence, and trauelled Countries for the space of tenne yeares, as well in *Egypt* as in other places. Till at the length, he came to the Court of *Craesus*, the rich and powerfull King of *Lydia*, who hauing shewed him his aboundant treasures, demaunded of him, if euer hee had seene more Royall possessions? Where to *Solon* (like a Philosopher and Free-man) replied: That he had seene the possessions of diuers Fowles, Cokes, Capons, and such like, which seemed goodlier to him, because they were naturall to them. Againe hee demaunded of him; If euer hee had seene any man more rich, or so happie as hee was? *Solon* answered him (without flattery) that hee had seene a man in his owne Countrey, named *Tellus*, who (in his opinion) was more happie then *Craesus*; for hee was an honest and vertuous man, and had seene his children, and the children of his children so well aduanced, that hee receyued seruice from them in his age. Nay more, being growne into the extremitie of yeares; he dyed in the defence of his Countrey, and repelling the enemy.

The King being much displeased at the answer of *Solon*, sayd vnto him: Why dost not thou attribute to me some degree of happinesse? Whereunto *Solon* replying, shewed him the great traueses and mutations, which may ensue vnto such as are constituted in great Estates: and they being subiect to such alterations, he could not tearme them truely happie, alledging a common Prouerbe, vsed among the *Athenians*: *That the end of life must first be seene, before any iudgement of happinesse passe thereon.*

O most notable saying, though to *Aristotle*, it seemed not receiuable: for, while a man continueth in life, hee is alwayes vncertayne of his estate and condition, as also of his fame and reputation: as it was well approoued by the Wise man, who said, *Commend no man before his death.* And our blessed Lord also, would haue his Apostles and Disciples to make stay in no place, or to salute any bodie by the way: which some expounded according to the saying of *Solon*, who affirmed, that man (in his life time) could not assure him selfe

Solon left Athens, & trauelled Countries.

His coming to rich Craesus, King of Lydia, and his conference with him, about his riches and happinesse.

Craesus would haue some degree of happinesse granted to him.

A witty Athenian pouerbe.

No man can be happy before his death

Eccles. 12, 14

Math. 28, 19.

*Bias* buried at the Common welth's charge

*Solon*, the second Sage or wise Man of Greece.

*Solon* highly esteemed among the *Athenians*.

*Plut.* in vit. *Solo*

*Draco's* lawes registred in blood.

*Pisistratus*, an opposite against *Solon*.

*Solon's* refusal of governing Athens, & his wise reason.

The saying of Solon approved by many good authors. *Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 10.*  
*Ouid. in Metamorph. lib. 3.*

Solon departed from King Cræsus, as a man vnregarded.

Cræsus found Solons words true, to the no mean hazard of his life.

Cyrus giueth life to Cræsus, and made him Competitor in his Kingdomes.

*Arist. in polit. lib. 3. cap. 13.*  
The death of Solon in the Isle of *Rhodes*.

selfe from falling into many ineuitable inconueniences. *Pliny* also conforming him selfe to *Solon*, sayd; *One day iudgeth another, and the last day iudgeth all*. *Ouid* maketh the like affirmation, saying: *whosoever considereth the last day of man, which is vncertaine; it is not possible for him to say, that he can be any way truly happy*.

But returne we againe to King *Cræsus*, who, notwithstanding the wise answer *Solon* had made him, he regarded him not, neither what great benefit might after befall him, by enjoying the companie of a man so worthy, as neuer respecting future occasions to follow. Whereuppon *Solon* departed from his Court, with very vnkinde entertainment: but afterward, such an aduenture hapned, as made him dearely acknowledge his errour, and well to remember the words of *Solon*. For, Great King *Cyrus* waging new warre against him; and hauing vanquished and taken him prisoner, gaue Sentence, that hee should be burned aliue. Hee being vpon the pile of wood, and fire making readie to consume him: cryed sodainely out aloud, *O Solon, Solon, Solon*, remembring now in this extremitie, that his saying was true, and that no man could be happy while he liued! *Cræsus* commanding the Officers to stay, and to keepe the fire from the pile: would needes vnderstand of him, wherefore he vsed that inuocation vppon *Solon*, or expected thereby for deliuerance from death? *Cræsus* reported the whole History to him, what *Solon* had sayd, concerning his imaginarie happinesse; the truth whereof he had now too apparantly prooued. *Cyrus* being much amazed thereat, and entring into mature consideration, of the strange and vnauidable mutabilities of Fortune; deliuered King *Cræsus* from death & captiuitie, doing him so great honor, that he made him his associate in his kingdomes. Whereby we may perceiue, that this wise and worthy saying of *Solon*, was the meanes of freeing one mighty King from death, and made an other also much wiser then hee was before.

*Solon*, hauing attained vnto the age of foure score yeares, dyed at *Rhodes*, ordaining by his testament (as *Aristotle* sayth) that his body should bee burned, and his ashes scattered in the Isle of *Salamina*: because they should not be caried to *Athens*,

for constrayning them (by that meanes) to keepe his ordinances. Because, before he departed from *Athens*, he made the *Athenians* to take an oathe, that they should keepe his Lawes inuiolably, vntill he was returned from his voyage. And indeede, according vnto *Aristotle*, the Commonwealth of the *Athenians* maintained themselves very prosperously, so long as they kept the Lawes of *Solon*.

Now, as concerning the sentences and sayings of *Solon*; for the most part, they were conformable to Christian Religion, and all Ciuillitie. As, *Honour God: Be helpful to thy neighbour: Maintain the vertue of thy friend: Obey the Lawes: Bridle thine anger: Honor thy father and mother: Swear not: Keepe thy selfe from Enuy: Be not too light in confirming a friend, but learne to keepe him when thou hast him. Marrie with thine equall: Reprooue thy friend in secret, but publicly thou mayest commend him: Shunne the company of wicked people: Praise and follow vertue*. Hee sayd moreouer, *That Lawes were like to Spiders webs, wherein poore litle Flies were soone entangled, but such as were great and strong, could easily breake thorow*. Such, and the like notable Sentences, are found among his Lawes and Ordinances: And so much for *Solon*.

**C***Hilo*, son of *Amaratus*, was also numbered amongst the seauen Sages of Greece. He was of *Lacedemon*, a citty highly renowned in Greece, where he was elected in the Councell of the *Ephori*, in regard of his great wisdom & knowledge: this was an Estate among the *Lacedemonians*, as the Conseruatours and Tribunes were among the Romans. *Chilo* was very summary and succinct in his Discourse, as (ordinarily) all the *Lacedemonians* were: and hee was likewise called *Aristagoras*, in regard of that qualitie. When any one compiled an Oration, in few and witty words, they vsed to say; That he had written a *Chilonicall* Oration. He liued so long (as *Pliny* and some others say) euen till nature sayled in him. Neuertheless, he dyed with a conceit of ioy, seeing one of his sonnes, to winne the prizes of Honour in the Olympian games, and after his death, the *Lacedemonians* performed his funerall with great solemnitie.

The singular wisdom of this man, appeared sufficiently, by the notable Sentences

Solons sayings conformable to Christian Religion and Ciuility.

*Chilo*, the third Sage or wise man of Greece.

*Chilo* called *Aristagoras*, for his succinct discourse.

*Plin. in l. 16.*

Chilo entrusted all men to know themselves.

Plat. in lib. de legib. 3. cap. 9.

Iuuenall.

Things fit and necessary for all men to know and vnderstand.

Witty and graue sentences written & vsed by Chilo

Questions moued to Chilo, and his discrete answers.

tences which he had written; but especially in this; that he exhorted euery man to know himselfe. Which being heedfully obserued, men would not bee so vaine, nor so proude and inordinate, as vsually they are: because all vices and disorders do proceed from selfe-conceite, and no man truly knowing himselfe. Heereupon the Christian Church tooke an order, that euery yeare (in the begining of Lent) all men should bee admonished to remember, that from dust they came, and to dust they should returne againe.

Plato recordeth, that this saying of Chilo, *Know thy selfe*, was written in letters of golde, vpon the portall of *Apolloes* Temple. *Iuuenall* saith, *That this saying came frō Heauen*. *Macrobius*, in his Tract of *Scipioes Dreame*, saith; That the Oracle of *Apollo* being demanded the meanes, what course should be taken, for attaining to felicity, answered: *Onely teach a man to know himselfe*. *Demonicus*, being asked, at what time he began to be a Philosopher, answered; *When I began to know my selfe*. O most necessary rule; for if a man would consider himselfe well, and study but to vnderstand his condition, estate and vacations, and frame his life accordingly thereto: hee could neuer bee so changed, to attempt such things, as he neyther should or ought to do, neyther would there bee so much disorder in the world, as now there is.

Chilo also had an accustomed kinde of Prouerbiall speeches, to wit: *Remember thou must dye, and therefore provide for thine owne saluation. Honour olde men. Be no murmurer. Speake no euill of an offendour. Chuse rather losse, then dishonest gaine. In violence and constraint bee milde and humble. Labour rather to beloued, then feared. Try Gold by the touch; for, a golden-tongued mā, who speaketh all that comes into his mouth, men may often heare from him, such things as they would not.*

Chilo being asked by one, named *Æsop*, what God had done, answered; *Hee exalted humble men, and suppressed proud ignorant Fooles*. Being demanded also, what was the hardest thing in the world to bee done, replied: *To vse and employ a mans time well, and to pardon iniuries and outrages receiued*. In brieffe, he would vsually say, that he would so dispose the course of his life: *That the greatest persons should not despise, nor the meanest feare him*. Finally,

Chilo both wrote and spake many notable things in his time, which would require ouermuch leysure to report: And therefore, we wil take our leaue of him, making way to entertaine our 4. man of *Greece*.

**C**leobulus, who was also one of the seauen Sages, was borne in *Lindos*, a City in the Isle of *Rhodes*; or as some others say, in *Caria*, a Towne of *Anconia*, a Region in *Greece*; and his Fathers name was *Eua goras*. This *Cleobulus*, beside his being a very singular wise man, was also of very goodly bodily feature, and wonderfully actiue of his person: so that eyther, or both these happy blessings together, made him admired, and esteemed generally. The loue of learning preuailed in such sort with him, that he forsooke his Country, Parents and Friends; traouailing into *Egipt*, where (in those times) were many goodly and famous Vniuersities.

He had a Daughter named *Cleobolina*, that could inuent and write in prose, beyond ordinary compasse of men or women, and very skilfull shee was beside, in propounding questions of difficult resolution; as this one for an example. *A Father had twelue children, and each childe had thirty sonnes, all white by nature, and thirty daughters, all of them naturally blacke: all which were immortal, and yet (notwithstanding) were discerned to dye daily*. By which Enigma, shee vnderstood the yeare, that hath twelue Moneths, and euery Moneth thirty dayes and thirty nights.

But come we againe to *Cleobulus*, who after his returne out of *Egipt*, deserued so highly by his learning and iudgement, as to be ranked among the seauen Sages of *Greece*. And many of his learned sayings and sentences, were held as rules and directions for mens liues. Among other, he vsed most of all to say; *That Mediocrity was without compare*. And assuredly, these words greatly confirmed the saying of *Chilo*, who wold haue euery man to know himselfe: For if we knew our selues well, and as we ought to do, a meane then in all things would easily gouerne vs. By this sentence then of *Cleobulus*, making such precious account of *Mediocrity*; we may well conclude, that all extremities are vicious. As much to say, when there is too much, or too little: whereupon our ancient Philosophers vsed to say; *Beware of*

Cleobulus, the fourth wise man of Greece, a man of learning and excellent compoſure of body.

Cleobolina, daughter to Cleobulus, a woman of rare ingenuity.

Her witty Enigma.

Cleobulus his commendation of Mediocrity.

Omne quod est nimis vertitur in vitium.

too much, declaring thereby, that all excess is vile.

*Aristotle* attributeth this sentence to wise *Bias*, and some other to *Solon*, but be it howsoever: Vertue alwayes consisteth in mediocrity: According to the saying of *Aristotle*, Vertue tormenteth it selfe by too much, or too little: For vertue is nothing else but a mean or mediocrity, consisting betweene two extremities. *Horace* appointed in his Discourses, that a meane should be obserued in all things. For (saith he) all that goeth before it, or contendeth to come after it, keeping neither meane nor measure, can neuer be said to be well accomplished.

An infinite number of examples may be alleadged to this purpose, especially concerning the foure principall vertues, which are commonly called Cardinall. For, Fortitude is lodged betwixt Feare & Boldnes; & Liberality keeps the mid-way betwixt Couetousnes and Prodigality; as the like may be sayd of other vertues, and humane operations, which ought to gouerne themselves by time and necessity: yet with this charge neuertheless, to beware of ouer-much in any. This is a doctrine conformable to the saying of *Hesiodus*, oftentimes alleadged by reuerend *Erasmus*, commanding all men to obserue a measure in their actions. As much maintaineth *Plato*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and many other Authors both ancient and moderne, euery one of them auouching commonly; That happy men alwayes follow a meane in their trauels.

And (in this case) the reason is peremptory, for all things are euen as nothing, they haue their beginning and their end, and so they passe away: Reason then fits them with an apte conclusion, that they perfection consists in the midst of the five Zones or Plages, which girdle round the whole wide Vniuerse; the two extreme are held to be inhabitable: and yet contrarywise, those in the midst are allowed to be most perfect. The Sunne which is held to be Prince of the Planets, is in the midst of the errant or wandring Stars. Among men, the place of honour is in the midst, & (indeed) it is hard to make any agreement, except ther be a third, to serue as the means. To conclude, the meane so much commended to vs in all things, concerns chiefly Christ, that hee would be caled the Mediator betwixt God & man.

He vsed diuers other notable sentences beside, as, Beware of giuing thy friend occasion to reprooue thee: Shunne the ambushes of thy enemy: Before thou goest out of thy house, remember what thou hast to do: and upon returning home, consider what thou hast done: match not in marriage, but with thine equall, for if thou takest a wife of a better house then thine owne, thou makest thy selfe a slaue to her and her kinred: Pardon the errorrs of other men, and neuer be sparing of thine owne: The more liberty thou hast, so much the lesse vse make of it: Be not proude in prosperity, nor faint-hearted in aduersity. Inure thy selfe to beare the traueses of fortune patiently. Many other singular Sentences are attributed to *Cleobulus*, which *Ausonius* and *Diogenes Laertius* haue recorded in their works, affirming withall, that he dyed at the age of seauenty yeares.

Now it remaineth to speake of *Pittacus*, of *Mitylene*, the capitall City in the Isle of *Lesbos*, and at this day called *Mitylene*, his fathers name being called *Hyrradius*. He was of such learning, wisdom and ingenuitie of spirit, that the Græcians placed him in ranke among the seauen Sages. The loue hee bare to his Countrey, moued him to make warre against the tyrant *Meleager* (who vsurped thereon) so that he enforced him to flight. In the war betwixt the Athenians and them of *Mitylene*, about a field then in controuersie; hee was Generall for the *Mityleneans*, and became Conquerour, and slew *Frinenes* Generall for the Athenians in the open field. Whereupon, the Athenians quitted vnto *Pittacus*; the contentious field which they quarrelled for, in regarde of the victorie which hee obtayned against them: and gaue him the government of their Common-wealth, which he ruled worthily the space of ten yeares, ordaining many good Lawes and Constitutions for the benefit thereof. Which hauing done, he willingly gaue ouer his gouernement, as it was freely put vpon him: and liued vntill hee was seuentie yeares olde, beloued and honoured generally.

His sayings and Sentences are no lesse considerable, then those of the other Sages, neyther the maner of his life. For, first of all, he made so smal account of the dignity, gold and riches of *Cresus*, King of *Lydia*, that hee would not receiue any of him:

Other sentences vsed by *Cleobulus*.

*Ausonius* in l. 3. *Diog. Laert.* in vit. *Cleob.*

*Pittacus*, the 5. of the Græcian Sages.

He made war on the tyrant *Meleager*, & was Generall against the Athenians.

*Pittacus* made Governour of the Athenians.

The slender esteem he made of *King Cresus*, and all his pompe.

*Arist.* in *Polit.* lib. 3. cap. 7.

*Horace* in lib. 1. cap. 6.

Approbation by the foure Cardinall Vertues, & their contraries or opposites.

*Hesiodus*.  
*Erasmus*.  
*Terentius*.  
*Plato*.  
*Plautus*.

Comparison of the five Zones.

The Sunne, Prince of the planets.

The onely cheefe meane aboute all other.

him : but sent him word, that he had no need of his gold or siluer, because he had already a great deale more, then willingly he would haue. Giuing thereby to vnderstand, that hee was sorry for his Brothers succession, which happened to him, because he affected his Brother, better then his owne welfare. He often saide, that things to come, were very difficult to vnderstand ; and that there was nothing in the world more certain then the earth ; and contrariwise, that there was not any certainty in the Sea.

*A wise man (quoth he) ought to foresee disasters before they happen, the better to shun and keepe himselfe from them. Recouer that with patience, which force cannot command. He that knowes not how to holde his peace, knowes no fit time when he should speak. In time of prosperity get thee friends, & make prooffe of them in aduersity. Neuer boast of what thou wilt doe, least thou bee scorned if thou canst not do it. Looke how thou art towards thy Father, such shall thy children bee to thee. So much for Pittacus.*

**T**hales, the sixt of the Sages of Greece, was a Natiue of *Miletum*, a Citty much renowned in Greece, and for the many vertues abiding in him, deserued well, that the cheefe place among the Sages, should be assigned to him. For, in the first place, he was Soueraigne in Geometry, and the first man that discovered the principall secrets of Astrology : as the course of the Sun, the reason of his Eclipses; and likewise of the Moone, and the Equinoc-tials. In brieft, he brought to light the course of the Planets, and many other secrets of naturall Philosophy. Moreover, he was the cause, that the proud Title of Sages, remained to the seuen learned men of Greece, by this accident.

Vpon a day, sundry young men, and friendly companions of *Miletum*, had bought a draught of certaine Fishermen, hauing cast forth their Net into the sea, and these young men were to haue the benefit, of al to be drawne vp at that time. A most admirable case suddenly happened; for when the Net was drawne vp, they found therein a Table of Golde, beautified and enriched in most costly and sumptuous manner. They which bought the draught, pretended, that the table of gold belonged to them, by their bargaine. The Fishermen (on the contrary) auouched it

to be no fish, & that they bought nothing of them, but onely all the fish which should be taken : and therefore (in that respect) they had no right at all to the Table. A long and great contention grew between them; which to be the sooner ended; by full consent on eyther side, they sent to the Oracle of *Apollo*, for a finall resolution : where he, or the diuell speaking by him, made this answer; *That the Table must be giuen to the only wise man of Greece.* Which beeing thus vnderstood, the golden Table was sent to *Thales*, as being the wisest man in Greece. But he was so modest, that he sent it to another of the Sages before named (for they were all liuing at that time) and hee sent it to another, so that the Table of gold passed from hand to hand, vntill at last it came to *Solon*, who likewise would not enioy it, but sent it to the Temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphos*.

*Ausonius, Callimachus*, and many other write, that through the courtesie vsed in the Sages one towards another, the Table returned againe to the hand of *Thales*, to whom at first it was presented; and that he sent it to the *Delphian* Oracle. But howsoeuer those Authors write diuersly, concerning this History; yet all doe agree together in this, that *Thales* was the first mā, to whom the golden Table was sent.

*Aristotle* making mention of *Thales*, reciteth many conceited sayings proceeding from him, especially in his Bookes of *Pollicies*, and namely one, which he vsed ordinarily. *That when he pleased, he could be rich.* Whereof he made good and sufficient prooffe; for foreseeing by Astrology, that there would be a good season for *Oliues*, and *Oyle of Oliues* (soone after) was likely to be deare; he laid out his monee, to buy *Oliue-Oyle*; while the season serued, which after wards hee solde at what rate he pleased. Not because thereby hee would enrich himselfe; but to make a manifestation, that when he listed he could be rich, considering what knowledge he had, both for times of abundance, & likewise of dearth, when they would happen. On a time it came to passe, that as he was gazing vpon the stars, he fell into a ditch; which an old woman seeing, & comming (vpon his outcry) to help him, in mocking maner said to him. *Tel me Thales, how darest thou presume to foretell of things to come, by consideration of the Stars, and yet couldst not*

The Oracle of Apollo must end the controuersie.

The Table of gold sent to Thales, as the onely wise man of Greece

Variation among Authors, concerning this History.

*Arist. in 3. lib. Polit. cap. 9.*

Thales would be rich when he listed.

Thales being fallen into a ditch, was reproued by an olde woman.

The earth reputed to be certaine, but the sea most incertaine.

Worthy sayings vsed by Pittacus.

Thales, the first of the seven Sages.

Thales the first discoverer of Astrologie.

Table of gold drawne out of the sea in a Fishermans net.

Diuers wise sayings often vsed by Thales.

see what was vnder thine owne feet vpon the ground. And yet notwithstanding, he was knowne to be an admirable wise man. He was wont to say; *That ouer-great assurance and confidence, was euermore accompanied with repentance.* For many times, such as trust too much to others faithfull promises, are faine to pay the debts, from which no other caution could preuayle with them. He sayd moreouer; *That the true meanes of liuing vertuously, is, by not doing such things, as we condemne in other men.*

Being demanded, what was the easiest thing in the world to doe; he answered; *To know other mens faults, and none of our owne.* He sayd also; *That few Tyrants liued to be old.* Diogenes following the opinion of \* *Hermippus*, sayd; that *Thales* vsed to thanke God for three things (though this Sentence is tathered on *Socrates*;) *First, that he had made him a man, and not a beast. Secondly, that hee had made him a man, and not a woman. Thirdly, that hee was borne a Greeke, and not a Barbarian.*

Periander the last of the seauen Sages of Greece.

Now we come to speake of *Periander*, the last of the Græcian Sages, of whom I haue no great matters to relate; because (according to diuers authors) he was not in the rancke of the seauen Sages, and yet a man of singular wit and vnderstanding. *Periander* was King of *Corinth*, and the son of King *Ciphilas*; the maner of his life being rather tyrannicall, as liuing like a Soldiour or Captaine, rather then a Philosopher. And hence it ensued, that *Heraclides*, and many more beside, esteemed this *Periander* to be none of the seauen Sages of Greece: but another *Periander*, who was (indeed) a great Philosopher; and a man highly renowned for vertue. Neuertheless, the most voices gaue the title of *Sage* to *Periander*; for although hee reigned by power at *Corinth*: yet notwithstanding, he was so discret, valiant and of so absolute vnderstanding, that thereby he won the name of *Sage* among the *Greeks*.

Periander reputed not to be a philosopher, but king of Corinth

His answer when he wold not leaue his Kingdome.

It was demanded of him, why he did not depart from his tyranny & kingdom: because (quoth he) I may fall into as great danger, by willingly leauing my kingdom, which none other can dispossesse me of by force. He vsed continually many notable Sentences, and had the word *Consideration* very frequent in his talke, as declaring therby, that the principall thing

wee should haue care of, is, to consider well what affaires we vndertake. The Poet *Ausonius*, expounding the word *Consideration*, saith; *A man should thinke tenne times on any thing, before hee presume to attempt it.* For men (often-times) fall into great daungers, through much inconsideration: especially, when they will not be gouerned by wisdome or councell, but rashly follow the perswasions of Fortune.

*Vertue* (sayd *Periander*) is *immortall*, but the pleasures of this world are of *small continuance*. In times of prosperity, be wise and modest, & in aduersity patient and constant. *Liue in such sort, that thou mayest haue honour by thy life, and that after thy death, men may account thee happy.* Let ancient Lawes and Ordinances be rules for thy gouernement, inducing no nouelties into the Common-wealsh. *Profite should alwayes be accompanied with good grace and honestie. Performe that chearefully, which thou canst not preuent but cowardly.*

Complete he was in these, and infinite other of the same nature, which breuiety maketh me spare to speake of.

Ausonius, concerning the word Consideration.

Wise & learned Sentences of Periander, left to eternall memory.

## CHAP. XXIII.

¶ That Sight is the chiefest and principall Sence of all the rest. And of many being blind, who neuertheless were men of great honour and renowne.



*Aristotle* had great reason to say: *Sight is the very principall of all the other corporeall senses.* For, it is seated as in the maine Cittadell, in the high & most eminent part of the body, whereby we may vnderstand, that it partaketh greatly with fire: by vertue and power whereof, it is placed aboue all the other senses. Touching hath a terrestriall participatiō, for the earth is most rouchable and tractable; and of all the Elements, Tasting holdeth with Aquositie and humiditie: for, without humidity, a man cannot taste any thing. As for Smelling, *Aristotle* attributeth it to fire, saying: *Heate is the foundation of odour, and her end consisteth in vapour, ioyned to an Ayre grosse, and full of exhalation.* Concerning Hearing,

*Aristotle* in 1. lib. Animal cap. The eminent seat of sight.

The Elementary qualities of the body senses.

Hearing, euerie one well knoweth, that it partaketh with ayre, which entering into the eares, by sound, causeth hearing; but sight participateth with fire.

And although that the Eye were composed of a moyst and waterish bodie, yet notwithstanding, without Fire, it wer not possible to haue sight: whereby wee may perceiue, that Sight or Seeing houldeth more of fire, then all the other senses doe beside. And because the eye (as *Aristotle* saith) doth more present the figures of things to a man, then all the other senses: to it is granted, the beginniug of contemplation, and knowledge of all things. For from sight proceedeth admiration, and the consideration which a man hath by seeing, occasioneth a desire in him, of coming to vertue: So that (by good right) we may call the Eye, the Author and Inuenter of all Arts and Disciplines.

In the prime place, by the Eye, a man considereth the admirable Architecture of the heauens, & of all the other bodies: by the Eye we discern their colours and greatnesse, their formes, number, proportion, and measure; their sense, motion, & their resting. And although Hearing had some concurrence in this case with Seeing, so that it might be termed a sense of doctrine and of discipline, because men learne vertue by hearing and vnderstanding: yet (for all this) that title appertayneth principally to the sight, as vnto her, that giueth the meanes to the vnderstanding, to enquire by the plenitude of things which she heareth, to come to the true knowledge of them; to the end, that this knowledge may afterward be communicated to other. Hereby then we may obserue, that the first fource or spring of instruction, commeth from the Sight, who afterward maketh Hearing mistris of the worke, by comprehending those admirable things presented first to the eies censure. Wherein also may be noted, that Hearing can comprehend nothing of it selfe, without vsing the means of another; but the Sight comprehendeth all thinges (as it were) euen of it selfe.

Moreouer, Seeing surpasseth all other senses, in swiftnesse and promptitude of her operations: for in an instant, and with no more then a cast of the eye, she perfecteth her desseignes: whereas the other senses are long, & laborious in their wor-

king. For, Touching must haue one thing or another, to execute her power and office vpon, before shee can expresse her prerogatiue. Tasting also must needs tarry, for some things answerable to hir palate. And Smelling requireth such a leysure, in receiuing an ayre qualified, as may penetrate into her nostrilles: As the like doth Hearing, to comprehend a voice entering into the eares. But Sight only worketh instantly, and presently comprehendeth the images of things presented to hir in an vnspeakable and gracious manner. For, blowes may bee seene giuen a great way off, and although the sound or noyse of them bee not heard so soone; yet notwithstanding, there is nothing that can conceale sight of the strokes, for they are sodaine and apprehensiuue vnto the Eye. And therefore, Seeing surmounteth the other senses, because it extendeth it selfe so farre.

In this respect, by many Histories and examples reported by *Pliny*, wee may easily gather, that Sight hath a farre larger extent, then all the other senses, without any comparison, or wearying her selfe tediously, as all the other do. For the Taste tireth it selfe by too much feeding. The Eare is easily offended, by talkatiue babling. The Smell is trauailed extremely, by continuation of sweete Odors. But Sight solie, hath no sense of paine in her operations. Nor doth she at any time so wearie her selfe, as to close her lids retiredly; but rather, she is neuer satisfied with Seeing. In brieft, the excellency of Seeing is so great, that the name of Seeing is attributed to all the other senses, in theyr seuerall operations. For, men ordinarily say, Beholde the excellencie of this sweete Odour a little while; or the Delicacie of this Musicke; or the rare taste of this Fruite.

The name of Seeing, extendeth it selfe to the operations of the vnderstanding; for it is an vsuall saying; Marke how my intention will come to passe. It is likewise sayde in the Gospell, that our Lord and Sauour saw (that is to say, knew) the thoughts of the Scribes and Pharisees. And verily, among the miracles & workes which our blessed Sauour did in those vnworthy Countreyes; it is helde for the most especiall and singular, that he gaue sight to the blind. And therefore ther is no

Sight holdeth more of Fire, then all the other senses.

Sight the beginner of contemplation.

The singular benefit receiued by sight.

Hearing cannot attaine to the prerogatiue of Seeing but becometh hereby the better instructed.

Hearing comprehendeth nothing but by anothers helpe.

The swiftnesse and celeritie of the Eye in her operations regarde of all kindes in all the other senses.

The Eye discerneth along way off from where the person is, so can none of the other senses.

The name of Seeing attributed to the other senses in their kinds

Seeing extendeth to vnderstanding

Matth. 12, 20.

Christ his giuing sight to the blind most commended.

labor, wherein our Physitions more gladly study and take paines, then to preferue and maintaine the sight of men.

I reade of a holy man named *Azarias*, who being present in a consultation, that diuers Physitions made before *Fredericke King of Naples*, concerning the maintaining of mens sight. When it came to his turne to speake, he said; *There is nothing better to comfort the sight, then enuy; because it will alwayes make the goodes of an other man seeme greater then they are.* This agreeth with *Osids* saying; *Enuy euer thinks his neighbours Corne, more goodly then his owne.* Notwithstanding, according to the opinion (almost) of all men, Spectacles do greatly serue to defend the sight: and surely, they were a very good inuention, though the first deuiser neuer knew it.

I haue heard of a great Lord in *Spaine*, that would alwaies eat Cherries with his Spectacles on his nose; onely to make them seeme the bigger and more nourishing: but yet this gourmandise was exorbitant. An other Gentleman, beeing quipt by *K. Phillip*, because he fed ordinarily with Spectacles on his nose; answered the king, Sir you count it not strange, that I vse my Spectacles in reading a Letter, in which can be no danger at all: why then do you blame me, because I eat fish with Spectacles on my nose, wherein are such an infinite number of bones, as the very least is able to strangle me, & which I cannot see without my Spectacles? Spectacles then serue to very good purpose many times. But to our former purpose againe concerning Sight.

Although Sight is the chiefe guide of man; yet notwithstanding, I haue read of diuers blind men, who were of no meane fame and reputation: Nature supplying their vnderstanding, for whatsoeuer wanted in their sight. *Appius Claudius* the great Orator, highly honored and esteemed of *Cicero* and *Titus Livius*, although hee was blind, was elected Censor at *Rome*, which office hee managed with so singular authority, as he only hindred the peace the whole Senate had concluded with King *Pyrrhus*. *Cicero* discourseth amply, in the fifth Booke of his *Tusculans Questions*, concerning the blindnes of *Appius Claudius*, and of remedies against diseases in the eyes.

*Caius Drusus*, the most famous Lawyer and Aduocate, was blinde; and yet neuertheless, his house was continually full of clients and suters, who rather affected to be guided by his darke wisdom, then by their owne eye-sight. *Caius Auphidius*, a great companion with *Cicero* in his youth, was Prætor of *Rome*; and yet left not to opine in the Senate, and all his friends receiued counsell from him, in their very greatest and weightiest affairs. And notwithstanding this blindnes, yet he digested a very notable Chronicle, of his own writing, whereof was made most high estimation. *Diodorus* a Stoicall philosopher, was greatly renowned in his darkenes, and for all that imperfection, he could study in the night time, & play on his viole in the day; nay more, he taught Geometry publikely, a matter almost incredible, considering that it can not be practised but by the eie.

*Antipater of Cyrenaica*, and *Asclepiades* the Critike Poet, were both of the blind; and yet bearing their disaster with patient soules, they neuer gaue ouer studying Philosophy, but therein spent their time to the benefit of many. And when certain Ladies (griuing at his hard fortune) sate weeping by *Asclepiades*, hee said to them: *Forbeare (noble Ladies) because you know not what a pleasure it is, to dwell in darknes:* they then demanding of him, what profit he receiued by his blindnes, he replied; *I haue a boy more now to keep me company then I had before.* *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, was blind also, as his name imported; according to the saying of *Cicero*: neuertheless, tis vnknowne when he lost his sight; but true it is (as *Ouid* saith) that this disaster hapned to him in his olde age.

*Didimus Alexandrinus*, may likewise be ranked with them that haue gone before, who beeing blinde euen from his youth, became (neuertheless) a most perfect Logitian; studying besides, in all other humane disciplines; and hee made a very notable Commentary vpon the *Psalms of David*. Such then, as wee haue before spoken of, perceiuing themselues to be deprived of their sight, did yet striue and labour to perfourme things memorable, as Necessity is alwayes sayd to bee industrious.

But that which *Democritus* did to himselfe, made the world both astonished & smile

A History of  
Fredericke  
King of Na-  
ples.

Of the enui-  
ous man.

Spectacles  
helpe to pre-  
serue the  
sight.

A gluttonous  
Feeder.

A Gentleman  
of Spaine al-  
wayes vsed  
his Spectacles  
at his meales.

Diuers blinde  
men of great  
honour and  
excellency.

Blinde Appi-  
us Claudius,  
Censor of  
Rome.

*Cicero* in *Tuf-  
culan. lib. 5.*

*Caius Drusus*  
a famous law-  
yer blinde, &  
yet wrote a  
worthy Chro-  
nicle.

*Diodorus* a  
Philosopher  
who taught  
Geometry in  
his blindnesse

*Antipater*  
*Cyrenaius*,  
and *Asclepi-  
ades* Criticus

*Homer* beir  
blinde, was  
called the  
Prince of  
Poets.

*Didimus A.*  
*alexandrinus*  
the famous  
Logitian.

Democritus the Philosopher, pluckt out his owne eyes.

Zisca, chiefe Captaine and Commander of the Bohemians.

Belus, the second King of Hungaria, made blinde by his cruell Vnckle.

John, the blinde King of Bohemia, who assisted Phillip of France, gainst King Edward of England.

smile at together : For, (as *Lucretius* and *Aulus Gellius* do affirme) he pluckt out his owne eies, to inioy the more freedome in his contemplations. But *Tertullian* (who was an Author worthy of credite) maintaineth, that he did it, onely to auoide the inordinate appetites of the flesh.

Above all other men, subiected to the infelicite of blindenesse, *Zisca* the Bohemian deserueth no meane remembrance, who being blind, was chosen chiefe Captaine and Commauder of the Sect hee professed among the Bohemians; and so well executed his charge, that he obtained many victories against his enemies, and carryed himselfe so woorthily in his place, that hee atchieued immortall memorie.

*Belus* also, second king of *Hungaria*, being elected chiefe of the *Hungarian* army; had his eyes pluckt out by the meanes of King *Colomanus*, his owne vnckle. Being blinded thus, hee withdrew into *Greece*, where he made such plaine apparance of his manly spirit and wisdom: that king *Stephen*, sonne to king *Colomanus*, repealed him, and gaue him in marriage the daughter to the count of *Serua*. In which dignity he carried himselfe with such rare integritie, as (after the death of King *Stephen*) hee was chosen King of *Hungaria*. And being blinde, reigned nine yeares; during which time he had diuers warres, and especially against *Broccus*, the bastard sonne to King *Colomanus*; whom yet he vanquished, so that he left the kingdome of *Hungaria* peaceably to his sonnes.

The last blinde man, whereof wee will speake at this time, was *John*, King of *Bohemia*, who reigned in the yeare of our Lord 1350. or thereabout. And surely, it is almost myraculous of this Prince, that blinde *Zisca* should maintaine his Commaunders place so woorthily, being Generall of the *Bohemian* army, against *Belus* then reigning in *Hungaria*: yet I hold all nothing to blinde *John* of *Bohemia*, who had so much valour (after his owne victories) to succour (in person) *Phillip* king of *Fraunce*, his kinsman, in his warre against King *Edward* of *England*. For, this blind King, euer affected to make one in the field; assisting also the Earle of *Flanders*, and many French Princes.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ That Auarice or Couetoufneffe, is a most enormous vice, and subiect to great dangers: With sundry examples of diuerse persons, who were extremely couetous.



He Auarice of our instant dayes, induced mee to discourse on this sin, as a case of most perillous and extreme daunger: and to intermeddle among my relations, certaine histories of many couetous men, which may serue as exampls to other yet liuing. Desiring all Readers (in the meane while) to consider the estate of a couetous man, with the like eie, as common people doe diligently looke vpon a monster, which some Iuggler or Mountebanke bringeth into a city, for singularity & obseruation.

As entrance then into our discourse, it is to be noted, that *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and many other Authours beside, haue diuersly defined what Auarice is; neuertheless, we may deriue this resolution from their definitions. That Auarice is an inordinate desire of a mans enriching himselfe, without sparing part of his goods to any other; so that we may well say, this vice is excessiue in desiring and griping, but very cold and slowe in giuing or parting with any thing. Vnder the cloake of this sinne, march a thousand disorders, infinite iniustices and abominations, sheltring themselues there so safely, as they cannot doe the like in anie of the oither vices. For, as *Virgil* saith; *Execrable famine of gold, is there any vice, which thou inducest not into the heart of man?* *S. Paul* also saith: *Couetoufneffe or Auarice is the source or roote of all euilles, hauing made many to wander from Faith, which otherwise would haue kept and followed it.*

That Auarice is a sinne most abhominable, appeareth sufficiently in this, because it makes a man hated both of God and men, being (of it selfe) quite contrary to Charitie: which is such a vertue, as conioyneth God and men together, euen as the opposite sinne maketh a man hateful vnto himselfe. For, the loue of our selues is so rooted in our hearts, that wee respect not any thing, in regarde of our

The reason of inserting this Chapter by the Author.

Aristotle. Cicero. Tho: Aquinas. The definitio of Auarice.

Virgil, his exclamation on Auarice.

Rom. 9. 14.

Auarice causeth contempt both of God and Men.

Auarice maketh me carelesse of themselues in getting money, yea and to endanger their bodies and soules.

Men care neither for Parents, Wife, Children, Friends, nor themselves, so they may get riches.

Luke 16. 19.

The niggard oftentimes gets goods together, for the prodigall to spend vnchristily.

Eccles 7. 2.

selues, louing alwayes our owne profit, more then any others. And yet notwithstanding, Auarice hath gotten such preheminance ouer man, as he cares for nothing but getting money, being so forgetfull of himselfe, that hee will neyther eate, drinke, nor clothe himselfe decently; but rather is content to fast, and almost starue himselfe, because he will not allow the least leisure from the scraping goods together. Nay, he feareth not to hazard both his soule & body, so he may be sure to get money; which is a thing repugnant to the Lawe of Nature, who obtained and instructed vs, to affect and maintaine our selues, and contemne all things, before our owne liues. And yet the couetous man cares not to loose and condemne his owne soule; yea, and abridge his life, which he will endanger in a moment, for the getting of a Crowne.

Vndoubtedly, it is much to be lamented, that a man should not respect himselfe, nor his parents, wife, children nor friends; provided that he may wallow in wealth and mucke of the world: such an one was the Rich man, spoken of in the Gospell. What a miserable and wretched follie is it, to endure hunger, thirst, colde, ill cloathing, and neyther sleep by day or night, but every houre to endanger life, and yet make no vse of golde when it is gotten? It ought, and should serue for the sustentation of life, and to that end riches were ordayned. Obserue the words of our blessed Sauour; *What auayleth it a man to winne the whole world, and loose his life, that is, his soule?* Surely, I am of opinion, that this happeneth by the Diuine permission, casting such couetous men into a reprobate sense, to the end they may die in that auaritious will and desire.

And yet notwithstanding, God often permitteth, that wealth scraped together, by such toyle and trauaile: shall fall into the hands of other, to scatter as prodigally, as it was gotten wickedly, and wonderfully sparing. This is that whereof *Salomon* speaketh in his *Ecclesiastes*: *Such as heape vp riches, gotten by iniustice, leaue them for other to spend.* For, can that thing bee good for an other, which is euill in him who hath it? *Iuuenall* also vpon the very same words speaketh thus. *Some doe gaine and make profit, only to maintaine their*

*life; and there are others, who liue not but to gaine.* In brieft, this wicked vice doth so captiuate a man, that it robbes him of all loue and respect to himselfe: so that there is not any wickednesse in this world, but it may well bee expected in a couetous man.

\* *Dion* the Philosopher said; *Auarice is the head of all wickednesse.* *Euripides* saith, *An ambitious & couetous Iudge, can neither thinke or desire any iust thing.* *Saint Augustine* saith, *whosoever suffereth himselfe to be gouerned by Auarice, becommeth subiect to all vices and wickednesse.* And this is conformable to good reason. For, the couetous man (by Auarice) becommeth a tempter, periured, an euill payer, an vsurer, a deceiuer, a traytor, a turne-taile, a thiefe, a tyrant, and an idolater: so that it is not possible, that a couetous man should haue any good being; neyther as Lord nor vassaile, gouernour nor subiect, father nor sonne, nor friend or cousine, and in the end, neuer doth good, except when he dyeth.

\* *Lucillius* sayd, *An auaritious man is good to no bodie, because he is wicked to himselfe.* *Democritus* maintained; *That extreame Auarice, is worse then extreame Pouertie.* *Aristotle* in the first Booke of his *Politickes* saith: *Desire to become rich, neuer hath ending; and therefore riches serue as pouertie to a couetous man: because hee dare not vse them, for feare of empayring his estate.* The *Stoickes* had a saying, *That wishes and necessitie came not of pouertie, but of abundance: for, the more that a man hath, so much the more needy is he.* Concluding, *It is good to haue a little, because at no time to be needie.* *Plato* gaue this counsell to a couetous man, to become rich indeed; hee should not encrease his wealth, but rather decrease his auarice or couetousnesse.

All these notable Sentences before remembred, are intirely conformable to the sacred Scriptures, who declare; *That the eyes of a couetous man are insatiate.* *Salomon* also saith in *Ecclesiasticus*; *A couetous man is neuer satisfied with money: And that whosoever addieth his mind to riches, shall neuer enjoy them.* *Saint Augustine* compareth the couetous man to hell, which can neuer be gluttred enough, and neuer saith it hath sufficient, although it hath beene so long time in filling. Euen so, the greedy

\* A Philosopher of Boeotia.

Aug. in lib. de lib. Arbit. cap. 5.

The true picture of a couetous man.

\* A famous Latine Poet, liuing in Italy.

Arist. in Polit. lib. 1. cap. 4.

The opinion of the Stoicks concerning wishes and necessitie.

Sentences of Scripture, as touching couetousnesse.

Aug. in Ciuit. dei lib. 9. cap.

greedy couetous man is neuer satisfied, but the more he gaineth, the more he gapeth still after gayne; thinking himselfe poorer and poorer. Saint *Jerome* sayth: *The couetous man is so needie of that which hee hath, as if hee had it not at all. And alwayes his auarice encreaseth, as fire doth, being continually fed with dry wood.* As much or rather more, haue many other holie men sayd; all in vtter detestation of this damnable sinne.

Neuerthelesse, because I will no longer weary the Reader, I shall conclude this poynt with the saying of Saint *Augustine*: *How strangely insatiabie is this desire in men? Other creatures haue their appetites limited, for they hunt when they are hungry, and being satisfied, they leaue their prey. But hee that coueteth the riches of this world, is insatiabie: for hee seeketh and hoordeth vp daily, taking wealth from all hands, without fearing, eyther God or men. Hee knoweth neyther father nor mother; he maketh no account of his brethren, or any friends of his; hee neuer careth for keeping his word: Hee oppresseth Widdowes, robbeth Orphants, and and serues his turne with free-men, euen as if they were slaues: He is commonly a. false witnes, and cares not how hee engrosseth vp dead mens goods: Are not these commendable qualities in a couetous man? Let vs flie then from this accursed vice, which (ouer & beside the former notes of wickednes) is incurable (according vnto the saying of *Aristotle*) for it encreaseth with age: so that Auarice is in his fullreigne, when bodily strength fayleth in man.*

To shunne one falling into this slauiish sin, I will alleadge some examples of wicked couetous men, among whom, *Judas Iscariot* marcheth in the first rancke; he being an Apostle and Disciple of Christ Iesus, was so subiected to Auarice: that he would robbe the money from the rest of his fellowes and companions, by bearing the bagge, and hauing the money in his owne possession. This wicked passion had so farre blinded him, that he accounted the precious Oyntment to bee lost, wherewith *Mary Magdalen* anoynted the feete of our blessed Sauour. For, if the Oyntment had bene solde, hee would haue stolne part of the price. In the end, he was so strangely led by this sinne, that (for money) he solde his Lord and Master. This onely example were sufficient

to approue whatsoeuer hath bene said concerning couetousnes: neuerthelesse, I am content to report some other, among which, *Tiberius Caesar* Emperour of *Rome* is the formost man; and questionlesse, there is no other vice in the world, better to be exempld in the *Romain* Emperors, then this of Auarice.

This Prince, among other his notorious-vices, (whereto hee was very easily mooued) was so subiect to penurious griping, and pinching, that although he was Lord of the whole world; yet notwithstanding, he put to death *Cneus Lentulus* (whom he had instituted to be his heire) onely to enioy his wealth. As much did he to the King of the *Parthians*, who did come to liue with him vnder his safe-conduct; onely to possesse himselfe of the riches and treasure, belonging to the simply abused Prince. He so heavily charged the poore with taxes and toules, that they were enforced to forsake their countries, in such sort; that the Citties and Townes remayned desert and vn-inhabitable. In the end, pursuing on still his vn-satiabie inclination: *Caligula* smothered him betweene two pillowes, and so hee dyed.

*Domitian* the Emperour was more couetous then he: And the Emperour *Commodus* (therein) exceeded them both: for he (ordinarily) vsed to make port-sale of iustice: and therefore heauen iustly permitted them to be stabd to death by *Ponyards*. *Achelous* King of *Lydia*, was so ouercome with couetousnesse, that hee could not be contented with his Crowne lands, and very large ordinary reuenues; but layd (beside) such taxes and impositions vpon his subiects, that they arose in Armes against him, and hauing taken him, murdered him most miserably, and (afterwards) hung him vp by the heeles. *Pontanus* maketh mention of a Cardinal, who was so extraordinarily auaritious, as he would often disguise himselfe like vnto a poore groome or slaue, and steale away the prouender from before his owne horses. *Horace* saith, that there was a man in *Rome*, named *Ouid*, who was so abundantly rich in money, that he could measure his gold and Siluer by many bushels: and yet notwithstanding, hee would goe starke naked, and neuer did eate halfe so much as would suffice him; as fearing

Example of couetousnesse in diuers of the *Romain* Emperors.

*Tiberius Caesar*, who couetously put his own heire to death, to enioy his reuenues.

He was found smothered by *Caligula*.

*Domitian* and *Commodus*, two extreme couetous Emperors.

*Achelous*, King of *Lydia*

A most extreme couetous Cardinal

A wretched and miserable couetous man in *Rome*.

S. *Jerome*, his comparison of a couetous man.

S. *Augustine*, concerning desire in men, and other creatures, but (aboue all) in the auaricious and couetous man.

*Arist* in *Polit.* lib. 1. c. 10.

Examples of miserable wretched couetous men. *Judas Iscariot* one of Christs Apostles.

still

still least he should fall into pouerty, liued most wretchedly all his life time.

Many other might be spoken off, too much addicted to this detestable sinne, as \* *Primaleon*, the brother to *Dido*, who slew his cousine, onely to enioy his riches. *Polistus* also, King of *Troy*, who put to death one of King *Priams* sonnes, being sent to honour him in his Court: but such prolixity of examples may prooue offense. We will content our selues then, to know how we ought to shunne this sin, which is the occasion of infinite euils: and so much the rather, because men are continually more enclined to Auarice, then to Liberality.

### CHAP. XXVI.

*A verie singular reason, deliuered by Phauorinus the Philosopher, concerning Astrologers; that it is not good to demand any Question of them, hauing relation vnto future matters.*

**O**Vr Ancient, yea, and more moderne writers, were euer more doubtfull in the act of Iudiciall Astrologie, which discourseth of thinges to come, and accidents happening to men, as wel in particular, as generally throughout the world; some condemning it, and vterly reiecting it; others approouing it in part; some beside maintaining it by strong reasons, and by experience. Moreover, there are store of bookes, which I could produce here, as warrantable presidents: but I mean not way that to trouble my selfe, although I haue studied sufficiently in that part of Astrology, which discourseth on the course and motion of the Starres.

Being willing then, not to touch the honour and reputation of any person, I will onely alledge, what the Philosopher *Phauorinus* saide, according as *Aulus Gellius* relateth. He being desirous to retreat and turne mens mindes, from reposing any trust in Astrologers, Caldeans, or Mathematicians, concerning the knowledge of thinges to come: vsed a reason very in-

genious and acute, speaking in this manner, and as himselfe hath sette downe the words.

*Be well aduised, that thou giue no credite to Astrologers, in any manner whatsoever: For, although they tell thee true, that which they say, will be either good or ill for thee; and being good, it must be truth, or a lye. If it be truth, thou maist receiue double damage by knowing it: for first of all, thy desire runs into further paine and trauaile, what good thereby shall happen to thee, and how soon. Secondly, a good or benefite to come. (whereof thou hast thus receiued intelligence) is alwaies reckoned the lesse, because it cannot bee so compleate, as if thou wert possessed thereof instantly. If it be a lye, thou expectest in vain, the benefite which the Astrologer promised thee, in regard it shall neuer come vnto thee. What if that which the Astrologer foretolde thee, is ill and hurtfull for thee? Being euil & certaine; what more great disgrace can happen to thee, then to be possess of an euill turne, which thou must embrace, and is out of thy power to shunne or auoide? If it be a lye, why should a man be afflicted, or driven into sadnesse, by feare of a mischeefe that shall neuer come neere him? Be it therefore in what sorte soeuer, it is not good to enquire after future accidents.*

For mine owne part, I finde the counsel of this Philosopher to be so good, that I hold it agreeable vnto the holy Gospell, which sayeth: *It is not for vs, so know times, seasons, nor moments.*

### CHAP. XXVII.

*Diuers examples of sundry accidents, whereby great plots and designements of great Politickes, haue bene dissipated and overthrowne. Also, concerning Policies, that (for a time) haue bene profitable, and yet in the end haue proued pernitions.*



**V**E read in *Plutarch*, that the people of *Sicily* (being oppressed with diuers Tyrants) craued assistance of the *Corinthians*, who sent them (for their succour) a Captaine of theirs, called *Timoleon*, a man famous, not onely

\* Or *Pigmali-on*, as some writers call, him.

*Polistus*, King of *Troy*.

Iudiciall Astrology continually misdoubted.

The Authour himselfe a student in Astrologie.

*Aul. Gel. in At. tic Noct. l. 5. c. 7.*

The admonition giuen by *Phauorinus* against confidence in the saying of Astrologers.

The Authors iudgement of the Philosophers counsel.

*Plut. in vit. Timoleon.*

onely for Militarie discipline; but also for morall vertue and piety. This *Timoleon* had (within a while) such good successe, that the Tyrants despairing of ability eyther to ouercome him, or to defend them selues by force against him: One of them (being named *Iceles*) suborned a couple of desperate companions to kill him. And they perswading themselues, that it might best be done, as he should bee sacrificing to his Goddes; watched on opportunitie for that purpose, and finding him one day in the Temple, ready to sacrifice; they drew neere him, to execute their intent. But as they were readie to strike him, one of the standers by (who suspected nothing of their intention) vpon a sodaine, gaue one of the Conspiratours such a mortall wound, that he fell downe deade in the place. The other (seeing his fellow slain, and thinking that the conspiracy was discovered) fled into the Altare, and taking hold thereof, craued pardon of the Gods and *Timoleon*, promising, that (if he wold saue his life) hee would discover all the practise.

In the meane time, hee that had killed the other Conspiratour, being fled; was taken and brought back, calling God and Man to witnes, that he had done nothing but a most iust and lawfull acte, in killing him that had slaine his Father. Which being knowne to some that were present, and testified by them to be true: filled all the assistants with admiration of Gods prouidence; who by such a sodaine and vnexpected accident, had not onely overthrowne the pernicious plot, and designement of the wicked Tyrant, and preserued *Timoleon*, but also had executed his iustice on a murderer.

Heereupon, *Plutarch* maketh a notable discourse of Fortune, following the opinion of the *Platonists*, concerning the same (which they define to bee *Demoniacum potestatem*, &c. An Angelicall power, connecting diuers and different causes, to produce some effect.) And therefore, he noteth in this History, how the good Angel of *Timoleon*, did (for his preseruation) assemble, and (as it were) chaine things together, that had no coherence of themselues, making one of them to be the beginning of another. For, although the murder of his Father that slew the Conspirator, had no connexion with this con-

spiracie against *Timoleon*; yet, neither that murder had bene reuenged, if this Conspiracy had not followed; nor this Conspiracy had bene discovered and overthrowne, but by occasion of that murder committed long before. Thus discourseth *Plutarch* vpon this accident; which although he referred to Fortune (speaking thereof, according to the opinion of the *Platonists*) yet he ascribed it principally to the prouidence of God, who by the ministry of his good Angell, protected and preserued his seruant *Timoleon*, in respect of his great piety and deuotion: and this being well vnderstoode, is no way repugnant vnto Christian Catholike Doctrine.

But to come to examples neerer our time, *Charles Duke of Burgundie*, being at Warre with *Lewes* the eleuenth, King of France, had (for his Confederates) the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Britany*, whereof the first was the Kinges owne Brother. And hauing beene (in former time) twice deceiued by the said King, with false treaties, and now desirous to quite him vwith the like; offered him to abandon his two Confederates, vpon condition; That he would restore vnto him certaine Townes, which he had of his vpon the Frontiers. Aduertising his Confederats (in the meane time) that his meaning was not to forsake them, or to keepe any Couenant with the King; but onely to recouer his owne, and then to delude him, as he had bene before deluded by him.

The King (suspecting no deceit) accorded to the conditions, and sent his Ambassadors to Duke *Charles*, to take his oath for performance of the Couenantes on his part. The Duke sware, or rather forsware himselfe (promising vpon his Oath that which he meant not to performe) & then sent his Ambassadors in like manner vnto the King, to take his oath. In the meane time, before the Ambassadors arriued where the King was, it pleased God so to dispose, that the Duke of *Guienne* the kings Brother, and Confederate to *Charles*, dyed. Which the King vnderstanding, and seeing himselfe already deliuered (by his Brothers death) of the danger of Ciuill Warre, which he most feared: refused to sware, and stand to his conuents. And so, all the crafty deuce and subtle plot of *Charles* was overthrowne, by the sodaine acci-

An attempt against *Timoleon*, overthrowne by a strange accident.

These are the mercies of heauen, to preserue the liues of vertuous men.

Murder is a sin so heinous that often it is reuenged by strange means.

The definition of Fortune according to the *Platonistes*.

Proclus in Comment in *Timoleon*.

*Plutarch* ascribeth the preseruation of *Timoleon*, to the prouidence of God, by the meanes of his good Angell.

*Phil. Com. c. 58.*

Another example of great designement of *Charles D. of Burgundy*, overthrowne by a chance.

A false Oath taken, justly required by a Confederates death.

accident of his confederates death, which he neuer dreamed of; and he himfelfe forsworne for nothing.

Heereto I wil adde *Caspar Borgia*, Duke of *Valentia*; whome *Machiauell* fo highly admireth, that he propofeth him for a paterne or example to his Prince. This *Caspar*, being become exceeding rich and potent, by the helpe and Authority of *Alexander* the fixt, his Father; and fearing nothing fo much as his Fathers death, whereby it might chance, that some enemie of his might be chosen to fucceede him; ftudied and laboured by all meanes poffible to preuent that inconuenience, & to procure, that the election of his Fathers fucceffour, might fall into the power of himfelfe and his friends. Which when hee had prouided fufficiently, as he thought; it chanced by fuch meanes as I will declare.

After a while, not onely his Father died; but he fell likewise fo extremely ficke at that time, that hee could execute nothing of that which hee had before refolved. Whereby it came to paffe (God fo difpofing in his iuft iudgement) that an enemy of his fathers and his (being chosen to fucceede) he was within a while vtterly ouerthrowne. In which refpect, he himfelfe was wont afterward to confefse, and lament the imbecility of mans witte, because when hee thought, that he had forefeene all inconueniences, which might happen to him by his Fathers death, and prouided to preuent them: hee neuer fo much as imagined, that he fhould bee fo ficke at the fame time, that he fhould not be able to put any of his designements in execution.

And herein is alfo to be noted; for further prooffe of the matter in hand, that he himfelfe was the caufe, aswell of his owne fickneffe, as of his fathers death, and (confequently) of his owne ouerthrowe, by a wonderfull chance, which hapned contrary to his expectation. For, hauing inuited his Father, and Cardinall *Cornetti* to a Vineyard, with intent to poyfon the Cardinall, to the end to inherit his goods; hee re-commended a certaine Bottle of impoifoned wine, to a trusty feruant of his, with fpeciall charge to keepe it fafe, and giue it to none without his exprefse order. But it fo fell out, by his feruants negligence (or rather by Gods iuftice)

that as the Pfalmift faith; *incidit in foueam quam fecit: He fell into the pit himfelfe, that he had made for other.* For his Father, coming into fupper very hot and thirfty, by reason of the great heates, and calling for wine; the feruant that had charge of the Bottle (not knowing it was poyfoned; but imagining onely, that it was fome efppeciall wine, more precious then the refidue) & not hauing any other ready (because the prouifion was not brought from the Pallace) gaue him of that wine, whereof not onely he, but his fon *Borgia* dranke. And being both poyfoned therewith, the Father (who was old and weake) died prefently: but the Sonne being young, and more able to refift the force of the poyfon; had time to take great and potent remedies, whereby (after a long and dangerous fickneffe) he hardly efcaped. Thus was his bloodye plot and pernicious purpose preuented, by an accident which he neuer minded.

But let vs come now to an example in our Countrey of *England*, which manie yet may well remember. The Lord *Iohn Dudley*, Earle of *Warwick*, and after Duke of *Northumberland*, in the time of *K. Edward* the fixte, meaning to aduance himfelfe and his Family; married the Lorde *Guilford Dudley* (his fourth fonne) to the Lady *Iane*, daughter to the Duke of *Suffolke*; pretending to make her Queene after King *Edward*, in preiudice of the Lady *Mary*, daughter to King *Henry* the 8. and eldeft fiftter to the fayd King *Edward*. For, by reason of the Kings lingering fickneffe, he had time to vfe all the meanes, which he thought conuenient for the accomplifhing of his defire. And therefore partly for friendship, and partly for feare, hee had heerein fo farre preuailed, that there feemed to want nothing for affurance of his intention: but only to haue the Ladie *Mary* in his hands; whome therefore hee procured the Councell to fend for in the Kings name; vpon pretence, that fhe fhould come to comfort the king; whereto fhe obeyed, not fufpecting any finifter meaning in the Duke.

But as fhe was vpon the way, and fomewhat neere to *London*; before fhe fell into the snare prepared for her, it pleased God, that fhee receiued aduice of the Dukes designement; from one of his own counfell: wherupon fhe returned fodainly,

The ouerthrow of *Caspar Borgia* (*Machiauels* mirrour for a Prince) by a fodain chance

*Guic. in Lib. 6*

*Borgia* the great politician preuented

*Guic. in Lib. 6*

*Caspar Borgia* thinking to poyfon another, poyfoned his owne Father & himfelf

*Psalm 7. 16.*

*Guicciard. libid.*

The plotte of the Duke of *Northumberland*, againft the Lady *Mary*, eldeft daughter to *K. Henry* the eight.

*John Stow*, in *vit. Edou. 6.*

Lady *Marie* aduertifed of the treacherie intended towards her, by one of his owne counsell

ly, and within a while after, that she arrived at her owne house; she had newes of the King her Brothers death. And although she was destitute of men, money, counsell, and all other meanes to enable her, wherby to resist so great an aduersary as the Duke (who was not meanly provided) yet such was her trust in God, as also the iustice and right of her cause; that she provided her household seruants to proclaim her Queene presently, in the country Townes thereabout. Whereupon, first the common people of the countries adioyning, and (afterward) diuers Gentlemen of account repaired vnto her in so great a number; that the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Councell (who had already proclaimed the Lady *Iane* in London, and in diuers parts) thought it convenient to leuy forces, and to make a royall Army, whereof the Duke himselfe (for the authority of his person) was General.

The Duke then presently put himselfe into the fieelde, leauing the charge of the City & Tower of London, to the Lords of the Councell: who, vpon his absence, and vnderstanding the great concourse of people, to the assistance of the Ladie *Mary*, and the equity of her cause iustlie considered: they agreed amongst themselves, to proclaim her in London, as presently they did, and committed to prison the Lady *Iane*. Then sent they order to apprehend the Duke, who was so dismayed therewith when he vnderstood it; that he vtterly lost his high and hopefull courage; and being taken prisoner at or nere *Cambridge*, was brought to London, and there afterward executed.

By these examples, and infinite others which might bee alledged, it is verie euident, that there is no surety in the plottes and contriuings of men, be they neuer so wise, except they be guided by the Spirit of God particularly. For, when they haue built (as a man may say) Towers of policy, as high as the Tower of *Babel*: a sodaine blast of an accident vnexpected, shall cast them downe to the very grounde, to the confusion (many times) and ruine of the builders and contriuers.

But what shall we say of counselles and policies, that seeme not only to be grounded vpon great reason, and contriued also with as great prudence; but also suc-

ceede (for some time) notably well, & yet in the end proue to be pernicious? VVherof we haue seene sufficient experience in the *Romane* Empire, which was ouerthrowen in course of time, by that (which for many yeares) seemed to bee the strength and security thereof. For, whereas the first *Romane* Emperors, hauing oppressed the Common-wealth by Armes, perswaded themselves, that their seate was to bee established and conserued, by the selfesame meanes as it was gotten, and therefore resolved, that the safety thereof, & of their persons, consisted in strong Guards, garrisons, Legions, and Armies of soldiers, to be distributed throughout all the parts of their Dominions: it is euident, that the same was (in the end) one of the principall and cheefest causes, of the Emperors vtter ouerthrow, though (at the first) it seemed greatly to establish and assure the same.

For, after the death of *Nero* (when the Family of the *Cæsars* was ended) not onely the Guards deputed for the custody & safegard of the Emperors persons, called *Pretoriani milites*; but also the Legions & Armies, disposed and placed in diuerse quarters of the Empire (seeing as wel the personnes of the Emperours, as also the strength of the Empire in their own hãds) did arrogate vnto themselves, such authority and liberty to chuse new Emperors: that they set them vppe, and pulled them downe at their pleasure. Wherby in lesse then one yeare after *Neroes* death, foure Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and *Vespasian*, were chosen by the Guardes, who forced the Senate to admit and confirme them. And their insolency grewe to such extremity in time, that after the death of the Emperor *Pertinax* (whom they killed) they made offer of the empire (by publike proclamation) to whosoever would giue most for it.

And whereas there was but onely two that offered money for it, *Sulpitianus*, and *Didius Iulianus*; they gaue it to the latter, partly because he gaue them ready mony, and partly because *Sulpitianus* was Father in Law to *Pertinax*, whom they had slain. And, whilest not onely the Emperours guards, but also the soldiours of euery army tooke vpon them to make Emperors: it fell out sometimes, that there were as many Emperors chosen at once, as there were

The *Romane* Empire ouerthrowen by the same meanes that preferred it for a time.

The famous election of Emperors, by guards and armies of soldiers.

*Suetonius*, *Plutarch*.

*Elius Spartan*.

The Empire sold to such as would giue most money for it.

The Duke of Northumberland his ouerthrow by gods prouidence and iustice.

These are commonly the ends of high and ambitious hopes.

Trebel. Pollio in  
triginta tyrānis

were diuers Armies in the Empire. Infomuch, that in the time of *Galen* and *Valerian*, there were no lesse then thirtie Emperours declared in sundry places, within the space of fiftene yeeres. Whereupon it followed, that the Empire (beeing pittifully rent and torne with ciuill warre) was so weakened, that it became a prey to the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, *Alans*, *Hunnes*, *Lombardes*, and such other barbarous Nations.

The ruine of  
many Emperors  
by their owne  
Guards

Thus was the Romane Empire overthrowne, by the same meanes, that were not only ordained to conserue and maintaine it; but also did indeede (for a time) preferue it from many dangers, both domesticall and forraigne, to wit, as well from inuasion of forraigne enemies, as from rebellions of Subiects: which by the Emperours Guards, and the ordinary Legions, dispersed through all parts of the empire; were either easily preuented, or speedily repressed. For which cause, the Emperors themselues were content, to stand (as it were) at their mercy, to the end that they might (by them) rule and command others; which although to some it was a safegard and security, yet to manie more it brought ruine and perdition; as to *Caligula*, *Pertinax*, *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, *Puapienus*, *Balbinus*, *Galien*, *Seuerus*, *Macrinus*, *Aurelianus*, *Iulius Maximinus*, *Probus*, with diuers other; some of them being slaine by their owne Guards, and some by their Soldiers,

Suetonius.  
Iul. Capitolinus.  
Elius Lamprid.  
Trebel. Pollio.  
Flavius Iosephus

This inconuenience, the Emperors of Turkes doe seeke to remedy, in their Tyrannicall Dominion (which they also vphold by force, as the Romans did, thogh with lesse danger.) For, although they haue about three hundred thousand horse, and foote euer in readinesse, vnder their Colonels and Captaines, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*: yet they keepe them alwayes sundered, and farre dispersed; that they neuer come together in any number, vnlesse they are to be employed in some forraigne Warre. Neuerthelesse, their Guardes of Ianizaries, which they haue alwayes neere about them, for the security of their persons, to the number of thirtene or foureteene thousand, haue proued (many times) no lesse dammageable, then dangerous to their States. For they haue not onely sometime set the younger Brother against the elder, and holpe the

The Turkes  
great Guardes  
of Ianizaries,  
dangerous to  
his State.

Lazaro Sorano  
in his Ottoman  
par. 1.

ouo d  
vpon.

sonne to depose the father: but also (cuen in our Age) haue taken the most confident Officers, and greatest fauorites of the Turke from him by force, and smote off their heades; and compelled him to pardon them, yea, and to giue them whatsoever they would demaund, to appease them.

Whereupon, two considerations may be gathered; the one, the infelicities of Tyrants, who while they seek rather to be feared, then louingly affected: are forced to make themselues subiects & slaues to those, by whome they keepe other in subiection and slavery. Whereby we see, how true it is which *Seneca* saith; *Quod alieno metu magnum est, suo non vacat. That which is great by others feare, is not void of feare in it selfe.* The other consideration, is, how tickle the state of Princes is, how weake their policies, how vncertaine the successe of their plots; and consequently, how needfull it is for them, to craue and haue the especiall protection of Almighty God, in all their designements and actions; seeing the meanes whereby they labour to preserue themselues from dangers, proue many times more dangerous in the end, then the dangers themselues, which they seeke to auoid.

This may further appeare, by the policie which *Rodericke* King of *Spaine* vsed, to assure his state against the children and friends of King *Vitiza*, whom hee had deposed. For, fearing lest his subiects might rebell in their fauour, he dismantled all the strong holds and places in *Spaine*, and disarmed the people. Whereby, though hee strengthened his state, in regard of domesticall danger; yet he weakned it, in respect of forraigne attempts. Infomuch, that the Moores inuading him shortly after, and overthrowing him in battel; found so slender resistance afterward, that in seauen or eight moneths, they conquered almost all *Spaine*.

The like also may be saide of the *Brittaines*, to whom their owne policie prooued most pernicious; for, being mollensted by the *Picts* and *Scottes*, they called in the *Saxons* for their defence, who (for some time) serued them to good purpose; but in the end, they conquered them & their Countrey.

In like manner, the Queene of *Hungarie* thought it good policie, to procure the

Paul. Iovius, in  
Commen. rerum  
Turc. in Baie  
ret. 2.

Tyrantes are  
slaues to those  
by whom they  
keepe other  
in slavery.

The dangerous  
& tickle  
state of Prin-  
ces, without  
Gods especial  
protection.

Rodericke K.  
of Spaine, ou-  
erthrowne  
through his  
owne policie.  
Lucas Tudenst  
Anno 713.

Ioan Vaseus  
in Cron. an. 714  
Baron. An. 713  
Eeda hist. Eccl.  
lib. 1. cap. 14, 15

the ayde and assistance of *Solyman* the Great Turke, against *Ferdinando* King of the Romaines, brother vnto the Emperour *Charles*, the fifth of that name; and (for a certayne time) shee was releued and supported thereby: but in the end, *Solyman* comming into *Hungarie*, in his owne person, with a pretence to succour her: he depriued both her and her sonne of their Kingdome: Also *Amurath*, one of *Solymans* Ancestours, conquered and subdued the greatest part of all *Greece*, euen by the very like kinde of meanes and occasion.

But peraduenture you will say, that this was so grosse a follie in Christian Princes (to put confidence and trust in the helpe of such potent and perfidious Infidells) that it is not to bee alleadged for an example of pollicie. I graunt that it was follie; but such kindes of follie may bee committed and doone, euen by the wisest Princes and their counsell, when Almighty GOD will punish and afflict them. For, hee eyther taketh from them their pollicicke wittes, to the end they may erre and precipitate themselues: or, hee ouerthroweth their wisest designements, by such kinde of meanes as they cannot imagine: or else, he doth bring them to such exigents, that they are forced (sometimes) wittingly, to take in hand some daungerous and desperate resolution, whereby they are disgraced and ruined.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *A briefe Discourse concerning the first foundation of Ierusalem; What fortunes (from time to time) befell thereto: And of the Kings that there did reigne.*

**N**euer was there any Towne or Cittie (of what estate or condition soeuer) that had so many especiall graces and priuiledges from Almighty God, nor euer had such store of sacred mysteries therein performed, as in the

Cittie of *Ierusalem*: although it had not had that (onely chiefe) note, that our blessed Lord and Sauour was there crucified, dead and buried; and that the mysteries and secrets of our redemption, had not bene there accomplished. Contrariwise, there is not any City in the world, that euer endured so many miseries and mischiefes, or fell into such slavish seruitude, as shee, and as is to be discerned at this day.

As concerning her riches, and sumptuous buildings, no Cittie vpon the earth could euer equall them; as *Pliny* extollet it about all the Citties in the East, and *Cornelius Tacitus* amply describeth the situation thereof: whereby wee may easily collect, that it was one of the most potent Citties in the world. As much affirmeth *Iosephus*, who describeth the three walles wherewith it was ingirt: which neuerthelesse were adorned with goodly Towers, Bulwarkes, and buildings most rare; besides the excellencie of the Temple, a thing beyond all compasse of comparison. All which considered, I thought it not vn-necessary, to make some briefe report, concerning the first foundation of this Cittie, with what fortunes happened thereto (as well good as euill) by a summarie Collection, of such things as I find recorded in her owne Chronicles.

*Ierusalem* was situated and founded, in the very midst of *Iudea* or *Ierrie*, at the toppe or knap of Mount *Sion*; which is helde or reputed (commonly) to be the middle or centre of the earths superficies. *Ezechiel* also saith, *That it was seated in the midst of Nations*. *David* likewise sayth: *That the saluation of men was perfected in the midst of the earth*. Which *Saint Hierome* declareth, writing on that passage of *Ezechiel* before specified. Moreover, it is written in *Genesis*, That *Melchisedech* (which, according to the interpretation of *Saint Paul*) is as much to say, as a Iust King, or a King of Iustice. *Abraham* hauing conquered foure Kings, that kept *Lot* prisoner) mett him and made a sacrifice to God, and that this Prince baptized this City of *Salom*, or (as some say) *Salem*, which is as much to say, as *Peace*: in regard wherof, he was called *King of Peace*.

*Salem* then was the first name imposed vpon this Cittie: although *Saint Hierome* is of the opinion, that it had the name

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The very worst kindes of policies to ouerthrow the deuifers themselues.

No pollicie preuaileth against the wil of heauen.

the very worst kindes of policies to ouerthrow the deuifers themselues.

The wealth and sumptuous buildings in Ierusalem. Plin. li. 2. ca. 9. Cor. Tac. in lib. 3. cap. 4. Iosep. de Bell. Iudaic. lib. 6.

Concerning the seating or plantation of Ierusalem.

Genes. 14. 18. Hebr. 7. 1. 2. 3

The admirable graces & priuiledges of Ierusalem in precedent times.

Salem the first name giuen to Ierusalem.

name of *Iebus* at the beginning. *Strabo*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and many other Authors beside, called it *Solima*, speaking otherwise of the foundation, then formerly hath beene sayd.

This Citty likewise was called *Iebus* and *Ierusalem*, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures. Saint *Hierome* writing to *Dardanus*, doeth giue it three names: Notwithstanding, it was (in the end) called *Aelia*, in regarde of the Emperours name *Aelius Adrianus*, who caused it to bee re-builed and fortified. Saint *Hierome* sayth, that it had the name of *Iebus*, in regard of the *Iebusites*, who had founded it, vntill the time of the holy Prophet *Dauid*.

*Iosephus* and *Aegesippus* say, that *Melchisedech* gaue it the name of *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as *Vision of peace*: making one word of *Iebus* and *Salem*, so that *Ierusalem* found it selfe to be composed of these two wordes, onely by chaunging *B.* into *R.* Others say, that it had the name of *Here*, that is to say, *Vision*: by reason of the Angell which appeared to *Abraham*, when hee would haue sacrificed his sonne *Isaack*.

Some others say, that it was called *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as the house of *Salomon*: in regarde of the admirable buildings which King *Salomon* erected there: many other opinions are there vpon this poynt, which I passe ouer lightly; because I am of the minde, that as the Iewes called it in their tongue *Ierusalem*, so did the *Greekes* and the *Latines* name it *Ierosolima*, as wee may reade in *Iosephus* and *Aegesippus*, Greeke Authors. Yet, *Nicholas de Lyra* will not haue it to bee so receyued, because hee sayth, that *Ierusalem* was first called *Luca* and *Bethell*: which I can giue but little credite vnto; for (according as Saint *Hierome* sayth) *Bethell* is twelue miles off from *Ierusalem*, as wee may see it also auouched by *Iosephus*. Notwithstanding all these opinions, it is to be noted, that *Ierusalem* (in former times) had many particular names; which were thereto attributed, in regard of the manifolde high mysteries therein accomplished. As, *The Holy Citty*; *The Sacred Citty*; *The Citty of Dauid*, and many other such like Titles, besides her owne proper and peculiar name, *Ierusalem*.

But come wee now vnto the Historie. The *Iebusites* and the *Canaanites*, who were one and the same Nation (for *Iabus* or *Iebus*, was the sonne of *Canaan*, the sonne of *Can*, Nephew to *Noah*, of whom these Nations tooke their name) were Lordes of *Ierusalem*, at such time as the Children of *Israell* (deliuered from the Captiuity of *Egypt*) possessed themselues of *Palestine* and *Iudea*. And it came to passe, that in the diuision or partage, which the twelue Tribes of *Israell* made of the Land promised vnto them: *Ierusalem* fell into the portion of the Tribe of *Beniamin*. Neuerthelesse, because this Tribe of *Beniamin* (notwithstanding all their aduentures in Armes) could not wholly cleare the Country of the *Iebusites*: they were constrained to let them liue there among them, for more then three hundred and seauenty yeares after, euen to the time of *Dauid*. Hee being both a Prophet and King, and descended of the Tribe of *Iuda*; expelling the *Iebusites*, wonne their Fortresses from them, building them new againe; and erected there a goodly Palace, as wee may reade in the Booke of *Kings*, and also in *Iosephus*. *Dauid* hauing thus expelled the *Iebusites*, called *Ierusalem*, *The Citty of God*, creating it to be the chiefe and Capitall Citty in all *Iudea*.

During the Reigne of King *Dauid*, *Ierusalem* was in her triumphing iollity, and highly renowned among all the Nations, in regarde of the great victories which *Dauid* obtayned: after whose death, wise *Salomon* succeeded him. And although this King laboured to liue in peace, yet *Ierusalem* still encreased in fame, riches and sumptuous buildings: for *Salomon* enlarged the walles thereof, and erected there goodly fortifications. Hee builded many other costly Castles beside: but especially the Temple, so greatly renowned, in regard of the treasure and arteficiall cunning bestowed thereon, as neuer could any other building be compared therewith. For, as we may reade in holy Scripture, and also in *Iosephus*, the Furniture thereto belonging, was infinite and incomprehensible. So that the very fame thereof, incited the Queene of *Saba* to visite King *Salomon*.

Concerning the *Iebusites* and *Canaanites* the lords and possessors of *Ierusalem*.

*Ierusalem* fell to the tribe of *Beniamin* in the diuision.

King *Dauid* expelled the *Iebusites* out of the land. *Ioseph.* in *Ant. Iud. lib. 18. c. 9.*

*Salomon* succeeded his father *Dauid*.

*Ioseph.* in *Ant. Iud. lib. 8.*

The Queene of *Saba* visited King *Salomon*.

Many

It was also called *Iebus* and *Ierusalem*.

*Ioseph. Ant. Iud. ca. 19. li. 1.*

*Melchisedech* called it *Ierusalem*, *Vision of peace*.

The house or palace of king *Salomon*.

The opinion of *Nicholas de Lyra* concerning *Ierusalem*.

Many particular names giuen to *Ierusalem*.

Many Kings likewise sent him choise Presents to the same effect, Gold, Siluer, and Treasure, which they brought to him by sea, and in such abundance, as no more account was made thereof, then as stones in the streete.

This King neuerthelesse, forgetting the great blessings which God had bestowed vpon him; became an Idolater, so that God suffered his kingdome to be diuided after his death.

Having reigned forty yeares, *Rehoboam* his sonne succeeded him, against whom ten of the Tribes reuolted, who elected *Ieroboam* to be their King. *Rehoboam* had the but two of the Tribes onely; to wit, *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, whereupon he fortified his Citties: and afterward, this Kingdome remaining to his successours, began to take and continue the name of *Iewes*, because of the Tribe of *Iuda*. *Ieroboam* and his successours, called themselues Kings of *Israel*, and chose *Samaria* to bee the chiefe City of that Kingdome: and by this diuision, those Kings were alwayes at continuall warre, each against other. Notwithstanding, although *Rehoboam* had but two of the Tribes subiect to him, yet his reputation was so great (because hee was descended of *Dauid*) that euermore hee prevailed in fight, and was much more feared and obeyed, then the King of *Israell*, so that *Ierusalem* became not a iote diminished, eyther in strength or riches. But when the Kings of *Iuda* and their people, grew offensiue to God by Idolatry: then this goodly City suffered many miseries and calamities.

*Rehoboam* having strongly defended his Townes and Citties, and they flourishing in all pompe and prosperity; hee notwithstanding, fell to Idolatry, as we may reade in the holy Chronicles, and likewise in *Iosephus*. In regard whereof, God raised vp against him, *Susac* or *Shishack*, King of *Egipt*, who came and couered his Country with twelue hundred Chariots, threescore thousand horse, and a countlesse number of Infanterie, belonging to the *Egyptians*, *Ethiopians*, *Troglodites*, with many *Lybians*, which came from *Guynea*, to his seruice. Boldly they entred into *Ierusalem*, sacked the City and the Temple, from whence they carried infinite Treasures, as is to be obserued in his chronicle. After which chastisements, the

anger of God being appeased; *Rehoboam* remained peaceably in his Kingdome, all the remainder of his life: and being dead, *Abias* succeeded him; who over-came *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; in which conquest were slaine fifty thousand men belonging to *Ieroboam*.

After the death of *Abias*, who liued but a while (being also an Idolator; and yet God permitted him to haue this victory, in consideration of *Dauid* his grand-father) *Asa* succeeded him. This Prince was good, iust, and feared God, and therefore he gaue him many great and signall victories, against *Zarab*, King of *Ethiopia*: who had entred so farre vpon his Country, that he kept *Ierusalem* besieged. In his time, the Kingdome of *Iuda* was so flourishing, that (vpon an account made) there were found siue hundred and fourescore thousand men, able to beare Arms. I finde also in the sacred Scripture, that this King builded and fortified many Citties.

Hee being deceased, *Iehosaphat* his sonne came to the Crowne, during whose Reigne, *Ierusalem* was in great reputation: chiefly in respect of Prophets, as *Abias*, *Micheas*, *Ostias*, *Elias* and *Eliseus*, who were all then at that time. This King found such fauour in the sight of God (according as wee reade in the holy Chronicles of the Kings) that the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and the Mountaineers of *Seir* (being gathered together, with an infinite number of people, to runne vpon this Prince) God sent a dissention among them, that they conuerted thence, and employed their powers to spoyle themselues, so that without striking a stroake, King *Iehosaphat* returned with great triumph to *Ierusalem*. Where having reigned peaceably, and in no meane power; he dyed, leauing the Kingdome vnto *Ioram* his sonne, giuing also to his other Children, diuers Citties, with great summes of gold and siluer.

*Ioram* being come vnto the Crowne, he followed not the steppes of his Father, nor of his Grand-father; but gaue himselfe to impiety and cruelty, putting to death his owne Brethren. He laboured also to haue alliance with *Achab*, King of *Israell*, whose councill he mainly followed in his affaires, and likewise tooke his Daughter in marriage. Whereat

Solomons Kingdome became diuided after his death

The kingdom of the Iewes and the kingdome of Israell.

Rehoboam thrived in all his attempts, being descended of Dauid

Shishack raised vp by God against Rehoboam. 3 Reg. 14, 3

The first sacking and spoiling of Ierusalem, in the dayes of Rehoboam.

After Abias, succeeded Asa, a iust and vertuous Prince.

A goodly muster of men made in Iuda.

Ierusalem blessed with many famous Prophets.

A mighty army preuented by Gods providence.

The impious and wicked rule of Ioram.

The country  
of Iudea spoiled  
& ruined.

God being displeas'd, suffered the men of *Edom* to reuolt from him. The *Arabes* also made warre vpon him; which pro- ued in such cruell manner, that the whole Countrey of *Iudea*, was thereby vtterly wasted.

Wicked liues  
haue common-  
ly as wicked  
deaths.

After his death, *Abazia*, or *Ochozias* his Sonne, succeeded in the King- dome, with his Mother *Athalia*: and, as they were both of most Wicked life, e- uen so, hadde they asvnhappie an end- ing.

Next him succeeded *Ochozias*, who gaue good apparence in the beginning of his Reigne, to doe all thinges for the best, as well in regard of Religion, as for actions of pollicie. For, hee redu- ced the Temple into the first condition, and re-established all the damages and iniuries which the Kinges of Egypt (and especially his Father *Abazia*) had done. But soone after, hee fell vnto Idolatrie, so that (by common voyce of the peo- ple) hee caused the Prophet *Zacharie* to be put to death.

The Prophet  
Zacharie put  
to death by  
Ochozias.

So highly was the goodnesse of Al- mighty God distast'd heerewith, that he sent a terrible chastisement vpon *Ieru- salem*, and that in the time of King *Amasias*, Sonne vnto this *Ochozias*. Who hauing Warre against *Ioas*, King of *Israell*, and neuer remembering the great Victories, which God had giuen him against the *Idumaans*, and manie other Nations: both hee and his people were ouer-come, and beeing ledde Prisoner vnto *Ierusalem* his owne Citty, was com- pelled to yeelde it to the mercy of *Ioas*, who caused it to be dismantled, and foure hundred fadomes of the Walles to bee beaten downe. Hee spoyled the Temple also, and possessed himselfe of all the wealth and riches belonging vn- to King *Amasias*: returning home after- wardes (in Triumph) to his Citty of *Sa- maria*.

Another great  
mifery hap-  
ning to Ieru-  
salem.

Furthermore, King *Amasias* beeing slaine by Treason, *Azarias*, or *Ozias* his Sonne next succeeded, who vvas a verie valiant and potent Prince. First of all, he strengthened *Ierusalem*, and all the other dismantled Citties, enrich- ing his Countrey, by diuers great victo- ries which hee obtained against the *Phi- listines*, *Arabes*, and *Ammonites*, making them all Tributarie vnto his Crowne; so

Amasias mur-  
dered by  
treason, his  
son Azarias  
succeedes him

that the renoune of *Ierusalem*, encreas'd day by day, while hee reigned; and hee founded and builded many Townes and Citties beside.

Neuerthelesse, pride made him to forget his dutie; for, perceiuing that he had three hundered thousand men sub- iect vnto him, and all in abilitie to carry Armes: hee grew so exceeding arrogant, that hee would needes vsurpe the High- Priestes Office. But as hee was perform- ing his Sacrifice in the Temple; God smote him with a fowle Leaprosie, the which continued with him to the time of his death.

Pride and ar-  
rogancy iustly  
punished by  
the hande of  
heauen.

After his decease, *Iotham* his Sonne next succeeded him, being a Prince very wise, iust, and valiaunt; hee also enlarg'd *Ierusalem* verie spaciouly, by manie reparations and new foundations; be- sides, the building of some other Cities. Hee likewise overcame and vanquished the *Ammonites*, from whom he brought backe great summes of Golde and Sil- uer. But after his death, Triumphant times beganne to weare away, and all vn- happinesse fell vpon the people of *Iuda*: For, his Sonne *Achaz*, sur-named *Elea- zar*, beeing come to the Crowne; gaue himselfe to Idolatry, introducing the ce- remonies and superstitions of the Pagans. In regard whereof, God chastised them by the hand of *Rasis*, King of *Suria*; and *Phezas* king of *Israell*, who slaughtered (in one day) sixe score thousand men. Af- ter which pittifull ouerthrow, they ranne thorow the Countrey of *Iudea*, robbing and spoiling 'it in lamentable manner; and because *Ierusalem* was strong, it out- stood the sharpe besiedging of these kings so long, til they despayring of their insufficiency, were forced (vwith great summes of Golde) to buy their succor of *Salmanazar* king of the *Assyrians*. And for the better satisfaction of him, they tooke the Vesselles of Gold and Siluer, which onely were for the Temples ser- uice, to helpe them withall in this great distresse.

Iotham suc-  
ceeded Aza-  
rias his father

Pagane Cere-  
monies and  
superstitions  
brought into  
Iudea.

Ierusalem re-  
duced againe  
to distresse in  
woful maner.

*Salmanazar* beeing come to assist the king of *Iuda*, vanquished and ouerthrew the king of *Israell*: and yet notwithstanding, ledde away with him a great number of the Iewes prisoners, to whom he gaue the Region of *Ithena* to dwell in. And this was the first dispersion and captiuitie of

The first dis-  
person and  
captiuitie of  
the Iewes.

of the Iewes, since their miraculous deliuerance out of Egypt: and in short time after, the *Assyrian* king, compelled the King of *Israell*, euery yeare to pay them Tribute. At this very time, the Prophets *Osea*, *Esay*, *Amos*, *Micheas* and *Jonas* were in great reputation.

After the death of this vnfortunate *Achaz*, next came to the Crowne his son *Ezechias*, a man farre beyond the Nature of his Father; for, hee was wise, iust, religious, and one that feared God. *Ierusalem* also (in his reigne) recouered once more her former credite; policy becoming better reformed, and the seruice of God reduced to such perfection: that (as the Scripture it selfe amply declareth) the Realme of *Iudah* neuer had a better king; liuing in great prosperity, and honouring his Countrey, with many famous Victories.

Hee could not content himselfe; with renting vp the rootes of Idolatry, whereto the people were ouer-much enclined; and bringing them entirely vnto the true seruice of God: but hee also gaue summons to the ten Tribes of *Israell*, to liue according to that Lawe, which God had deliuered by the hand of *Moyse*. Whereunto many condescending, they came to Sacrifice in *Ierusalem*, and to celebrate Easter, according vnto the ordinance of *Moyse*.

Norwithstanding, as the sacred Scriptures doe testifie, the rest perseuered still in their Idolatry, and made a mockerie of those gentle inuitations, as also the aduertisements which the Prophets had giuen them. For which contempt, GOD layde his correcting rodde vpon them, aswell by *Salmanazar*, as *Senacherib*, kings of the *Assyrians*, who oppressed them greatly, in the first yeare of King *Ezechias* his reigne.

Also in the fourth yeare of the reign of *Ozias*, King of *Israell*, the *Assyrian* brought so heauy a warr against seuen Tribes of *Israel*, for the space of three whole yeares: as he enforced them to forsake their countries, and to go dwell as slaues among the *Medes*.

Thus you see how the Iewes were dispersed heere and there, among forrayne and strange Nations, without euer returning againe home to their owne houses, so that none knew what afterward should

become of them. For heere was the end and ruine of the kingdom of *Israel*, which had continued three hundred and seuentie yeares.

On the contrarie, *Salmanazar* sent his *Assyrians* into *Samaria*, to inhabite there; who (vsurpingly) got possession of all the Countreyes (wherein the *Israelites* had formerly dwelt) and tooke the name of *Samaritanes* vpon them. Yet *Eusebius* taketh that name but as a Garrison, wherein his opinion (me thinkes) is not warrantable: for they were called *Samaritanes*, after the name of *Samaria*, the chiefe and principall City of that Countrey. The *Assyrians* made a mixture of the Iewes Lawes with their Idolatries; yet held them in abomination, as excommunicated people. As concerning their actions, I shall be silent therein, because it no way concerneth my discourse: and if heerein I haue committed any error, I submit my selfe to the Churches correction.

After the ouerthrow and ruine of the *Israelites*, the Kingdome of *Iuda* onely remaind on foote: For the good King *Ezechias*, to saue his people from the fierce rage and furie of King *Salmanazar*, and to preserue his owne dominions in peace; gaue him great summes of gold, buying (by that meanes) peace for long time. Neuerthelesse, this Infidell King falsified his Fayth vnto him, and came with a mighty powerfull Armie; intending to ruinate the Kingdome of *Iuda*, as formerly hee had done the Kingdome of *Israell*. But GOD beeing pleased to defend his people, sent the Prophet *Esay* vnto King *Ezechias* to comfort him, (because this Prophet liued then) and in one night, the Angell of the Lorde, slew one hundred and foure score thousand fighting men in the *Assyrians* camp: by meanes of which great slaughter, the rest retired thence. And *Ezechias*, hauing escaped this dangerous perill to himselfe, and his people, lyued the remainder of his dayes peacefully in his Kingdome. And God hauing evidently declared great Myracles, on the behalfe of this King, he dyed peaceably, leauing his Sonne *Manasses* successour in his kingdome.

This Prince wandered from the good wayes of his Father, and addicted himselfe altogether to Idolatry, committing

Ezechias the son to vnfortunate King Achaz, succeded in the kingdom after his Father.

His rooting vp of idolatry and warning giuen to the ten Tribes.

Salmanazar and Senacherib, Gods scourges vnto the Iewes.

The dispersio of the Iewes into strange Countreyes.

How the Samaritans first received that name.

The kingdom of Iuda remaining after the ruine of the Israelites.

One hundred and fourescore thousand Assyrians slaine in one night.

Manasses re-  
volted from  
the wayes of  
good king E-  
zechias his fa-  
ther, and was  
led captiue  
into Babylon.

The deeds of  
the holy king  
Iosias, repay-  
ring the Tem-  
ple, and expel-  
ling idolatry  
out of his king-  
dome.

King Iosias di-  
ed of a wound  
needlesly re-  
ceiued in fight.

The lamenta-  
tions of the  
prophet Iere-  
mie.

many most abominable finnes, directly contrary to the Law of God, and thereto likewise induced the people. Whereat God growing offended, raised vp the *Assyrians* against him, who so well chastised him; that, ouer and beside the ouerthrow of his people, himselfe was taken prisoner, and ledde away captiue into *Babylon*. Notwithstanding, he repented him of his finnes, which caused God to deliuer him out of the *Assyrians* hands; so that hee returned home to his owne estates, and dyed there in peace. After him, succeeded his wicked son *Amon*, who was slain most miserably: the Prophets *Ioel*, *Nahum*, and *Habbakuk* succeeded in his time. Next him, came to the crowne his sonne *Iosias*, who was a Prince that feared God, & very vigilant for the reformation of his people; performing many other actions, rightly becomming so good and iust a King. For, he expelled all idolatry quite out of his kingdom, which had taken deepe roote in the hearts of men, and he repaired the Temple also. Neuerthelesse, the anger of God against the Iewes was not appeased, in regard of the abominable idolatries committed, in the reigns of the Kings *Manasses* & *Amon*. Notwithstanding, in respect of King *Iosias*, who (thorough his owne folly) dyed poorely; God deferred to chastise the Iewish people, in such manner as he did afterward.

This king dyed of a wound, which hee receiued on the day that hee had agaynst *Necar*, King of *Ægypt*, when hee might haue bin better employed. For *Necar* had no matter of quarrell against him, but rather sought his friendship so much as hee could; and hauing no other intention, but to imploy his forces against the King of *Assyria*. Neuerthelesse, in a brauery of spirit, *Iosias* would needs meddle with him, which cost the deere price of his life. His death was very much bemoaned, especially by the Prophet *Jeremy*, who wrote his Lamentations on his behalfe.

*Ioachaz* his son succeeded him, who was giuen to all iniquity and wickednes: wherefore God suffered him to reigne no more then three moneths: for *Necar*, who had before foyled his father, deprived him of his kingdome, making the countrey of *Iudea* tributary, paying an hundred Talents of Gold, and one of Siluer, every yeare.

*Ioachaz* being thus defeated of his king-

dome, and led prisoner into *Ægypt*, where he dyed; *Ioachim* his Brother, was enstalled in his place, behauing himselfe verie wickedly; for hee was wholly affected to Idolatry, and prouoked his people to doe the like. In which respect, God stirred vp king *Nabuchodonosor* to be his enemy, who had already reigned forty foure years in *Babylon*.

This Prince hauing won the victorie against the Iewish people, ledde away the most part of the greatest personnes in all the Countrey, as captiue slaues and Vassals, and tooke away also the Vesselles of the Temple. The occasion of this warre grew, because *Ioachim* gaue ayde vnto the King of *Ægypt*, against *Nabuchodonosor*, contrary to the counsell of *Jeremy*. *Ioachim* hauing reigned eleuen yeeres, and liued prisoner three yeeres, dyed in great pouerty.

After whom succeeded *Iechonias*; following the stepps of his Father, because hee was as wicked as hee. In his time, God began to display his rigorous rods of vengeance, prepared long time before against *Ierusalem*, but deferred in the regard of *Iosias*, according as the Prophets had foretold. For King *Nabuchodonosor* came in his owne person, with an exceeding great and powerfull Armie, to besiege the Cittie of *Ierusalem*: but, *Iechonias* being not able to make resistance, submitted vnto his will, himselfe, his Mother, his Wife, and the principall personnes that were of his House. Moreouer, hee made him a present, of the Vesselles and Treasures which remained (as yet) in the Temple. By which meanes, King *Iechonias*, and the cheefest men of his Court, were ledde away captiues into *Babylon*: But *Nabuchodonosor*, tooke all the assurances and fidelitie of *Mattathias*, vncler to King *Iechonias*, and made him king of *Iudea*, calling him by the name of *Sedechias*.

In speaking of this King, I must needs say, hee was one of the most Wicked and vnhappy Princes that ever reigned: For, not onely was hee ingratefull vnto Almighty G O D, for the great Graces which hee had bestowed vpon him (turning still his backe, and not willing to heare any thing which the Prophet *Jeremy* tolde him) but also did falsifie his word vnto King *Nabuchodonosor*; who

*Ioachaz* dyed  
a prisoner in  
*Ægypt*, led thi-  
ther in capti-  
uitie.

King *Nabu-  
chodonosor*  
ouerthroweth  
the Iewish  
people.

The long de-  
ferred anger  
of god against  
*Ierusalem*,  
now cometh  
to appearance  
in the war of  
*Nabuchodo-  
nosor*.

*Sedechias* on  
of the worst  
Kings that e-  
uer reigned  
in *Iudea*.

who had enstalled him in the Kingdome, denying him his friendship. And if this Prince was no more worthy; much lesse then were the sacrificing Priests, and least of all the common people: so that all abominations and idolatries reigned in *Iudea*, euen to the prophanation of the Temple, which had beene held in such sacred esteeme. And notwithstanding all the aduertisements giuen to this King, by *Ieremie, Ezechiell*, and other Prophets: yet his obstinacy encreased daily more and more. Whereupon, God raised *Nabuchodonosor*, who, to reuenge the wrongs done him by *Sedechias*; In the ninth yeare of his Reigne, he came and couered the Country of *Iudea* with a mighty Army, and held *Ierusalem* besieged, the space of two yeares, where King *Sedechias* had betaken himselfe for his more security.

The poore people languishing with famine & pestilence, were no longer able to endure the sledge; but being thus by extremity compelled, yeelded to the enemies mercy: when hee entring into the Citty, put all to fire and sword. *Sedechias* was taken in his flight, and being brought before *Nabuchodonosor*; saw his own children slaine before his face; and as for himselfe, he had his eyes pluckt out, and sent (in that miserable maner) captiue to *Babylon*. After the Conqueror was returned home, he sent to *Ierusalem* *Nabuzaradan*, who was one of his principall Captaines, with especial charge, vterly to rinate the Temple. This was foure hundred yeares after the building thereof by King *Salomon*: as he performed the like, to all the Fortresses and sumptuous buildings of *Ierusalem*, beating downe the walles of the Citty, and defacing the Pallace belonging to the Kings of *Juda*.

Hee carried away also all the mettall that was in the Temple, and ledde thence the Sacrificers, and all the chiefe men, as well of *Ierusalem*, as throughout the coutry beside, with their Wiues and Children; who continued Captiues in *Babylon*, for the space of about threescore and ten yeares. This was the Captiuity of *Babylon*, which hath so much bene spoken of, and which happened about sixe hundred yeares before the comming of our Lord and Sauour *Iesus Christ*. Thus you see, how the poore Citty of *Ierusalem* remained desert and desolate, except some

few of the meaner people, left behinde to till and husband the grounds: vnder the charge (neuerthelesse) of *Godolias*, Deputy Gouvernor in *Iudea*. But the people falling into mutiny, slew *Godolias*, and then fearing the fury of *Nabuchodonosor*; such as remained of the *Iewes*, went and dwelt in *Egypt*, leauing *Ierusalem* waste and vnpeopled.

*S. Hierome* saith, that after the surprizal and sacking of *Ierusalem*, there passed well neere fifty yeares, when neyther Man, Beast nor Bird entred into it; whereby may sufficiently be knowne, what great punishments this people had deserued, that were so highly beloued and priuiledged by God. Seauenty yeares being passed ouer, it pleased God with the eye of pittie, to looke vpon the Captiuity of his people: being then, when the Empire fell into the dominion of the *Persians*, who thereof disseized the *Assyrians*, and in the time of the puissant King *Cyrus*. He, being moued by the Spirit of God, suffered fifty thousand *Iewes* to returne home into their Country, vnder the conduct of *Zerobabell* their Captaine, and *Iosuah* or *Iesus*, the soueraigne Sacrificer or High-Priest: who beeing returned into *Iudea*, began to repaire the ruines of their Cities, and especially *Ierusalem*, which they re-builted with great ioy, offering sacrifices to God, according to the Ordinances appointed in his Law.

CHAP. XXIX.

*What difference there is betweene Leasing and Lying; And how a man may tell a leasing, and yet not to be saide, that it is a lye.*



**L**ying, is one of the greatest vices that any man can haue; for it is not any way possible to negotiate, or to conclude any matter, with him that is a liar, because lying maketh e- uery thing to be suspected. Moreouer, the horreur of lying sheweth it selfe sufficiently, in that it is directly opposite to truth, which is God: as likewise the diuell is called the Father of lyes. *Salomon* (in his

*Hier in Lib. Quest. Hebraic.*

At what time God began to commiserate the distresse of his people.

Fifty thousand Iewes releas'd by King Cyrus, and sent into their Country

How detestable a thing is lying, making men not to be credited when they speake truth.

The warning giuen to this vngacious King, by *Ieremie, Ezechiell*, and other Prophets.

The wrath of God executed vpon King *Sedechias* & his Children.

The vter ruine of the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

The captiuity of the Iewes in *Babylon*, & how long it continued, as also the woful depopulation of the Citty.

The hatred to lying, both by Infidels and Christians.

his Prouerbs) placeth lying in the second ranke, of the seauen vices greatly displeasing to God. In brieft, this vice hath (at all times) bene so abhorred both by Infidels and Christians; that a man knowne to be a liar, was reputed as a plague to the Common-wealth, as we may perceiue in *Euripides*, according as is auouched by *Stobæus*.

But not to make any longer stay, in shewing how pernicious and detestable a thing lying is, in regard that it is so common and vulgar: I take it as a matter conuenient, to declare what difference there is betweene leasing and lying, according to the saying of *Aulus Gellius*, and of many other Authors more; for oftentimes, there is a great difference in these two bad qualities. Obserue we then to this effect, that to tell a lye, is to affirme the contrary, of that which a man knoweth to be true. But telling a fallacie or leasing, is to affirme lying, with an intention to speake truth: wherein a man cannot be saide to haue lyed, when he speaketh not against that which he holdeth for truth, & knoweth it so to be.

The difference betweene lying & telling a leasing.

How a man may lye in speaking truth.

Contrariwise, a man may lye, and yet (notwithstanding) tell trueth, when hee speaketh against that which hee thinketh, although that which he hath said, be true. But when a man vttereth a leasing, knowing the thing it selfe to be otherwise then as he hath said; hee lyeth, and then it is a direct lye. From hence it ensueth, that it is impossible to tell a lye without vice or sinne: but he that speaketh a leasing, thinking to say the truth, lyeth not at all. This is that which *Nigidius* saith, according to the expression of *Gellius*: *That an honest man will neuer lye, and a wise man hates to tell a leasing*. For mine owne opinion heerein, I would aduise all men to auoyde both the one and other vice, although they may imagine to speake truely.

*Aul. Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 9.*

Heere it is to be noted, that although the tongue keepe silence, yet deeds sometimes may belye the person. For as *Saint Ambrose* saith: *He which makes profession of being a Christian, without conforming himselfe to the works of Christ, lieth, or is a liar*. As also that man doth, which makes a solemne promise to obserue Religion, and yet notwithstanding, obserueth none at all. As much may we say of some vgly women, as black as faire diuels, who paint

*Amb. in Serm. de Cena Dom.*

& paint to get them better faces, and look therby worse the euer they did: And foolish olde men, that would be yong againe by fantasticke meanes.

I remember an old man, of whom *Theophrastus* speaketh, who being of great authority and credite, and hauing some important businesse before the *Lacedemon* Senate; was very much greued, to appeare there in such antiquity of yeares as he was stept into; which made him to cut and shaue his head and beard, hoping by this meanes to seeme much younger. As the cause was in debating, *Archidamus* (speaking for his Clyent, against him) declared to the Senate, that no credit ought to be giuen to the words of him, that apparantly carried lying in his head & face. So that, according to *Archidamus*, such aged fooles can lye, without speaking any words.

Of such lyars there are no meane store in the world.

A pleasant history of an ydle-headed olde man, before the Senate of Lacedemon.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare; how both Ancients and Moderne men used to figure them: And of some mysteries represented by them.*



O great mystery consisteth in knowing the significati- on of the twelue Moneths by their figures. Neuerthe- lesse, considering that few or none haue written of them, in our vul- gar tongue: I am the more willing to take a little paines, in acquainting some parti- cular friends, that by looking vpon their portraitures, they may the better reach to their interpretation.

First of all then, beginning with *Ianu- ary*, it was presented by a man seated at a Table, holding a Glasse of Wine in his hand, as being ready to drinke. Whereby was intended, that in this Moneth, all creatures haue better appetite and desire to eate and drink, then at any other time: because heat is retired inward, & strength- neth the stomacke in such sort, that it is capable of the easier digestion.

*February*, was a mā heating his hands a- bout his own body: for in this month, fire

An argument discoursed by few or none.

January.

February.

is very requisite, in regard of the great coldes in Winter, caused by the absence of the Sunne.

*March*, was figured in form of a Gardiner: because (in this Moneth) the pores and spiracles of the earth, do open themselves, insomuch, that the moisture of the earth commeth (of it owne accord) to all the Trees, Hearbs and Plants. In which respect, all superfluities are to bee cut away, that the nutritiue humour may extend it selfe to the liuing Branches, for bearing the fairer fruite.

*April*, was made in the shape of a young man, holding a Nosegay of flowers in his hand: for in this Moneth, the earth hauing communicated his vertue to Trees and Hearbs, maketh euery thing to flourish, and bring forth Flowers.

For *May*, a yong gallant Gentleman was portraited, being mounted on horsebacke, and brauely apparelled, bearing a Hawke vpon his Fist. Considering, that in this Moneth, the Trees commonly begin to beare fruite. Birds flye abroad merrily, and all creatures strue to haue their best pleasures, and make loue to one another.

*June*, was painted, carrying a Scythe on his backe; because in this Moneth, the Medowes must be mowed downe.

*July*, carried a Sickle in his hand, where-with to reape downe the ripened Corne.

And because these Fruites are commonly to bee gathered in *August*, and then they are to be laide and lockt vp in Barnes and Garners: *August* was figured like to a Country Carter, standing by his laden Cart, with a whip in his hand, as hastening homeward with his sheaues of Corne.

*September*, was in the habite of a Vintager; as thereby signifying, that the beginning of Vintage is to bee in this Moneth.

*October*, was figured like a husbandman, carrying a Sack vpon his shoulders, and sowing Corne as hee passeth along. Meaning thereby, that as this Moneth is colde and dry; so is it very apt and conuenient, for the sowing of Seede.

*November* stood in the shape of a Thrather, labouring his Flayle vpon the Corne in the sheaues. He had another companion standing by him, who with a pole did beate downe the Acornes from

the Trees, because in this Month, Acornes serue best to fatten Swine; and then also they ordinarily kill Swine, for making Bacon.

*December* stood in the likenesse of a Butcher, with a knife in his hand, and killing a Hog. Thus were the twelue Moneths vsually figured.

As for the yeare it selfe, they made the modell thereof, in the resemblance of a Serpent, writhed into a rundle, & holding the tayle in the mouth: because the end of the yeare euermore is ioyned with the beginning.

CHAP. XXXI.

*Of a strange Coniuration or Conspiracy, which happened in the goodly City of Florence, and of the slaughter which ensued thereon.*

**A**L the World is naturally desirous to heare and vnderstand the greatest enterprizes, and such strange accidents as happen to men: to the ende, that they may the better defend themselves, from falling into such inconueniences, as waite vpon inconstant and mutable Fortune. And therefore I concluded with my selfe, to relate a very rare and admirable chance, which happened in the wealthy City of *Florence*, and which (in mine opinion) is one that deserueth as much meruaile, as any other that euer I heard of.

In the yeare, 1478. the City of *Florence* was in great peace, abounding (day by day) in sumptuousnesse and riches, and the affayrs of the Common-wealth holding on such a prosperous course, that no imagination was so idle, as to thinke, that any misfortune had the power to alter this happinesse. In those Sun-shine dayes, the illustrious house of *Medicis* (of whom the Duke was *Cosimo*, and all the Dukes of *Florence* to this day are descended) gouerned the said State and Common-wealth: so that all affaires passed through the hands and intelligence of the two Lords, *Iuliano* and *Laurentio de Medicis*,

December.

The Yeare.

It is the common ufection of all men to listen after nouelties.

The sumptuous and flourishing estate of Florence in those times

Iuliano and Laurentio de Medicis, both Brethren.

March.

April.

May.

June.

July.

August.

September.

October.

November.

*cis*, Brethren; who were highly esteemed among the people, in regard of their Ancestours, and especially for *Cosimo de Medicis* their Grand-father, who had bene the onely and richest Merchant of *Italy*; although that in *Florence* wer very wealthy Merchants beside.

Now there were (at this time) in the saide City, many other Gentlemen and rich Merchants, who thought themselves euery way as sufficient, to manage and order the Common-wealths affaires; as those that were of the house of *Medici*. Neuertheless, the *Medici* still had the great opinion, being euery day respected, hayled and louingly entertained of the people. In the ende, the house of the *Pazzi*, *Saluiati*, and many other, issued of Noble and ancient Families in *Florence* (being moued by passion and particular affection (coupled with innated enuy, which they bare to them of the *Medicis*) contriued a secret complot, whereby to take the Common-wealths government from the *Medici*. And this their intent could not be accomplished, without the death of *Iuliano* and *Laurentio de Medicis*, because they were rich and potent Lords.

*Francesco* and *Giouanni de Pazzi*, Cousins-germaine to *Giacomo de Pazzi*, and cheefest men of that house, vnderooke to kill the said Brethren of the *Medici*, and ioyned with them the Family of the *Saluiati*; especially Signior *Francesco Saluiati*, Archbishop of *Pisa*, and they vnderooke to kill Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, Vncle to them of the *Medici*, & likewise *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, whom they had constrained into their league: all verily perswaded, that being rid of them, they should not meete with any resistance in the execution of their purpose.

This complot fully agreed vpon, and all things prouided to fit their enterprize accordingly; the Archbishoppe of *Pisa* came to *Florence*, where (vnder another colour) they entred into roule a number of Souldiours, all well knowne: yet without discovering to any one, what was to be done. The Archbishop of *Pisa*, of whom neuer any doubt was conceiued, practised such meanes, that a young Cardinall, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus* (who then studied at *Bologna*) should come to passe the time a while at *Florence*, to fitte their turne (in the action) with him and his peo-

ple, yet neuer acquainting him with a thought of the intention.

Order being taken for all occasions, and euery thing kept close in the bosomes of the principall conspirators, the conclusion was thus; that the two Brethren *de Medicis* should be slaine together, eyther in the great Church, or else where the Cardinall should heare Masse. *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino*, tooke charge of killing the Lord *Iuliano de Medicis*: but the death of the Lord *Laurentio*, was committed to *Antonio de Volterra*, and to another, called *Stephano*, being a Priest. The houre or moment, assigned by *Giacomo de Pazzi*, for the execution of these two murders, was at such time, as the Priests shold be at the eleuation in Masse, holding the Hoast or Sacrifice aloft aboue his head, although the two brethren then were in diuers places.

Vpon the Sunday following, which was the third of May, 1478. this conclusion tooke effect thus. The Cardinall came to heare Masse, and with him the Lord *Laurentio de Medicis*, without his brother. For they vsed to walke (as men suspecting ambushes) sildome or neuer together in the City, for feare of falling into any disaster together: knowing right well, that no man durst make an attempt offensively vpon them, if one of the two were left alieue. The conspirators perceiuing that Lord *Iuliano* came not at all; *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino* (who had sworne his death) vnder the shaddow of Courtly attendance, went to come along with him from his house, and bestowed so many embrassadoes vpon him, that they brought him vnto the Church where his Brother was, and yet hee then sate farre enough off from his Brother. Conspiring eyes were still fixed on them both, enuying that they should sitte so farre asunder: but yet the time and place gaue the courage, that they might easily accomplish the acte; and yet not be prosecuted by any, for few or none tooke notice of them.

The point for performance being come, *Francesco de Pazzi* gaue a stabbe with his poniard to the Lord *Iuliano*, which thwarted the stomacke, and issued foorth at his shoulder, so that immediately he fel down dead: and *Bernardo Bandino*, by making haste (least Lord *Iuliano* shold not be thorowly sped) wounded himselfe with his owne

Emulation & hart-burning in some against the Medicis, in regard of their authority.

The death contriued of Iuliano & Laurentio de Medicis.

The combination for a most horrible murder.

A list of Souldiours prepared for the purpose.

Ambr de

The appointment how the massacre should be performed, & by what persons.

The signall for the deed to be done.

A care in the two brethren, to prevent mischief.

Ceremonious Courtship, many times makes way to diuellish practices.

Lord Iuliano slaine by Francesco de Pazzi.

owne Dagger in the stomacke, albeit hee saw the Lord *Iuliano* lye dead before him. There dyed also *Francesco Nori*, slaine by *Bernardo Bandino*, because he laid hand on his weapon, in the defence of Lord *Iuliano*. *Antonio Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, sharply assayed the Lord *Laurentio de Medicis*, but yet with such slender dexterity; that vsing his owne couragious defence, hee was wounded a little in the mouth, and (in despight of all they could do) by meanes of certaine friends, he got into the Sacristia or Vestrie, and there saued himselfe from their fury.

This assault was so sudden, that it had speedier execution, then any knowledge could be had of them that acted it: for such was the cry of the people, as if the Church had fallen to the earth. The Cardinall had worke enough to doe, to get himselfe free, and in safety to the high Altar. All the Citty was vp in a furious vpror; for some cryed out, that the two Brethren *de Medicis* were slaine, & others saide no, putting themselues presently in Armes. They of the houses of *Pazzi* and *Saluiati*, began aloud to cry Liberty, Liberty, so that the Seigneury resorted to the great Pallace with all diligence, where the *Gonfaloniero* ioyning with them, they fortified themselues with armed men in the house. The Councillors of the Citty, and such as tooke part with the *Medici*, went to seeke for the Lord *Laurentio*; conducting him home to his own house, where stood readily prepared, aboue eight thousand armed men.

As for the Archbishop of *Pisa*, hee pursuing on still the point with the *Saluiati*, being accompanied with many of their league, and such as were the Cardinals followers; rode directly vnto the Pallace, with intent to make their meaning well liking to the Seigneury. The Lords of the Seigneury, although they tooke part with the house of *Medici*; yet notwithstanding they were so pressed, as they had not any leysure, for making any Armed prouision, nor to appoint a Garrison for the Pallace. Yet they knew well enough, that Lord *Laurentio* was not much hurt, and that he had men about him valiant & hardy.

The Archbishop perceiuing, that the Seigneury had no leysure to take a resolution, in some mattrets that he would haue

propounded to them: diuided the traine of his followers into two Companies, appointing one part of them to keep possession of the Pallace Gates. Hee, with the other company, ascended vp into the Pallace, and made it knowne to the Seigneury, that he had some-what to acquaint them withall, for generall benefit of the Common-wealth. Whereupon, he being admitted in, with some few of his people, that knew no part of his vile purpose: the Gates of the Pallace were made so strongly fast; that the Archbishop could haue no succor of his followers, nor the Lords of the Seigneury themselues haue any assistance. So loudly did the Archbishop deliuer his minde, speaking of matters in such vnorderly manner; that the Seigneurie (well vnderstanding his bad intention) commanded the *Gonfaloniero* to take hold of him, as also of *Giacoma Saluiati*, and *Giacomo*, the sonne of *Messier Poggio de Pazzi*. And so vnruely grew the tumult, that all their attendants were instantly slaine in the fury, and thirty dead bodies throwne out of the Pallace windowes, vpon the heads of them that were beneath in the Court.

Within a while after, the common people, who greatly fauoured them of the *Medici*, ranne in huge heapes and crowds to the Pallace: where all the other part of the Archbishops men (that had the trust of keeping the Pallace Gates) were taken and slaine presently, without any respect vsed towards them. As for the Archbishop, and his two friends with him; they were hanged in the Market-place, to cause more terrour in the rest. *Giacomo de Pazzi*, and diuers other of the Conspirators, rode vp and downe through the Citty, crying Liberty, Liberty: but perceiuing none to make them answer, as leaning rather to the part of Lord *Laurentio*; they thought to saue themselues by flight. Only *Bernardo Bandino* excepted, who lay in his bed very sicke, by paine of the wound which he had giuen himselfe; so that hee was not able to sit on horsebacke, or come abroad out of his Chamber.

By this time the whole Citty was vp in Armes, to defend the cause of the Lord *Laurentio*, who extremely greeued, for the death of Lord *Iuliano* his Brother: causing seuerer pursuite after the Conspirators, so that many, who were but meerey suspected

The Arch-Bishop admitted to speake with the Seigneury.

The Arch Bishop seized on, and his followers most of them slaine.

The other part of the Archbishops attendants slaine, & himselfe hanged.

The whole Citty maintained the cause of Lord *Laurentio de Medicis*.

Lord Laurentio saued his life in the Vestrie.

The young Cardinall hardly saued himselfe.

The whole Seigneury in haste to the pallace.

The Arch-Bishop of Pisa beth to the Pallace, to conferre with the Seigneury.

suspected in the case, could not escape, although no matter was prooued against them; but no knowne offender could any way be spared. The young Cardinal, Nephew to the Pope, was kept prisoner in the Pallace, with very great perill of his life: but at length, his innocence being truely knowne, he was acquitted; continuing (neuerthelesse) long time prisoner. *Bernardo Bandino*, was ledde starke naked to the Pallace, and so hanged vp, next to the Archbishop. As for *Antonio de Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, who should haue slaine the Lord *Laurentio*: they were trodden to death among the rude multitude, that ranne euery where in the City; crying *Medicis, Medicis*, burning and pulling downe all their houses, whom they knew to be of the contrary Faction. In brieffe, the disorder was such, and so confused, as it exceeded the capacity of writing; especially the furies and cruelties, committed in this horrid tempest.

*Giacomo de Pazzi*, was taken in his flight, & brought back to *Florence*: where he was hanged or strangled, and his body being cut in peeces, was after buried in prophane ground; all his lands & goods (which being of great value) were confiscated, and adiudged to the Seigneries possession. And after condigne punishment inflicted vpon the malefactors, the body of Lord *Iuliano* was most honourably buried, and with very solemne Funerall pompe.

Such issue had the Coniuration of the *Pazzi*, which was a matter very strange. For, in lesse then three houres, the Lord *Iuliano de Medicis* (an extraordinary rich man) was slaine; the Archbishop of *Pisa* hanged, with some other of his confederates, and the houses of the aduerse part vtterly destroyed. Pope *Sixtus*, and *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, conceiued such a spleene against this action at *Florence*: that they (together) leuyed a powerfull Army against the *Florentines*, who (with the aid of their friends) defended themselves so well; that no other aduantage was due to the disturbers, but that the war was long, and very cruell, great effusion of blood happening on eyther side. Behold the poore and vnfortunate issue of these conspirators, who thinking to winne honour, and high degrees by indiscreete meanes: lost their liues, disioynted the peace and

vnity of their Country, and made their enemy much mightier then before, for Lord *Laurentio de Medicis* gouerned *Florence* so long as he liued.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*A very remarkable and worthy Historie, deliuering in true and brieffe discourse; the life and memorable actions of that famous Captaine, commonly called, Castruccio Castracagnio.*



*Astruccio Castracagnio*, a Captaine of much fame and merit, in my poore opinion, may be rancked among the greatest and most renowned Captaines of the world: considering the pouerty of his originall, and the slender meanes he had, without the fauours of any, compared also with those strange traueses, which Fortune put vpon him. Wherein I may well say, that very few Captaines or Generals are to bee found, who with so poore & imperfect furnishment; did euer reach to those honours and estates, as this our *Castruccio Castracagnio* attained. Wherefore, I thought it no disparagement vnto our precedent best subiects, that his History should make one among them: not purposing to vie any larger dilation therein, then already I haue obserued in the rest, because it shall suffice me, summarily to report the courage of this Captaine.

Beginning then with his originall, which was very strange, you are to vnderstand, that in *Luca*, a City of no meane fame in *Italy*, there was a Chanon belonging to the Church of *S. Michaell*, named *Mesire Antonio Castracagnio*, who had a sister (of his owne) liuing with him, being a very honest and vertuous woman. Close ioyning to this Chanons house, was a little Close or Field of \* *Autines*, which was plentifully furnished with variety of fruitfull Trees, as is the manner vsed in *Italy*. The sister to this Chanon (by fortune) going one morning into this Close, to gather some Hearbs for her vse, without dreming on any such matter as after happened: as she was gathering Hearbs heere and

Bernardo Bā-dino hanged vp starke naked by the Archbishop.

Security of law inflicted on the bloody offenders.

A brieffe survey of the conspiracy, & the maine actors therein, with some other accidets that followed thereon.

It is not pouerty of birth that hindereth the merite of any well deserving man.

Here the Author brieffe discourseth the originall of *Castruccio Castracagnio*, & in what manner he was found.

\* They are Vines fastened to Trees according to the manner in *Italy*.

and there, heard a small voyce, as if it were of some new borne babe. And walking that way where she heard the cry; among the leaues and young bourgeons of the Vines, was an infant laide, appearing to bee very lately before borne, tenderly crying, as desiring aide in that wofull distresse.

The good widdow, somewhat sadly moued at the beginning of this aduenture, yet prouoked by a womans louing compassion: carried in the tender childe, & shewed it to the Chanon her brother; who being amazed at so strange an accident, and yet ouercome with Christianlike pittie, determined to prouide nursing for the Babe. And in regard that it was a manchilde, hee gaue it the name of his owne Father, calling him *Castruccio*. When the Nurse was come, he caused it to be nourished as if it had bene his owne: & after growing to a great boy, sent him to schoole, with full intention of surrendring his Chanons place to him. But when the Lad grew to 14. yeares of age, Learning and Bookes was the least part of his care, for he was no way addicted to letters, but rather delighted in handling of a sword: and in regard that he was very actiue of body, he gaue himselfe greatly to leaping, dancing, & wrastling with other strong Lads like himself. Speaking al in a word, he was so dexterious in whatfoeuer he did; as none of his companions could equall him, but *Castruccio* becae respected in euery eye.

It so fortun'd, that Captaine *Francesco Guinigo*, a man much renowned, for worthy actions of Armes performed by him in *Lombardy*, was then at *Luca*. He hearing such report of young *Castruccio*, & seeing him bold & brauely spirited; found meanes to haue him in his seruice. And *Castruccio* being now where he best desired, became (in lesse then fise yeares) so expert a Souldior, as his like was not to be found, as well on horse as foot: for he could so cunningly manage any horse, that *Caualcadore* of *Italie* hardly came neere him.

Being come to the age of 18. yeares, Captaine *Guinigo*, his Master, departed thence for *Millaine*, in aide of the *Viscontines*, who were in Armes against the *Thuriani*, and many other *Millaine* Gentlemen. He tooke *Castruccio* along with him, who caried himselfe so valiant and wisely in this war; that hee bare away the fame from all the Souldiors in the Campe. This war lasted fise or fixe yeares, which being ended by peace

or truce; Captaine *Guinigo* returned to *Luca*, with his *Castruccio*, wher he was most kindly embraced by euery one, as well in general as particular, in regard of the good report noised euery where of him. So that more account was made of him, then of *Guinigo* his Master; for hee was so humane and courteous to euery man, that affection increased towards him daily more & more.

Within a short while after, Captaine *Guinigo* feeling himselfe sicke, & in some danger of death; gaue the tutelage & gouernement of *Pagola* his sonne, to his man *Castruccio*. In which charge, *Castruccio* carried himselfe so faithfully, that so long as he liued, he had at his command the affairs of *Pagola*, euen as if hee had bene his owne sonne. After the decease of Captaine *Guinigo*, the credite and reputation of *Castruccio* wonderfully augmented. Neuerthelesse, because he was very fiery, impatient and vindicative, when any wrong had bene done vnto him: the men of *Luca* began to grow suspitious, that he purposed to make himselfe Lord of *Luca*, and not without some pregnant occasion; in which respect, the Seigneury commanded him to auoide the City. Which disgrace *Castruccio* so much distasted, that he resolved to be reuenged, euen with the ruine and confusion of his head-strong enemies. At this very time, the Factions of the *Guelfes* and *Gibelines* reigned powerfully in *Italy*; and euen the also, the lord *Hugo Faguola* was in some comand, who being possessed of the Seigneury of *Pisa*; *Castruccio* practised (by insinuation) to compasse grace & fauour with this Lord *Faguola*, & therefore complotted with the *Gibelines*, to make *Figuola* Lord of *Luca*. Working this traine on secretly, he preuailed so well with some of his friends in the City: that (at an appointed instant) he won a Port of *Luca*. By means whereof, the *Gibelines* entred, with such succor as the Lord *Faguola* had giuen them, expulsiug thence the *Guelfes*, after they had done their very vttermost they could.

*Castruccio* was now in greater esteeme the euer, & in such sort, as he was held to be the Lord of *Luca*, although he was inferior to the lord *Faguola*, to whō he made recourse in times of necessity. The *Florentines*, who deadly despighted *Castruccio*, vnderstanding the successe of his affaires; leui'd a great Army, by helpe of such as were in league with the, purposing to ouer-run *Castruccio*.

A a a

But

Castruccio credited with the guardianship of his Masters sonne

He is commanded by the Seigneury to auoide Luca.

Castruccio complotteeth against the City of Luca, by meanes of the difference betweene the Guelfes and Gibelines.

Castruccio re-puzed the Lord of Luca.

The Florentines sought the death of Castruccio.

The widdow sought the babe to her brother the Chanon.

He called the childe after the name of his owne Father.

Young Castruccio not addicted to learning, but manly exercises onely

He first entertained young Castruccio in seruice.

Castruccio is first going with his Master to warre in seruice at Millaine.

But Lord *Fagiola* and *Castruccio*, disposed so well for the meeting with them, that the warre grew to be very cruell & bloody. Concerning men of name in the *Florentines* Campe, there was among them *Don Pedro*, Brother to *Robert*, King of *Naples*, accompanied with *Don Carolo* his Nephew, sonne to *Phillip*. But the vertue of Lord *Fagiola* and *Castruccio*, served wel to counterpoise the greatnes of the other. After that this war had continued for some space of time, the Lord *Fagiola* receiued intelligence, that there had hapned a great commotion at *Pisa*, in redresse whereof, Lord *Fagiola* was faine to leaue the Armies conduct wholly to *Castruccio*: who behaued himselfe so wisely and valiantly in this great trust, that after many sallies and light skirmishes, hee came to battaile with the *Florentines*. *Castruccio* maintained the fight with such good order and iudgement, that (although he was the most obstinate mā that euer was born in *Italy*) yet notwithstanding, the victory remained to him, and the slaughter was so great, that there were slaine about tenne thousand *Florentines*, among whom, *Don Pedro* and *Don Carolo* his Nephew, were found in number with the dead. Which victory, assured to the Lord *Fagiola*, all those estates (held by him) in farre better security, and enlarged the credite and reputation of *Castruccio*, beyond all common expectation.

Winter being come, *Castruccio* returned to *Luca*, by the command of Lord *Fagiola*, towards whom he shewed himselfe very obedient. But, as it is a customary case, that wealth and great honors doe cause feare and enuy: so the Lord *Fagiola*, perceiuing the credite of *Castruccio* to encrease daily more and more: determined his death, in recompence of all the worthy seruices he had done him. To effect this dishonourable businesse; he sent one of his sonnes to *Luca*, who caused *Castruccio* to be committed prisoner, vnder pretence, of some secret blame imposed vpon him. But the imprisonment of *Castruccio* was so offensiue to the *Lucanes*; that the people began to mutiny against their Lord *Fagiola*: who hauing aduertisement thereof, left *Pisa*, and marched thither with a potent Army.

But there hapned to him a very strange accident, and yet no more then hee iustly

deserued for his vnmanly dealing. When the *Pisanes* were aduertised, that *Castruccio* was detained as a prisoner; they began so to stomacke the matter, that they slew the Governour, whom Lord *Fagiola* had left as his Deputy, and all such as were to do him any seruice; so that they enfranchized themselves from the tyranny of *Fagiola*. He receiuing intelligence of this mishap, and that (by this meanes) his returne to *Pisa* was bard vp against him: pursued on his purpose, to make all sure and safe at *Luca*. But therin he proued likewise as vnfortunate as at *Pisa*, for the *Pisanes* had informed the *Lucanes* of their affaires, and with such speedy diligence; that the Poste frō the *Pisanes* arriued at *Luca*, much sooner then the Lord *Fagiola* could do.

Hereupon, the *Lucanes* put themselves in Armes, so that they expelled the sonne of *Fagiola* out of *Luca*, with absolute purpose, of allowing no entrance to the Father; but gaue freedome to *Castruccio*, in meere despight of him. Yet some say, that *Fagiola* entred *Luca*, & very quickly was expelled thence; when losing all hope of reconerig his estates, he was glad to saue himselfe by flight into *Lombardy*. But be it howsoever, this I am sure of, that hee lost his dominion ouer both the Cities in one day: which he might safely haue enioyed stil, if he had but kept faire friendship with *Castruccio*: who being thus set at liberty, was elected Captaine and General of the *Lucanes*, by free consent of the whol Seignury. In which authority he being loath to liue idle, leuyed a great Army, where-with hee recovered many strong Holds from the *Florentines*, which they had long vsurped from the *Lucanes*: taking diuers other of their owne beside, in despight of their best Forces, albeit they were strong indeed. *Castruccio* returning then to *Luca*, was there most honourably welcomed in regard of his worthy victories obtayned, and created absolute Lord of *Luca*. From which time forward, hee became much feared of the neighbours round about, especially the *Florentines*, who were the most powerfull in all *Tuscany*: For, he had many wars against them, and tooke many Forts and Castles from them, yea, and ouerthrew them in a plaine field of Battaile, equally appointed on either side.

As thus the fortunes of *Castruccio* grew daily better and better, the Emperor *Fredericke*

The Army left wholly to *Castruccio's* government

*Castruccio* winneth the victory gainst the *Florentines*, *Don Pedro* & *Don Carolo* slaine

Lord *Fagiola* concludeth the death of *Castruccio* dishonorably

The *Lucanes* reuolt from Lord *Fagiola*.

The Governour of *Pisa* slaine by the people, and intelligence sent by them to the *Lucanes*

The *Lucanes* rise in Armes against *Fagiola*, and exclude his for

*Castruccio* made General of *Luca* by common consent.

He was created sole Lord of *Luca*, and became much dreaded.

The Emperor Frederick desired to haue the seruice of Castruccio.

Castruccio chosen Prince of Pisa, and enuied by the King of Naples.

The King of Naples & the Florentines voyled by Castruccio.

A Citty in the midst of vsicia.

An Army of forty thousand men led by the Florentines against Castruccio.

ricke came into Italy, to be crown'd Emperor there: wher being entrusted of the many good parts remaining in Castruccio, hee laboured greatly to win him to his seruice. Castruccio then leauing Pagola Guinigo (of whom he had thus long bene Tutor) as his Lieutenant to gouern Luca: went to see the Emperor Frederick, whom he followed so far as Rome. Some hold, that he came thither before the Coronation; but, after the Emperors return into Germany, Castruccio preuailed so well by good means, that they of Pisa chose him to be their Prince. Which newes being brought to Rene, King of Naples (his old heauy enemy) he begā to grow doubtfull of Castruccio, and perceiuing his power to encrease so greatly: hee made a league with the Florentines against Castruccio, intending now to see the vtter ruine of him, and recouery of all the honors appertaining to him.

Hereupon, the King of Naples & the Florentines prepared a strong army, which was so manfully encountred by Castruccio; that euermore he had the better of the, although with great expence of blood, and recouery of many places from them: so that the Florentines were meerey enforced, to craue a truce for certaine time; during which respite, Castruccio largely increased his power. For, as they of Pistorium were in diffrence one with another within the Towne: Castruccio shouldred in (during their ciuill diffention) and possessed himselfe of Pistorium, and all other places subiected to that Citty.

The Florentines seeing themselues more and more in daily dangers, endeouored by all the best meanes they could deuise, to gather people from all parts, onely to breake the Forces of Castruccio, or else to driue him out of Pistorium. In which respect, the supplies which came to them, as well from the Kingdome of Naples, as other places more remote, were so great; that vpon the musters account, they were numbred to be 40000. men. Seeing then, that they had so goodly an Army, they began their march directly towards Pistorium, where Castruccio had his Campe, consisting of far fewer people then the Florentines. Neuerthelesse, he guided his war so wisely, vsing so many surprizals, skirmishes and encounters, that successe attended vpon him continually.

In the end, comming to the day of battaile, he proceeded therein with such good order, that he vanquished the Florentines: in which ouerthrow was great slaughter

made, and store of rich booty taken, for all the cheefest of the Florentines were eyther slaine, or taken prisoners. Castruccio himselfe being wounded, and a great number of his men slaine; yet all this could not a iote daunt his courage, but still he pursued vpon his victory, marching in all haste with his Army against Partum, which he tooke very speedily, as also all the Castles and Townes thereabout. So that (without any resistance) he went and placed his Campe within two miles of Florence, wherat the Florentines were not a little amazed.

As hee was essaying all meanes for his entrance into Florence, hee receiued aduertisement, that the Pisanes were practising some matter to his disaduantage: so that, leauing his intent for Florence, he returned to Pisa a triumphant Conqueror. After he had inflicted punishment vpon the mutiners, he went to visite all the neighbouring parts, taking order for all needfull occasions beseeming warre: because he was well assured, neuer to continue long in peace, without some imployment for warre.

The Florentines, mightily confounded by their peoples ouerthrow, and losse beside of so many Towns: freely gaue themselues to the King of Naples, promising him a yearely tribute of two hundred thousand Crownes. The King of Naples accepted the Florentines offer, and sent Don Carolo his sonne to their assistance, with the most part of the Cauallery and Infantry that hee could command; and the like did some other Citties of Italy, who stood all in feare of Castruccioes Forces: so that now the Army of the Florentines consisted of tenne thousand horse, and thirty thousand foote. With this powerfull preparation (perswading themselues, that Castruccio durst not come into the felde) they intended to besiege Pisa; but Castruccio, who was one of the most valiant & politique Generals, that the whole world then afforded, went forth to meete them, attended only with 4000. horse, and 20000. foote, but all in excellent Military order. As these two Camps began to draw neere each other, there passed diuers skirmishes in the plaine field, wherin continually Castruccio had the best. Finally, Castruccio seeking opportunity, to deliuer battaile to the Florentines: passed ouer the Foord at the Riuer of Arno, and found the Florentines in such disorder, as he compeld the to accept the battel; wherin was a great

The Florentines ouerthrowne in a day of set battaile, by Castruccio.

\* A faire town in Tuscany.

He encamped within two miles of Florence, & was called thence by a mutiny at Pisa.

The Florentines gaue themselues in subiection to the King of Naples.

Another great Army raised by the Florentines, against Castruccio.

\* A goodly Riuer in Italy

*Castruccio* his victory ouer the *Florentines*, and *casie* meanes to haue made a further conquest.

slaughter on both sides, but yet the victory fell to *Castruccio*; twenty thousand *Florentines* being slain in the field, beside two thousand prisoners taken: among whom was *Don Carolo*, sonne to the King of *Naples*, and many other Commanders of name. And assuredly (without all question to the contrary) considering this last great victory, which *Castruccio* had against the *Florentines*: he might not onely haue conquered *Florence* it selfe, but likewise no meane part of *Italy* beside.

But heere may bee apparently obserued, how weake and feeble the strength of man is; for a Glasse is no sooner crackt & shiuerd, then a mans best might, when Gods assistance giueth him ouer. *Castruccio*, following his fortune vpon the spurre, and hauing made the surprizall before remembred; rode coasting along the Riuer of *Arno* like a worthy Generall, to rallire all his people together. And being fore wearied and ouer-sweated, (for he had fought all the day) the fresh coolnesse, or dampe of the Riuer smote him inwardly, that the night following, he fell into a Quotidian Feauer, whereof (no doubt as God had appointed) he dyed on the seuenth day after, being then in the very flower of his time.

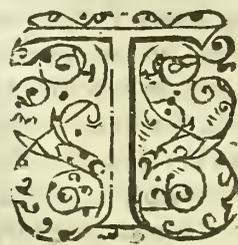
Surely, had this *Castruccio* bene a Native of *Rome*, or *Athens*, as he was of *Luca*, where he was borne, without knowledge of Father or Mother; Or had he bene brought vp in the Kings Court of *Macedon*: he had greatly blemished the renown of *Scipio*, *Phillip*, yea, and *Alexander* the Great. Notwithstanding (a *Lucane* borne as he was) had hee liued a longer date of yeares, which his youth and ablenes made faire promise of: hee had equalled any of them in richnesse of fame. But returning to our History, *Castruccio* made *Pagola Guinigo* his heyre; albeit some say; that he had Children of his owne, whom he instituted to bee his heyres. But be it howsoeuer, as he got his estate & wealth by manhood and valour: his successours lost all by lewdnesse and negligence, if we may credite *Aretine*, *Blondus*, *Tominus* & *Macchianell*.

*Castruccio* fell sicke of a Quotidian Feauer, and dyed within seauen dayes following.

The Authors farwell to the endless memory of *Castruccio* *Carcagnio*.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

A Discourse concerning the Windes: And of their seuerall names, as well Ancient, as Moderne.



THE Windes, according as *Seneca* saith, are very meete and necessary for the spacious Vniuerse; to conferue the temperature of Heauen and Earth; to disperse and scatter raines and mysts; and to helpe the Trees in producing their Fruites. Nature also gaue them creation, to be the meanes of mens Navigation, whereby they might communicat together the goods of the earth: so that Regions which are fertile in some particular things, may impart them to other that are not so well provided. In brieft, the Windes do cause an infinity of commerces among men, which my intended breuity will not spare me to speake of.

Onely I haue propounded to my selfe, to shew how many Windes there are, what they are, whence they come, and how they are: wherein I am perswaded, that some benefit will redownd to diuers persons, especially to such as professe sayling on the Seas. To vnderstand then, what the Winde is, I will not relye on diuersity of opinions, in such as haue written thereon: but following *Aristotle*, and the most common iudgment of the wise; I say, that the Winde is a vapour and exhalation hot and dry, drawne vp into the Ayre by vertue of the Sunne. And being driuen aloft by his heate and lightnesse, proceeding on into the middle Region of the Ayre, which is alwayes colde; cometh to be repulsed by that contrary quality. So that being vnable to mount any higher, it breaketh foorth into blasts whether it can go, & being hindred of descending downe, in regard of lightnes: is constrained to tosse and tumble here & there in the Ayre; eyther more or lesse, according to the strength of the matter wherof it is caused. So that the definition of *Seneca* is not warrantable, who saith, That the Winde is nothing else, but the Ayre moued, without any other matter: because these are the exhalations and vapors, which stir and moue the Ayre; for, after they are consumed, the winde ceaseth.

As

The opinion of *Seneca*, concerning the Windes, and of what necessary vnto they are.

The Arguments intended to be discoursed in this Chapter.

The winde vapour or exhalation hot and dry.

The reason the Windes blustering in the Ayre.

Exhalations and vapour mouing the Ayre to stir themselves.

As concerning their names, our reuerend Ancients imposed such vpon them, as corresponded with the parts and Regions of the world, from whence they came. Neuerthelesse, Antiquitie neuer acknowledged so many windes, as haue beene since those times. For, according as *Plinie, Aulus Gellius, Vegetius, Homer* and other auncient Poets say, no other mention was made, but of foure windes onely, which came from the foure parts or quarters of the world, viz. East, West, North and South; those are the parts or quarters most remarkeable that can be obserued throughout the world. For, as *David* and *Lucan* say; *Hence cometh day, and thence cometh night.*

According then vnto this proportion, our auncient Latines termed *Subsolarius*, the winde that came from the East Equinoctiall: The Greekes called it *Apeliotes*, or *Eurus*: In *Italy* and *Spaine*, they call it *Leuante*; and French Marriners terme it *Est*. Now, for the right winde belonging to Sunne-setting, which is opposite and contrary to the precedent: the Greekes called it *Zephyrus*, that is, *Viuiifying*: for it makes all plants to flourish: The Latines named it *Fauonius*: And the Italians and Spaniards call it *Ponente*: But our French Mariners call it *Ouest*. And yet some others say, that the word *Zephyrus* signifieth couching or setting. The third winde was called by the Latines *Septentrio*, in regard of seauen Starres, which turne or wheele about the North-Starre. By the same reason the Greeks called it *Apparetias*, or *Boreus*; the Italians terme it *Tramontana*; the Spaniards *Nortabrisa*; and the French do giue it the title of *Nort*. The fourth wind, which is opposite to the North, the Latines termed *Auster*, euen as if they would haue called it a Water driuer, for that this winde is often rainy; which made the Greeks to call it *Notus*, that is, watrish, or moist. The Italians name it *Mezzodi*; the Spaniards *Abregosur*, and *Vendeual*; and the French, *Sud*.

Thus you see as concerning the foure windes, whereof only speake *Homer*, and *Ouid* in his *Metamorphosis*. But (with much more respect and reuerence) let vs yet say, that our blessed Lord and Sauior makes mention of the foure windes, speaking of the last day of Iudgement, both in *Saint Mathew* and *Saint Marke*, where he

sayth: *That hee will send his Angells with troupes, to assemble his Elect from the foure windes.*

Now, astouching the qualitie of the foure windes, we will make some relation thereof, in discoursing on other subalter-nate windes. Since the time of *Homer*, we find an addition of foure other windes to the former, as assigning (between the Leuant or East, and the *Mezzodi*, or South) a winde which the Latines call *Vulturnus*, because this winde whistleth like the wing of a Vulture, when he dislodgeth. The Greekes do terme it *Eurus*; and some call it vulgarly in Italian *Leuante*, or *Siroc*, or *Suest*.

The other winde which rayseth it selfe from the place, where the Sunne moun-teth at mid Iune, hath no name amongst the Latines. Notwithstanding, some call it *Ardant*, or *Helleponticus*, because it cometh from the coast of the *Helleponticke* Sea. Our Mariners call it *Grec*, or *Nordest*. *Gellius* and *Vegetius*, attribute thereto the name of *Aquilo*, which neuerthelesse is the name of another winde.

The other winde is iustly betweene the North and the West, and cometh from that Region, where the Sunne setteth in winter, and is called by the Latines *Affricus*, because (in regard of *Rome*) this wind commeth directly from *Africa*. The Greekes called it *Lybs*, because they entitle *Guynea* to be *Lybia*: Our Italians terme it *Lybechio*, the French and Spaniards *Su-ouest*, or *Garbin*.

The other winde is iustly betweene the North and the West, and cometh from the place where the Sunne coucheth him selfe in broad day. Some call it *Anso*, or *Cancro*. The Greekes called it *Argestes*, as much to say, as full of rayes. His impetu-ousnesse is called *Apix*, because it cometh from a quarter of *Italy*, so called: Others giue it the name of *Olympick*. Our Italians stile it *Mestrall*, the French & Spaniards doe tearme it *Nort-ouest*. These are the eight seuerall winds, whereof *Aulus Gellius* and *Vitruuius*, maketh mention of.

Moreouer, *Andronicus* the *Athenian* Philosopher, builded a Tower at *Athens*, with eight angles or corners of Marble, & at euery angle was figured the Image of a Winde, which blew against the saide angle. On the top of the same Tower, was

Of the qualitie of the windes.

The North-East winde.

The North-West winde.

The South-East winde.

The South-West winde.

Andronicus the Philosopher, and his erected Tower at Athens

Antiquity neuer acknowledged but foure windes onely.

Concerning the auncient names of the windes. The East winde.

The West winde.

The North winde.

The South winde.

Christ himselfe spake of the foure windes.

Math. 24. 31  
Mathe 13. 21

fixed a Triton of gold (reputed to be the God of the Sea) holding a Rodde in his hand. And this Triton was composed in such artificiall sort, that he turned still with euery winde; like as the Vaynes or weather-flags vpon Castles or stately houses now adayes do; shewing, or pointing still with his Rod, from whence the winde came, and where it reigned or domineered.

Ouer and beside the forenamed eight windes, there were yet added foure more, to make vp iust the number of twelue: placing two windes on this side, and beyond the North, which is the high North, and two other on both sides of the South, which is the right winde for the South. That on the right side of the *Tramontana* or North, betweene that and the winde *Cassias*, they called *Aquilo*; in regard of his impetuous blustering, which is more sudden, then the wing of the fleetest Faulcon that is or can bee. The *Greekes* also called it *Boreas*, in respect of the great noise it maketh when it bloweth: some other tearme it *Meses*. The other winde, which is on the side of the couchant or Sun-setting, betweene the *Tramontana* & the winde *Cancro*, was cald by the *Greekes* *Thrasias*. *Seneca* giueth it no name at all in *Latine*; neuertheless, there are some who name it *Circius*, or *Cirzus*: the *Chastilians* call it *Galego*.

The other two windes are also opposite to these heere related, wherof the one commeth from the entrance to the right winde of the South, and the Region where the Sunne hideth himselfe in Winter, which also is called *Euro auster*, or *Euronorus*. *Aristotle* reporteth, that (in his time) in *Affrica* they vsed to call it *Phenicias*. The other winde plainly is betweene the direct winde of the South and the *Garbin* or *Su-West*: in which respect they call it *Lybonorus*, or *Lyboauster*. And these are the twelue Windes, according to the foure Regions of the World.

*Aristotle*, in his Booke of Heauen & the World, and in his *Meteors*, maketh mention of the Windes; but he neyther assigneth to them any names, or number. *Pliny* notwithstanding, *Seneca* and *Vegetius* doe make mention of twelue; as the like also is done by our moderne *Astrologers* and *Cosmographers*, as namely *Orontius*, *Appianus*, *Gemma-Frisius*, *Henri-*

*cus Glareanus*, *Stoflerinus*, *Ioannes Berenus*, *Ioannes Fernelius*, *Robertus Valturinus*, and many more beside. *Vitruuius* neuertheless, after he hath assigned the eight principall Windes to their Regions: doth yet giue two subalternate Windes to each of the other Windes; so that (by his account) there should be foure and twenty Windes.

Notwithstanding, to enstruct our better apprehension of the Windes, he presupposeth three Circles, wherof one serueth for the opinion of foure Windes, the other is for that of eight, and the last for that of twelue. Hee setteth downe (beside) the names of the Windes, according as *Marriners* (and especially the *Spaniards*) haue stiled them. Yet (in the mean while) it is to be obserued, that the windes are alwayes conformed, to the qualities of the Regions from whence they come.

For the three Orientall or East-windes, that is to say, *Subsolanus*, *Cacias*, and *Vulturinus*, are hot and dry: whereas contrariwise, *Zephyrus* and his neighbors, which come from the West or Sun-set, are colde and moist: because the absence of the Sunne, maketh the Regions colde where those windes blow. As is easily discerned by the night time, which is euermore colde, as also by places subiected to shades, that are (ordinarily) coole and fresh. From the same cause proceedeth humidity; for, as heate in the day time dryeth the Easterne windes: so on the contrary, moisture encreaseth in the nights coolenesse.

As for the three *Septentrionall* or Northernly Windes, they are cold and dry; because they come from colde Regions, & they haue their rayes writhed and wrinkled. Their coldnes also causeth drinesse, which they borrow of the eastern windes, that are their neighbors: and yet they can take no moysture from the Occidental or Western windes, because their drought and humidity are directly contrary.

Come we now to the Meridionall or Southerly Windes, they are hot & moist: because they deriue their warmth from hot Regions, comming from where the Sunne heateth downe right: with this addition moreouer, that they are neighbors to the East windes, which are hot. Concerning their humidity, they draw it from the

Four windes more, added to the former eight, and in what feuerall places they are described to be.

Two other windes opposite to the former. A South and by East-winde

A South and by West wind

*Arist* in *lib. Coel. et Mund.*

Moderne *Astrologers* & *Cosmographers*.

Four & twenty windes granted by *Vitruuius*.

Three Circles allotted to the windes.

The conformity of the windes to their Region.

The difference betweene day and night times.

Of the Northernly windes

Of the Meridionall or Southerly windes.

the Westerne windes, and vapours both of the Sea and Land. In Mountainy Regions, charged with Snowes, the Southerly winde may there get his moysture, as the like hee doth in fenny and muddy places: euen as drinesse may be caused by Plaines and champaigne grounds, so that they may be charged in the occurrences, according to the qualities of the windes. Here we are to obserue, that in euery Region, the three windes comming thence, are all of one quality, & produce the same effects, which cause other effects (great or small) according to such as they happen to meete withall.

It resteth now to speake of the particular qualitie belonging to each winde. Beginne wee then with the right East winde, which is the most healthfull of all. For, it is subtil and pure, and partaketh more with choller, then his companions. His neighbour, blowing against the South, is more moyst, and farre more furious then the former, and chargeth the ayre with cloudes. *Aristotle* sayth, that when this winde bloweth, all things do seeme more great and grosse, then they are indeede. The right winde of the South, causeth raines and tempests, it troubleth the aire with cloudes, procuring pestilence and corruption. The winde *Garbin*, which is neighbor to the right West, is very tempestiue, according vnto *Virgill*. But the *Quest* or West wind, encreaseth fleugme, and procureth thunders: it beginneth to blow, at the first appearing of the Spring. The direct *Trimontana*, which we call the right North winde, causeth colde and frost, it burneth floures and frutes, and purifieth a corrupted ayre. Now, in regarde it shutteth and locketh vp the pores in mens bodies; this winde is helde very apt for health. As much may be sayde of

the other Septentionall windes, which are his consorts or companions.

It is to be held then for a conclusion, that these windes proceede from vapours and hote exhalations, and that (in all) there are twelue: without depending vpon other allegories, assigned to some infant windes. The Spaniards hold for principall winds, those foure which come from the foure parts of the world, to wit, East, West, North and South. As for the other foure, they tooke their names from them precedent: for the North-east is betweene the North and East wind: that which is betweene the Sunne-set and the South, is also called South-west, and the other betweene the East and South, is also termed South-east; these are their seuerall nominations.

Afterward, eight other were talked of, which are equally bi-parted betweene the former eight, being termed Collaterall, side or middle windes. As that which is betweene the North and the North-east, was called North-North-east: The other which is betwixt the East and the North, is called by the Spaniards *Zesur-dest*, and by French Marriners, North-east; that which is betweene the South and South-east, is called South-South-east; and the other betweene East and South east, is named East-South-east. The other betweene South-west and East, is tearmed West-South-West; and so of the other in the same distinguishing: so that sixteene Windes are equally distributed ouer the Earth. Some adde other sixteene Windes beside, which they tearme Quarter windes, by which allowance, wee should then haue two and thirty windes: but these latter borrowe all their names of their neighbours. Thus much therefore may serue for all the Windes.

Occurrences in charge, commeth by the qualities of the windes

The East winde the most healthfull of all the rest.

*Arist. in Coel et Mund. cap. 3.*

What winde bloweth at the Springs entrance.

The full conclusion for the number of the windes, & them that are allowed to be betweene each of them.

The windes of interposition, & their appellations.

Sixteene windes called Quarter Windes.

The end of the eight Booke.



## The Ninth Booke.

*Of the Great Prouince of Moscouia: As also the Manners, Religion, and Power, of the Prince there Ruling. Diuided into five seuerall Tractes.*

### CHAP. I.

*In this first Tract, is contained a Cosmographical description of the whole Countrey; the Climate and Soyle. Also what Shires or Regions are therein contained. What Commodities the seuerall parts of the land yeeldeth: And then a breefe Collection, of the principall Citties and Townes in Moscouia or Russia.*



*Moscouia or Russia, is a great northerly Region, containing more then five hundred leagues in length. The principall Cittie thereof, being called Mosca, or Moscouua, greater then the City Paris in France, and seated on the River Mosqua. I read also, that this Countrey was (sometimes) called Sarmatia, and came to vary or change from the name, by calling it selfe Russia, as beeing parted or diuided into sundry small, yet absolute Regiments, neyther depending, or being in subiection one to another.*

*Some of their Writers doe affirme, that the North partes of the Countrey, chanced to bee diuided betweene foure Brethren, whose names were Trubor, Kurico, Sinees, and Varinus, and in that coun-*

*trety Language, when they speak the word Russe, it implyeth as much, as to part or diuide. They auouch likewise, that foure other persons made the like partition of the South parts, as Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and a Sister of theirs, named Libeda; and euery one termed his Prouince or Territory, according vnto his owne particular name: and so from this their diuision, the Countrey came to be called Russia, about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and sixty.*

*At such time as it was called Sarmatia, it consisted of two peculiar Diuisions: Namely, the Blacke and White. White Sarmatia contained all that portion that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of Liceland, which Prouinces are now termed Duyna, Vagha, Vologda, Cargapolia, Nouogradia, &c. Nouogradia being the chief and Metropolitane City of them all. The Blacke Sarmatia contained all the country Southward, towards the black or Euxine Sea, with the Dukedome of Valoderner of Mosco, Rezan, &c. It is bounded Northward by the Lappes and the north Ocean: On the Southside by the Tartars, called Chrimes: Eastward they haue the Nagai-Tartar, who possesseth all the country of the East side of the Volgha, toward the Caspian Sea: On the west and South-west border, lye Lituania, Liuonia, and Polonia.*

*All the Countrey beeing brought to the obedience of one Gouvernor, do comprehend these cheefe Shyres or Prouinces.*

Diuision of the South-parts.

Of the White and black Sarmates in their distinct diuisions.

The boundes and bording of Moscouia.

The city Mosca, or Moscouua.

Moscouia sometime called Sarmatia.

Foure brethren diuided the North-parts between them.

The shires & Prouinces ontayned in Moscouia, such greater as the shires of England.

ces. *Volodomer* (which beareth the first place in the Emperors stile, because their house came first of the Dukes of that Countrey) *Mosko, Nisnouogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Nouogrod Velica* (or *Nouogrod* of the Low countries) *Rostone, Yaruslaue, Bealozera, Bezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Aeschchora, Vagha, Vstuga, Ghaletsa*. These are the shyres naturally belonging to *Moscouia* or *Russia*; but farre greater and larger then the Shires of England; albeit I cannot say that they are so well peopled. The other Countreyes or Prouinces, which the Emperors haue wonne by power, and more lately annexed to their former Dominion, follow by these names. *Tverra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Ondoria, Obdoria, Condora*, beside a great part of *Siberia*, where the people, (though they are not naturall Russians) obey the Emperour of *Russia* or *Moscouia*, being gouerned by his Countrey Lawes; paying Taxes and Customes, euen as his owne people doe.ouer and beside all which, the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan* (not long since obtained by conquest) are vnder his command.

Concerning all his possessions in *Lituania* (to the number of thirtie great Townies, and more) with *Narue & Dorp* in *Liuonia*: they are quite gone from him, beeing (of late yeares) surprized by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*. The fore-named Prouinces or Shires, are all reduced into foure Iurisdiccions, reaimed by them *Ghetfyrds*, as much to say, as Tetrarchiees or fourth-parts, whereof wee shall haue more occasion to speake hereafter.

The whole countrey is of great length and bredth: for, from the North vnto the South (measuring from *Cola* to *Astracan*, leaning somewhat Eastward) containeth in length about foure thousand two hundred sixty miles, which they terme verst. And yet the Emperour hath more exte-ndure Northward; farre beyond *Cola*, euen to the Riuet of *Tromschua*, which runneth a thousand verst or miles beyond *Peching- ga*, neere to *Wardhouse*, yet not intire nor clearly limited, because the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*, hauing diuers Townies there, as well as the *Russe*; are plotted together, the one with the other, all of them laying claime to those whole North-parts as their owne peculiar right. As for the Countreyes bredth, from that part of the

Territory lying farthest Westward on the *Narue* side, to the Eastward parts of *Siberia*, where the Emperors Garrisons are kept, is counted forty four thousand verst or miles, or thereabout. They holde a Verst to be a thousand paces, yet lesse (by a quarter) then an English Mile. If the whole Dominion of the Russian Empe-roure were all habitable, and peopled in all places; he would either hardly hold it all within one Gouvernement, or bee too potent for all his neighboring Princes.

To speake somewhat of the Soile and Climate, for the most part it consisteth of a slight sandy mould, yet differing farre in one place from another; for yeelding such things, as the earth affoordeth. Concerning the Countrey North-ward, vnto the parts of *Saint Nicholas* and *Cola*, and North-East towards *Siberia*; it is all verie barren, and full of desert woodes, by reason of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in winter.

In like manner, along the riuer *Volgha*, betweene the Countries of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, where; though the soyle is fruitful, yet it is vn-inhabited: except on the west side of the riuer *Volgha*, where the Emperour hath some few Castells, and garrisons in them. But this is occasioned by the *Chrim Tartar*, who will neyther himselfe plant Townies to dwell there (as delighting in an extrauagant and wilde kinde of life) nor yet suffer the *Russe* (who is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts.

From *Vologda*, which lieth well-neare seauen thousand verst from the Port of *Saint Nicholas*, downe toward *Mosko*, and so towards the South Port, bordering vpon the *Chrim*, containyng the like space of 1700. verst: it is a very pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, yeelding pasture and corne, with woods and waters in great plentie. The like is betweene *Rezan* (lying South-east from *Mosko*) to *Nouograd* and *Vabsko*; the which reacheth furthest towards the mountaines. So betweene *Mosko* and *Smolensko* (lying South-west towards *Lituania*, is a very pleasant and fruitfull soyle.

To obserue the whole Countrey, maketh a great difference from it selfe; in regard of the yeares course; vrging a strange alteration; betweene Winter and Summer in *Russia*. All the Countrey lyeth in Winter,

The Empe- rors domini- on not all ha- bitable.

Of the soyle and Climate in Moscouia.

Barren soyle and desart woods.

The sauage & extrauagant kind of life of the Chrim Tartar.

A very fruit- full and plea- sant countrey

Prouinces won by force or Conquest, and brought in subiection to one and the same countrey Lawes.

The king- domes of *Cazan* and *Astra- can*.

Iurisdiccions or tetrarchiees

The longi- tude and lati- tude of the whol country

The Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke* haue diuers Townies amongst the *Russes*.

A strange inequality of the country in winter and Summer.

Mighty deepe snowes and icces in Moscouia.

The extreame freezing cold of the country

Diuers frozen to death with cold, in Markets and frequented streets and trauellers on their Sleds

An admirable summer time in Moscouia.

Winter vnder snow, which falleth there continually, contayning (sometime) two yardes in thicknesse, and yet farre greater towards the North: the Riuers and Waters being all frozen ouer a yard and more in depth of crust, how broade or swift in current soeuer they bee, continuing so commonly for the space of five moneths; as from the beginning of Nouember, vntill it draw towards the end of March, and then the Snowes begin to melt.

Well may we iudge of the ayres sharpnesse there; because Water dropping downe, or throwne vp into the Aire, freezeth to Ice before it can fall to the ground. And let a man hold a dish or pot of pewter in his hand, during the extremitie of Winter (except in some chamber where the warme Stoaues are) and his fingers will freeze fast vnto it, euen to tearing the skin off at the parting with it. And let a man go out of a warme room into a cold, he shall sensibly feele his breath to grow starke, euen as stifling with the cold, drawing it in, and vrging it forth.

Many haue bene noted, not onely such as trauaile abroad, but others in the frequented Markets, and common streetes of Townes, to bee mortally pinched, and meerey killed with colde. So that diuers haue bene seene to droppe downe dead in the streetes, and many traauylers are brought into the Townes, sitting stiffe and dead in their Sleds: yea, some haue lost their noses, the tips of their eares, the balles of their cheekes, their verie Toes, feete, &c. Many times, when Winter is very hard and violent, Beares & Wolves haue come (by huge troopes) out of the woods, as enforced thereto by meer hunger, and entering into Townes and Villages, haue rent and torne whatsoever they could finde or meete withall; whereby the inhabitants were enforced to flight, onely for safety of their liues.

But when the Sommer is come, neuer was seene a more fresh and delicate countrey. the woods (consisting most of Firre and Birch) being so sweet and louely; the Pastures and Meddowes so greene and well growne, yea and vpon a sodaine, such variety of Flowers, such harmonic of Birdes (chiefely of Nightingales, whose notes seeme more loud and variable, then in other countries) that no man can light-

ly trauaile in a more delightfull countrey. From the fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there, the snow giueth no meane reason of opinion, because all winter time it seemeth as mantled in a white Liuerie, which keepeth it warme clothed al winter while, till Spring time, and then the Suns heat dissolueth it to water. All which, do so sweetly sympathize with the ground, bestowing on it such sufficient drenching and soaking (being of a slight and sandie mould, chearing it againe with the sunnes reuerberating brightnesse) that it produceth quickly all hearbes and plants in extraordinary aboundance. So that, as winter there superaboundeth in colde, Sommer answeres it with so much the more heate: chiefely in Iune, Iuly, and August, it equalling then the best ayres in any other Countrey.

Comming nowe to speake of the Riuers, the first is the famous *Volgha*, whose head or Spring ariseth at an Alder-trees roote, some two hundred Verst beyonde *Taruslaue*. It entreth into such bignes by the entercourse of other riuers gyring into it; that in some places it extendeth in bredth a mile and more, till at length it falleth into the *Caspian* sea, by estimation neere 2800. Verst or miles in length. *Boristhenes* is the second, called now *Neper*: diuiding the country from *Lituania*, and thence hauing his course into the *Euxine* Sea. *Tanais*, otherwise termed *Don* (bounding anciently betweene *Asia* and *Europ*) seemeth to haue his rising out of the *Rezan Ozer*, passing thorough the *Chrim Tartares* Countrey, till hee makes his fall into the Sea-lake, or great Meare, neere to the Cittie of *Azon*, called *Maotis*. Report runneth among the *Russes*, that from their cheefe Cittie of *Mosco*, euen to *Constantinople*, and so into all those parts of the world; men may easily make passage by this Riuer. But then the conuoy Boate must bee drawne ouer a little *Isthmus*, some fewe Verstes thwartwise, as prooffe was not long since made of.

*Duyna*, being many hundred Miles in length, must bee remembered amongst the rest, falling North into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and on the Sea-side it hath great Rockes of Alablaster vpon each banke. *Duna* emptieth it selfe into the *Balticke* Sea, neere to the town of *Riga*. And then

The reason the sodaine fresh spring the Countrey

The Winter not so colde, but summer as violently hot.

Of the principal riuers in Moscouia, Volgha the chiefe.

Boristhenes.

Tanais.

Rezan Ozer

Mzotis.

An excellent passage afforded by the riuer.

Duyna:

Duna,

Onega.

is *Onega*, which some ninetie Verst from the port of Saint *Nicholas*, hath his down-fall into the Bay at *Solouetsco*. Not far beneath *Cargapolia*, this riuer meeteth with another, called *Volocke*, which by *Yama* (a small Towne, droppeth into the *Finland* sea. Into which Sea, from Saint *Nicholas* Port, and so into the Sound, the *Russes* easily passe by water.

Volock.

*Suchana* is another, which flowing into *Duyna*, runneth on into the North sea. As for *Ocka*, his head commeth from the *Chrims* borders, streaming on into *Volgha*. And *Moscoua* glideth thorough the Cittie *Mosco*, borrowing his name thereof. *Wichida* likewise is a very long and spacious riuer, rising out of *Permia*, and falling into the *Volgha*. So much for these memorable riuers in this country.

Suchana

Ocka.

Moscoua.

Wichida.

We come now to speak of those fruits as *Moscouia* yeeldeth, which are in diuers kinds; as Apples, Peares, Plums, Cherries red and blacke, but the black ones are wilde. Then haue they a Deene, which is like to a Musk Mellon, but much more sweete and delicious. Also Cucumbers, Gourdes (which they tearme *Arboufe*,) Raspes, Straw-berries, and Hurtleberries, beside many other in great plenty; for euerie Woodde and hedge is well stored with them.

Such fruite as Moscouia affordeth.

But if you demand of their Corne and Graine, they haue Wheare, Rye, Barley, Oates, Pease, Buckway, Pshytha, which resembleth Rice in taste. The Countrey is so ebounding in these Graines, that it can allow a large ouer-plus quantity: for Wheate is sometime there solde for two *Alteens* the *Chetfird*, valewing ten pence sterling, and the measure amounteth well nere to three Bushels.

What Corne and Graine the Countrey yeeldeth, and at what rate it is sold.

Concerning seasons of Husbandrie, Rye is there sown before Winter, and all other graine in the Spring time. Such as dwell farre off in the North, and desert places, as the *Permians*; the partes more Southward do furnish them: beeing constrained yet (sometimes) to make Bread of a Roote called *Vaghnoy*, and of the middle rind of the Firre tree, when any dearth hapneth.

Their seasons or sowing their Graine.

Natieue commodities yeilded by the Countrey are many, and of good worth, for seruice of the peoples best expectation, and benefitting the Emperour, by venting them abroad in the World: for the

The commodities which in best maner the Countrey affordeth.

cold of the Climate (being a naturall inconuenience) by Gods great goodnesse, is therein much remedied. Their cheefest Furres are Blacke Fox, Sables, Lufernes, Dun-fox, Martrones, Gurnstalles or Armines, Lafets or Mineuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, being the skinne of a great water-Rat, that smelleth naturally like Muske; *Calaber* or gray Squirrell, redde Squirrel, red and white Fox, what plentie of these are spent in the Countrey (because the people weare Furres all the winter time) is almost incredible. And yet the Merchants some yeares, transport thence, to the valew of foure or five hundred thousand Rubbles, to *Turkie*, *Persia*, *Boulgharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, with some other of Christendome.

The principal furres vented thence in merchandize

In the Countreyes of *Pechora*, *Momgorsofria*, *Obdorskoy*, and other places, do the best Sable furres growe; and the worser in *Siberia*, *Perm*, and such like places. The blacke Foxe and red come from *Siberia*; as from *Pechora* the white and Dun: the Woules and Beares skins (both beeing white) come also thence. *Perm* yeildeth the choysfest Wuluerin, and the best Martrones come from *Syberia*, *Cadam*, *Morum*, *Perm* and *Cazan*. *Gallets* & *Ouglates* send out the best Lufernes, Miniuer, and Ermines: yet some come from *Noouogrod* and *Perm*; and *Murmonskey* by *Cola* hath the best breed of Beauers. Common Furres (with some of these fore-named) are in euerie part of the Countrey.

The places that afford the very best furs in all their severall kindes.

A second commoditie is waxe, which hath beene shipt thence into far remote Countreyes yearely, the valew of 50000. Pood. Honey also is there in great quantity, spent dayly in their ordinarie drinckes, which is *Mead* of all sorts: and yet carried out of the Countrey in great abundance. *Mordua* and *Cadam* nere vnto *Cheremissen Tartar*, yeeldeth the greatest encrease of Honey: but good store also commeth out of *Seuerskoy*, *Rezan*, *Morum*, *Cazan*, *Dorogobose*, and *Vasima*.

Wax, wherof euerie Poode containeth fortie pounce weight.

Hony.

Tallow is yeilded in great weight for transportation, by reason of much good ground for feeding Cattle; as also manie Lents obserued among them. Partly beside, because the greatest personnes vse waxe Lights: as the poorer and meaner sort do Byrch, dried in their stoues, being cut into long slices, called there *Luchine-*

Tallow. Many Lents vsed in Moscouia.

os. Some yeares haue sent away by Shipping, aboue an hundred thousand Poode yearely, which hath come out of the parts and Territories of *Smolensko*, *Yaruslaue*, *Ouglits*, *Nouogrod*, *Vologda*, *Otfer* and *Gorodetskey*.

Loth & Cow-hides, & Buffe

Another principal commodtty is Loth and Cow-hides : their Loth and Buffe beeing very faire. Their Bull and Cow-hide is but small of size, for Oxen they make none, nor of weather. Strange Marchants haue transported thence some yeares aboue an hundred thousand hides, beside great store of Goats skinnes, shipt also thence in large number. The breede for the fairest Loth or Buffe, is about *Rostoue*, *Wichida*, *Nouogrod*, *Morum* and *Perm*, as the lesser sort are in the kingdom of *Cazan*.

Traine Oyle.

Traine Oyle, beeing made or drawne out of the Seale-fish, is no mean commodity there. And because we are speaking of the Seale-fish, it shall not much dissent from our matter, to report in what manner they hunt the Seale, whereof afterward this Oyle is made. When the end of Summer draweth neere, and the frosts are not (as yet) begun; they descend with their boats into *S. Nicholas Baye*, to the Cape called *Cusconesse* or *Founose*, where they leaue their boates till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme towards the spring, and yet the ice not melted in the Bay; they return thither again, and drawing their Boats ouer the ice, vse them as houses to lodge and rest in. Commonly, there are about seauenteene or eighteene Fleete of them, being diuided into diuers companies; fise or fixe boates alwayes consorting together.

After what manner they hunt the Seale Fish in Moscouia.

Boates made vse of to lodg in.

A Beacon fired to giue warning.

Such as light first vpon the fishes haunt or resort, do fire a Beacon, carryed with them for the same purpose, and certaine are appointed, to obserue when the Beacon shall be fired; whereof report beeing made to the other Companies, they resort all together, compassing the Seals round in a ring, as they ly Sunning themselves together vpon the Ices, being commonly foure or fise thousand in a shoale. Then euery man, hauing a Clubbe in his hand, enters stoutly vpon them; & if they hit them on the nose, then they are soone kilde. But if on the backe or sides, they beare out the blowes stiffely, and manie times catch the club so fast, and holde it

How they set vpon the Seales with their clubbes.

downe with their teeth so strongly, that the party is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seales is, when they perceiue themselves beset round about; to gather all close together, as in a throng or heape, to sway and beare downe the Ice, and to breake it if they can: which bending of the Ice, brings vp such a Seawater vpon it, that the Hunters are faine to wade a foote or more deepe. When they haue killed what they can, & intend no further slaughter at that time: the hunters fall to sharing, euery boat his part by equall portions. And so they slay them, taking off the skinne from the bodie, and the Lard or fat withall that cleaueth vnto the skinne, which they beare thence with them, going to the shore, leauing the bodies behind. Pits they dig in the ground, of a fathome & a halfe in depth, and hauing taken off the Fat or Larde from the skin, cast it into the pits, and then hurle in hot burning coales to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold, and vsed to oyle wooll for cloth: but the groffer, being red of colour, they sell to make Sope.

The Seals naturall behaviour whē they are besette, in their own defence.

The hunters diuide the spoile among them.

Great quantity also of *Ickary* or *Caucary*, is made vpon the riuer of *Volgha*, out of a Fish called *Bellougina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Seueriga*, and the *Sterledey*: most part whereof is shipt thence by French & Netherland Merchants for *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *England*.

Ickary or Caucary made of Sturgeon.

Flaxe and Hempte is another commodity, whereof hath bene shipt at the Port of *Narue*, the more part of an hundred Ships small and great yearely. But great abatement is in these and other commodities, by shutting vp the Port of *Narue* towards the *Finland Sea*, which is now in possession of the *Sweden*. The stop of passage also ouer land, by the way of *Smolensko* and *Plotsko*, in regard of warre with the *Poland*: which causeth the people to be lesse carefull in prouiding these and other commodities, because they want sale. For growth of Flax, the Prouince of *Vobsko* and countrey thereabout is chiefe: like as *Smolensko*, *Dorogobose*, and *Vasma* is for Hempte.

Flax & Hempte

Great hindrance in venting their commodities.

Great store of Salt the Countrey maketh, whereof the best is at *Storarouse* in very great quantity, hauing store of Saltwells, some two hundred fifty nine Verst from

Salt, whereof some is made naturally of the sea water

from the Sea. But at *Atracan*, Salt is naturally made by the Sea-water, which casteth it vp in great hilles, from whence it is digged downe, and carryed away by Merchants, or any that will fetch of it. Three pence *Russe* is payed to the Emperour vpon euery hundred weight of Salt; which is likewise made in many other places, as in *Berm*, *Wichida*, *Totina*, *Kenitsma*, *Souoletskey*, &c. all out of Salt-pits, except at *Solouetkey*, which lyeth neare vnto the Sea.

Tarre also they make great store of, out of Firre trees in the Country of *Dunya* and *Smolensko*, sending no meane plenty theteof abroad. To these before remembred, there are many more (naturall to the countrey) though of meaner estimation: As the fish-tooth, which they call *Ribazuba*, vsed both amongst themselves, and the *Persians* and *Bougharians*; who fetch it thence for Beades, Kniues and Sword-handles for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and diuerse other vses.

Some doe vse the powder of it against poyson; like to *Vnicornes* horne, and the fish that oweth it, is called a *Morse*, beeing caught about *Pechora*: Some of these teeth are well-neare two foote in length, and do weigh cleauen or twelue pounds each tooth.

There is a soft Rocke, which they doe cutte into peeces or into thinne flakes, and are naturally to bee vsed and employed as Glasse, for Lant-hornes and such like: but yet yet is not so brittle in breaking as Glasse; yet it dooth giue a farre clearer light. They doe tearme it *Slude*, and it groweth in the Prouince of *Corelia*, and about the Riuer *Dunya*, towards the North Sea.

Besides, they make Salt-peter in many places, as at *Ouglites*, *Yaruslaine*, and *Vstug*; with some meane store of Brimstone vppon the Riuer *Volgha*; but they want skill to refine it.

As for their Iron, it is but brittle; yet much thereof is made in *Corelia*, *Cargapoleia*, and *Vstug Thelesna*, for other mines they haue none growing within the kingdom.

As for Beasts of strange kindes, they haue the *Losh*, the *Oilen*, the wilde Horse, the *Wuluering* or *Wood-dogge*, the *Lyserne*, the *Beauer*, the *Sable*, the *Martroun*, the blacke and dunne Fox, the

white Beare, towards the Sea-coast of *Pechora*, the *Gurnstall*, and the *Lafet* or *Miniuer*. Likewise, there is a kinde of Squirrell, hauing growing on the pinion of his shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers, with a farre broader taile then other Squirrels haue, which they doe moue and shake, as they moue from tree to tree, like to a Wing in resemblance, and seeming as if they flew thereby, whereby they were called, *Letch Vechsbe*, that is to say, flying Squirrells. In the Summer their Hares and Squirrells are of the same colour as other are; but in Winter, the Hare changeth her coate into milke-white, and the Squirrell into grey, and thereof is it that the *Calaber* commeth.

Fallow Deere likewise they haue, the *Roe Bucke*, and great plenty and store of *Goates*. Their horsses are but small, yet swift and hard, and both in Winter and Summer; they trauell them vnshod, vsing no respect at all of pace. Small are their sheepe, bearing harsh and course wooll, not so apt and conuenient for the making of Cloath, as is afforded in diuers other Countries; nor of so good a wearing.

Of Foules they haue of the principall kindes; and great store of *Hawkes*, as also the *Eagle*, the *Ger-faulcon*, the *Slight-faulcon*, the *Gof-hawke*, the *Tassell*, the *Spar-hawke*. But the principall Hawke breeding in the Countrey is counted the *Ger-faulcon*. We may not forget other chiefe Foules, as the *Swanne* wilde and tame in great plentie; the *Storke*, the *Crane*, the *Tedder*, resembling a *Feasant* in colour, but much bigger, and liueth in the Firre woods. Of *Pheazant* and *Partridge* they haue great plenty; and an *Owle*, so great and ougly to beholde, as few countries affoorde the like, with a huge broad face, and eares much like to a man.

We come now to speake of fresh-water Fish; besides the common sort; as *Carpes*, *Pikes*, *Pearch*, *Tench*, *Roach*, &c. they haue diuerse kindes very good and delicate. As the *Bellouga* or *Bellougina*, of foure or fiiuelles in length; the *Osterna* or *Sturgeon*, the *Seueriga* and *Sterledy*, somewhat in fashion and in taste like vnto the *Sturgeon*, but not so thicke, nor so long.

A strange Squirrell.

Hares milke white.

Fallow deere, Roe Bucks, and Goats.

Foules of diuers kindes, both wilde and tame.

Varieties of fresh-water Fish and other besides.

Tarre a great commoditie there.

A fish tooth called Ribazuba.

Slude, which is there as their Moscouie glasse.

Salt-peter & Brimstone

Iron.

What strange beasts are in Moscouia.

These foure kindes of Fish breed in the *Volgha*, and are there catcht in great abundance, seruing generally (as a great food) to the whole kingdom. And of the roes of these foure fishes, are made very great store of *Icary* or *Caueary*.

Besides these breeding in the *Volgha*, they haue a Fish called *Ribabela*, or white Salmon, which they hold to be more delicate then the red Salmon, hauing also great plenty of them in the Riuer northward, as in *Duyna* and *Cola*, &c. In the *Ozera*, or Lake neare to *Perisslaue*, they haue a small Fish, which they call the fresh herring, of the same fashion, and tasting also like a Sea herring. From the trades of fishing the Emperour hath an yearely large custome, which they practise in the Summer: but send it frozen in the Winter into all parts of the Realme.

Now, because wee aymed at a formalitie in the description, wee enter into a relation of the chiefe and principall Citties in *Moscouia* or *Ruffia*, and as our direction guideth vs, these are their names.

- 1 *Mosko.*
- 2 *Nouograd.*
- 3 *Roſtoue.*
- 4 *Volodomer.*
- 5 *Plesko.*
- 6 *Smolensko.*
- 7 *Iaruslaue.*
- 8 *Perisslaue.*
- 9 *Nisnowograd.*
- 10 *Vologda.*
- 11 *Vſtiuck.*
- 12 *Golmigroe.*
- 13 *Cazan.*
- 14 *Aſtracan.*
- 15 *Cargapolia.*
- 16 *Columna.*

The City of *Mosco* is supposed to be of great antiquitie, though the first founder thereof be vnknowne to the Moscouites or *Ruffe*. It seemeth to deriue the name from the riuer, running on the one side thereof. *Berosus* the *Chaldean* telleth vs; that *Nimrod* (in other profane Stories called *Saturne*) sent *Assyrius*, *Medus*, *Moscos* and *Magog* into *Asia*, to plant Colonies there, and that *Moscos* planted both in *Asia* and *Europe*. Which may make some probabilitie, that the City, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the

denomination from this *Moscos*. And so much the rather, because of the Climate or scituation, which is in the very furthest part and list of *Europe*, bordering vpon *Asia*.

It appeareth, that this Citie was much enlarged by one *Euan* or *Iohn* sonne vnto *Daniell*, the first that changed his Title of Duke into King; though that honor continued not to his posteritie, the rather, because hee was inuested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was *Innocentius* the fourth, about the yere 1246. which was much misliked by the *Ruffe* people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time, the name of that Cittie hath growne more famous, and much better knowne to the world. Inſomuch, that not only the prouince, but the whole country of *Moscouia* or *Ruffia*, is termed by some, by the name of *Moscouia* the Metropolitte Cittie.

The forme of this City is (in a maner) round, with three strong walles, circuling the one within the other, and streetes lying betweene, wherof the in-most wall, and the buildings closed within it, lying so fast (as the heart within the body) fenced and watred with the Riuer *Moskua*, which runneth close by it; is all accounted the Emperours Castell. The number of houses through the whole City (being reckoned a litle before it was fiered by the *Chrim*) were 41500. Since the *Tartar* besieged and fiered it (which was in the yere 1571.) there doth lye waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was well set and planted with buildings; especially that part on the South side of *Moskua*, built (not long before) by *Basilius* the Emperour for his garrison of Souldiours, to whom he gaue priuilege to drinke Mead and Beere, at the drie or prohibited times. And for that cause called his new Cittie *Naloi*, that is to say, *Skinke* or *poure in*, So that now the Cittie of *Mosco* is not much bigger then the City of *London* in *England*.

The next in greatnesse, and (in a maner) as large, is the City *Nouograde*, where happened (as the *Ruffe* sayth) the memorable warre, so much spoken of in Histories, of the *Scythian* seruants, that tooke vppe Armes against their Maisters, which they haue reported to be after this manner.

The Ribabela or white Salmon.

The Moscouia fresh herring.

The names of the cheefest Citties in Moscouia or Ruffia.

The Citie of Mosco very ancient.

Berosus in his Moscos planted Colonies in Asia and Europe, and Mosco seems to take name of him.

The first changing the title of Duke into King.

Moscouia the Metropolitte Cittie.

The model of the forme of the cittie.

The number of houses before the Citie fiering.

When the Chrim Tartar fiered the Cittie.

A name giuen to the new cittie.

Nouograde the next great city to Mosco.

The historie of the Seruants warre against their Maisters, at their returning home from the Tartars warre.

The *Boiardines* or Gentlemen of *Novograde*, and the adiacent territories (that onely are Souldiers after the discipline of those countries) had warre with the Tartars. Which being well perfourmed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstood by the way, that their *Cholopey*, or Bondslaues whom they left at home, had (in their absence) possessed their townes, lands, houses, wiues and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their seruants; they made the more speed home, and so, not farre from *Novograde*, mette them in warrelike maner marching against them.

Whereupon, aduising what was best to be done, they all agreed, to set vpon them with no other shew of weapons, but with their horse whippes (which as their manner is, every man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruite condition, thereby to terrifie them and abate their courage. And so marching on, lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the on-sette, which seemed so terrible in the eares of the villaines; and strooke such a sence into them of the whips smart (whereof they had sharply tasted before) that they all fled together, euen like sheepe before their driuers. In memorie of which victorie, the *Novogradians* (euer since) haue stamped their Coine, which they call a *Dingoe. Novogradskoy*, currant through all *Russia*: with the figure of a man on horsebacke, shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These two Citties exceede the rest in greatnesse.

For strength, their chiefe Citties are *Vobsko, Smolensco, Cazan* and *Astracan*, as all lying vpon the borders; but for scituation, *Iaruslaue* farre exceedeth all the rest. Because, beside those commodities yeilded by pasturage and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer *Volgha*, and looks ouer it, from a banke most faire and stately to beholde, whereof the Towne taketh

name. For *Iaruslaue* (in that language) signifieth a faire and famous banke. In this Cittie (as may be well imagined by that name) dwelt the Moscouian or Russe King *Vlademir*, surnamed *Iaruslaue*: that married the daughter to *Harold* King of *England*, by mediation of *Sueno* the Dane, as the Danish historie testifieth, about the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand sixty seauen.

Nothing greatly memorable, is to be spoken of the other Citties and Townes, but onely ruines within their walles: which declareth the peoples decrease vnder this gouernement. In stead of pauiung, the streetes (in their Townes and Citties) are plancked with Firre trees, plained and layd euen close one to another. Their houses are of wood, without any Lime or Stone, built very close and warme, with Firre trees playned, and layd one vpon another, being fastened together with dents or notches at euerie corner, and so clapped fast together. Betwixt the trees of timber, they thrust in Moss, whereof they gather plenty in the woods, to keepe out the ayre: And enery house hath a paire of staires, which leade vppe into the chambers out of the yard or streete, after the Scottish maner. This building appeareth farre better for their Countrey, then that of Stone and Bricke; because they are darker and more colde, then those wooden houses; especially them of Firre, which is a verie drie and warme kinde of wood: whereof God hath provided them such store, that a faire house may be built for twenty or thirty Rubbels, or litle more where wood is scantest.

Onely the greatest inconuenience of their wooden building, is the aptnesse for fiering, which happeneth there verie often, and in as fearefull sort, by reason of the drienesse and fatnesse of the Firre, that beeing once fiered, it burneth like vnto a Torch, and is hardly quenched, till all be quite consumed.

A Moscouian King married the King of Englands daughter.

Pauiung of the streetes.

The Moscouian manner of building their houses.

Bricke and Stone is no conuenient building in Moscouia.

The danger of their wooden houses.

A worthy resolution in Maisters against their bold slaues.

A victory wonne by the lashing of whippes only.

Iaruslaue the onely Citie for scituation.

## CHAP. II.

*Our second Tract, relateth of what Linage or house the great Emperors are descended: And a view of their enstalmment or Inauguration in that suprême dignitie: w<sup>th</sup> the form of publike Government, & order observed in holding their Parliaments. Then, of the Nobility, dignifying the state, with the regiment of their Prouinces; and Councell attending vpon the Emperour: His Customes, Renennews & Sophismes; and a breefe relation of the Comminaltie, in their obedience and service.*



THE surname of the Imperiall house of Moscouia or Russia, is called *Beala*, receiuing Originall (as is supposed) from the kings of *Hungaria*, which may appeare the more probable; because the *Hungarian* Kings (many years since) haue borne that name, as is noted by *Bonfinius*, and other Histories written of that Countrey. For, about the yeare, 1059. mention is made of one *Beala*, that succeeded his brother *Andreas*, who reduced the *Hungarians* to the Christian Faith, from which they were faln by Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called *Beala* the Blinde, after whome succeeded diuers of the same name.

That their Ancestours came not of the *Russe* Nation, *Iuan Vasilowich* (Father to this Emperour) would many times boast, disdainig (as it should seeme) to haue his progeny deriued from the *Russian* blood. As namely, to an English-man his Goldsmith, that had receiued Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded, to looke wel to his weight. For my *Russes* (said he) are all Theeues. Whereat the workman, looking stedfastly vpon the Emperour, began to smile.

The Emperour being of verie quicke conceite, charged him to tell, what hee

smiled at. If your Maieesty will pardon me (quoth the Gold-smith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse sayde, that all the *Russes* were Theeues, and forgotte (in the meane while) that your selfe was a *Russe*. I thought so sayde the Emperour, but thou art deceyued, for I am no *Russe*: my Ancestours were *Germaines* (for so they account the *Hungarians*, to bee part of the *Germaine* Nation) although (indeede) they come of the *Hunnes*, who mollested and inuaded that country, and rested in those partes of *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*.

How they aspired to the Dukedome of *Volodemer* (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into *Azoscovia*.) And whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes; no certainty is to be learned among them. But from these beginnings, of a small Dukedom (which bare notwithstanding an absolute government with it, as at that time did all the other Shires or Prouinces of *Moscouia*) this house of *Beala* spred it selfe foorth, and aspired (by degrees) vnto the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, as it is a thing well knowne, and but of late memory.

The cheefe of that house, that aduanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions: were the three last that reigned before this Emperour, to witte, *Iuan Basiliens*, and *Iuan*, Father to the other that reigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke vnto him the Name and Title of Emperour, was *Basiliens*, Father to *Iuan*, and Grandfather vnto this man. For (before that time) they onely were contented, to bee called by the Name of Great Dukes of *Mosco* or *Mossonia*.

What hath beene done by eyther of these three, and how much they haue added vnto their first estate, eyther by Conquest, or otherwise; wee shall shew more at large, when we come to speake of their Collonies, or purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of *Beala* at this present, is in like case, as are many of the greatest Houses of Christendome, (Viz:) the whole Stocke and Race, concluded in one, two, or some fewe of the blood. For, besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no childe (neyther is like euer

to

Originall of the Moscouian Imperiall house from the kings of Hungary.

The house *Beala* not naturally Moscouian or *Russe*.

Familiar talk betweene the Emperour, and an English Goldsmith.

How first the came to the Dukedome of *Volodemer* not knowne.

The aduancement of the house of *Beala*.

Reference to a place of better conueniency.

No hope of issue by the Emperour.

to haue, for ought that can bee coniectured by the constitution of his bodye, and barrenesse of his wife, after so many yeares marriage) there is but one more, which is a Childe of fixe or seauen yeares olde, in whom resteth all the hope of succession, and posteritie of that house.

A great mishap & much lamented, costing also the Fathers life.

As for the other Brother, that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse: hee dyed of a blow giuen him by his Father vpon the head (in furie) with his walking Staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with the prong of it, driuen deep into his head. That hee meant him no such mortall harme, when hee gaue him the blowe, appeared by his wonderfull great mourning and passion after his Sonnes vntimely death; which neuer left him, vntill it brought him to his Graue. Wherein may bee noted the Iustice of God, that punished his delight in shedding of blood, with this murder of his Sonne by his owne hand. And so ended his dayes and tyranny together, with the murdering of himselfe by extream grief, for this his unhappy, and most vnatural facte.

Treachery attempted against the young Princes life.

The Emperours younger Brother, of fixe or seauen yeares olde (as was said before;) is kept in a remote place from the *Mosko*, vnder the tuition and gouernment of his Mother, and her Kindred, of the house of the *Nagaies*: yet not safe (as I haue heard) from attempts of making away, by practise of some that would aspire vnto the Crowne, if the Emperour dye without any yssue. For, the Nurse that tasted before him of certaine meate, (as I haue heard reported) dyed immediately.

Qualities of no great commendation.

That he is the Naturall Sonne vnto *Iuan Vasilowich*, the *Russe* people warrant it, by the fathers qualities, which appear already in his tender yeeres. He delights to see Sheepe and other Cattle kille, and to looke on their throates, while they are bleeding (which commonly, children are affrayde to beholde) and to beate Geese and Hennes with a Staffe, till he see them dead.

Another title of inheritance by the Dutches of Holst

Besides these of the masse kinde, there is a Widdow, that hath right in the succession, Sister to the olde Emperour, and Aunt to him liuing; sometime wife vnto *Magnus*, Duke of *Holst*, Brother to the

King of *Denmarke*, by whom she had one daughter.

This Woman, since the death of her Husband, hath bene allured againe into *Russia*, by some that loue the succession better then her selfe, which appeareth by the sequelle. For her selfe, with her daughter, so soone as they were returned againe into *Russia*, were thrust into a Nunnery, where her daughter dyed this last yeare, but of no naturall disease, as was supposed.

The daughter dying in the Nunnery, the Mother liueth in no meane anguish.

The Mother remaineth still in the Nunnery, bewayling her selfe, and cursing the time when shee returned into *Russia*, enticed with the hope of Marriage, and many other fayre promises in the Emperours name. And thus it standeth with the Imperiall stocke of *Russia*, of the House of *Beala*, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conuersion of the *Russe* Estate. If it bee into a Gouernement of some better temper, and milder constitution; it will bee happie for the people, that are nowe oppressed with intollerable seruitude.

Our nexte Discourse, must extend it selfe, to report such soleinnities, as are commonly vsed at the *Russe* Emperours Corronation, which followeth in this manner.

### Of the manner of Crowning or Inauguration of the *Russe* Emperours.



HE solemnities vsed at the *Russe* Emperours Corronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of *Preche-ste* (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Castle, is erected a stage, whereon standeth a Screene, that beareth vpon it the Imperiall Cappe and Robe, of exceeding rich stuffe. When the day of Inauguration is come, there resortethether, first the Patriarche with the Metropolitanes, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, all richly clad in their *Pontificalibus*. Then enter the Deacons, with the Quier of singers: who so soon as the Emperor setteth foot into the church

The ecclesiasticall attendants.

begin to sing: *Many yeares may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c.* Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolit, with the rest of the Cleargy, answere with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a prayer, singing it al together, with a great noise. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperour mount vp the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperour. Whereon the Patriarch willeth him to sit down, and then placing himselfe by him, vpon another seate prouided for that purpose, boweth down his head toward the ground, and saith this prayer.

*Oh Lord God, King of Kinges, Lord of Lords, which by the Prophet Samuell diddest chuse thy seruant David, and annoint him for King ouer thy people Israel; heare nowe our Prayers, and looke from thy Sanctuarie vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen, and exalted for King, ouer these thy holy Nations. Annoint him with the Oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power, put vpon his head a Crowne of Gold & precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Justice, strengthen his arme, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart; turne him from an euill Faith, and from all errour, and shew him the saluation of thy holie and vniuersall Church; that he may iudge thy people with Justice, and protect the children of the poore; and finally attaine euerlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voyce, and then pronounceth alowd: All praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.*

The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the Imperiall Robe and Cap; which is done verie decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withall pronouncing alowde; *Peace be vnto all.* And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: *Bow your selues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserue him (O Lord) vnder thy protection, keepe him that he may do good and holy things, let iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice.*

This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto he addeth againe alowd: *Thou art the King of the whol world, and the Saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, be all praise for euer and euer, Amen.* Then putting on the

Robe and the Cap, he blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the Crosse: saying withall; *In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.* The like is done by the Metropolit, Arch-bishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another, doe blesse the Emperour with their two fore-fingers.

Then is saide by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth, *O most holy Virgin, mother of God, &c.* After which, a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowde voyce: *Manie yeares to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Ruffia, &c.* Wherto the other priests and Deacons, that stand somewhat far off by the Altar or Table, answere singing: *Manie yeares, many yeares to the noble Theodore.* The same note is taken vppe by the Priestes and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then all together they chaunt and thunder out, singing; *Manie yeeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour of all Ruffia, &c.*

These solemnities being ended, first cometh the Patriarch with the Metropolit, Arch-bishops, and Bishops; then the Nobility, and the whol companie in their order, to doe homage vnto the Emperour, bending downe theyr heades, and knocking them at his feete vnto the very ground.

The Stile wherewith hee is inuested at his Corronation, runneth after this manner.

**T**heodore Iuanowich, by the Grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all Ruffia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Nouograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vad-ska, Bulghoria, and others. Lord and great Duke of Nouograd of the Low Countreyes, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslauely, Bealozera, Liesland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa: Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and Lorde of many other Countries, &c.

This

The prayer vttered by the Patriarch, before the Corronation.

The Ceremonies to bee vfed in order.

According to their ancient custome

Homage and obedience done to the Emperour.

The Emperor  
proud of his  
many Tities.

This style containeth in it all the Emperors Provinces, and setteth fourth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a very great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people, but likewise strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperor by speech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and sometimes quarrell, betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadors; who refuse to call him *Czar*, that is Emperor, and to repeat the other parts of his long style.

The State or  
forme of their  
gouernment.

The manner of their Gouvernement, is much after the Turkish fashion: which they doe seeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities (in politick affayres) will giue them leaue to doe.

The Russe go-  
uernment ty-  
rannical.

The State and forme of their Gouvernement is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open and barbarous manner; as may appeare by rhe *Sophismata*, or secrets of their Gouvernement afterward set down, aswel for the keeping of the Nobility and Commons in an vnder proportion, and farre vneuen ballance in their seuerall degrees; as also in their impositions and exactions, wherein they exceed al iust measure, without any regard of Nobilitie or people.

Exaction in  
Noblemen ou-  
er the mea-  
ner sort.

Furthermore, it giueth the Nobilitie a kinde of iniust, and vnmeasured liberty, to command and exact vpon the Commons and baser sors of people, in all parts of the Realme wheresoeuer they come, especially in the place where they Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperor to gouerne vnder him. Also to the Commons some small contentment, in that they passe ouer their lands (by discent of inheritance) to whither son they will: which commonly they do after our *Gauill kinde*, and dispose of their goodes by gift or Testament, without anie controulment. Wherein notwithstanding, both Nobility and Commons are but storers for the Prince, all running in the end into the Emperors Coffers: as may appear by the practife of enriching his treasure, and the manner of Exactions sette downe in the title of his Customes and Reuennewes.

The Nobilitie  
and Cōmons,  
storers for the  
Prince.

Concerning the principall points and

matters of State, wherein the Soueraignty consisteth (as the *making and annulling of publike Lawes, the making of Magistrats, power to make warre or league with any forraigne State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of appeale in all matters, both ciuill and criminall*) they doe so wholly and absolutely pertaine to the Emperor and his Councell vnder him; as that hee may be saide to be the Soueraigne Commander; and the executioner of all these. For, as touching any Law or publike order of the Realme, it is euer determined of, before any publike Assembly or Parliament bee summoned. Where besides his Councell, he hath none other to consult with him of such matters as are concluded before had but onely a few Byshoppes, Abbots, and Friars: to no other ead, then to make advantage of the peoples superstitions, euen against themselues which think to be holy and iust, that passeth with consent of their Byshops and Cleargy men, whatsoever it bee.

Of Soueraign  
power.

For which purpose, the Emperors are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nourish the same by extraordinary fauours and immunities to the Byshoppes Seas, Abbeyes, and Fryaries: as knowing, superstition and false Religion best to agree with a tyrannicall State, and to be a speciall meanes to vphold and maintaine the same.

Benefit made  
by corruption

Secondly, as touching the publike Offices and Magistracies of the Realme, there is none Hereditarie, neyther any so great nor so little in that Countrey, but the bestowing of it, is done immediately by the Emperour himselfe. Infomuch, that the very Diackes or Clearkes in euey head Towne, are (for the most part) assigned by himselfe. Notwithstanding, the Emperor that now is (the better to entend his Deuotions) referreth al such matters pertaining to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wuiues brother, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godomoe*.

Offices giuen  
by the Empe-  
ror himselfe.

Thirdly, the like is to bee saide of the Iurisdiction, concerning matters iudicial, specially such as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authority, or publike Iurisdiction that goeth by discent, or is held by Charter; but al at the appointment and pleasuse of the Emperour.

Of iudicial  
matters con-  
cerning life &  
death.

And

And the same practised by the Iudges with such awe and restraint; as that they dare not determine vpon any special matter, but must referre the same wholly, vpon the *Mosko* to the Emperours Councell. To shew his Soueraignty ouer the liues of his Subiects, the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich* (in his walkes or progresses) if he had misliked the face or person of any man whom hee met by the way; or that looked vpon him; would command his head to be strook off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.

Fourthly, for the soueraigne appeale, and giuing of pardons in criminall matters to such as are conuicted; it is wholly at the plesure and grace of the Emperour. Wherein also the Empreffe that now is, being a woman of great clemency, and withall, delighting to deale in publike affaires of the Realme, (the rather to supply the defect of her husband) doth behaue her selfe after an absolute manner, giuing out pardon (specially on her birth day, & other solemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperour.

Their highest Court of publike consultation, for matter of State, is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publike Assembly*. The states and degrees of persons that are present at their Parliaments, are these in order. First, the Emperour himselfe. Secondly, some of his Nobility, about the number of twenty, being all of his Councell. Thirdly, certaine of the Cleargymen, &c. about the same number. As for Burghers, or other to represent the Comminalty, they haue no place there: the people beeing of no better account with them, then as seruants or bondslaues, that are to obey, not to make lawes, nor to know any thing of publike matters, before they are concluded.

The Court of Parliament (called *Zabore*) is held in this manner. The Emperour causeth to be summoned such of his Nobility, as himselfe thinketh meete, being (as was said) all of his Councell: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Cleargy, to wit, the two Metropolitans, the two Archbishops, with such Bishops, Abbots, and Fryars, as are of best account and reputation among them. When they are all assembled at the Emperours Court, the day is intimated when the Session shal

begin. Which commonly is vpon Friday, for the religion of that day.

When the day is come, the Cleargymen assemble before, at the time & place appointed, which is called the *Stolly*. And when the Emperour commeth attended by his Nobility, they arise all, and meete him in an out-roume, following their Patriarch, who blesteth the Emperour with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his forehead, and the sides of his face, & then kisseth him on the right side of his breast. So they passe on into their Parliament house, where they sit in this order. The Emperour is enthronized on the one side of the Chamber. In the next place, not farre from him, at a small square Table (that giueth roome to twelue persons or thereabouts) sitteth the Patriarch, with the Metropolitans and Bishops, & certaine of the principall Nobility of the Emperours Councell, together with two Diacks or Secretaries (called *Dumnoy Dyakey*) that enact that which passeth. The rest place themselves on Benches round about the Roome, euery man in his ranck after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who representeth the Speaker) the cause of their assembly, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For, to propound bills, what euery man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as in other Countries is vsed) the *Russe* Parliament alloweth no such custome, nor liberty to subiects.

The points being opened, the Patriarch (with his Cleargymen) haue the prerogatiue, to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the pointes propounded by the Secretary. Whereto they answer in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme, without any discourse: as hauing learned their Lesson before, that serueth their turnes at all Parliaments alike, whatsoeuer is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. *That the Emperour and his Councell are of great wisdom, and experience, touching the pollicies and publike affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to iudge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend vpon the seruice of God onely, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may please them to proceede. That instead of their aduise, they will asde them with their prayers, as their duties*

The Emperors power ouer liue.

Of appeales and pardon in criminall cases.

The Empreffe her free pardon.

The manner of holding their Parliaments.

No commons in Parliament

The order of the summons or assembling

The place of meeting for the assembly.

Their manner of sitting in Parliament.

Their discourse at Parliament.

The effect of the speech propounded.

ties and vocations do require, &c. To this or like effect, hauing made their answers euery man in his course, vp standeth some Abbot or Fryar, more bold then the rest (yet appointed before hand, as a matter of forme) and desireth the Emperour it wold please his Maiesty, to command to be deliuered vnto them, what his Maiesties owne iudgement, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his *Deiake*?

Whereto is replied by the saide Secretary, in the Emperours name. *That his Highnesse, with those of his Noble Councell (vpon good and sound aduice) haue found the matters proposed, to bee very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are religious men, and know what is right; his Maiesty requireth their godly opinions; yea and their censures too, for the approving or correcting of the saide propositions. And therefore desireth them againe, to speake their mindes freely. And if they shall like to giue their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Heereunto, when the Cleargy-men haue giuen their consents (which they vse to do without any great pausing) they take their leaues, with blessing of the Emperour: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his seate, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Actes that thus are passed by the *Zabore* or Parliament, the *Deiakes* or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into euery Prouince, & headtowne of the Realme, to bee published there, by the Dukes & *Deiakes*, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended; the Emperour inuiteth the Cleargy-men to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart euery man to his home.

The degrees of persons or estates of *Russia* (besides the Soueraigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in order. First, the Nobility which is of four sorts. Whereof the chiefe for birth, authority, and reuennue, are called the *Vdelney Knazey*, that is, the exempt or priuiledged Dukes. These held sometime a seuerall iurisdiction, and absolute authority within their Precincts, much like vnto the States or Nobles of *Germany*. But after-

wards (reseruing their rights vpon composition) they yeelded themselves to this house of *Beala*, when it began to waxe mighty, and to enlarge it selfe by overmatching their neighbours. Onely they were bound to serue the Emperour in his warres, with a certaine number of horse. But the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to this Prince, being a man of high spirit, and subtile in his kinde, meaning to reduce his gouernement into a more strickt forme; began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the ende, he made them not onely his vassals, but his *Kolophey*, that is, his very villains or bond-slaues. For so they terme & write themselves, in any publike instrument or priuate petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their authorities, lands, liues and all at the Emperours pleasure, as the rest do.

The meanes and practise whereby he wrought this to effect, against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast priuate emulations among them, about prerogative of their Titles and Dignities. Wherin he vsed to set on the Inferiors, to preferre or equall themselves to those, that were accounted to be of the Nobler houses. Where hee made his aduantage of their mallice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiuing deuised matter, and accusations of secret practise and conspiracies, to bee intended against his person and state. And so, hauing singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off, with the good liking of the rest; hee fell at last to open practise, by forcing of the other to yeeld their rights vnto him.

2. He diuided his subiects into two parts or Factions by a generall schisme. The one part he called the *Oppressini* or *Select men*. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry, as hee tooke to his owne part, to protect, and maintaine them as his faithfull subiects. The other he called *Zemskey*, or the *Commons*. The *Zemskey* contained the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his gouernment, and to haue a meaning to practise against him. Wherein he provided that the *Oppressini*, for number

The forme of the Emperours answer.

The cunning of the late Emperour.

The Emperours practise and proceeding against both the Factions.

Of the Nobility, and by what meanes it is kept in an vnder proportion, agreeable to that State.

The Faction of Oppressini and Zemskey, deuised by the Emperour.

ber and quality of valour, money, armor, &c. far exceeded the other of the *Zempskey* side, whom hee put (as it were) from vnder his protection: so that if any of the were spoyled or killed by those of the *Oppressini* (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee sought for, by way of publike iustice, or by complaint to the Emperor.

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that euery man knew, who was a *Zempskey* man, and who of the *Oppressini*. And this liberty of the one part, to spoyle and kill the other, without any helpe of Magistrate, or law (that continued seuen years) enriched that side and the Emperors treasury, and wrought that withall, which hee intended by this practise, viz. to take out of the way such of the Nobility, as himselfe misliked: wherof were slaine (within one weeke) to the number of three hundred within the City of *Mascko*: This tyrannicall practise, of making a generall Schisme, and publike diuision among the subiects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seem) from an extreme doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceiued of most of his Nobility, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his warres with the *Polonian* and *Chrim Tartar*. What time he grew into a vehement suspition (conceiued of the ill successe of his affayres) that they practised treason with the *Polonian* and *Chrim*. Whereupon he executed some, and deuised this way to be rid of the rest.

And this wicked pollicy and tyrannous practise (though now it be ceased) hath so troubled that Country, and filled it so full of grudge and mortall hatred euer since, that it will not bee quenched (as it seemeth now) till it burne againe into a ciuill flame.

3. Having thus pulled them, and sealed all their inheritance, lands, priuiledges, &c. saue some very small part, which he left to their name; he gaue them other lands of the tenour of *Pomestnoy* (as they call it) that are held at the Emperors pleasure, lying farre off in another Country, and so removed them into another of his Prouinces, where they might haue neyther fauour, nor authority, not being native nor well knowne there. So that now these of the cheefe Nobility (called *Vdel-*

*ney Knazey*) are equalled with the rest: saue that in the opinion and fauour of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the prerogatiue of their place, in all their publike meetings.

Their practise to keepe downe these houses from rising againe, and recovering their dignities, are these, & such like. First, many of their heyres are kept ymmarried perforce, that the stock may dye with the. Some are sent into *Siberia*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, vnder pretence of seruice, & there eyther made away, or else fast clapped vp. Some are put into Abbeyes, and sheare themselues Fryars by pretence of a vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced vnto it by feare, vpon some pretended crime objected against them. Where they are so garded by some of speciall trust, and the Couent it selfe (vpon whose head it standeth, that they make no escape) as that they haue no other hope, but to end their liues there. Of this kinde, there are many of very great Nobility.

These and such like wayes (begun by the Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich*) are still practised by the *Godonoes*, who being aduanced by the mariage of the Empreffe their kinswoman; rule both the Emperor, and his Realme, (specially *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Empreffe) & endeavour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and auncientest Nobility. Whereof diuers already they haue taken away, whom they thought likeliest to make head against them, and to hinder their purpose, as *Knez Andreas Guraken Bulgatkoue*, a man of great birth and authority in the Country. The like they haue done with *Peeter Gollanni* (whō they put into a dungeon where hee ended his life) with *Knez Vasilie Vrivich Golloohen*, with *Andriou Iuanowich Suskoy*, accounted among them for a man of great wisdom. So this last yeare was killed in a Monastery, (whether they had thrust him) on *Knez Iuan Petrowich Suskoy*, a man of great valour, and seruice in that Country: who about fīue or sixe yeares since, bare out the siedege of the City *Vobsko*, made by *Stepan Batore* King of *Polonia*, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe and his Country, & disgrace to the *Polonian*. Also *Micheta Romanowich*,

The distinguishing of the *Oppressini* & *Zempskey* each from other.

The reason of this cruell practise.

Lands helde at the Emperors pleasure.

Houses kept downe from rising and recovering their Dignity.

Many of the Nobility secretly & treacherously made away.

Many of the Nobility secretly & treacherously made away.

No respect of persons made among them.

*manowich*, Vnckle to the Emperour by the Mothers side, was supposed to haue died of poyson, or some such like practise.

The names of these Families of greatest Nobility, are these in their order. The first is of *Cnez Volodemer*, which resteth at this time in one daughter a widdow, and without childrē (mentioned before) sometime Wife to *Hartock Magnus*, brother to the King of *Denmarke*, now closed within a Nunnery. The second *Knez Methe-loskey*, thrust into a Friery, and his onely sonne kept from marriage, to decay the house. The third *Glimskoy*: but one left of his house, and he without children, saue one daughter. The fourth *Suskoy*, whereof there are foure brethren young men, and vnamarried all. The fift *Hubetskoy*. Of this house are foure living. The sixt *Bulgaloy*, now called *Guletschey* house, whereof are fiue living, but youths all. The seuenth *Vorallinskoy*. Two left of that stock. The eight *Odgoskey*. Two. The ninth *Telletskoy*. One. The tenth *Taytoue*. Three. These are the names of the cheefe Families called *Vdelney Knazay*: that in effect haue lost all now, saue the very name it selfe, and fauour of the people, which is like one day to restore them againe, if any be left.

The second degree of Nobility, is of the *Boiarens*. These are such, as the Emperour honoureth (beside their Nobility) with the Title of Counsellers. The reuenue of these two sorts of Nobles, that riseth out of their Lands assigned them by the Emperour, and held at his pleasure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was said before) is about a thousand marks a yeare: besides a pension which they receiue of the Emperour, for their seruice in his wars, to the summe of seuen hundred Rubbels a yeare, and none about that summe.

But in this number, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godenoe* is not to be reckoned, that is like a *Transendent*, and in no such predicament with the rest, being the Emperours brother in law, his Protectour for direction; for command and authority Emperour of *Russia*. His yearly reuenue (in land and pension) amounteth to the summe of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. He hath of inheritance (which himselfe hath augmented in *Vasma Dorogobose*, sixe thou-

sand Rubbels a yeare. For his Office of *Connick*, or Master of the Horse, twelue thousand Rubbels, or Markes, raised out of the *Canaslue Sloboday*, or the liberties pertaining to that Office, which are certaine Lands and Townes neere about the *Mosko*. Besides, all the Meddow and Pasture ground on both sides the banke of the riuer *Mosko*, thirty verst vp the streame, and forty verst downwards. For his pension of the Emperour (besides the other for his Office) fifty thousand Rubbels. Out of the Prouince or Shire of *Vagha*, there is giuen him for a peculiar (exempted out of the *Chetsird* of *Posolskoy*, two & thirty thousand Rubbels, beside a rent of Furs. Out of *Rezan* and *Seuer*, (another peculiar) thirty thousand Rubbels. Out of *Otfer* and *Turiock*, another exempt place, eight thousand Rubbels. For rent of Bathstoaues and Bathing-houies without the walles of *Mosko*, fiteene hundred Rubbels. Besides his pomest, or lands which he holdeth at the Emperours pleasure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the rest of the Nobility.

One other there is of the house of *Glimskoy*, that dispendeth in land and pension, about forty thousand Rubbels yearly. Which he is suffered to enioy, because he hath married *Borris* his Wiues sister, being himselfe simple, and almost a Naturall. The ordering of him & his Lands are committed to *Borris*.

In the third rancke are the *Voyauodey*, or such Nobles as are, or haue beene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliuer the honour of their Title to their posterities also: who take their place aboue the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former sorts, viz. of the *Vdelney Knazey*, nor of the *Boiarens*.

These three degrees of their Nobility (to wit) the *Vdelney Knazey*, the *Boiarens*, and the *Voiauodey* haue the addition of *Vich*, put vnto their firname as *Borris Federowich*, &c. which is a note of honor, that the rest may not vsurpe. And in case it be not added in the naming of the; they may sue the *Bestchest*, or penalty of dishonor vpon them, that otherwise shall terme them.

The fourth and lowest degree of Nobility with them, is of such as beare the name of *Knazey* or Dukes, but come of the yonger Brothers of those chiefe houses,

Names of the greatest houses of the Ruffe Nobility.

The second degree of Nobility.

The authority the Emperours Brothers, and his age inheritances.

Allowance for a simple Brother.

The third sort of Nobility.

The fourth degree of Nobility.

ses, through many discents, and haue no inheritance of their owne, saue the bare name or title of Duke onely. For their order is, to deliuer their names and titles of their dignities ouer to all their Children alike, whatsoeuer else they leaue thē. So that the sonnes of a *Voianodey*, or Generall in the fielde, are called *Voianodey*, though they neuer saw the fielde, and the sonnes of a *Knez* or Duke, are called *Knazey*, though they haue not one groat of inheritance or liuelyhood, to maintaine themselues withall. Of this sort there are so many, that the plenty maketh them cheape: so that you shall see Dukes glad to serue a meane man, for fiue or six rubbels or marks a yeare; and yet they will stand highly vpon their *Bestchest* or reputation of their honours. And these are their seuerall degrees of Nobility.

The second degree of persons, is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the sons of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, & hold that name by their seruice in the Emperors wars, being Soldiours by their very stocke & birth. To which order are referred their Diacks or Secretaries, that serue the Emperor in euery head towne, being ioyned in Commission with the Dukes of that place.

The last are their Commons, whom they call *Mouficks*. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very lowest & basest sort of this kinde, (which are helde in no degree) are their Country people, whom they call *Christianeis*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all Soldiours) we are to see in the description of their Forces, and Military prouisions. Concerning their *Mouficks*, what their condition and behaiour is, expect them among the Common people.

The whole Country of *Russia* (as was saide before) is diuided into foure parts, which they call *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Euery *Chetfird* containeth diuers Shires, and is annexed to a seuerall Office, whereof it takes the name.

The first *Chetfird* or *Tetrarchy* beareth the name of *Fososkoy Chetfird*, or the *Iurisdiction of the Office of Ambassages*, and at this time is vnder the chiefe Secretary & Officer of the Ambassages, called *Andreas Shalcaloue*. The standing fee or stipend that he receiueth yearely of the Emperor for this seruice, is one hundred

rubbels or marks.

The second is called the *Roseradney Chetfird*, because it is proper to the *Roserade* or high Constable. At this time it pertaineth (by vertue of Office) to *Basilie Shalcaloue*, brother to the Chancellor; but it is executed by one *Zapon Abramoue*. His pension is an hundred rubbels yearly.

The third is the *Chetfird* of *Pomestnoy*, as pertaining to that Office: This keepeth a Register of all Lands giuen by the Emperor for seruice, to his Noblemen, Gentlemen, & others, he giueth out & taketh in all assurances for them. The Officer at this time is called *Eleazar wellusgine*. His stipend is 500. rubbels a yeare.

The fourth is called *Cassanskoy Dworets*, as beeing appropriate to the Office that hath the iurisdiction of the kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, with the other towns lying vpon the *Volgha*, now ordered by one *Druzbine Penteleoue*, a man of very speciall account among thē, for his wisdom, and promptnesse in matters of policy. His pension is 150. rubbels a yeare.

From these *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies*, is exempted the Emperors inheritance or *Vochin* (as they call it) for that it pertained (from ancient time) to the house of *Beala*, which is the sur-name of the Imperiall bloud. This standeth of 36. Townes with their bounds or territories. Besides diuers peculiar iurdictions, which are likewise deducted out of those *Chetfirds*, as the Shire of *Vagha* (belonging to the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*) and such like.

These are the cheefe Governours or Officers of the Prouinces; not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperor wheresoeuer he goeth, and carrying their Offices about with thē, which for the most part they hold at *Mosko*, as the Emperors chiefe Seate.

The parts and practise of these foure Offices, is to receiue all complaints and actions whatsoeuer, that are brought out of their seuerall *Chetfirds* and quarters, & to informe them to the Emperors Counsell. Likewise to send direction againe to those that are vnder them in their saide Prouinces, for all matters giuen in charge by the Emperor and his Counsell, to be done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of euery particular Prouince of these foure *Chetfirds*, there is appointed

The second degree of persons.

The third degree.

Of the government of their Prouinces & Shires.

The foure *Chetfirds*, and their Offices.

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

Exemption on the Emperors beh

The matter concerning the foure Offices.

Dukes there, is but a mean degree in Nobility.

appointed one of these Dukes, which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their Nobility, and which are resident in the head townes of the said Provinces. Whereof euery one hath ioyned with him in Commission, a Dyack or Secretary, to assist him, or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commission, the Dyack doth all.

The parts of their Commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all ciuill matters within their Precinct. To which purpose, they haue vnder them certaine Officers, as *Gubnoy Starets*, or Coroners, who, besides the tryall of selfe-murders, are to attach Fellons: and the *Soudia* or vnder-Iustices, who themselves also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the Country people of their owne Wards or Bayliwicks: but so, that in case eyther party dissent, they may appeale, and goe farther to the Duke & Dyack, that reside within the head towne. From whom also, they may remoue the matter to the higher Court at *Mosko*, of the Emperours Counsell, where lie all appeales. They haue vnder them also *Sotskoy Starets*, that is, Aldermen or Bailiffes of the hundreds.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as theft, murder, treason, &c. they haue authority to apprehend, to examine, and to imprison the malefactor, & so hauing received perfect euidence and information of the cause, they are to send it (ready drawne and orderly digested) vp to the *Mosko*, to the officer of the *Chetfird* wherunto that Prouince is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperours Counsell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to do execution vpon the party offending; is more then their Commission will allow them to do.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike seruice to be done within that Prouince, (as the publishing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes, and impositions for the Emperour, mustering of Soldiours, and sending them forth at the day, and to the place assigned by the Emperour or his Counsell) all these and such like, pertaine vnto their charge.

These Dukes and Dyacks are appointed to their place by the Emperour himselfe, and are changed ordinarily at euery

yeares ende; except vpon some speciall liking or suit, the time be prolonged for a yeare or two more. They are men of themselves of no credite, nor fauour with the people, where they gouerne, being neither borne, nor brought vp among them, nor yet hauing inheritance of their owne there, or elsewhere. Onely of the Emperour they haue for that seruice, an hundred Marks a yeare he that hath most; some 50. some but 30. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, because being so bare, and comming fresh and hungry vpon them; lightly euery year they racke and spoile them, without all regard of iustice, or conscience. Which is easily tollerated by the cheefe Officers of the *Chetfirds*, to the ende they may rob them againe, & haue a better booty when they call them to account: which commonly they do at the end of their seruice, making an aduantage of their iniustice, & oppression ouer the poore people. There are few of them, but they come to the *Pudkey* or whippe when their time is ended, which themselves (for the most part) do make account of. And therefore they furnish themselves, with all the spoile they can for the time of their gouernment; that they may haue for both turnes, as well for the Emperour, and Lord of the *Chetfird*, as to reserue some good part for themselves.

They that are appointed to gouerne abroad, are men of this quality: saue that in the foure border Townes (that are of greatest importance) are set men of more speciall valor & trust, two in euery towne. Whereof one is euer of the Emperours priuy Counsell. These 4. border Towns, are *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Nouogrod*, & *Cazan*, whereof three lie towards the *Polonian* & *Sweaden*, one bordereth farre off vpon the *Chrim Tartar*. These haue larger Commission, then the other Dukes of the Provinces that I spake of before, and may do execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behoouefull for the Commonwealth: for incident occasions that may happen vpon the borders, that are far off, and may not stay for direction, about euery occurrent and particular matter from the Emperour and his Counsell. They are changed euery yeare (except as before) and haue for their stipend, 700. rubbels a yeare he that hath most: some haue but foure hundred rubbels. Many of these

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places,

Concerning the Dukes & Dyacks, and their credite.

Heere one theefe robbeth another, and careth for no punishment.

Officers for the foure bordering townes.

The foure border townes

The yearely stipend of those Officers

The Commission of the Dukes or Presidents of Shires.

For criminall matters and such occasions

Order for Proclamations & other matters.

places, that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole Country, is managed (at this time) by the *Godonoës* & their Clients.

The City of *Mosko* (that is the Emperors seat) is gouerned altogether by the Emperors Counsell. All matters there (both ciuill and criminall) are heard and determined in the seuerall Courts, helde by some of the said Counsell, that reside there all the yeare long.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as buildings, reparations, keeping of their streetes decent and cleane, collections, leuying of taxes, impositions & such like) are appointed two Gentlemen, and two Dyacks or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ordring of such matters. This is called the *Zempskey* house. If any towns-man suspect his seruant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him, to haue him examined vpon the *Pudkey*, or other torture. Besides these two Gentlemen and Secretaries, that order the whole City, there are *Starusts* or Aldermen for euery seuerall Company. The Alderman hath his *Sotskey* or Constable, & the Constable hath certaine *Decetskeis* or Decurions vnder him, which haue the ouersight of ten households a peece, whereby euery disorder is sooner spide, and the common seruice hath the quicker dispatch. The whole number of Cittizens (poore and rich) are reduced into Companies. The chiefe Officers (as the Dyacks & Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperour himselfe, the *Starust* by the Gentlemen & Dyacks, the *Sotskoy* by the *Starust* or Alderman, & the *Decetskeis* by the Constables.

This manner of gouernment of their Prouinces and Townes, if it were aswell set for the giuing of iustice indifferently to al sorts, as it is to preuent innouations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in subiection; it might seeme (in that kinde) to bee no bad, nor vnpolitique way, for the containing of so large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of *Russia*. But the oppression and slavery is so open, and so great, that a man would maruell, how the Nobility & people should suffer themselues to be brought vnder it; while they had any meanes to auoid and repulse it: or being so strengthened as it is at this present, how the Emperors thē-selues can

be content to practise the same, with so open iniustice & oppression of their subiects, being thē-selues of a Christian profession.

By this it appeareth, how hard a matter it were, to alter the state of the *Russe* Government, as now it standeth. First, because they haue none of the Nobility able to make head. As for the Lords of the foure *Chetfrds* or *Tetrarchies*, they are men of no Nobility, but Dyacks, aduanced by the Emperour, depending on his fauour, & attending onely about his owne person. And for the Dukes that are appointed to gouerne vnder them, they are but men of a titular dignity (as was said before) of no power, authority, nor credite, saue that which they haue out of the Office, for the time they enioy it. Which doth purchase them no fauour, but rather hatred of the people, forasmuch as they see that they are set ouer thē, not so much for any care to do them right and iustice; as to keep them vnder in a miserable subiection, and to take the fliece from them, not once in the yeare (as the owner from the sheepe) but to poule and clip them all the yeare long. Besides, the authority and rule which they beare, is rent and diuided into many small pieces, being diuers of them in euery great Shire, limited besides with a very short time: which giueth thē no scope to make any strength, nor to contriue such an enterprize, if haply they intended any matter of innouation.

As for the common people (as may better appeare in the description of their state and quality afterwards set downe) besides their want of armour and practise of war (which they are kept from of purpose) they are robbed continually both of their hearts and money, (besides other meanes) sometimes by pretence of some seruice to bee done for the common defence, sometimes without any shew at all, of any necessity of Common-wealth or Prince. So that there is no meanes eyther for Nobility or people, to attempt any innouation, so long as the Military forces of the Emperour (which are the number of 8000. at the least in continuall pay) hold themselues fast and sure vnto him, & to the present state. Which needs they must do, being of the quality of Soldiours, and enioying withall that free liberty, of wronging and spoiling the Commons at their pleasure, which is permitted them of

The gouernment of Mosko.

Of the Zempskey house.

Aldermen & Constables.

Preuention of innouations.

Oppression and slavery very great.

An hard matter to alter the State of Russia.

Duke but a titular dignity.

The common people kept from Armour and weapon.

Agreement of the Soldiers and Commons.

Of the Emperors counsell.

Boiarens Counsellors to the Emperor, but differing from his privy Counsell.

The number and names of the Counsellors of State.

of purpose to make them have a liking of the present state. As for the agreement of the Soldiours and Commons, it is a thing not to be feared, being of so opposite & contrary practise much one to the other. This desperate state of things at home, maketh the people (for the most part) to wish for some forraigne inuasion, which they suppose to be the onely meanes, to rid them of the heauy yoke of this tyrannous gouernment.

The Emperors of *Russia* giue the name of Counsellor, to diuers of their chiefe Nobility, rather for honours sake, thē for any vse they make of thē about their matters of state. These are called *Boiarens*, without any addition, and may be called Counsellors at large. For they are sildom or neuer called to any publike consultation. They which are of his special and priuy Counsell indeed (whom he vseth daily and ordinarily for al publike matters pertaining to the State) haue the addition of *Dumnoy*, and are named *Dumnoy Boiaren*, or Lords of the Counsell, their Office or sitting, *Boarstua Dumna*.

Their names (at this present) are these in their order. First, *Knez Feoder Ioanowich Methisloskey*. 2. *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinkoy*. 3. *Knez Vasilie Iuanowich Suskoy Scopin*. These three are accounted to be of greater birth then wisdom, taken in (as may seeme) for that ende, rather to furnish the place with their honours & presence, then with their aduice or Counsel. 4. *Knez Vasilie Iuanowich Suskoy*, thought to bee more wise then the other of his name. 5. *Knez Feodor Michailowich*. 6. *Knez Micheta Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 7. *Knez Timophey Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 8. *Knez Andriew Gregoriowich Curakine*. 9. *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forestine*. 10. *Knez Feoder Iuanowich Forestine*. 11. *Bodan Iuanowich Sabaroue*. 12. *Knez Iuan Vasilowich*. 13. *Knez Feoder Demetriowich Shestinoue*. 14. *Knez Feoder Michailowich Troycomioue*. 15. *Iuan Buterlyuey*. 16. *Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoe*. 17. *Borriſe Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Empreſſe. 18. *Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe*. 19. *Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe*. 20. *Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe*. 21. *Feoder Sheremitoue*. 22. *Andriew Petrowich Cleſhenina*. 23. *Ignatie Petrowich Tatissloue*. 24. *Romain Michailowich Pena*. 25. *Demenshoey Iuanowich Cheremissen*. 26. *Romain Vasilowich Alferioue*. 27. *Andriew Shalcacolue*.

28. *Vasilie Shalcacolue*. 29. *Eleazar Welluſgin*. 30. *Drezbeen Penteleoue*. 31. *Zapon Abramoue*.

The foure last of these are called *Dumnoy Deiakey*, or Lord Secretaries. These are all of the Emperours priuy Counsell, though but few of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are aduised and determined vpon by *Borriſe Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreſſe; with some fiue or six more, whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to giue counsell, and do so demeane themselues. The matters occurrent which are of state, done within the Realme, are informed them (at their sittings) by the Lords of the foure *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the *Gouernment of their Prouinces*. Who bring in all such letters as they receiue from the Dukes, Dyacks, Captaines, and other Officers of the Citties and Castles, pertaining to their seuerall quarter or *Chetfird*, with other aduertisements, and informe the Counsell of them.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of euery seuerall Office of Record: who may come into the Counsel Chamber, & informe them, as occasion incident to his Office doth require. Besides matters of State, they consider of many priuate causes, informed by way of supplication, in very great numbers. Whereof some they entertaine and determine, as the cause or meanes can procure fauour. Some they send to the Offices whereto they pertain, by common course of Law. Their ordinary daies for their sitting, are Mondaies, Wensdaies, and Fridaies. Their time of meeting, is commonly seuen a clocke in the morning. If there be any extraordinary occasion, that requireth consultation on some other day, they haue warning by the Clarke of the Counsell, called *Dorofey Bushew*, who receiueh order from the *Roserad* or high Constable of the Realm, to call them together at the time appointed.

For the receiuing of Customes, & other Rents belonging vnto the Crowne, ther are appointed diuers vnder-Officers, which deliuer ouer the same into the head Treasury. The first is the office of *Dwoertſoua* or Steward of the household. The second is the Office of the *Chetfirds*:  
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Foure Secretaries.

All matters referred to the Empreſſe Brother, and fiue or sixe more.

The Officers of Records.

Of the Emperors Customs and other Reuenues.

which I comprehend vnder one, though it be diuided into foure feuerall parts, as was said before. The third is called *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income.

As touching the first, which is the Office of the Steward, it receiueth all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or Crowne Land, which they call *Vochin*. The *Vochin* or Crowne land, containeth in it 36. Townes, with the Territories or Hundreds belonging vnto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeeld the greatest rents, are these: *Alexandrisca, Corelskey, Otfer, Slobodey, Danielska, Moifsalskoy, Chara, Sametska, Strararouse, Bransoue, &c.* The Inhabitants or Tenants of these and the other Townes, pay some rent-money, some other rent duties (called *Obrokey*) as certaine *Chetfirds*, or measures of Graine, Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swans, Geese, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fish, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to sowe for the Emperours prouision, certaine Akers of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his vse: hauing for it an allowance of certaine Akers of ground for their owne proper vse.

This prouision for the household, specially of graine serued in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is spent in his house, or in other allowance serued out in luery, or for the Emperours honour, called *Schalouaney*: for which vse there is bestowed very much, both in graine, and other victuall. This surplus of prouision is sold by the Steward to the best hand, and runneth into the Emperours treasury.

In the time of *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to this Emperour (who kept a more Princely and bountifull house then the Emperour now doth) this ouerplus of graine, and other Incomes into the Stewards Office, yeelded to his Treasury, not past 60. thousand rubbels yearely; but riseth now by good husbanding of the Steward *Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe*, to 230. thousand rubbels a yeare. And this by the meanes of the Emperesse, and her kindred, specially (*Borris Federowich Godonoe*) that account it all their owne, that runneth into the Emperours treasure. Much of this surpluse that riseth out of the rent prouision, is employed to the payment of the wages of his household Officers, which are very many attending at home, and purueying

abroad.

The second Office of receipt called the *Chetfirds* (being diuided into four feuerall parts, as before was said) hath foure head Officers: which, besides the ordering & gouernement of the Shires, contained within their feuerall *Chetfirds*; haue this also as a part of their office, to receiue the *Tagla* and *Podat* belonging to the Emperour, that riseth out of the foure *Chetfirds* or Quarters. The *Tagla* is a yearely rent or imposition, raised vpon euery *Wite* or Measure of graine that groweth within the Land, gathered by sworne men, and brought into the Office. The *Wite* containeth 60. *Chetfirds*. Euery *Chetfird* is three common bushels, or little lesse. The *Podat* is an ordinary rent of money, imposed vpon euery Soake, or Hundred within the whole Realme.

This *Tagla* and *Podat* bring in yeerely to the Offices of the *Chetfirds* a great sum of money: as may appeare by the particulars heere set downe. The Towne and Prouince of *Vobsko*, pay yearely for *Tagla* and *Podat* about 18000. rubbels. *Nouogrod* 35000. rubbels. *Torschocke* and *Otfer* 8000. rubbels. *RAZAN* 30000. rubbels. *Morum* 12000. rubbels. *Colmigroe* and *Duyna*, 8000. rubbels. *Vologda* 12000. rubbels. *Cazan* 18000. rubbels. *Vsting* 30000. rubbels. *Rostoue* 50000. rubbels. The City of *Mosko*, forty thousand Rubbels. *Sibierskoy*, twenty thousand Rubbels. *Castrome* twelue thousand Rubbels. The totall amounteth to foure hundred thousand Rubbels or Markes a yeare, which is brought in yearely the first day of September, that is reckoned by them the first day of the yeare.

The third (that is called the *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income) receiueth all the Customes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Citties within the whole Realme. Besides the fees & other duties, which rise out of diuers smaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*. The townes of most trade, that do yeeld greatest Custome, are these heere set downe. *Mosko, Smolensko, Vobsko, Nouogrod Velica, Strararouse, Torschocke, Otfer, Yaruslaue, Castrome, Nesna Nouogrod, Cazan, Vologda*. This Custome out of the great townes is therefore more certaine and easie to be reckned, because it is set and rated

The Steward  
receiuer of  
the Crowne  
land rents.

The Tenants  
of Townes &  
their rent.

Prouision for  
the Household.

Diffrence of  
the Father &  
Sons times  
for prouision.

The Office of  
Chetfird.

Tagla & Podat,  
and how  
they are distinguished.

Sums of money  
raised by  
Tagla and  
Podat yearely

The Office of  
Bulsha Prechod,  
or great  
Income.

rated precisely, what they shall pay for the custome of the yeare. Which needs must be paid into the said Office, though they receiue not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperors aduantage.

The custome at *Mosko* for euery yeare, is 12000. rubbels. The custome of *Smolensko*, 8000. rubbels. *Vobsko*, 12000. rubbels. *Novogrod velica*, 6000. rubbels. *Stararouse*, by salt and other commodities, 18000. rubbels. *Torsbock* 800. rubbels. *Oifer* 700. rubbels. *Yaruslaue* 1200. rubbels. *Castrome* 1800. rubbels. *Nesna Novogrod*, 7000. rubbels. *Cazan* 11000. rubbels. *Vologda* 2000. rubbels. The custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their trafficke and dealings with commodities too and fro, falleth out for the yeare.

This may be said for certaine, that the three tables of receipts, belonging to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, whē they receiue least, account for thus much, viz. The first table 160000. rubbels. The second table 90000. rubbels. The third 70000. rubbels. So that there commeth into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, & maketh the sum of 340000. rubbels a yeare. Besides this custome out of the townes of trade, there is receiued by this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, the yearely rent of the common Bath-stoaues, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which pertaine to the Emperour. Which (though it be vncertaine for the inst summe, yet because it is certaine and an ordinary matter, that the *Russe* will bathe himselfe aswell within as without yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperors Treasury.

There is besides, a certaine mulct or penalty, that groweth to the Emperour out of euery iudgement, or sentence that passeth in any of his Courts of Record in all ciuill matters. This penalty, or mulct is twenty *Dingoes* or pence, vpon euery rubble or marke, and so tenne in the hundred. Which is paid by the party that is conuict by law. Hee hath besides for euery name, contained in the Writs that passe out of these Courts, five *Alteens*. An *Alteen* is five pence sterling, or thereabouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the Writ is taken forth.

Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the lesser seale, where againe it payeth as much more to the Emperours vs. This riseth commonly to three thousand rubbels a yeare, or thereabouts. Further also, out of the Office of *Roisbonia*, where all Fellonies are tried, is receiued for the Emperour the halfe part of Fellons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers.

All this is brought into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income. Besides the ouerplus or remainder, that is saued out of the Land Rents, allotted to diuers other Offices: as namely to the Office called *Roserade*, which hath Lands and Rents assigned vnto it, to pay the yearely salaries of the Souldiours, or horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace when they rest at home, not employed in any seruice, is commonly cut off, and paid them by halfe, sometimes not the halfe: so that the remainder out of the *Roserade* Office, that is laid into the Emperours Treasury, commeth (for the most part) euery yeare to two hundred and fifty thousand rubbels.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the *Strellets-koy* Offices, which hath proper Lands for the payment of the *Strelsey* men or Gunners, as well those at *Mosko*, that are of the Emperors guard (twelue thousand in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garrison Townes and Castles. Likewise out of the Office of *Prechase*, *Shisnuoy* *Nomshoy*, which hath set allowance of Lands to maintaine the forraigne mercenary Souldiours, as *Poles*, *Sweadens*, *Doutches*, *Scots*, &c. So out of the Office of *Pusharskoy*, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the prouision of munition, great Ordenance, Powder, Shot, Salt-Peeter, Brimstone, Lead, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeares ende, that runneth into the Treasury. All these bring into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, that which remaineth in their hand at the yeares end. Whence it is deliuered into the Emperours Treasury. So that the whole sum that groweth to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the said Office) amounteth to 800000. rubbels a yeare, or thereabouts.

The Office of Roisbonia.

The Roserade Office for Soldiours pay.

The Strellets-koy Office for the shot at Mosko, &c.

For mercenary Soldiours, & prouision of munition.

The Emperors customes in their places

The whole receipt of the Bulsha Prechod or great Income.

Rent of the Bath stoaues

Rents out of the Iudiciall Offices.

The Emperors treasure-houſe within his Caſtle of Moſko.

All theſe Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the foure *Chetſirds*, and the *Bulſha Prechod*, deliuer in their receipts to the head treaſury, that lyeth within the Emperors houſe or Caſtle at the *Moſko*. Where lye all his monies, jewels, crowns, ſcepters, plate, and ſuch like, the cheſts, hutches, and bagges being ſigned by the Emperours themſelues with their owne Seale. Though (at this time) the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, his Seale and ouerſight ſupplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The vnder-Officer at this time, is one *Stepan Vaſilowich Godonoe*, Couſin-germane to the ſaide *Borris*, who hath two Clerks allowed to ſerue vnder him in the Office.

ſitions, and exactions done vpon their Officers, Monafteries, &c. not for any apparant neceſſity or uſe of the Prince or Common-wealth, but of will and cuſtome: yet with ſome pretence of a *Scythian*, that is, groſſe and barbarous pollicy (as may appear) by theſe few *Sophiſmata*, or counterfeit pollicies, put in praſtiſe by the emperours of *Ruſſia*, all tending to this ende, to rob their people, and to enrich their Treaſury. To this purpoſe this by-word was uſed by the late Emperour *Iuan Vaſilowich*: *That his people were like to his beard. The oſtner ſhauen, the thicker it would grow. Or like ſheepe, that muſt needs bee ſhorne once a yeare at the leaſt: to keepe them from being ouer-laden with their Wool.*

The ſum of the Emperours rent-money.

The ſumme that groweth to the Emperours treaſury in money only, for euery yeare.	<p>1. Out of the Stewards Office about the expence of his houſe 23000. Rubbels.</p> <p>2. Out of the foure <i>Chetſirds</i> for ſoake and head money, 400000. rubbels.</p> <p>3. Out of the <i>Bulſha Prechod</i> Office, or great Income, for cuſtome, and other rents, 800000. rubbels.</p>	Summe 1430000. Rubbels cleere, beſides all charges for his houſe, & ordinary ſalaries of his ſoldiours otherwiſe diſcharged.
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Meanes uſed to draw the wealth of the Land into the Emperors Treaſury.

Fiſt.



To preuent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatſoener, done vpon the Commons by their Dukes, Diacks, or other Officers in their Prouinces: but to ſuffer them to go on till their time be expired, and to ſucke themſelues full. Then to call them to the *Praueuſh* (or whip) for their behauior, and to beate out of them all, or the moſt part of the booty, (as the Honey from the Bee) which they haue wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperors Treaſury, but neuer any thing back againe to the right owners, how great or euident ſoener the iniury be. To this end the needy Dukes, and Diacks, that are ſent into their Prouinces, ſerue the turne very well, being changed ſo often (to wit) once a yeare: where, in reſpect of their owne, and the quality of the people (as before was ſaide) they might bee continued for ſome longer time, without all feare of inuouation. For comming ſtill freſh vpon the Commons, they ſucke more eagerly: like *Tiberius* the Emperours flyes, that came new ſtill vpon all olde ſores. To whom he was wont to compare his *Prators*, and other prouinciall Officers.

The whip or dayned for all denyers or conteſters.

His yearely benefit by Furs and other duties.

But beſides this reuennue, that is paid all in money to the Emperours Treaſury, he receiuech yearely in Furres, and other duties to a great value, out of *Siberia*, *Pechora*, *Permia*, and other places, which are ſolde or bartred away for ſome forraigne commodities, to the *Turkiſh*, *Perſian*, *Armenian*, *Georgian* and *Bougharian* Merchants, that trade within his Countries, beſides others of *Chriſtendome*. What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot be ſet downe precisely, as being a thing caſuall, as the commodity may bee got) it may be gueſſed, by that which was gathered the laſt yeare out of *Siberia* for the Emperours cuſtome, viz. 466. timber of Sables, ſiue timber of Matrones, 180. blacke Foxes, beſides other commodities.

Of ſeiſures, confiscations, & impositions on Monafteries, &c.

To theſe may be added their ſeiſures, and confiscations vpon ſuch as are in diſpleaſure, which riſeth to a great ſumme. Beſides other their extraordinary impo-

Secondly,

## Secondly.

**T**O make of these Officers (that haue robbed their people) sometimes a publique example, if any be more notorious then the rest; that the Emperour may seeme to dislike the oppressions done to his people; and transerre the fault to his ill Officers.

As among diuers other, was done by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, to a Diack in one of his Prouinces; that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a Goose ready drest full of mony. The man was brought to the market place in *Mosko*. The Emperour himselfe present, made an Oration; *These good people are they, that would eate you vpp like bread, &c.* Then asked he his *Polachies* or executioners, who could cut vp a Goose? and commanded one of them first to cut off his legges, about the middest of the shinne, then his armes about his elbowed (demanding of him still, if Goose flesh were good meate) in the end to choppe off his head: that he might haue the right fashion of a Goose ready dressed. This might seeme to haue bene a tollerable peece of Iustice (as Iustice goeth in *Russia*) except his subtrill end, to cover his owne oppressions.

## Thirdly.

**T**O make an open shew of want, when any great tax, or imposition is towards. As was done by this Emperour *Theodore Iuanowich*, by the aduise of some about him, euen at the beginning of his reigne: when being left very rich (as it was thought) by his father, he solde the most of his plate, and stamped some into coynes; that he might seeme to want mony. Whereupon presently out came a taxation.

## Fourthly.

**T**O suffer their subiects to giue freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many do especially in their last Wills) and to lay vp their mony and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or prouiso, as was and is in some Countries of Christendome. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe, to

haue the money of the Realme better stored together, and more ready for their hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is doone without any noyse: the Fryers being content, rather to part from somewhat (as the encrease groweth) then to loose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

To this end *Iuan Vasilowich*, late Emperour vsed a very strange practise; that few Princes would haue doone in their greatest extremities. Hee resigned his kingdom to one *Yelica Knez Simeon*, the Emperours sonne of *Cazan*: as though he meant to draw himselfe from all publike doings, to a quiet priuate life. Towards the end of the yeare, he caused this new King to call in all Charters graunted to Bishopricks and Monasteries, which they had enioyed many hundred yeares before. Which were all cancelled. This done, (as in dislike of the fact, and of the misgouernement of the new King) he resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in fauour vnto the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reseruing and annexing to the Crowne so much of their Lands, as himselfe thought good.

By this practise, he wrung from the Bishopricks, and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money; from some forty, from some fifty, from some an hundred thousand rubbels. And this, aswell for the increase of his treasure, as to abate the euill opinion of his hard gouernment, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted; that being hated of his Subiects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet would aduventure such a practise, to set an other in his saddle, that might haue ridde away with his horffe, whilest himselfe walked by on foote.

## Fifthly.

**T**O send their messengers into the prouinces, or Shires where the speciall commodities of their countrey grow, as fures, waxe, hony, &c. There to forestall and ingrosse, sometime one whole commodity, sometime two, or more, taking them at small prices what themselues list, and selling them againe at an excessive rate

A Goose ready dressed full of money for a bribe.

Cutting vp of a Goose.

A cunning colour for taxations.

Superstitious charitie and bountie giuen to Monasteries to a politike end.

A strange practise to get money.

Such a practise as hath been seldome heard of.

Forestalling and engrossing commodities in a strange manner.

rate to their owne marchants, and vnto Marchants strangers. If they shall refuse to buy them, then to enforce them vnto it.

The like is doone when any commodity, eyther natie, or forreine (as cloth of golde, broad-cloth, &c.) thus engrossed by the Emperour, and receiued into his Treasurie, chaunceth to decay, or marre by long lying, or some other casualty. Which is forced vpon the marchants, to bee bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will, or no.

Not long since was engrossed all the Waxe of the Countrey; so that no man might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour onely.

*Sixtly.*

**T**O take vp and engrosse (in like sort) sometime forreine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c.) brought into his kingdome by Turkish marchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, English, and others. And then to force his Marchants, to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

*Seauenthy.*

**T**O make a Monopoly (for the time) of such commodities as are payed him for Rent, or Custome, and to inhance the price of them, as Furrer, Corne, Wood, &c. What time, none must sell of the same kinde of commodity, vntill the Emperours be all folde. By this meanes hee maketh of his Rent, Corn, and other prouision of victuall (as before was sayd) about two hundred thousand rubbells or markes a yeare. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay &c. thirtie thousand rubbells, or thereabouts.

*Eightly.*

**I**n every great Towne of his Realme, he hath a *Caback*, or drinking house, where *Aqua vita* is sold (which they call *Ruffewine*, *Mead*, *Beere*, &c. Out of these he receiueh Rent, that amounteth to a great summe of mouey. Some yeeld eight hundred, some nine hundred, some a thousand, some two thousand, or three thousand rubbells a yeare. Wherein, besides the base and dishonorable meanes to encrease his Treasurie; many foule faultes are committed.

The poore labouring man and Artificer, many times spends all from his wife, and children. Some vse to lay in twenty, thirty, forty rubbells, or more into the *Caback*, and vowe themselues to the pot, till all that be spent. And all this (as hee will say) is for the honour of *Hospodare*, or the Emperour. You shall haue many there, that haue drunke all away euen to the very skinne, and so walke naked (whome they call *Naga*.) While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth, whatsoever cause there be; because he hindereth the Emperours reueneue.

*Ninthly.*

**T**O cause some of his *Boiars*, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he vseth vpon trust) that haue houses in the *Mosco*, to faine themselues robbed. Then to send for the *Zemskey* men, or Aldermen of the Citty, and to command them to finde out the robbery. In default of not finding it, to prauce or scasse the Citty for their misgouernement in eight thousand, nine thousand, or tenne thousand rubbells at a time. This many times is and hath bene practized.

*Tenthly.*

**I**n these exactions, to shew their soueraigntie, sometime they vse very plaine, and yet strange cauillations. As was that of *Iuan Vasilowich*, father to this Emperour, after this sort. He sent into *Permia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, whereof he knew right well, that none grew in that Countrey. The Inhabitants returned answer, they could find none there. Whereupon he scassed their Country in twelue thousand rubbells, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpose. Againe, he sent to the Citty of *Mosco*, to prouide for him a *Colpacke*, or measure full of liue Fleas, for a medicine. They returned answer, that the thing was impossible. And if they could get them, yet they could not measure them, for leaping out. Whereupon, hee praued or beat out of their shinnes, seuen thousand rubbells for a mulct.

By like cauillation, hee extorted from his Nobilitie thirtie thousand rubbells, because he missed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare: as if theyr hunting and murdering of Hares had bin the

An engrossing of Waxe.

Engrossing forren commodities.

Monopolising of Rents and Customes.

His Cabacks or drinking houses in every town.

Drinking for the Emperours honour.

Presence of robbery to another end.

Exactions countenanced by power and authority

A bushell of liue Fleas.

the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) praued presently againe vpon the *Mouficks*, or common people of the Country. This may seem a strange kinde of extortion, by such pleasant cauils, to fleece his poore subiects in good sadnesse: but that it agreeth with the qualitie of those Emperours, and the miserable subiection of that poore Countrey.

These, and such like meanes are practised by the Emperours of *Russia*, to encrease their Treasurie.

The condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly bee vnderstoode by that which hath already bin sayd, concerning the manner of their gouernement, and the state of the Nobilitie in their owne degrees and places with the ordering of their Prouinces, and chiefe townes of the land. And first touching their libertie, how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor haue anie suffrage nor place in their *Zabore*, or high Court of Parliament, where their lawes and publique orders are concluded vpon. Which commonly tend to the oppression of the commons. For the other two degrees, that is to say, of the Nobility, and Cleargie, which haue a vote in the Parliaments (though farre from that libertie, that ought to be in common consultations for the publike benefite, according vnto the measure and proportion of their degrees) are well contented, that the whole burthen shall light vpon the commons, so that they may ease their owne shouldiers by laying all vpon them.

Again, into what seruile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince, but to the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Country (who themselues also are but seruile, specially of late yeares) it may farther appeare by their owne acknowledgements in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe officers of the Emperors. Wherein they name and subscribe themselues *Kolophy*, that is to say, their villaines or bondslaues; as they of the Nobilitie doe vnto the Emperour. This may truly be sayd of them, that there is no seruant or bondslaue more awed by his Maister, nor kept downe in a more seruile subiection, then the poore people are, and that vniuersally, not onely by the Emperour, but

by his Nobility, cheefe Officers, and Soldiours. So that when a poore *Mouficke* meeteth with any of them vpon the high way; hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face; and fall downe, with knocking of his head to the very ground, as hee doth vnto his Idoll.

Secondly, as concerning the lands, goods, and other possessions of the commons, they answer the name, and lie common indeede, without any fence against the rapine, and spoyle, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers and Souldiers. Besides, the taxes, customes, seazures, and other publike exactions, doone vpon them by the Emperour: they are so racked and polled by the Nobles, Officers and Messengers sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affaires, especially in the *Tammes* (as they do stearne them) and *thorow-fare townes*, that you shall haue many villages and townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all vn-inhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame vsage, and exactions on them done. So that in the way towards *Mosco*, betwixt *Vologda* and *Yaruslaueley*, (which is two nineties; after theyr reckoning, little more then an hundred miles) there are in sight fiftie *Darieumes* or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any Inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as they that haue trauelled the Countrey, well can report.

The great oppression ouer the poore Commons, maketh them to haue no courage in following their trades: for that the more they haue, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their liues also. And if they haue anie thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conueying it into Monasteries, somtimes hiding it vnder the ground, and in woods, as men are wont to doe, where they are in feare of forreine inuasion. In somuch, that (many times) you shall see them afrayd to be knowne to any *Boiaren* or Gentleman, of such commodities as they haue to sell. They haue bene seene sometimes, when they haue layed open their commodities for a liking (as theyr principall Furres and such like) to looke

Goods, lands, and possessions of the Commons.

Tammes are thorow-fare Townes.

Townes empty of Inhabitants through oppression.

A miserable condition of poore men.

Of the state of the Commonaltie, or vulgar sort of people, in the Countrey of *Russia*.

The seruile & miserable estate of the *Russe* people.

*Kolophy* are villaines or bondslaues, and so the Common people terme themselues in writing.

still behinde them, and towards euerie doore: as men in some feare, that looked to be set vpon, and surprized by some enemy. Whereof being asked the cause, it was found to be this, that they haue doubted, least some Nobleman or *Sinaboiarskey* of the Emperour, had beene in company, and so laide a traine for them, to pray vpon their commodities perforce.

This maketh the people (thogh otherwise hardned to beare any toyle) to giue themselues much to idlenesse and drinking: as caring for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hereof it commeth that the commodities of *Russia* (as vvas sayde before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hydes, Flax, Hempe, &c.) grow and goe abroad in farre lesse plenty then they were wont to doe: because the people being oppressed and spoyled of theyr gettings, are discouraged from their Labours. Yet this one thing is much to be noted, that in all this oppression, there were three Brethren Marchants of late, that traded together with one stocke in common, that were found to be worth 300000. rubbels in mony, beside lands, cattels, and other commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings far off from the eie of the Court, viz. in *Wichida*, a thousand miles from *Mosko*, and more. The same men were said (by those that knewe them) to haue set on worke all the yeare long, ten thousand men in making of salt, carriages by Cart and Boate, hewing of Wood, and such like; besides fise thousand bondslaues at the least, to inhabit & Till their land.

They had also their Physitions, Chirurgions, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of *Doutches* and others, belonging vnto them. They wer said to haue payed to the Emperour (for Custome) to the summe of three and twenty thousand Rubbles a yeare (for which cause they were suffered to enioy their trade) besides the maintaining of certaine Garrisons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were neere vnto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to vse their purse, till such time as they had gotten ground in *Siberia*, and made it habitable, by burning & cutting downe woodes from *Wichida* to *Perm*, aboue a thousand Verst, and then tooke it all away from them perforce.

But this in the end being enuied, and

disdained, as a matter not standing with their policie, to haue any so great, specially a *Mousick*: the Emperour beganne first to pull from them by peeces, sometimes twenty thousand rubbels at a time; till in the end, their sonnes that followed were well eased of their stocke, & had but small part of their Fathers substance: the rest being drawne all into the Emperours Treasury. Their names were *Iacoue*, *Gregory*, and *Simon*, the sonnes of *Onyka*.

For the quality of their people otherwise, though there seemeth to be in them some aptnesse to receiue any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much lesse in any Learning, or litterall kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpose, as they are also from all Military practise: that they may be fitter for the seruile condition wherein still they are, & haue neither reason, nor valor to attempt innouation.

For this purpose also, they are kepte from traouailing, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other countreyes abroad. You shall seldome see a *Russe* a Traueller, except he be with some Ambassador, or that he make a scape out of his Countrey. Which hardly hee can do, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death if he be taken, and all his goods confiscate. Onely they learne to write, and to reade, and that verie few of them. Neyther doe they suffer any stranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any ciuil Countrey, for the same cause; farther then necessity of vitering their commodities, and taking in of forraine, doeth enforce them to do.

And therefore not long since, they consulted, about the remouing of al Marchants strangers to the border townes, to abide and haue their residency there, and to be more wary, in admitting other strangers (heereafter) into the In-land parts of the Realme; for feare of infection vvith better manners and qualities, then they haue of their owne.

For the same purpose also, they are kept within the bounds of theyr degree, by the Law of their Country: so that the sonne of a *Mousick*, Artificer, or Husband man,

The people made ydle against theyr wils.

Of three brethren Marchants.

Not many other such men in the whole Country

Fleeing the three brethren

The tiranie & oppression ouer theyr very minds and wits.

The ieaulousye of the Emperour concerning his State

man, is euer a *Moufick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aspire any higher: except (hauing learned to write and reade) he attaine to the preferment of a Priest or Dyacke.

Their Language is all one with the *Slauonian*, which is thought to haue bene deriued from the Russe tongue, rather then the *Russe* from the *Slauonian*. For the people called *Sclawi*, are knowne to haue had their beginning out of *Sarmatia*, and to haue tearmed themselues of their conquest *Sclauos* (that is) famous or Glorious, of the word *Sclaua*, which in the *Rus* and *Sclauonian* tongue, signifieth as much as Glory, or Fame. Though afterwards, being subdued and trod vpon by diuers Nations, the *Italians* (their Neighbours) haue turned the word to a contrary signification, and tearme euery seruant or pezzant, by the name of *Sclau*; as did the *Romanes* by the *Getes* and *Syrians*, for the same reason. The Russe Character or Letter, is no other then the Greeke, somewhat distorted.

And because we were speaking of *Sarmatia*, whence this people seeme to deriue themselues: Some haue thought, that the name of *Sarmatia*, was first taken from one *Sarmates*, whom *Moses* and *Iosephus* call *Asarmathes*, sonne to *Iocktan*, and Nephew to *Heber*, of the posterity of *Sem*. But this seemeth to be nothing, but a coniecture, taken from the likenesse of the name *Asarmathes*. For, the dwelling of al *Iocktans* posterity is described by *Moses*, to haue been betwixt *Mefcha* or *Mafius* (an hill of the *Ammonites*) & *Sephace*, neere to the Riuer *Euphrates*. Which maketh it very vnlikely, that *Asarmathes* should plant any Collonies so farre off, in the North, and North-West Countreyes.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, Apparell, and such like, it is to bee noted where we speake of their priuate behaviour. This order, that bindeth euery man to keepe his ranke and seuerall degree wherein his forefathers liued before him, is more meete to keepe the subiectes in a seruite subiection, and so, apt for this and like Common-wealths; then to aduance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent quality in Nobility or Commons. As hauing no farther reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endea-

uors, and employ themselues to aduance their estate: but rather procuring more danger to themselues, the more they excell in any noble or principall quality.

CHAP. III.

*Thirdly, we discourse on their Politicke and Iudiciall proceeding. Also the Emperors powers for war, and their salaries: with their Mustering, Munition, and Military prouision. Their Collonies, bordering Friends or Enemies, either in Peace or warre.*



Their Courts of Ciuill Iustice, for matters of Contract, and other of like sort, are of three kindes, the one being subiect vnto the other by way of Appeal. The lowest court (that seemeth to bee appointed for some ease to the subiects) is the Office of the *Gubnoy Staruſt*, that signifieth an Alderman, and of the *Sotskoy Staruſt*, or Bayliffe of the soake or hundred, whereof I spake before in the ordering of the Prouinces. These may end matters among their Neighbours, within their Soake, or seuerall Hundred, where they are appointed vnder the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to whome the parties may remooue their matter, if they cannot bee agreed by the saide *Gubnoy*, or *Sotskoy Staruſt*.

The second is kept in the head townes of euery Prouince or Shire, by the sayde Dukes and Diackes, that are deputies to the four Lords of the *Chetfirds*, as before was sayde. From these foure Courtes, they may appeale, and remooue theyr suites to the cheefe Court, that is kept at *Mosko*, where are resident the officers of the foure *Chetfirds*. These are the chiefe Iustices or Iudges, euery of them in all ciuill matters that growe within their seuerall *Chetfird* or quarter, and may bee either commenced originally before them, or prosecuted out of the inferior Courts of the Shires, by way of appeale.

Their commencing and proceeding in ciuill actions, is on this manner. First, the

Of their Language answerable to the Sclauonian.

Genes. 10. 26. Iosep. in Antiquit. Iud. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Subiects kept in seruite subiection.

The Aldermans Court.

The Dukes & Diacks Court

The high Court of Mosko.

the plaintiffe putteth vp his supplication, wherein hee declareth the effecte of his cause, or wrong done vnto him. Whereupon is granted vnto him a *wepis* or warrant, which he deliuereth to the *Prastawe* or Sergeant, to doe the arrest vpon the party whom hee meaneth to impleade. Who vpon the Arrest, is to put in sureties to answer at the day appointed, or els standeth at the Sergeants deuotion, to be kept safe by such means as he thinketh good.

The Sergeants are many, & excell for their hard and cruell dealing toward their prisoners; commonly they clappe Irons vpon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out from them some larger Fees. Though it be but for sixe pence, you shal see them go with chaines on their legges, armes, and necke. When they come before the Iudge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declate his matter, after the content of his supplication. As for Attorneys, Counselors, Procurators and aduocates to plead their cause for them, they haue no such order; but euerie man is to tell his owne Tale, and pleade for himselfe so well as he can.

If they haue any witnesse or other euidence, they produce it before the Iudge. If they haue none, or if the trueth of the cause cannot so well be discerned by the plea, or euidence on both parts; then the Iudge asketh either party (which he thinketh good, Plaintife or Defendant) whether he will kisse the Crosse, vpon that which he auoucheth, or denieth. He that taketh the Crosse (being so offred by the Iudge) is accounted cleare, and carryeth away the matter. This Ceremony is not done within the Court or Office, but the party is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremony is done: the money in the meane-while hanging vpon a nayle, or else lying at the Idolles feete, ready to be deliuered to the party so soon as he hath kissed the Crosse, before the saide Idoll.

This kissing of the Crosse (called *Cren- fima Chelouania*) is as their corporal oath; and accounted (with them) a verie holie thing, which no man will dare to vioiate, or prophane with a false Allegation. If both parties offer to kisse the Crosse in a contradictory matter, then they drawe lottes.

The better Lotte is supposed to haue the right, and beareth away the matter. So the party conuicted is adiudgd to pay the debt or penalty whatsoever, and withall, to pay the Emperours fees, which is twenty pence vpon euery Mark, as before hath bene noted.

When the matter is thus ended, the party conuicted, is deliuered to the Sergeant, who hath a *Writ* for his warrant, out of the office, to carry him to the *Prauenesh* or Righter of Iustice, if presently he pay not the money, nor content not the party.

This *Prauenesh* or Righter, is a place neere vnto the Office where such as haue sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adiudged; are beaten with great Cudgels on the shinnes, and calues of the legges. Euery fornoone from eight to eleauen, they are set on the *Prauenesh*, and beate in this sort till the monie be payed. The afternoone & night time, they are kept in Chains by the Sergeant: except they put in sufficient sureties, for their appearance at the *Prauenesh* at the houre appointed. You shall see fortie or fifty stand together on the *Prauenesh* all on a rowe, and their shinnes thus be cudgelled and beasted euery morning, with a pitteous cry.

If after a years standing on the *Prauenesh* the party will not, or lacke wherewithall to pay his Creditour, it is lawfull for him to sell his Wife and Children, either outright, or for a certaine rearme of yeares. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditour may take them to be his bondslaues for years, or for cuer, according as the valew of the debt requireth.

Such kinde of suites as lack direct euidence, or stand vpon coniectures and circumstances, to bee weighed by the Iudge, draw of great length, and yeelde great aduantage vnto the Iudge and Officers. If the suite be vpon a bonde or bill, they haue for the most part good & speedy iustice. Their Bondes or Billes, are drawne in a very plaine sort, after this tenour:

*I Iuan Vasileo, haue borrowed of Alpho- nasse Dementio, the summe of one hundred Rubbles of going money of Mosko. from the Kreshenea (or hallowing of the Water) untill the Saburney Voskreshenea (or coun-*

The dealing of Sergeants in their offices.

No Counselors or Attornies to plead causes.

Ending of controuersies by kissing the Crosse.

Iudgment by lot, whē both parties kisse the Crosse.

The order of the Prauenesh or Righter.

Selling wife and children to pay debts.

The forme of Russe bills or bonds, as they possibetwē man and man

sell

sell Sunday) without interest. And if this money rest unpayed after that day, then hee shall giue interest vpon the saide mony, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, viz: for'euery sine the sixt rubbell. Vpon this there are witnesses, Micheta Sydronef-koy, &c: Subscribed. This Bill haue I written Gabriel Jacouelesni, in the yeare 7096. The witnesses and debter (if he can write) endorse their names on the back side of the Bill. Other signing or sealing haue they none.

When any is taken for a matter of crime (as treason, murder, theft, and the like) he is first brought to the Duke and Diacke, that are for the Prouince where the party is attached, by whom he is examined. The manner of examination in such cases, is all by torture, as scourging with whips made of sinnewes or whiteleather (called the *Pudkey*) as big as a mans finger, which giueth a sore lash, and entereth into the flesh; Or by tying vnto a spitte, and roasting at the Fire. Sometimes, by breaking and wresting one of their ribs with a payre of hot Tonges, or cutting their flesh vnder the nayles, and such like.

The examination thus taken, withall the proofes and evidences that can be alledged against the party, it is sent vppe to the *Mosko*, to the Lord of the Chetfirde or Fourth-part, vnder whome the Prouince is, and by him is presented vnto the Councell Table, to be reade and sentenced there, where onely iudgement is giuen in matter of life and death, and that by euidence vppon information, though they neuer saw nor heard the party, who is kept still in prison where the Faete was committed, & neuer sent vp to the place where he is tryed. If they find the partie guilty, they giue sentence of death according to the quality of the facte, which is sent downe by the Lord of the Chetfird, to the Duke and Diacke to be put in execution. The prisoner is carried vnto the place of execution, with his hands bound and a wax candle burning held betweene his fingers.

Their capitall punishments, are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drowning, putting vnder the Ise, setting on a stake, and such like. But (for the most part) the prisoners that are condemned in summer, are kept for the winter, to be knockt

on the head, and put vnder the Ice. This is to be vnderstood of common persons. For theft and murder, if they be committed vpon a poore *Moufick* by one of Nobilitie, it is not lightly punnished, nor yet is he called to any account for it. Their reason is, because they are accounted their *Kolophey* or bond-slaues.

If by some *Sinaboarskey*, or Gentleman Souldiour, a murder or theft bee committed, peradventure he shall be imprisoned at the Emperors pleasure. If the manner of the fact bee very notorious, hee is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the punishment that is inflicted vpon them.

If a man kill his owne seruant, little or nothing is saide vnto him, for the aforesaide reason: because he is accounted to be his *Kolophey* or bondslaue, & so to haue right ouer his very head. The utmost is some small mulct to the Emperour, if the party be rich: and so the quarrell is made rather against the purse, then against the iniustice. They haue no Written Lawe, saue onely a small booke, that containeth the time and manner of their sitting, order in proceeding, and such other iudicial formes and circumstances, but nothing to direct them, to giue sentence on right or wrong. Their onely Law is their Speaking Law, and that is the pleasure of the Prince, and of his Magistrates & officers. Which sheweth the miserable condition of this poore people, that are forced to haue them for their Law and direction of Iustice; against whose iniustice & extream oppression, they had neede to bee armed with many good and strong lawes.

The Soldiers of *Russia* are called *Sinaboarskey*, or the sonnes of Gentlemen, because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their Military profession. For euery soldier is a Gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but onely the soldiers, that take it by discent from their Ancestors; so that the son of a Gentleman (which is borne a soldier) is euer a Gentleman, and a Soldier withall, and professeth nothing else but Military matters. When they are of years able to bear Armes, they come to the office of *Roserade*, or great Constable, and there present themselues, who entereth their names, and alloteth them certayne lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part, the same that thier fathers enioyed.

On gentlemē and souldiers.

No written Law among them.

Speaking law

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers, and their salaries.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

Proceeding in criminal matters.

Order after examination.

Men are sentenced without personall appearance.

The order of their cheefest punishments on common persons.

For the Lands assigned to maintaine the Army, are euer certaine, annexed to this office without improouing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doth extend alreadie; they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be diuided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that country: when a souldier that hath many children, shall haue sometimes but one entertained in the Emperours pay. So that the rest hauing nothing, are forced to liue by vniust and wicked shiftes, that tend vnto the hurt and oppression of the *Moufick* or common sort of people. This inconuenience groweth, by maintaining his forces in a continuall succession. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First, he hath of his *Dworaney*, that is, Pensioners, or garde of his person, to the number of 15000. horsemen, with their Captaines and other officers, that are alwayes in a readinesse.

Of these 15000. horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ aswel in estimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them, is called *Dworaney Bulshbey*, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourscore Rubbels a yeare, & none vnder seuentie. The second sort are called *Seredney Dworaney*, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These haue sixty, or fifty rubbels by the yeare, none vnder forty. The third and lowest sort are the *Dyta Boianskey*, that is, the lowest Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbels a yeare for him that hath most, some haue but five and twenty, some twenty, none vnder twelue. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the *Mosko*, the other halfe in the fiede by the Generall, when they haue any warres, and are employed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. rubbels yearly.

And to this their wages, besides Lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according vnto their degrees. Wherof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him twenty Rubbels or Markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000. horsemen that are of better choise (as beeing the Emperours owne gard, when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Roman

souldiers cald *Pratoriani*) are an hundred & ten men of speciall accout for their Nobility and trust, which are chosen by the Emperour, and haue their names registered, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meeete for the wars, after the Russe manner.

To this end they haue yearly allowance made by the Emperour for themselves, & their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field euery year on the borders towards the *Chrim Tartar* (except they bee appointed for some other seruice) whether there be warres with the Tartars; or not.

This might seeme (peradventure) somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the commaund of Noblemen, to assemble euery yeare vnto one certaine place. But the matter is so vfed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperour, or his state by this meaus. First, because these Noblemen are many, to wit, an hundred and ten in all, & changed by the Emperour, so oft as he thinks good. Secondly, because they haue their liuings of the Emperour, being otherwise but of very small renennew, and receiue this yearly pay of 40000. rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe vnto the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because (for the most part) they are about the Emperours person, being of his counsell either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters then Captaines to their companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the warres, saue when some of them are appointed, by speciall order from the Emperour himselfe: so the whole number of horsemen that are euer in a readines, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

If he haue neede of a greater number, (which sildom falleth out) then he entertaineth of those *Sinaboianskey*, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giueth charge to his Noblemen (that hold lands of him) to bring into the Fielde (euery man) a proportionable number of his Seruants, (called *Kolophey*) such as Till his Landes, with their Furniture, according vnto the full and iust number, that hee intendeth to make vppe. The which seruice beeing done,

Two other troops, to the number of 65000.

Degrees of Horsemen.

1. Pretoriani or such as attend the Emperors person

Horsemen in continual pay 80000.

done, presently lay in their Weapons, and returne to their seruile occupations againe.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called *Strelsey*. Whereof 5000 are to attend about the City of *Mosko*, or any other place where the Emperour shall abide, and 2000. (which are called *Stremaney*, *Strelsey*, or Gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person, at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garrison towns, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their fallery or stipend euery man seuen rubbels a yeare, besides twelue measures, a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Soldiours, that are strangers (whom they call *Nimschoy*) they haue at this time, 4300. of *Polonians*: of *Chirchasses* (that are vnder the *Polonians*) about foure thousand, whereof 3500. are abroad in his garrisons: of *Doutches Scots* about 150. of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, *Danes* and *Swedens*, all in one band, an 100. or thereabouts. But these they vse onely vpon the *Tartar* side, and against the *Siberians*: as they doe the *Tartar* Soldiours (whom they hire sometimes but onely for the present) on the other side against the *Polonian* and *Sweden*: thinking it best policie, so to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of these Forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the *Voyauodey Bulshaia*, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant Generall vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the Land: but so chosen otherwise, as that he is of small valour, or practise in Martiall matters, being thought to serue that turne so much the better, if he bring no other parts with him, saue the countenance of his Nobility, to be liked of by the Soldiours for that, and nothing else. For in this point they are very wary, that these two (to wit) Nobility, and power meete not both in one, specially if they see wisdom with all, or aptnesse for policie.

Their great *Voiauod* or Generall at this present in their warres, is commonly one of these foure: *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methiloskey*, *Knez Iuan Michailo-*

*wich Glinskoy*, *Cherechaskoy*, and *Trowbetskoy*, all of great Nobility, but of very simple quality otherwise: though in *Glinskoy* (as they say) there is some-what more then in the rest. To make vp this defect in the *Voiauod* or Generall, there is some other ioyned with him as Lieutenant Generall, of farre lesse Nobility, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and most vsed in their warres, is one *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forestine*, an ancient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the *Tartar* and *Polonian*. Next, vnder the *Voiauod* and his Lieutenant Generall, are foure other, that haue the Marshalling of the whole Army diuided among them, and may bee called the Marshalles of the field.

Euery man hath his quarter or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the *Prava Polskoy*, or right wing. The second is the *Leuoy Polskoy*, or left wing. The third is *Rusnoy Polskoy*, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any suddaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supply, as occasion doth require. The fourth is *Storeshouoy Potskoy*, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euery Weeke at the least, must muster and traine their seuerall wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the Campe.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the Soldiours. Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the *Gulauoy* Captaines of thousands, five hundreds, and one hundred. The *Petyde Setskoy*, or Captaines of fifties, and the *Decetskies*, or Captaines of tens.

Besides the *Voiauoday* or Generall of the Army (spoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of *Voiauoda*: wherof one is the Master of the great Ordenance (called *Naradna Voiauoda*) who hath diuers vnder Officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the *Voiauoda Gulauoy*, or the walking

Footmen in continual pay 12000.

Strangers mercenaries in pay, 4300.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders. First, the Voiauod or Generall.

2. Lieutenant Generall.

3 Marshals of the field four.

The ordering of each quarter.

4. Marshals Deputies 8.

Five Coronels vnder Captaines.

Six Masters of the Artillery.

The walking  
Captaine.

Captaine, that hath allowed him a thousand good horsemen of principall choise, to range and spie abroad, and hadde the charge of the running Castle, which wee are to speake of hereafter. All these Captaines and men of charge, must (once euery day) resort to the *Bulsba Voiauada*, or Generall of the Armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to theyr Office.

Of their mustering and leuying of forces, maner of Armour, & prouision of victuall for the warre.

Their order for mustering

When warres are towards (which they faile not of lightly euery yeare with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure Lordes of the *Chetfirds* send forth their summons in the Emperours name, to all the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to be proclaimed in the head Townes of euery Shire: that all the *Sinaboiarskey*, or sonnes of Gentlemen, make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, & there present themselues vnto such and such Captaines.

When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certain Officers, that haue Commission for that purpose, from the *Roserade* or High Constable, as Clearkes of the Bands.

Default of appearance.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very seuerely. As for the Generall and other cheefe Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission and charge, as hee thinketh behoouefull for the present seruice. When the Soldiours are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands and Companies, vnder their seuerall Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into foure *Polskeis* or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romaine Legions were) vnder theyr foure great Leaders; which also haue the Authority of Marshals of the fiede, as was saide before.

The horse-mans furniture.

Concerning their Armour, they are but slightly appointed. The common Horseman hath nothing else but his Bow in his case, vnder his right Arme, and his Quiuer and Sword hanging on the lesse side: except some few that beare a Case of Dags, or a Iauelin, or short staffe along their Horse side. The vnder Captains will

haue commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a Shirt of Male, or such like. The Generall, with the other chief Captaines and men of Nobilitie, will haue their horse very richly furnished, theyr Saddles of Cloth of Golde, their Bridles faire bossed and tasselled with Golde and Silke Frindge, bestudded with Pearle & precious Stones: themselues in very faire Armour, which they call *Bullatnoy*, made of faire shining Steele. yet covered commonly with cloth of Golde, and edged round with Ermin Furre, his Steele Helmet on his head, of a very great price, his Sword, Bow and Arrowes at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another fayre Helmet, and his *Shesta pera* or Horsmans Scepter caried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrowes, are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar, to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flye and retyre.

The General and cheefe Captaines.

The *Strelsey* or Foote-man, hath nothing but his peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his peece, is not made Calieuer-wise, but vwith a plaine & straight stocke (somewhat like a Fouling peece) the barreil is rudely and vnartificially made, very heauy, yet shooteth but a very small Bullet.

The footmans furniture.

As for their prouision of victuall, the Emperour alloweth none, eyther for Captaine or Soldiour, neither prouideth any for them, except peraduenture some corn for their mony. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure moneths, and (if neede require) to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe, from his Tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place.

Prouision of victuall.

One great helpe they haue, that for Lodging and Dyet, euery *Russe* is prepared to be a souldiour before-hand. Although the chiefe Captaines, and other of account, do carrie Tents along vwith them, after the form and fashion of ours, with some better prouision of Victuall then the rest; they bring with them commonly into the Campe for Victuall, a kinde of dryed Bread (vwhich they call *Sucharie*) with some store of Meale, the which they temper with water, & so make it into a Ball, or small lump of Dough, called *Tollockno*. And this they eat raw in stead of Bread. Their meat is Bacon, or some

Their fiedelodging and diet.

some other flesh or fish dryed, after the Dutch manner.

If the *Ruffe* Souldier were as hardie to execute an enterprize, as hee is harde to beare out toyle and trauaile, or were otherwise as apt and well trayned for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and dyet; he would farre exceed the Soldiours of other parts. Whereas now, hee is farre meaner of courage, and execution in any warlike seruice. Which commeth partly of his seruile condition; that will not suffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which he hath no great hope of, whatsoeuer seruice or execution he doe.

The Ruffe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valor of his Soldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, saue that the foure *Polskey* or Legions (whereinto their army is diuided) keepe themselves vnder their Ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall, Their Ensigne is the image of Saint George. The *Bulsha Dworaney* or cheefe Horsemen, haue euery man a small Drumme of Brasse at his Saddle-bow, which he striketh when hee giueth the charge; or onset.

They haue Drummes besides of a huge biggenesse, which they carrie vwith them vpon a boord layde on foure horses, that are sparred together with Iron Chaines, euery Drumme hauing eyght Beaters or Drummers, besides Trumpets, and Shawmes, which they sound after a wilde manner, much different from ours.

When they giue any Charge, or make any inuasion, they make a great hallowe or showte altogether, as lowde as they can, which with the sound of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their Arrows, then dealing with their Swordes, which they vse in a brauery to shake, and brandish ouer their Heades, before they come to strokes.

Their Footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush, or place of aduantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves.

If it bee a set battaile, or if any great inuasion bee made vpon the Ruffe borders, by the Tartar, they are sette within the *running* or *moouing Castle* (called *Beza*, or *Gulaygorod*) which is carried about with them by the *Voianodagulanoy* (or the *walking Generall*) whome I spake of before. This Walking or moouing Castle is so framed, that it may be set vp in length (as occasion doth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, fve, six, or seuen miles: for so long will it reach. It is nothing else but a double wall of Woode, to defend them on both sides, behinde and before; with a space of three yards or thereabout, betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and discharge their peeces, and to vse their other weapons.

It is closed at both ends, & made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their peece, or to push forth any other weapon. It is caried along with the army whersoever it goeth, being taken in to peeces, and so layde on Cartes sparred together, and drawn by horffe that are not seene, by reason that they are couered with their carriage, as with a shelve or pent-house.

When it is brought vnto the place where it is to be vsed (which is deuised & chosen out before by the *Walking Voianod*) it is planted, so much as the present vse requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three, or more: Which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the Timber is so framed to clasp together one peece within another: as is easily vnderstood, by those that know the manner of the Ruffe building.

In this Castle standeth their Shot well fenced for aduantage, especially agaynst the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordenance, nor other Weapon into the Felde with him, saue his Sword, and Bowe and Arrowes. They haue also within it diuerse felde peeces, which they vse as occasion doth require. Of peeces for the felde, they carry no great store, when they war against the *Tartar*: but when they deale with the *Polonian* (of whose forces they make more account) they go better furnished with all kind of munition, and other necessarie prouisions. It is thought, that no Prince of Christendome, hath better

The walking Castle.

What the walking Castle is.

The planting of the walking Castle.

The shotte against the Tartar.

Of their marching, charging, and other martiall discipline.

Horsemen, drummes.

The Horsemen's manner of charging.

The footmen's charge.

store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie house at *Mosko*, where are of all sortes of great Ordenance, all Brasse peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe Soldiour is thought to be better at his defence within some Castle, or Towne, then hee is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is euer noted in the practise of his warres, and namely, at the sledge of *Vobsko*, some few yeares since: where he repulsed the Polonian king, *Stephen Batore*, with his whole Army of an hundred thousand men, and forced him (in the end) to giue ouer his sledge, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and Soldiers. But in a set field, the Russe is noted to haue the worse of the *Polonian* and *Sweden*.

If any behaue himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or doe any speciall peece of seruice, the Emperour sendeth him a peece of Gold, stamped with the image of Saint George on horse-backe. Which peece they hang on their sleues, and set in their Caps. And this is accounted the greatest honor they can receiue for any seruice they do.

The Russe Emperours (of late yeares) haue very much enlarged their Dominions & Territories. Their first Conquest after the Dukedome of *Mosko* (for before that time they were but Dukes of *Volodemer*, as before was sayde) was the Cittie, and Dukedome of *Novograd* on the West and North-West side: which was no final enlargement of their Dominion, & strengthening vnto them for the winning of the rest. This was done by *Iuan*, great Grand father to *Theodore* now Emperour, about the yeare 1480.

The same began likewise to encroach vpon the Countreyes of *Linonia* and *Lituania*, but the Conquest onely intended, and attempted by him vpon some part of those Countreyes, was pursued and performed by his sonne *Basileus*, who first of all wan the Cittie and Dukedom of *Plesko*, afterwards the City and Dukedom of *Smolensko*, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging vnto them, about the yeare 1514.

These victories against the *Lettoes* or *Lituanians*, in the time of *Alexander* their Duke, hee atchieued rather by aduantage

of ciuill dissentions and treasons among themselves, then by any great pollicie or force of his owne. But all this was lost againe by his sonne *Iuan Vasilowich*, about eight or nine yeares past, vpon composition with the Polonian King *Stephen Batore*; whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the *Pole* had then of him, by reason of the foyle hee had giuen him before, and the disquietnesse of his owne state at home. Onely the Russe Emperour, at this time, hath left him on that side his Countrey, the Cities of *Smolensko*, *Vitobsko*, *Cheringo*, and *Beala Gorod* in *Lituania*. In *Lituania*, not a Towne, nor one foote of ground.

When *Basileus* first Conquered those Countreyes, hee suffered the Natiues to keepe their possessions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, vnder the gouernment of his Russe Captaines. But by their Conspiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And so coming vpon them the second time, hee killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or solde vnto the Tartars that serued him in those wars, & (insted of them) placed there his Russes, so many as might over-match the rest, with certaine Garrisons of strength besides. Wherein, notwithstanding this ouersight was committed, for that (taking away with him the Vpland or Countrey people (that should haue tild the ground and might easily haue bene kept in order without any daunger, by other good policies) hee was driuen afterwarde manie yeares together, to Viaduall the Countrey (especially the great Townes) out of his owne Countrey of *Russia*, the foyle lying there in the meane while waste and vntilled.

The like fell out at the port of *Narue*, in *Liefland*, where his sonne *Iuan Vasilowich* deuised, to build a Towne and a Castle on the other side the Riuer, (called *Iuangorod*) to keepe the Town and countrey in subiection. The Castle he caused to bee so built and fortified, that it was thought to bee inuincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the Architect (that was a *Polonian*) hee put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the Natiues all within their owne Countrey, without a

All wonne by the father, lost by the sonne.

Lituania, and the Emperours remissiones in his Conquest thereof.

Narue euen in the same manner.

A most vnkind reward.

The quality of the Russe Soldier.

Reward for valor.

Of their Colonies and maintaining of their Conquests or purchases by force.

The victories & conquestes of Theodore.

bating

bating their number or strength; the Towne and Castle (not long after) was betrayed, and surrendred againe to the King of *Sweden*.

On the Southeast side, they haue got the Kingdomes of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*. These were wonne from the *Tartar*, by the late Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about 35. the other about 33. yeares agoe. Northward out of the Country of *Siberia*, he hath laide vnto his Realme, a great bredth and length of ground, from *wichida* to the Riuer of *Obba*, about a thousand miles space: so that hee is bold to write himselfe now, *The Great Commander of Siberia*.

The Countries likewise of *Permia* & *Pechora*, are a diuerse people & language from the *Russe*, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatning, & shaking of the Sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

That which the *Russe* hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his foure cheefe border townes of *Vobsko*, *Smolensko*, *Astracan*, and *Cazan*, he hath certaine of his Counsel, not of greatest Nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue more authority within their Precincts (for the countenancing & strengthening of their government there) then the other Dukes that are set to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the manner of ordering their Prouinces. These he changeth sometime euery yeare, sometime euery second or third yeare, but exceedeth not that time; except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiarity with the enemy (as some haue done) being so far out of sight.

The Townes besides are very strongly fenced with Trenches, Castles, & store of munition, and haue garrisons within the, to the number of two or three thousand a piece. They are stored with victuall (if any sidge should come vpon them) for the space of two or three yeares before hand. The foure Castles of *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, hee hath made very strong to beare out any sidge: so that it is thought that those Townes are impregnable.

As for the Countries of *Pechora* and *Permia*, and that part of *Siberia*, which hee hath now vnder him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got, viz. rather by shewing, then by vsing of Armes. First, he hath stored the Country with as many *Russes* as there are Natiues, & hath there some few Soldiours in garrison, enough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his Officers and Magistrates there, are of his owne *Russe* people, and he changeth them very often, viz. euery yeare twice or thrice; notwithstanding there be no great feare of any innouation. Thirdly he diuideth them into many small gouernements, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so that they haue no strength being seuered, which was but little neyther, when they were all in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the country haue neyther Armour, nor mony, being taxed and pilled so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to releue themselues.

In *Siberia* (where he goeth on in pursuing his Conquest) hee hath diuers Castles and Garrisons, to the number of sixe thousand Soldiours of *Russes* and *Polonians*, and sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time besides, he hath gotten the Kings Brother of *Siberia*, allured by certaine of his Captains, to leaue his owne Country, by offers of great entertainment, and pleasanter life with the *Russe* Emperor, then he had in *Siberia*. He was brought in this last yeare, and is now with the Emperor at *Mosko* well entertained.

This may be said of the *Russe* practise, wherefoeuer he ruleth, either by right of Inheritance, or by Conquest.

First, hee bereaueth the Country of Armour, and other meanes of defence, which he permitteth to none, but to his *Boiarskeis* onely.

Secondly, he robbeth them continually of their mony and commodities, and leaueth them bare, with nothing but their bodies and lines, within certaine yeares compasse.

Thirdly, hee renteth and diuideth his Territories into many small pieces, by seuerall governments: so that none hath much vnder him to make any strength, though he had other opportunities.

Fourthly,

Meanes of holding the Countries of *Pechora*, *Permia*, and *Siberia*.

The Kings Brother of *Siberia* allured from his Country.

The pollicy of their Conquest or other preuailing, wherefoeuer they come.

Kingdomes won from the *Tartar*.

*Permia* and *Pechora*, their zconquering.

Meanes of holding his cheefe townes

The strength of Townes & Castles.

Fourthly, he governeth his Countries by men of small reputation, and no power of themselves, and strangers (in those places) where their government lyeth.

Fifthly, he changeth his Governours once a yeare ordinarily, that there grow no great liking, nor intiernesse betwixt the people and them, nor acquaintance with the enemy, if they lie towards the Borders.

Sixtly, hee appointeth in one and the same place aduersary Governours, the one to be as Controller of the other, as the Dukes and Diacks: where (by meanes of their enuies and emulations) there is lesse hurt to be feared by their agreement, and himselfe is better informed what is done amisse.

Seuenthly, he sendeth many times into euery Prouince secret Messengers (of speciall trust about him) as intelligencers, to pry and hearken out what is doing, and what is amisse there. And this is ordinary, though it be sudden, and vnknowne what time they will come.

Their neighbours with whom they have greatest dealings and intercourse, both in peace and warre, are first the *Tartar*: Secondly the *Polonian*, whom the *Russe* calleth *Laches*, noting the first Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called *Laches* or *Leches*, whereunto is added *Pol*, which signifieth *People*, and so is made *Polaches*, that is, the *People* or *Posterity* of *Laches*: which the *Latines* (after their manner of writing) call *Polanos*. The third are the *Swedens*. The *Polonians* and *Swedens* are better knowne to these parts of *Europe*, then are the *Tartars*, that are farther off from vs (as beeing of *Asia*) and diuided into many Tribes, different both in name and government one from another.

The greatest and mightiest of them is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom some call the *Great Cham*) that lyeth South, & South-eastward from *Russia*, and doth most annoy the Country by often inuasions, commonly once euery yeare, sometime entering very farre within the inland parts. In the yeare 1571. he came as far as the Citie of *Mosko*, with an Army of two hundred thousand men, without any battaile, or resistance at all, for that the *Russe* Emperour (then *Iuan Vasilowich*) leading forth his Army to encounter with him, march-

ed a wrong way: but (as it was thought) of very purpose, as not daring to aduventure the Fielde, by reason that he doubted his Nobility and cheefe Captaines, of a meaning to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The Cittie hee tooke not, but fired the Subburbs, which by reason of the build-ings (which are all of Wood, without any Stone, Brick or Lime, saue certaine out-rooms) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage; as that it consumed the greatest part of the Cittie, almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compasse. Then might you haue seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge and mighty flame of the Cittie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streetes, but most of all, of such as laboured to passe out of the gates, farthest from the enemy; where meeting together in a mightie throng, & so pressing euery man to preuent another: wedged themselves so fast within the gate and streetes neere vnto it, as that three rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading down those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was saide) by the fire & the prease, the number of eight hundred thousand people, or more.

The *Chrim* thus hauing fired the City, and fed his eyes with the sight of it all on a light flame; returned with his Army, and sent to the *Russe* Emperour a Knife (as was said) to stick himselfe withall: vpbraiding this losse, and his desperate case, as not daring cyther to meete his enemy in the fielde, nor to trust his friends nor subiects at home. The principall cause of this continuall quarrell betwixt the *Russe* and the *Chrim*, is for the right of certaine border parts, claimed by the *Tartar*, but possessed by the *Russe*. The *Tartar* alleadgeth, that besides *Astracan*, & *Cazan* (that are the ancient possession of the East *Tartar*) the whole Country, from his bounds North and Westward, so farre as the Citie of *Mosko*, and *Mosko* it selfe, pertaineth to his right. Which seemeth to haue bin true, by the report of the *Russes* themselves, that tell of a certaine homage, that was done by the *Russe* Emperour (euery yeare) to the Great *Chrim* or *Cham*, the *Russe* Emperour standing on foote, and feeding the *Chrim*s Horse (himselfe sitting

Setting diuels together by the eares.

Of the *Tartars*, and other borderers to the Country of *Russia*, with whom they haue most to do in warre & peace. The *Polonian* are called *Laches* by the *Russe*, and the reason why.

The *Chrim Tartar*, or the Great Cham.

The firing of *Mosko* by the *Chrim Tartar*, in the yeare 1571.

A strange accident as euer was heard of.

The *Chrim*s salutation to the Emperour.

The quarrell betwene the *Russe* and *Tartar*.

Homage done by the *Russe* to the *Chrim Tartar*, and in what manner.

sitting on his back) with Oares out of his owne Cap, instead of a Boule or Maunger, and that within the Castle of *Mosko*: And this homage (they say) was done till the time of *Basileus*, grandfather to this man. Who surprizing the *Chrim* Emperour by a stratagem, done by one of his Nobility (called *Iuan Demetrowich Belschey*) was content with this ransome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of Furrer: which afterwards also was denied to be paid by this Emperours Father.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the *Russe* defending his Country, & that which he hath won, the *Chrim Tartar* inuading him once or twice euey yeare, sometime about *Whitfontide*, but oftner in *Haruest*. What time, if the great *Cham* or *Chrim* come in his owne person, hee bringeth with him a great Army of an hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand men. Otherwise, they make short and sudden roads into the Country with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border, as wilde Geese flie, inuading and retiring where they see aduantage.

Their common practise (beeing very populous) is to make diuers Armies, and so drawing the *Russe* to one, or two places of the Frontiers, to inuade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of fight, or ordering of their Forces, is much after the *Russe* manner (spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carry nothing else but a Bowe, a sheafe of Arrowes, & a faulchon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vse to shoote as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horsemans staffe like vnto a boare speare, besides their other weapons. The common Soldiour hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheepes skinne, with the wooll side ourward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their *Morseys* or Noblemen imitate the Turke both in apparell and armor. When they are to passe ouer a Riuer with their Army, they tye three or foure horses together, and taking long Poles or pieces of wood, binde them fast to the tayles of their horses: so sitting on the Poles they driue their horse ouer. At handy-strokes

(when they come to ioyne battaile) they are accounted farre better men then the *Russe* people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no parts of peace, nor any ciuill practise.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them; they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise stratagems (vpon the sudden) for their better aduantage. As in their war against *Beala* the fourth, King of *Hungary*, whom they inuaded with fūe hundred thousand men, and obtained against him a great victory. Where (among other) hauing slaine his Chancellor, called *Nicholas Schinick*; they found about him the Kings priuy Seale: Whereupon, they deuised presently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings Name, to the Citties and Townes next about the place, where the field was fought; with charge, that in no case they should conuey themselves and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the Country desolate, to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemy, as was the *Tartar* Nation, tearing themselves in all reprochfull manner.

For, notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly; yet hee doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the acceffe of a notable victory, if the sauage *Tartar* durst abide him in the field. To this purpose, hauing written their letters in the *Polish* Character, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the fiede, and signed them with the Kings Seale; they dispatched them soorth to all the quarters of *Hungary*, that lay neare about the place. Whereupon the *Hungarians*, that were now flying away with their goods, wiuies, and children, vpon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort by these counterfeit Letters; staid at home. And so were made a prey, being surprized on the sudden by the huge number of these *Tartars*, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and send many flattering

The homage releas'd by the *Chrim*s surprizall.

The *Chrim*s coming against the *Russe*.

The manner of the *Tartars* fight & armor

The common Soldiours Armour of the *Tartars*, differing from the Nobleman.

Their passage of Riuers.

The subtilty of the *Tartar*.

The *Tartars* war against *Beala* King of *Hungary*, and their cunning pollicy.

All policies in warre are by them accounted lawfull.

Besieging of Townes or Forts.

flattering messages to perswade a surrender, promising all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they vse all manner of hostility, and cruelty. This they do vpon a rule they haue, viz. *That Iustice is to bee practised but towards their owne.* They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselues, and made some short conflict) they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemy into it if they can. But the *Russe* being wel acquainted with their practise, is more wary of them. When they come a rousing with some smal number, they set on horsebacke counterfeite shapen of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their manner is to make a great shout, crying all out together, *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God help vs, God helpe vs.* They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemy, & are seene (when they are slaine) to bite the very weapon when they are past striking, or helping of themselues. Wherein appeareth, how different the *Tartar* is in his desperate courage, from the *Russe* and *Turke*. For the *Russe* Souldior, if hee begin once to retire, putteth all his safety in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckning straight to die. The *Turke* commonly, when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to entrete, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them vp, as it were to be tied: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe bondslau.

The cheefe booty the *Tartars* seeke for in all their wars, is to get store of captiues, specially yong boies and girles, who they sell vnto the *Turkes*, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets, made like Bakers Panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tier, or to be sick on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leaue him dead. The Souldiours are not troubled with keeping the Captiues, and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their wars; but they haue certaine bands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receiue and keepe the Cap-

tiues and the other prey.

The *Russe* borders (being vsed to their inuasions lightly euery yeare in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the border parts, saue Swine onely, which the *Tartar* wil not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no Swines flesh. Of Christ our Sauior, they confesse as much as doth the *Turk* in his Alkaron, viz. That he came of the Angell *Gabriel*, & the Virgin *Mary*, that he was a great Prophet, & shall be the Iudge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the *Turke*: hauing felt the Turkish Forces, when hee wonne from them *Azou*, and *Cassa*, with some other townes about the *Euxine*, or *Blacke Sea*, that were before tributaries to the *Chrim Tartar*. So that now the Emperor of the *Chrim*s (for the most part) is chosen some one of the Nobility, whom the *Turke* doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the *Chrim Tartar* giueth to the *Turke* the tenth part of the spoile, which he getteth in his wars against the Christians.

Heerein they differ from the *Turkish* Religion, for that they haue certaine idoll puppets, made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to bee as *Ianusses* or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certaine religious women, which they haue among them, for that and like vses. They haue besides, the image of their King or Great *Cham*, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euery stage, when the Army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bow vnto as he passeth by it, be hee *Tartar*, or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures, vpon euery accident which they heare or see.

In making of marriages, they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinity. Onely with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marry, and though hee take the woman into his house, and accompany with her; yet hee accounteth her not for his Wife, till he haue a childe by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowry of her friends, of Horse, Sheep, Kine, &c. If she bee barren, after a certaine time

A subtile rule among the Tartars.

The Tartars contempt of death.

Of the Russe Souldior.

Of the Turkish Souldior.

The booty of the Tartars.

The Tartars religion like to the Turke.

Choice of the Tartars Emperor.

Difference from the Turkish Religion.

Addition to witchcraft.

Making of marriages among the Tartars.

time; he turneth her home agayne.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certayne Dukes, whom they call *Morseis*, or *Diuymorseis*: that rule ouer a certayne number of tenne thousand, twenty thousand, or forty thousand a peece, which they call *Hoords*. When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his wars, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, euery man with his two horses at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his horse eaten. For their chiefe vitaille is horse flesh, which they eat without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a *Tartar* be taken by a *Russe*, he shal be sure lightly to finde a horse legge, or some other part of him hanging at his saddle bowe.

This last yeare, when I was at the *Mosco*, came in one *Kiriach Morsej*, Nephew to the Emperour of the *Chrims* that now is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 3. hundred *Tartars*. and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widdow. Where being enter-tayned in very good fort (after the *Russe* manner) he had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fatte horses, ready flayed on a sledde. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then beefe, mutton, and such like. And yet (which is maruell) though they serue all as horsemen in the warres, and eat all of horse flesh, there are brought yearely to the *Mosco*, to be exchanged for other commodities, thirty or fortie thousand *Tartar* horses, which they commonly call *Cones*.

They keepe also great heards of kine, and flockes of blacke sheepe, rather for the skines and milke (which they carrie with them in great bottles) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eat of it. Some vse they haue of Rice, Figges, and other Fruites. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part, carde them both together. They vse sometimes (as they doe trauell by the way) to let their horses blood in a veine, and to drink it warme, as it cometh from his body.

Townesthydo plant none, nor other

standing buildings, but haue walking houses, which the Latines call *Vei*, built vpon wheelles, like vnto a Shepherds cottage. These they draw with them whither soeuer they goe, drining their cattaile with them. And whē they come to their stage, or standing place, they plant their Cart-houses very orderly in a ranke: and so do make the forme of the streetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himselfe, who hath no other seate of his Empire, but an *Agora*, or towne of wood, that mooueth with him whither soeuer he goeth. As for the fixed and standing buildings vsed in other Countries, they say they are vnwholesome and vnpleasant.

They beginne to mooue their houses and cattaile in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towards the North parts. And so drining on till they haue grased all vp vnto the farthest part Northward, they returne backe agayne towards their South Countrey (where they continue all the winter) by ten or twelue miles a stage: in the meane while, the grasse being sprung vp againe, to serue for their cattaile as they returne. From the border of the *Shalcan* towards the *Caspian* Sea, vnto the *Russe* frontires, they haue a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and South-east parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore prefer Brasse and Steele before other mettalls, especially bullate, which they vse for Swords, Knives, and other necessaries. As for Golde and Siluer, they neglect it of very purpose, (as they do all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subiect to inuasions. Which giueth them great advantage against all their neighbours, euer inuading, and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of olde time *Cyrus* and *Darius Hystaspis*, on the East and Southeast side) haue done it with very ill successe, as we finde in the Stories written of those times. For their manner is, when any will inuade them, to allure and draw them on, by flying and reculing (as if they were afraid) vntill they haue drawne them some good way within their Countrey. Then, when they beginne to want vitaille and other

The Tartars dwelling, walking, or removing houses.

Agora, or Towne of wood mouing with the Emperour.

The times of removing their houses.

They haue no vse of money among them.

Pollicie in their pouerty.

Their pollicy for inuaders of their countrey.

The Tartar Nobilitie, and their authoritie.

The Tartars dyet, is horse flesh.

A present at a Tartars entertainment.

Their vse of blacke sheeps milke.

other necessaries (as needes they must where nothing is to bee had) to stop vp the passages, and enclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as wee reade in *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* in his Turkish story) they had well nigh surprized the great and huge Army of *Tamberlaine*; but that he retired with al speed he could, towards the Riuer *Tanais*, or *Don*, not without great losse of his men, and cariages.

In the story of *Pachymerius* the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperours of *Constantinople*, from the beginning of the Reigne of *Michael Palæologus*, to the time of *Andronicus* the elder) I remember hee telleth (to the same purpose) of one *Nogas*, a *Tartarian* Captaine vnder *Cazan*, the Emperor of the East *Tartars* (of whō the City and Kingdome of *Cazan* may seeme to haue taken the denomination) who refused a Present of Pearle & other Jewels, sent vnto him from *Michael Palæologus*: Asking (withall) for what vse they serued, and whither they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no? So that it seemeth, they haue euer (or long time) bene of that minde, to value things no further, then by the vse, and necessity for which they serue.

For person and complection, they haue broad and flat visages, of a tanned colour into yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thin haired vpon the vpper lip, and pit of the chin, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for Horsemen: whereto they practise themselues from their childhood, sildome going afoote about any businesse. Their speech is very sudden and loud, speaking as it were out of a deep hollow throate. When they sing, you would thinke a Cow lowed, or some great bandog howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherin they traine vp their children from their very infancy, not suffering them to eate, til they haue shot neere the marke within a certaine scantling. They are the very same, that (sometimes) were called \* *Scythæ Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*, both by the Greekes and Latines.

Some thinke, that the *Turkes* tooke their beginning from the Nation of the *Chrim Tartars*. Of which opinion is *La-*

*nicus Chalcocondylas* the Greeke Historiographer, in his first Booke of his Turkish story. Wherein he followeth diuers very probable coniectures.

The first, taken from the very name it selfe, for that the word *Turke*, signifieth a Shepheard, or one that followeth a vagrant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these *Scythian Tartars* haue euer bin noted, being called by the Greeks, *Skúthai Nómades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*.

His second reason, because the *Turkes* (in his time) that dwelt in *Asia the lesse*, to wit, in *Lydia*, *Coria*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, spake the very same Language that these *Tartars* did, that dwelt betwixt the Riuer *Tanais* or *Don*, and the Country of *Sarmatia*, which (as is well knowne) are these *Tartars* called *Chrim*. At this time also, the whole Nation of the *Turks* differ not much in their common speech from the *Tartar* Language.

Thirdly, because the *Turke* and the *Chrim Tartar* agree so well together, as well in Religion, as matter of Trafficke, neuer inuading, or iniurying one another: saue that the *Turke* (since *Laonicus* his time) hath encroached vpon some Towns vpon the \* *Euxine* Sea, that before pertained to the *Chrim Tartar*.

Fourthly, because *Orcogules* sonne to *Oguzalpes*, and (Father to *Ottoman*, the first of name of the Turkish Nation) made his first rodes out of those partes of *Asia*, vpon the next borderers, til he cam towards the Countreyes about the Hill *Taurus*, where he ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territory of the Turkish Nation, till he came to *Eubæa* and *Attica*, and other parts of Greece. This is the opinion of *Laonicus*, who liued amongst the *Turkes*, in the time of *Amurath*, the sixte Turkish Emperor, about the year 1400. when the memory of their originall vvas more fresh: and therefore the likelier hee was to hit the truth.

There are diuers other *Tartars* that border vpon *Russia*, as the *Nagaies*, the *Cheremifens*, the *Mordvites*, the *Chircasses*, & the *Shalcans*, which all differ (in name, more then in Regiment, or other condition) from the *Chrim Tartar*, except the *Chircasses*, that border South-VVest, towards *Lituania*, and are fare more ciuill then the rest of the *Tartars*; of a comely person,

Laonicus Chalcocondylas.

Pachymerius.

A story of a Tartarian Captaine.

Person and complection of the Tartars and their natural inclination.

\* A people in Scythia about Meotis.

The reasons of the Greek Author, for his opinion of the Tartars.

\* A part of the Sea, diuiding Europe from Asia.

The Nagay Tartar, the cruellst. The Chircassee the ciuilest Tartar.

person, and of a stately behaiour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the *Polonian*. Some of them haue subiected themselves vnto the Kings of *Poland*, and professe Christianity. The *Nagay* lyeth Eastward, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the *Tartars*, but very sauage and cruell aboute all the rest.

The *Cheremifen Tartars*, that lye betwixt the *Russe* and the *Nagay*, are of two sorts, the *Lugauoy* (that is of the Valley) and the *Nagorway*, or of the hilly Country. These haue much troubled the Emperours of *Russia*. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yearly pension of *Russe* commodities, to their *Morseis*, or *Diuoymorseis*, that are cheefe of their Tribes. For which also they are bound to serue them in their wars, vnder certayne conditions. They are saide to be iust and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the *Russe* people, whom they account to bee double, and false in all their dealings. And therefore the common sort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *Morseis*, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the *Mordwite Tartar*, that hath many selfe-fashions, and strange kindes of behaiour, differing from the rest. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worshippe for God, that liuing thing, that hee first meeteth in the morning, and to swear by it all that whole day, whether it be Horse, Dogge, Catte, or whatsoeuer else it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best Horse, and hauing slayed off the skinne, he carrieth it on high vpon a long Pole, before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doth (as the *Russe* saith) that his friend may haue a good Horse to carry him to Heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the Kingdome of *Astracan*, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the *Russe* Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcans*, and the Countrey of *Media*: whether the *Russe* Merchants trade for raw silkes, sydon, saphion, skins, and other commodi-

ties. The chiefe Townes of *Media* where the *Russe* tradeth, are *Derbent* (built by *Alexander* the great, as the Inhabitants say) and *Zamachio*, where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their manner is (in the Spring time) to reuiue the silke-worms (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sun, and to hasten their quickning, that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang the vnder their childrens armes. As for the Worme called *Chrinisin* (as wee call it *Chrymson*) that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in *Media*, but in *Assyria*. This trade to *Derbent* & *Zamachio* for raw silks and other commodities of that Country, as also into *Persia*, and *Bougharia*, downe the Riuer *Volgha*, and through the *Caspian* Sea; is permitted aswell to the English, as to the *Russe* Merchants, by the Emperors last Graunt, as appeareth. Which he accounteth for a very speciall fauour; and might prooue indeed very beneficiall to all kinde of Merchants, if the trade were well and orderly vsed.

The whole Nation of the *Tartars*, are vtterly voide of all learning, & without written Law. Yet certayne rules they haue, which they hold by tradition, common to all the *Hoords*, for the practise of their life. Which are of this sort.

1. First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoeuer they command about the publike seruice.
2. Except for the publike behoofe, euery man to be free, and out of controlement.
3. No private man to possesse any Lands, but the whole Country to be in common.
4. To neglect all daintinesse and variety of meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the executing of their affaires.
5. To weare any base attire, and to patch their cloathes, whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patcht Coate.
6. To take, or steale from any stranger whatsoeuer they can get, as being enemies to all men, saue to such as will subiect themselves to them.
7. Towards their owne Hoord and Nation, to be true in word and deed.
8. To suffer no stranger to come within the Realm. If any do, the same to be bond-slave to him

The Cheremifen Tartar, very troublesome and dangerous.

The Mordwite Tartar the most barbarous of the rest.

The Shalcans and Country of Media.

Of reuiuing the Silke-wormes in the Spring time.

The Tartars haue no learning or written Law.

Orders and obseruations among them.

him that first taketh him, except such Marchants, and other as haue the Tartar Bull, or Passport about them.

The *Permians* and *Samoites*, that do lie from *Russia*; North and Northeast, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the *Tartar* kinde. And it may partly be ghesed by the fashion of their countenance, as hauing all broad and flat faces, as the *Tartars* haue, except the *Chirchasse*.

The *Permians* are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subiect to the *Russe*. They liue by hunting, and trading with their fures, as doth also the *Samoit*, that dwelleth more towards the North sea.

The *Samoit* hath his name (as the *Russe* saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they liued as Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because (at this time) they eat all kinde of rawe flesh, whatsoeuer it be, euen the very cartion that lyeth in the ditch. But as the *Samoites* themselues will say, they were called *Samoie*, that is of themselues, as though they were *Indigena*, or poore people bred vpon that very soile, that neuer changed their seate from one place to another, as most Nations haue doone. They are subiect, at this time, to the Emperour of *Russia*.

I talked with certaine of them, & finde that they acknowledge one God; but represent him by such things as they haue most vse and good by. Therefore they do worship, the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like. As for the storie of *Slatá Baba*, or the *Golden hagge*, (which I haue read in some Maps and Descriptions of these countries, to be an Idole, after the forme of an old woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giues them certaine oracles, concerning the successe, and euent of things; I found it to be but a very Fable. Onely in the Prouince of *Obdaria*, vpon the Sea side, neare to the mouth of the great riuier *Obda*, there is a Rocke, which naturally (beeing somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a childe in her armes (as the Rocke by the North Cape the shape of a Fryer) where the *Obdorian Samoites* vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their ma-

ner is) conceiue and practise their force-ries, and ominous coniecturings, about the good or the bad speede of their iourneys, fishings, huntings, and other such like.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side outwards downe, as low as the knees, with their breeches and neather-stocks of the same, both men and women. They are all black haired, naturally beardlesse. Therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their lookes, saue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue (in a maner) a wilde and a sauage life, rousing still from one place of the country to another, without any property of house or land, more to one then to another. Their leader or director in euery company, is their *Papa* or Priest.

On the North side of *Russia* next vnto *Corelia*, lyeth the Countrey of *Loppia*, which reacheth in length from the farthest poynt Northward, (towards the North-cape) to the farthest part Southeast (which the *Russe* calleth *Sweetnesse* or Holy nose, the Englishmen *Capegrace*) about 345. verst or miles. From *Sweetnesse* to *Candelox* by the way of *Versega* (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90 miles, or thereabouts. The whole Countrey (in a manner) is eyther Lakes or Mountains, which towards the Sea side are called *Tondro*, because they are all of hard and craggy rocke, but the in-land partes are well furnished with woods growing vpon the hilles sides, the Lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue none, but feed onely vpon fish and fowle. They are subiect to the Emperour of *Russia*, and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*: which all exact tribute & custome of them (as was said before:) but the Emperour of *Russia* beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exact of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is, that they were first tearmed *Lappes*; of their brieue and short speach. The *Russe* diuideth the whole nation of the *Lappes* into two sorts. The one they call *Nowremianskoy Lappary*, that is, the *Norwegian Lappes*: because they be of the *Danish* Religion. For the *Danes* & *Norwegians* they account for one people. The other that haue no Religion at all, but liue as brute and Heathenish people,

Of the Permians, Samoites, & Lappes.

The Permians.

The Samoites

Indigenz or beggers.

The Samoites religion.

Slatá Baba or the golden Hagge.

The Obdorian.

The Samoites habite and behaviour.

The Lappes.

Their dyet and feeding.

Diuision of the Lappes.

people, without God in the world, they call *Dikoy Lopary*, or the wilde *Lappes*.

The whole Nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not so much as the vse of any Alphabet, or Letter among them. For practise of witchcraft and forcery, they passe all Nations in the world. Though for the inchanting of Ships that sayle along their Coast (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of windes, good to their friends, and contrary vnto other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots vpon a Rope (some-what like to the tale of *Aeolus* his winde-bag) is a very fable, deuised (as may seeme) by themselues, to terrifie saylers for coming neare their Coast. Their Weapons are the long Bow, and hand-gunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknesse to charge and discharge; as for nearnesse at the marke, by reason of their continual practise (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wilde Fowle.

Their manner is (in Summer time) to come downe in great companies to the sea side, to *Wardhuysse*, *Cola*, *Regor*, & the bay of *Vedagoba*, and there to fish for Cod, Salmon, and But-fish, which they sell to the *Russes*, *Danes*, and *Norgenians*, and now of late to the English men, that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the *Lappes* and *Corelians* for their Fish, Oyle, & Furs, whereof also they haue some store. They hold their Mart at *Cola* on *S. Peters* day: what time the Captaine of *wardhuysse* (that is resiant there for the king of *Denmark*) must be present, or at least send his deputy, to set prices on their stockfish, traine oile, furs, and other commodities: as also the *Russe* Emperors Customer, or tribute taker, to receiue his custome, which is euer payed before any thng can be bought or folde.

When their fishing is done, their manner is, to draw their Carbasses, or Boates on shore, and there to leaue them with the keele turned vpwads, till the next spring tide. Their trauaile too and fro, is vpon sleds, drawne by the Ollen Deere: which they vse to turne a grazing all the Summer time, in an Island called *Kilden* (of a very good soyle, compared with other parts of that Country) and towards the Winter time, when the Snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe, for the vse of their sledde.

The Lappes voide of all Learning.

The Lappes giue or sell no windes.

Their Weapons.

The Lappes Marr on *S. Peters* day.

CHAP. III.

Fourthly, concerning Ecclesiasticall Offices and Orders; The Rites and Sacraments obserued in the Moscouian Church: with their Marriages and other Ceremonies beside.



Concerning the government of their Church, it is framed altogether after the manner of the Greeks, as being a part of that

Church, and neuer acknowledging the iurisdiction of the Latine Church, vsurped by the Pope. That I may keepe the better measure in describing their Ceremonies, then they in the vsing the (wherein they are infinite) I will note briefly.

First, what Ecclesiasticall degrees, or Offices they haue, with the iurisdiction & practise of them.

Secondly, what doctrine they holde in matter of Religion.

Thirdly, what Leiturgy, or forme of seruice they vse in their Churches, with the manner of their administring the Sacraments.

Fourthly, what other strange Ceremonies, and superstitious deuotions are vsed among them.

Their Offices, or degrees of Churchmen, are as many in number, and the same in a manner (both in name and degree) that were in the Westerne Churches. First they haue their *Patriarch*, then their *Metropolitans*, their *Archbishops*, their *Vladikey* or *Bishops*, their *Protopapes* or *Archpriests*, their *Papes* or *Priests*, their *Deacons*, *Fryars*, *Monks*, *Nuns*, and *Eremites*.

Their *Patriarch*, or chiefe director in matter of religion vntill this last year, was of the City of *Constantinople* (whom they called the *Patriarch of Sio*) because, being driuen by the *Turke* out of *Constantinople* (the seat of his Empire) he removed to the Isle *Sio*, somtimes called *Chio*, and there placed his Patriarchall Sea. So that the Emperors & Cleargy of *Russia*, were wont yearely to send gifts thither,

The Church Officers.

The Patriarch.

and to acknowledge a spirituall kinde of homage, and subiection due to him, and to that Church. Which custome they haue held (as it seemeth) euer since they professed the Christian religion. Which how long it hath bene, I could not well learne, for that they haue no story or monument of Antiquity (that I could heare of) to shew what hath bene done in times past within their Countrey, concerning either Church or Commonwealth matters.

Onely I heard a report amongst them, that about three hundred yeares since, there was a marriage betwixt the Emperour of *Constantinople*, & the kings daughter of that Country: who (at the first) denied to ioyne his daughter in marriage with the Greek Emperour, because he was of the Christian Religion. Which agreeth well with that which I find in the story of *Laonicus Chalcacondylas*, concerning Turkish affaires in his fourth book: where he speaketh of such a marriage, betwixt *John* the Greeke Emperour, and the Kings daughter of *Sarmatia*.

And this argueth (out of their own report) thar at that time, they had not receyued the Christian Religion: As also, that they were conuerted to the faith, and withall peruerted at the very same time, receyuing the doctrine of the Gospel corrupted with superstitions euen at the very first, when they tooke it from the *Greek Church*, which it selfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many superstitions and fowle errors, both in Doctrine & Discipline: as may appeare by the Storie of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, in his eight and ninth bookes.

But, as touching the time of their conuersion to the Christian faith, I suppose rather, that it is mistaken by the *Russe*; for that which I find in the *Polonian* story, the second Booke, the third chapter: where is sayde, that about the yeare 990. *Vlodimirus* Duke of *Russia*, married one *Anne*, sister to *Basilius* and *Constantinus* brothers, and Emperours of *Constantinople*. Whereupon the *Russe* receyued the Fayth and profession of Christ. Which, though it be somewhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the *Russe* report; yet it falleth out al to one reckning, touching this point, viz: in what truth and sincerity of doctrine the *Russe* receyued the first

stamp of religion: forasmuch as the *Greek church* (at that time also) was many waies infected with error and superstition.

In the yeare 1588. came vnto the *Mosko* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, called *Hieronomo*, being banished (as som sayd) by the Turke, as some other reported, by the Greeke Clergy depriued. The Emperour being giuen altogether to superstitious deuotions, gaue him great entertainment: Before his comming vnto *Mosko*, he had bin in *Italy* with the Pope; as was reported there by som of his company. His errand was, to consult with the Emperour, concerning these points.

First, about a league to passe between him and the King of Spaine, as the meekest Prince to ioyne with him in opposition against the Turke. To which purpose also Ambassages had passed betwixt the *Russe* and the *Persian*. Likewise from the *Georgians* to the Emperour of *Russia*, to ioyne league together, for the inuading of the Turke on al sides of his dominion: taking the aduantage of the simple quality of the Turk that then was. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambassador of *Almaigne*, sent at the same time to sollicite an inuasion on the partes of *Polonia*, that lye towards *Russland*, and to borrow money of the *Russe* Emperour, to pursue the warre for his brother *Maximilian* against the *Swedens* son, then King of *Poland*.

But this consultation concerning a league betwixt the *Russe* & the Spaniard (which was then in some forwardnesse, and already one apointed for Ambassage into Spaine) was defeated, by meanes of the ouerthrow giuen to the Spanish king by her Maiesty, the Queen of Englād the last yeare before. Which made the *Russe* Emperour and his Counsell, to giue the sadder countenance to the English Ambassador there at that time: for that they were disappointed of so good a policy, as was this coniunction, supposed to be betwixt them and the Spanish.

His second purpose (whereto the first serued as an introduction) was, in reuēge of the Turke and the Greeke Cleargye, that hadde thrust him from his seate, to treat with him about the reducing of the *Russe church* vnder the Pope of *Rome*. Wherein it may seeme, that comming lately from *Rome*, hee was set vpon by the

The translation of the Patriarchall See from Constantinople or Sio to Mosko

The first intention.

Ambassage betwene the Russe & Persian.

A solemne great marriage.

The Polonian history.

The second intention.

the Pope, who hath attempted the same many times before, though all in vaine : and namely in the time of the late Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich*; by one *Anthony* his Legate. But thought this (belike) a far better meane to obtaine his purpose, by treaty and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not succeeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treaty, concerning the resignation of his Patriarchship, and translation of the Sea from *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, to the City of *Mosko*. Which was so well liked, and entertained by the Emperor (as a matter of high religion and pollicy) that no other treaty (specially of forraign Ambassages) could be heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The reasons wherewith the Patriarch perswaded the translating of his Sea to the City of *Mosko*, were these in effect.

First, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was vnder the Turke, that is enemy to the faith : And therefore to be remoued into some other Country of Christian profession.

Secondly, because the *Ruffe* Church was the onely naturall Daughter of the Greeke at this time, and holdeth the same Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the rest being all subiect to the Turke, and fallen away frō the right profession. Wherein the subtil Greeke (to make the better market of his broken ware) aduanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Country: to haue the Patriarchs seate, translated into the chiefe City, and seate of his Empire. As for the right of translating the Sea, and appointing his successour; hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertained wholly vnto himselfe.

So the Emperour and his Counsell, with the principall of his Cleargy, being assembled at the *Mosko*, it was determined, that the *Metropolit* of *Mosko*, should become Patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and haue the same full authority and iurisdiction, that pertained before to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*. And that it might be done with more order and solemnity, the 25. of Ianuary, 1588. the Greeke Patriarch, accompanied with the *Ruffe* Cleargy, went vnto the great Church of *Precheste*, or our Lady, within the Emperours Castle (having first

wandred through the whole City in manner of a proeession, and blessing the people with his two fingers) where he made an Oration, and deliuered his resignation in an instrument of writing, and so layde downe his Patriarchiall staffe. Which was presently receiued by the Metropolit of *Mosko*, & diuers other ceremonies vsed about the inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The day was holden very solemne by the people of the City, who were commanded to forbear their works, and to attend this solemnity. The great Patriarch that day was honored with rich presents sent him from the Emperor & Emperesse, of Plate, Cloth of Gold, Furs, &c. carried with great pompe through the streetes of *Mosko*, and (at his departing) receiued many gifts more, both from the Emperor, Nobility, and Cleargy. Thus the Patriarchship of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, (which hath continued since the Counsell of *Nice*) is now translated vnto *Mosko*, or they made beleue, that they haue a Patriarch, with the same right and authority that the other had. Wherin the subtle Greeke hath made good aduantage of their superstition, & is now gone away with a rich booty into *Poland*, whither their Patriarchship be currant or not.

The matter is not vnlike to make some Schisme betwixt the Greeke and Ruffe Church, if the Ruffe hold this Patriarchship that he hath so well payed for, & the Greekes elect another withall, as likely they wil, whither this man were banished by the Turke, or depriued by order of his owne Cleargy. Which might happen to giue aduantage to the Pope, & to bring ouer the *Ruffe* Church to the Sea of *Rome* (to which ende peradventure hee deuised this stratagem, and cast in this matter of Schisme among them) but that the Emperours of *Russia* knew well enough, (by the example of other Christian Princes) what inconuenience would grow to their State and Country, by subiecting themselves to the *Romish* Sea. To which ende, the late Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich* was very inquisitiue, of the Popes authority ouer the Princes of Christendome, and sent one of very purpose to *Rome*, to behold the order and behaiour of his Court.

With this Patriarch *Hieronimo* was driuen out (at the same time by the great

The third intention.

Reasons yeelded by the Patriarch.

The Ruffe Church, daughter to the Greeke Church.

Canning in the Patriarch.

The Patriarchship of Constantinople translated to Mosko.

A solemne Holliday in Mosko.

An easie matter to be perswaded.

Demetrio  
Archbishop  
of Larissa ex-  
cluded with  
the Patriarch.

Turke) one *Demetrio*, Archbishop of *Larissa*: who went into *England*, and pretended the same cause of their banishment by the Turke (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the yeare. Which, how unlikely it is, may appear by these circumstances.

First, because there is no such affection, nor friendly respect, betwixt the Pope and the Turke; as that he should banish a subject, for not obeying the Popes ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequell, for the alteration of times within his owne Countries.

Secondly, for that he maketh no such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a iust and precise account from the incarnation of Christ: whom hee doth not acknowledge, otherwise then as I noted before.

Thirdly, for that the saide Patriarch is now at *Naples* in *Italy*, whither (it may be guessed) he would not haue gone within the Popes reach, and so neare to his nose, if he had bene banished, for opposing himselfe against the Popes Decree.

This Office of Patriarchship now translated to *Mosko*, beareth a superior authority ouer all the Churches, not onely of *Russia*, and other the Emperors dominions; but throughout all the Churches of Christendome, that were before vnder the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*: or at least, the *Russe* Patriarch imagineth himselfe to haue the same authority. He hath vnder him (as his proper Diocesse) the Prouince of *Mosko*, besides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the *Mosko*.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one *Metropolit*, that was called the *Metropolit* of *Mosko*. Now for more state to their Church, and new Patriarch; they haue two *Metropolit*s, the one of *Nonogrod velica*, the other of *Rostoue*. Their Office is, to receiue of the Patriarch, such Ecclesiasticall Orders, as he thinks good, & to deliuer the charge of the same ouer to the Archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne Diocesse.

Their Archbishops are foure: of *Smolensko*, *Cazan*, *Vobsko*, and *Vologda*. The parts of their Office is all one with the *Metropolit*s: saue that they haue an vnder iurisdiction, as *Suffraganes* to the *Metro-*

polites, and superiors to the Bishoppes. The next are the *Vladikeis*, or Bishops, that are but fixe in all: of *Crutitska*, of *Rezan*, of *Otfer*, and *Torsbock*, of *Collo-menska*, of *Volodemer*, of *Susdalla*. These haue euery one a very large Diocesse: as diuiding the rest of the whole Country among them.

The matters pertaining to the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, of the *Metropolit*s, Archbishops, and Bishops, are the same (in a manner) that are vsed by the Cleargie in other parts of Christendome. For, besides their authority ouer the Cleargy, and ordering such matters as are meere Ecclesiasticall; their iurisdiction extendeth to all testamentary causes, matters of marriage, and diuorcements, some pleas of iniuries, &c.

To which purpose also they haue their Officials, or Commissaries (which they call *Boiaren Vladitskey*) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts, and execute their iurisdiction. Which, besides their other oppressions ouer the common people, raigne ouer the Priests: as the Dukes and Dicks do ouer the poore people, within their Precincts.

As for the Archbishoppe or Bishop himselfe, he beareth no sway in deciding those causes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he must do it by entreaty with his Gentleman Officiall. The reason is, because these *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemen officials, are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour himselfe; or his Counsell, and are to giue account of their doings to none but to them. If the Bishop can entreat (at his admission) to haue the choise of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a speciall great fauour. But to speake it as it is, the Cleargy of *Russia*, as well concerning their lands and reuenues, as their authority and iurisdiction; are altogether ordered and ouer-ruled by the Emperour, and his Counsell, and haue so much, and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them.

They haue also their assistants or severall Counsels (as they call them) of certaine Priests that are of their Dioces; residing within their Cathedrall cities, to the number of foure & twenty a piece. These aduise with them, about the speciall and necessary

Bishops.

Ecclesiasticall  
Iurisdiction.Their Gen-  
tlemen, Com-  
missaries.Oppression  
also ouer the  
Priests.The Empe-  
ror appoint-  
eth the Gen-  
tlemen Offi-  
cials and not  
the Arch-Bi-  
shop.Assistance of  
seuerall coun-  
sels.Reasons of  
good & great  
likelihood.The Patriarks  
Iurisdiction.The Metro-  
politites.

Archbishops.

necessary matters belonging vnto their charge.

Concerning their rents and reuenues to maintaine their dignities, it is somewhat large. The Patriarches yearely rents out of his lands (besides other fees) is about three thousand Rubbels or Markes. The Metropolitans and Archbishops, about two thousand and five hundred. The Bishops some a thousand, some eight hundred, some five hundred, &c. They haue had some of them (as I haue heard say) ten or twelue thousand rubbles a year; as had the Metropolitane of *Nonograde*.

Their habite or apparrell (when they shew themselues in their Pontificalibus, after their solemnest manner) is a Miter on their heads, after the Popish fashion, with Pearle and precious stone, a Cope on their backs, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroidered with Pearle, and a Crosiers staffe in their hands, layed ouer all with plate of siluer double gilt, with a Crosse or Shepherds crook at the vpper end of it.

Their ordinary habit otherwise, when they ride or go abroad, is a hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backs, and standeth out like a Bongrace before. Their vpper garment (which they call *Reis*) is a gowne or Mantle of blacke Damaske, with many lists or gardes of white Sattin laid vpon it, every gard about two fingers broad, and their Crosiers staffe carried before them. The selues followe after, blessing the people with their two forefingers, with a maruelous grace.

The election, and appointing of the Bishops and the rest, pertaineth wholly to the Emperour himselfe. They are chosen euer out of the Monasteries: so that there is no Bishop, Archbshoppe, nor Metropolitane, but hath bene a Monke, or Fryer before. And (by that reason) they are, and must all bee vnmarried men, for their vow of Chastity, when they wer first thorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is inuested in the Cathedrall Church of his Diocesse, with many ceremonies; much after the manner of the Popish inauguration. They haue also their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.

As for preaching the word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are vn-

der them; they neither vse it, nor haue any skill of it: the whole Cleargie beeing vtterly vnlearned, both for other knowledge, and in the worde of God. Onely their manner is twice euery yeare, viz: the first of September (which is the first day of their yeare) and on *S. Iohn Baptists* day to make an ordinary speech to the people, euery Metropolitane, Archbshop and Bishop in his Cathedrall Church, to this or the like effect.

*That if any be in malice toward his neighbour, he shall leaue off his malice: if any haue thought of treason or rebellion against his Prince, he beware of such practise: If he haue not kept his fasts and Vowes, nor doone his other duties to the holy church, he shall amend that fault, &c.*

And this is a matter of forme with the vttered in as many words, and no more (in a manner) then I haue here set down. Yet the matter is done with that grace & solemnity, in a pulpit of purpose set vpe for this one Act; as if he wer to discourse at large of the whole substance of diuinity. At the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe is euer present at this solemne exhortation.

As themselues are voyde of all manner of learning; so they are wariet to keepe out all means that might bring any in: as fearing to haue their ignorance and vngodlinesse discovered. To that purpose they haue perswaded the Emperours; that it would breed innouation, and so daunger to their State, to haue any nouelty of learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and vnderstanding, holpen by Learning and liberall education, can hardly endure a tyrannicall government.

Some yeares past, in the other Emperours time) there came a Presse & Letters out of *Polonia*, to the City of *Mosko*, where a Printing-house was set vp, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himselfe. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, & the Presse and Letters quite burnt vp, and (as it was thought) by the procurement of the Clergy-men.

Their Priests, whome they call *Papae*) are made by the Bishoppes, without any great triall for worthinesse of gifts, before they admit them, or ceremonies in their admission: saue that their heads are shorn

The first day of the yeare.

The Priestes fearful to haue their ignorance discovered.

Learning can hardly liue vnder tyranny.

A Printing house erected in Mosko.

Priestess not made for merit or worthinesse, and the manner how.

The Church reuenues.

The habite of their Clergie men.

Their ordinary habit.

Their vpper Garment.

The election of bishops

The learning and exercise of the Ruffe Clergy.

(not

(not shauen, for that they like not) about an hand bredth or more in the Crowne, and that place annointed with Oyle by the Byshop: who in his admision putteth vpon the Priest, first his Surplesse; and then setteth a white crosse on his brest of silke, or some other matter, which hee is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and so giueth him authority to say and sing in the Church, and to administer the Sacraments.

They are men vtterly vnlearned, which is no maruell; forasmuch as their makers, the Byshoppes themselues (as before was sayde) are cleere of that quality, & make no farther vse at all of any kinde of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themselues, saue to reade and to sing them. Their ordinary charge end function, is to say the Liturgie, to administer the Sacraments after their manner, to keep & decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies vsuall in their Churches. Their number is great, because theyr Townes are parted into many small Parishes, without any discretion, for deuiding them into competent numbers of households, and people for a iust Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increasing of knowledge, and instruction towards God. Which cannot well be had, where by meanes of an vnequall partition of the people, and parishes, there followeth a want and vnequality of stipend, for a sufficient Ministry.

For their Priests, it is lawfull to marry for the first time. But if the first Wife dye, a second he cannot take, but he must lose his Priesthood, and his liuing withal. The reason, they make out of that place of Saint Paul to Timothy, 1.3.2. not well vnderstood, thinking that to bee spoken of diuers wiues successively, that the Apostle speaketh of at one and the same time. If he will needes marry againe after his first Wife is dead, hee is no longer called *Papa*, but *Rospapa*, or Priest *Quondam*. This maketh the Priests to make much of their Wiues, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of best reputation, among the Women of the Parish.

For the stipend of the Priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of corne, or ought else: but hee must stand at the

deuotion of the people of his owne Parish, and make vp the Incomes towards his maintenance, so well as he can, by offerings, shrifts, marriages, burials, dirges, and prayers for the dead and the liuing (which they call *Molitua*.) For, besides their publike seruice within their Churches, their manner is, for euery priuate man to haue a prayer saide for him by the Priest, vpon any occasion of businesse whatsoeuer, whether he ride, goe, sayle, plough, or whatsoeuer else hee doeth. Which is not framed according to the occasion of his businesse, but at random, being some of their ordinary and vsuall Church prayers. And this is thought to be more holy and effectuell, if it be repeated by the Priests mouth, rather then by his owne.

They haue a custome besides to solemnize the Saints day, that is Patron to their Church once euery yeare. What time all their neighbours of their Country, & parishes about, come in to haue prayers saide to that Saint, for themselves, and their friends: and so make an Offering to the Priest for his paines.

This Offering may yeeld them some ten pounds a yeare, more or lesse, as the Patron or Saint of that Church is of credite and estimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keepe anniuersary for the Priest) to hyre diuers of his neighbour-Priestes to helpe him: as hauing more Dishes to dresse for the Saint, then hee can well turne his hand vnto.

They vse besides to visite their parishioners houses, with holy Water, and Perfume, commonly once a quarter: and so hauing sprinkled and besensed the goodman and his Wife, with the rest of their household and household-stuffe, they receyue some deuotion (more or lesse) as the man is of ability. This and the rest laid together, may make vp for the Priest towards his maintenance, about thirtie or fourty Rubbels a yeere: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Byshoppe of the Diocesse.

The *Papa* or Priest is knowne by his long tufts of hayre, hanging down by his eares, his gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking staffe in his hand. For the rest of his habite, he is apparelled like to the common sort. When he saith the Liturgie

Their vsuall charge and function.

Partition of their townes into parishes.

The Ruffe priests can marry but once.

The Quondam Priests.

Stipends allotted to the Priests.

Prayers for euery priuate man.

Solemnizing the Saints day of the Churches.

The manner of keeping the Priestes Anniuersarie.

The Priestes maintenance.

The Priestes attire, & how he is knowne

gie or seruice, within the Church, he hath on him his Surplesse, and sometimes his Cope, if the day be more solemne. They haue besides their *Papae* or priests, theyr *Churnapapae* (as they call them) that is, *Blacke Priests*; that may keepe their benefices, though they bee admitted Friars withall within some Monasterie. They seeme to be the very same, that were called Regular Priests in the Popish church. Vnder the Priest, is a Deacon in euerie Church, that doth nothing but the office of a Parish Clarke. As for their *Protopapae*, or Arch-priests, and their Archdeacons (that are next in election to bee their *Protopapae*) they serue onely in the Cathedrall Churches.

Of Fryars they haue an infinite rabble, farre greater then in any other Country, where Popery is professed. Euerie Citie, and good part of the Country, swarmeth full of them. For they haue wrought (as the Popish Fryars did by their superstition and hypocrisie) that if any part of the Realme be better and sweeter then other; there standeth a Friery or a Monasterie, dedicated to some Saint.

The number of them is so much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the superstition of the country; but because the Fryars life is the safest from the oppressions and exactions which fall vpon the Commons. Which causeth many to put on the Friars weede, as the best Armour to beare off such blowes. Besides such as are voluntary, there are diuers that are forced to sheare theselues Fryers, vpon some displeasure. These are for the most part of the cheefe Nobility.

Diuers take the Monasteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Fryers, to auoid some punishment, that they had deserued by the lawes of the realme. For if he get a Monastery ouer his heade, and there put on a Coule before hee be attached, it is a protection to him for euer against any Law, for what crime soeuer: except it be for treason. But this *Prouiso* goeth withall, that no man commeth there (except such as are commanded by the Emperour to be receyued) but he giueth them Lands, or bringeth his stocke with him, and putteth it into the cōmon Treasury. Some bring a thousand Rubbels, and some more. None is admitted

vnder three or foure hundred.

The manner of their admission is after this sort. First, the Abbot strippeth him of all his secular or ordinary Apparrell. Then he putteth vpon him next vnto his skinne, a white Flannell shirt, with a long garment ouer it downe vnto the ground, girded to him with a broad leather belt. His vppermost Garment is a Weede of *Garras* or *Say*, for colour and fashion, much like to the vpper weed of a Chimney-sweeper. Then is crowne shorne a hand bredth, or more, close to the verie skin, and these or the like words are pronounced by the Abbot, while he clippeth his haire.

*As these haire are clipped off, and taken from thy head: so now wee take thee, and separate thee cleane from the world and worldly things, &c.*

This done, he annointeth his crowne with oyle, and putteth on his Coule: and so taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetuall chastity, and abstinence from flesh.

Besides their Landes (that are verie great) they are the greatest Marchants in the whole Countrey, and deale for all manner of commodities. Some of their Monasteries dispend in Lands one thousand, or two thousand Rubbels a yeare. There is one Abbey called *Troits*, that hath in lands and fees, the summe of an hundred thousand Rubbels, or markes a yeare.

It is built in manner of a Castle, walled round about with great Ordenance planted on the Wall, and containeth within it a large bredth of ground, and great variety of building. There are of Fryers within it (besides their Officers and other seruants) about seuen hundred. The Empreffe that then was, had many Vowes to Saint *Sergius*, that is patrone there: to intreat him to make her fruitfull, as hauing no children by the Emperour her Husband. Lightly (every yeare) she went on Pilgrimage to him from the *Mosko*, on foote, about fourescore ordinary miles, with fise or sixe thousand women attending vpon her, all in blew Liueries, and foure thousand souldiers for her Guard. But *S. Sergius* hath not yet heard her prayers, though (they say) hee hath a speciall gift and faculty that way.

What Learning there is among theyr Fri-

Their maner of shearing Fryars.

The Abbots wordes at a Friars admission.

Fryers the greatest Marchants in the Country.

A warlike Abbey.

The Saint to make women fruitfull in Children.

The Empreffes going on pilgrimage.

Black Priests for keeping of Benefices.

A Deacon or parish Clark, Protopapae.

Friars an infinite company in the Country, and as many superstitions.

Fryars liue safest from oppression & taxation imposed on the Commons.

The Monasterie is as a sanctuary for offences committed.

The Fryars learning answerable to their Byshops

Questions & answers betweene the Authour & a Russe priest.

Nunneries of Noblemens Widdowes & daughters, and none also to be admitted there.

Eremites called holy men, like to Gymnosophists.

Fryars, may be known by their Byshops, that are the choise men out of all theyr Monasteries. I talked with one of them at the City of *Vologda*, where (to trie his skill) I offered him a *Russe* Testament, and turned him to the first chap. of *S. Mathews* Gospell. Where he began to read in very good order.

I asked him first, What part of Scripture it was that he had read? Hee answered, that he could not well tell. How many Euangelists there were in the Newe Testament? He saide he knew not. How many Apostles there were? Hee thought there were twelue. How he should be saued? Whereunto he answered me (with a peece of *Russe* Doctrine) that hee knew not whether hee should be saued, or no: But if God wold *Poshallouate* him, or gratifie him so much, as to saue him, so it was; he would be glad of it: if not, what remedy? I asked him. Why he shored himselfe a Fryer? Hee answered, because hee would eate his breade in quietnesse and peace.

This is the learning of the Fryars of *Russia*, which though it be not to be measured by one, yet partly it may be gessed (by the ignorance of this man) what is in the rest.

They haue also very many Nunneries, whereof some may admit none but Noblemens Widdowes and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them vnmarried, from continuing the blood or stocke, which hee would haue extinguished. To speak of the life of their Fryers and Nunnes, it needs not, to those that know the hypocrisie and vncleanesse of that Cloyster-broode. The *Russe* himselfe (though otherwise addicted to all superstition) speaketh so fowly of it, that it must needs gain silence of any modest man.

Besides these, they haue certaine Eremites (whome they call Holy men) that are like to those *Gymnosophists* for their life and behaiour: though farre vnlike for their knowledge and Learning. They vse to goe starke naked, saue a clowte about their middle, with their hayre hanging long and wildely about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron collar, or chaine about their neckes or middle, euen in the very extremity of Winter.

These they take as Prophets, and men of great holinesse, giuing them a libertie to speake what they list, without any controlment, though it be of the very highest himselfe. So that if he reprove any openly, in what sort soeuer; they answer nothing, but that it is *Pogracum*, that is, for their sinnes. And if any of them take some peece of sale ware from any mans shop, as he passeth by, to giue where he list; hee thinketh himselfe much beloued of God, and much beholding to the holy man, for taking it in that sort.

Of this kinde there are not many, because it is a very hard and cold profession, to goe naked in *Russia*, especially in winter. Among other at this time, they haue one at *Mosko*, that walketh naked about the Streetes, and inueyeth commonly, against the State and Government, especially against the *Godonoes*, that are thought at this time, to bee great Oppressours of that Common-wealth.

Another there was, that died not many yeares agoe (whom they called *Basileo*) that would take vpon him to reprove the olde Emperour for all his cruelty, and oppressions done towards his people. His body they haue translated (of late) into a sumptuous Church, neere the Emperours house in *Mosko*, & haue Canonized him for a Saint. Many miracles he doth there (for so the Fryers make the people to beleue) and many Offerings are made vnto him, not onely by the people, but by the cheefe Nobility, and the Emperour & Empresse themselues, which visite that Church with great deuotion.

But at my beeing at *Mosko*, this Saint had ill lucke in working his miracles. For a lame man, that had his limbes restored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (being then false out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when he came home at night. And that he had intended this matter six yeares before.

Now he is put into a Monasterie, and there raileth vpon the Fryers, that hyred him to haue this counterfeyte myracle practised vpon him. Besides this disgrace, a little before my comming from thence, there were eight slaine within his Church, by fire in a Thunder. Which caused his bells (that wer tingling before all

Prophets and men of great sanctity.

An Eremite now liuing in *Russia*.

*Basileo* the Eremite

Offerings to a dead supposed Saint.

A mery miracle monger.

all day and night long, as in triumphe of the myracles wrought by *Basileo* their S.) to ring somewhat softly; and hath wrought no little discredit vnto this Miracle worker.

There was another of great account at *Plesko* (called *Nichola* of *Plesko*) that did much good, when this Emperors Father came to sacke the Towne, vpon suspicion of their reuolting and rebellion against him. The Emperour, after he had saluted the Eremite, at his lodging, sent him a reward. And the Holy man, to requite the Emperour, sent him a peece of raw flesh, being then their Lent. Which the Emperour seeing, bid one to tel him, that hee maruelled, that the Holye man would offer him flesh to eat in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holie Church. And doth *Euasko* (which is as much to say as *Iacke*) thinke (quoth *Nicola*) that it is vnlawfull to eat a peece of beasts flesh in Lent, & not to eate vp so much mans flesh, as he hath done already?

So, threatening the Emperour, with a prophesie of some harde aduenture to come vpon him, except hee left murdering of his people, and departing from the Towne, he saued a great many mens liues at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, because they are as *Pasquils* to note their great mens faultes, that no man else dare speake of. Yet it falleth out somtime, that for this rude liberty which they take vpon them (after a counterfeite manner) by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in secret: as was one or two of them, in the last Emperours time, for being ouer-bolde in speaking against his gouernment.

Their morning seruice they call *Zaurana*, that is, *Martins*. It is done in this order.

The Priest entereth into the Church, with his Deacon following him. And, when hee is come vnto the middle of the Church, he beginneth to say with a lowd voyce: *Blaslawey Vladika*, that is, *Blesse vs heavenly Pastor*, meaning of Christ. Then he addeth, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, one very God in Trinity: and Asbody Pomeluy, Or, Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercie vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs,* repeated three times.

This done, he marcheth on toward the Chancell or *Sanctum Sanctorum* (as they vse to cal it) and so entreth into the *Scharfuey Dwere*, or the heavenly doore: which no man may enter into, but the Priest onely. Where standing at the Altare or Table (set nere to the vpper wall of the Chancell) hee sayeth the Lordes prayer, and then againe *Asbody Pomeluy, or Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs, &c.* pronounced twelue times. Then prayd be the Trinity, *the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, for euer and euer.* Where to the Deacons and people say, Amen. Next after, the Priest addeth the Psalmes for that day, and beginneth with, *O come let vs worship and fall down before the Lord &c.* and therewithall himselfe, with the Deacons, and people, all turn themselues towards their Idols or Images that hang on the Wall, and (crossing themselues) bow downe three times, knocking their heads to the very ground. After this, hee readeth the ten Commaundements, and *Athanasius* Creede, out of the Seruice booke.

This being done, the Deacon that standeth without the heavenly dore or Chancell, readeth a peece of a Legend, out of a Written Booke (for they haue it not in Print) of some Saints life, Miracles, &c. This is diuided into many parts, for euery day in the yeare, and is read by them with a plaine singing Note, not vnlike to the Popish Tune, when they sung their Gospels.

After all this (which reacheth vnto an houre, and an halfe, or two howers of length) he addeth certaine set Colletes, or prayers vpon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and so endeth his Seruice. All this while stande burning before their Idols, a great many of Wax Candles (whereof some are of the biggenesse of a mans waste) vowed, or enjoyned by penance, vpon the people of the Parish.

About nine of the clocke in the Morning, they haue another Seruice, called *Obeiama* (or *Compline*) much after the order of the Popish Seruice, that bare that name. If it be some high or Festiuall day, they furnish their Seruice besides, With *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, &c.* and, *We praise thee, O God, &c.* sung with a more solemne and curious note.

The heavenly dore, for none to enter but the priest.

Worship to their Idols and Images.

Nichola the Eremite of great estimation.

Presents betwene the Emperour and an Eremite.

Lawful reprobure or sindefaults.

Of their Liturgy or form of Church seruice, and their manner of administering the Sacraments.

Nine a clocke seruice in the morning.

Their

Their euen-  
ing Seruice.

Their Euening Seruice, called *Vechna*, where the Priest beginneth with *Blaisaney Vladika*, as hee did in the morning, and with the Psalmes appoynted for the *Vechna*. Which being read, he singeth, *My soule doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* And then the Priest, Deacons, and People, all with one voyce sing, *Aspody pomelui*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, thirty times together. Whereunto the boyes that are in the Church, answer all with one voice, rowling it vp so fast, as their lips can goe; *Verij, Verij, Verij, Verij*, or *Praise, Praise, Praise, &c.* thirty times together, with a very strange noyse. Then is read by the Priest, and vpon the Holy-dayes sung the first Psalme, *Blessed is the man, &c.* And in the end of it, is added, *Alleluia*, repeated ten times.

The next in order, is some part of the Gospel read by the Priest, which he ends with *Alleluia*, repeated three times. And so hauing said a Collect, in remembrance of the Saint of that day, he ends his euening Seruice.

All this while, the Priest stands aboue at the Altare, or high Table, within the Chancel, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, whence hee neuer mooueth all the Seruice time. The Deacon or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) stand without the Chauncell by the *Scharfsuey Dwere*, or heauenly dore: for within they may not be seene all the Seruice time, though otherwise their office is to sweep, and keepe it, and to set vp the waxe candles before their Idoles. The people do stand together (the whole Seruice time) in the Church, and some in the Church porch: for Piew or Seate they haue none within their Churches.

The Sacrament of Baptisme they administer after this manner: The childe is brought to the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne:) If it be the childe of some Noble man, it is brought in a rich Sled or Waggon, with chaires and cushions of cloath of Golde, and such like sumptuous shew of their best furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Priest standeth readie to receiue the childe within the Church-porch, with his tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare vnto them, that they haue brought a little Infidell to be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he

teacheth the witnesses, that are two or three, in a certayne set forme out of his Booke (what their duty is,) in bringing vp the childe after he is baptized, viz. That hee must bee taught to know God, and Christ our Sauour. And because God is of great Maiestie, and we must not presume to come vnto him, without Mediatours (as the manner is when we make any suite to an Emperour, or great Prince) therefore they must teach him what Saints are the best, and chiefe mediatours, &c. This done, he commaundeth the diuell in the name of God (after a coniuring manner) to come out of the water: and so after certaine praiers, he plungeth the child ouer head and eares. For this they holde to be a poynt very necessary, that no part of the child be left vndipped into the water.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptisme, vttered by the Priest, when he dipperth in the childe, are the very same that are prescribed in the Gospel, and vsed by vs, that is, *In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Ghost*. For that they should alter the forme of the words, and say, *by the holy Ghost*, as I haue heard they did, following certaine heretikes of the Greeke Church, I found to be vntrue, as well by the report of them that haue bene often at their Baptismes, as by their Booke of Leiturgie it selfe, wherein the order of Baptisme is precisely set downe.

When the childe is baptized, the Priest layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together vpon the fore-head, and both the sides of his face, and then vpon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger ouer the child's lippes (as did the Popish Priests) saying withall, certaine prayers, to this effect: That God will make him a good Christian, &c. All this is doone in the Church porch.

Then is the childe (as being now made a Christian, & meet to be receiued within the Church doore) carried into the Church, the Priest going before, and is there presented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a cushion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the mediatour) to be commended vnto God. If the childe be sicke, or weake (specially in the Winter) they vse to make the water luke warme. After Baptisme, the maner

Instructions  
giuen by the  
priest to the  
witnesses.

The Priests  
words at the  
dipping the  
childe in the  
water.

Other cere-  
monies after  
Baptisme.

The Deacons  
office or ser-  
uice.

The manner  
of the Russe  
Baptisme.

is to cut off the haire from the childs head and hauing wrapped it within a peece of wax, to lay it vp, as a relike or monument in a secret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptisme, which they account to be the best & perfectest forme. As they do all other parts of their religion, receiued (as they say) by tradition from the best church, meaning the Greeke. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Profeliter or Conuert, either of an Infidell, or of a forraign Christian, by rebaptizing him after the Russe manner.

When they take any Tartar prisoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptized. And yet they perswade very fewe of them to redeeme their life so: because of the natural hatred the Tartar beareth to the Russe, and the opinion he hath of his falshoode and iniustice. The yeare after *Mosko* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Diwoymorsej*, one of the chief in that exploit, with 300. Tartars more: who had al their liues offered them, if they would be baptized after the Russe maner. Which they all refused to do, with many reproches against those that perswaded them. And so being carried to the riuer *Mosko*, (that runneth thorough the Citty) they were all baptized after a violent manner: being thrust downe with a knocke on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpose.

Of *Lieslanders* that are Captiues, there are many that take on them this second Russe baptisme, to get more libertie, and some-what besides towards their liuing, which the Emperour ordinarily vseth to giue them. Of Englishmen (since they frequented the country) there was neuer any found, that so much forgot God, his faith, and countrey, as that he would bee content to be baptized Russe, for any respect of feare, preferment, or other means whatsoeuer: saue onely *Richard Relph*, that following before an vngodly Trade, by keeping a *Caback* (against the order of the countrey) and being putte off from that Trade, and spoiled by the Emperors Officers of that which he hadde, entered himselfe into the Russe profession, and so was rebaptized, liuing now as much an Idolater, as before he was a rioter and vnchristy person.

Such as thus receiue the Russe baptisme, are first caried into some Monastery, to be instructed there in the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they vse these ceremonies:

First, they put him into a new & fresh suite of apparrell, made of the Russe fashion, and set a Coronet, or (in Sommer) a garland vpon his head.

Then they annoint his head with oile, & put a wax candle light into his hand: & so pray ouer him foure times a day, the space of vii. daies. All this while hee is to abstaine from flesh and white meats.

The seuen dayes being ended, he is purified and washed in a Bath-stoue, and so the eight day he is broght to the church, where he is taught (by the Friers) how to behaue himself in presence of their idols; by ducking down, knocking of the head, crossing himselfe, and such like gestures, which are the greatest part of the Russe religion.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, they receiue but once a year, in their gret Lent time, a little before Easter. Three at the most are admitted at one time, and neuer aboue. The manner of their communicating is thus. First, they do confesse themselves of all their sins, to the Priest (whome they call their ghostly Father.) Then they come to the Church, and are called vp to the Communion table, that standeth like an Altar, a little remooued from the vpper end of the Church, after the Dutch manner.

Heere first they are asked of the Priest, whither they be clean, or no? that is, whither they haue neuer a sinne behinde that they left vnconfessed. If they answer, *No*, they are taken to the table. Where the Priest begimeth with certain vsuall prayers, the Communicants standing in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like penitentiaries, or mourners. When these praier are ended, the Priest taketh a spoone, and filletti it full of Claret Wine. Then he putteth into it a small peece of bread, and tempereth them both together, and so deliuereth them in the Spoone to the Communicants, that stand in order, speaking the vsuall words of the Sacrament, *Eate this, &c. Drink this, &c.* both at one time without any pause.

After that, hee deliuereth them againe

F fff

bread

Of such as receiue the Russe baptisme, what ceremonies are vsed to them.

The administering of the Lords Supper

Profelites or Conuerts from infidelity.

300. Tartars that would not be baptized.

Rebaptizing of Lieslanders.

An Englishman rebaptized after the Russe manner

bread by it selfe, and then wine carded together with a little warme water, to represent blood more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the side of Christ. Whiles this is in doing, the Communicants vnfolde their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Priest thrice round about the Communion Table, and so returne to their places againe. Where hauing saide certaine other prayers, hee dismisseth the Communicants, with charge to be merry, and to cheere vp themselues for the seuen dayes next following. Which being ended, he enioyneth them to fast for it as long time after. Which they vse to obserue with very great deuotion, eating nothing else but bread and salt, except a little cabbage, and some other hearb or roote, with water or quasse mead for their drinke.

This is their manner of administring the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the institution of Christ, and what ceremonies they haue added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the Greekes, may easily be noted.

Their cheefest errors in matter of faith, I finde to be these.

First, concerning the word of God it selfe, they will not reade publikely certain Bookes of the Canonick Scripture, as the Bookes of *Moses*; specially the foure last, *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Numeri*, and *Deuteronomie*, which they say are all made disauthenticque, and put out of vse by the comming of Christ; as not able to discern the difference betwixt the Morall, and the Ceremoniall law.

The Bookes of the Prophets they allow of, but reade them not publikely in their Churches, for the same reason; because they wer but directers vnto Christ, and proper (as they say) to the Nation of the Iewes. Onely the booke of *Psalmes* they haue in great estimation, and sing & say them daily in their Churches.

Of the new Testament they allow, and reade all except the Reuelation: which therefore they read not (though they allow it) because they vnderstand it not, neither haue the like occasion, to know the fulfilling of the prophesies contained within it, concerning especially the Apostasie of the Antichristian Church, as haue the Westerne Churches. Notwith-

standing they haue had their Antichristes of the Greek Church, and may find their own falling off, and the punishments for it (by the Turkish inuasion) in the prophesies of that Booke.

Secondly (which is the fountain of the rest of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they holde with the Papiests, that their Church Traditions are of equall authority with the written word of God. Wherein they prefer them selues before other Churches: affirming, that they haue the true and right traditions, deliuerd by the Apostles to the *Greek Church*, and so vnto them.

3. That the Church (meaning the Greeke, and specially the Patriarch & his Synod, as the head of the rest) haue a soueraigne authority to interpret the scriptures, and that all are bound, to hold that interpretation as sound and authentique.

4. Concerning the diuine Nature, and the three persons, in the one substance of God, that the Holye ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

5. About the office of Christ, they hold many fowle errors, and the same (almost) as doth the Popish Church; namely, that he is their sole Mediator of redemption, but not of intercession.

Their cheefe reason (if they be talked withall) for defence of this error, is, that vnapt and foolish comparison, betweene God and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that must be sued vnto by Mediators about him: wherein they giue special preferment to some aboue others, as to the blessed Virgin, whom they cal *Preche-ste*, or vndefiled: & *S. Nicolas*, whom they cal *Scora pomosnick*, or the *Speedy helper*, & say, that he hath 300. Angels of the cheefest, appointed by God to attend on him. This hath brought them to an horrible excessse of idolatry, after the grossest and prophanest manner; giuing vnto their Images, all Religious worship of Prayer, Thanksgiuing, Offerings, and Adoration, with prostrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himselve. Which beecause they doo to the picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they say they worship not an Idoll, but the Saint in his image, & so offend not God. Forgetting the commadement of God, that forbiddeth to make the image

2. Traditions equall to the holy scripture

3. The church to haue soueraigne authority in interpreting the Scriptures.

4. The holy Ghost to proceed from the Father onely.

5. Christ not sole mediator of intercessio.

An idle comparison, of God, vnto a Prince of the world.

S. Nicolas the speedy helper

A vaine excusing palpable Idolatry.

Bread and salt the Rufsian fast.

Of the Doctrine of the Russe church, and what errors it holdes.

How they allow of the new Testament.

Apostasie of the Antichristian Church.

image or likenesse of any thing, for any religious worshippe or vse whatsoeuer. Their Church walles are very ful of them; richly hanged and set forth with Pearle & stone vppon the smooth Table. Though some also they haue embossed, that sticke from the boord almost an inch outwards. They call them *Chudowodites*, or their miracle workers: and when they prouide the to set vp in their churches, in no case they may say that they haue bought the image but exchanged mony for it.

Miracle workers.

6. For the meanes of Iustification, they agree with the Papistes, that it is not by faith onely, apprehending Christ; but by their workes also. And that *Opus operatum* or the worke for the worke sake, must needs please God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of Prayers, Fastes, Vowes, and offerings to Saints, Almesdeeds, Crossings, and such like, and carrie their numbering beads about with them continually; aswell the Emperor and his Nobility, as the common people; not onely in the Church; but in all other publicke places, specially at any set or solemne meeting, as in their Fastes, Law Courtes, common consultations, entertainment of Ambassadors, and such like.

6. Iustification by workes.

7. They say (with the Papists) that no man can be assured of his saluation, til the last sentence be passed at the day of iudgment.

7. Saluation vncertaine.

8. They vse Auricular confession, and thinke that they are purged (by the verie action) from so many sins as they confesse by name, and in particular to the Priest.

8. Auricular confession.

9. They do hold three Sacraments, of *Baptisme*, the *Lords Supper*, and the *last anoynting* or *unction*. Yet concerning their Sacrament of extreame Vnction, they hold it not so necessary to saluation, as they doe Baptisme; but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God, if any dye without it.

9. Three Sacraments.

10. They thinke there is a necessitie of Baptisme, and that al are condemned that dye without it.

10. Al damned that dye without baptisme.

11. They rebaptize as many Christians (not being of the Greeke church) as they conuert to their Russe profession: because they are diuided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they say.

11. Anabaptisme.

12. They make a difference of meates and drinkes, accounting the vse of one, to be more holy then of another. And there-

12. Difference of meates.

fore in their set fasts; they forbear to eat flesh, and white meates (as we call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition: which they obserue so strictly; and with such blind deuotion, as that they will rather die, then eat one bit of flesh, egges or such like, for the health of their bodies in their extreme sicknesse.

13. They hold mariage to be vnlawful for all the Clergy men, except the Priests only, and for them also after the first wife (as was said before.) Neither do they well allowe of it in Lay-men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now vsed against the Emperours onely brother, a child of six yeares old: Who therefore is not prayed for in their Churches, as their maner is otherwise for the Princes blood because he was borne of the sixth mariage, and so not legitimate. This charge was giuen to the Priests by the Emperor himself, by procurement of the *Godones*: who make him belecue, that it is a good pollicy, to turne away the liking of the people from the next successor.

13. Marriage for some persons vnlawful

Many other false opinions they haue in matter of Religion. But these are the chiefe, which they hold partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue receiued from the Greeke Church) but specially by ignorance of the holy Scriptures. Which notwithstanding they haue in the Polonian toong (that is al one with theirs, some few words only excepted) yet few of them read them with that godly care which they ought to doe: neyther haue they (if they would) bookes sufficient of the Olde and New Testament for the common people, but of their Leiturgie onely, or Booke of common Seruice, whereof there are very great numbers.

An ill perswasion in priests.

All this mischeefe commeth from the Clergie, who being ignoraunt and godlesse themselves, are exceedingly warie, to keepe the people (likewise) in their ignorance and blindenesse, for theyr liuing and bellies sake: partly also from their manner of Governement settled among them: which the Emperours (whom it specially behooueth) liste not to haue changed by any innouation, but to retaine that Religion that best agreeth with it. Which notwithstanding it is not to be doubted, but that hauing the word of God in some sort (though with-

The Polonian tongue differ very little.

The Clergie cause of al ignorance.

Ffff2 out

out the ordinary meanes, to attaine to a true sense and vnderstanding of it) God hath also his number among them. As may partly appeare, by that which a *Russe* at *Mosko* said to a follower of an Ambassador, speaking against their Images and other superstitions: That God had giuen vnto his Country light to day, and might giue it to morrow (if he pleased) to them.

As for any inquisition or proceeding against me for matter of religion, I could heare of none: saue (a few yeares since) against one man and his wife, who were kept in close prison, the space of 28. yeares, till they were ouer-growne into a deformed fashion, for their hayre, nailes, colour of countenance, and such like; and in the ende were burned at *Mosko*, in a small house set on fire. The cause was kept secret, but like it was for some part of truth, in matter of religion: though the people were made to beleue by the Priests and Fryars, that they held some great & damnable heresie.

The manner of making and solemnizing their Mariages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though he neuer saw the woman before) is not permitted to haue any sight of her all the time of his wooing: which hee doth not by himselfe, but by his Mother, or some other ancient woman of his kin or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (aswell by the Parents, as by the parties themselues, for, without the knowledge and consent of the parents, the contract is not lawfull) the fathers on both sides, or such as are to them in stead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, haue a meeting and conference about the dowry, which is commonly very large, after the ability of the Parents: so that you shal haue a Market-man (as they call them) giue a thousand Rubbels, or more with his daughter.

As for the man, it is neuer required of him, nor standeth with their custome, to make any ioynter in recompence of the dowry. But in case he haue a childe by his Wife, she enioyeth a third deale after his decess. If he haue two children by her, or more, shee is to haue a courtesie more, at the discretion of the husband. If the husband depart without issue by his wife, shee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, saue onely her

dowry: if the husband leaue so much behinde him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the Dowry, they signe bonds one to the other, aswell for the payment of the dowry, as the performing of the marriage by a certain day. If the woman were neuer married before, her father and friends are bound (besides) to assure her a maiden. Which breedeth many brabbels and quarrels at law, if the man take any conceit, concerning the behaviour and honesty of his wife.

Thus the contract beeing made, the parties begin to send Tokens the one to the other; the woman first, then afterward the man, but yet see not one another till the marriage be solemnized. On the eue before the marriage day, the bride is carried in a *Collimago*, or Coach, or in a sled (if it be Winter) to the bridegroomes house, with her marriage apparrell and bedstead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is euer provided by the bride, and is commonly very faire, with much cost bestowed vpon it. Heere shee is accompanied all that night by her mother, and other women: but not welcommed, nor once seene by the bridegroome himselfe.

When the time is come to haue the Marriage solemnized, the Bride hath put vpon her a kinde of hooide, made of fine knitworke or Lawne, that couereth her head; and all her bodie down to the middle. And so accompanied with hir friends and the bride-groome with his, they goe to Church all on horsebacke, though the Church bee neere hand, and themselues but of very meane degree.

The wordes of contract, and other ceremonies in solemnizing the marriage, are much after the order, and with the same words that are vsed with vs: with a ring also giuen to the Bride. Which being put on, & the words of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is deliuered into the hand of the Bridegroome, which standeth all this while on the one side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot beeing knit by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (standing at the end of the Altar or Table) and falleth downe at his feete, knocking her head vpon his shooe, in token of her subiection & obedience. And the Bridegroome againe casteth the

Agreement concerning the Dowry.

No sight till the marriage be solemnized.

Ceremonies in marriages.

The Brides token of obedience to her husband.

A man and his wife kept in prison 28. yeares, and after burned.

The manner of solemnizing their Mariages.

After liking taken on both sides.

The manner of endowment for Wives.

lappe of his Gowne or vpper garment, ouer the Bride, in token of his duty to protect and cherish her.

Then the Bridegroom and Bride, standing both together at the Tables end, cometh first the father, and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themselues downe low to the Bride-groome: and so likewise his friends bow themselues to the Bride, in token of affinity and loue, euer after, betwixt the two Kindreds. And withall, the father of the Bridegroom, offereth to the priest a loafe of bread, who deliuereth it straight againe to the father, and other friends of the Bride, with attestation before God and their Idols, that he deliuer the Dowry wholly and truly at the day appointed, and hold loue euer after, one Kindred with another. Wherupon they breake the loafe into peeces, and eate of it, to testifie their true and sincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Loafe, or men of one Table.

These Ceremonies being ended, the Bride-groome taketh the Bride by the hand, and so they goe on together, with their friendes after them, towards the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in theyr hands, with Meade and Russe Wine. Whereof the Bride-groome taketh first a Charke, or little cuppe full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her hood or vaile belowe, and putting the Cup to her mouth vnderneath it (for being seene of the Bride-groome) pledgeth him againe.

Thus returning altogether from the Church, the Bride-groome goeth not home to his owne, but vnto his Fathers house, and she likewise to hers, where eyther entertaine their friends apart. At the entering into the house, they vse to sling Corne out of the windowes vpon the Bridegroome and Bride, in token of plenty and fruitfulness to be with them euer after.

When the Euening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bride-groomes Fathers house, and there lodgeth that night, with her vaile or couer still ouer her head. All that night, shee may not speake one word (for that charge shee receiueh by tradition from her mother and other matrons her Friendes) that the Bride-groome

must neither heare, nor see her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may she be heard to speake, saue certaine few words at the Table, in a set forme, with great manners and reuerence to the Bride-groome. If shee behaue her selfe otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credite and life euer after: and will highly bee disliked of the Bride-groome himselve.

After the third day, they depart vnto their own house, and make a feast to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their Festiuall, the Bride-groome hath the honor to be called *Moloday Knez*, or young Duke, and the Bride *Moloday Knezay*, or yong Dutchesse.

In liuing with their wiues, they shew themselues to be but of a barbarous condition: vsing them as seruantes rather then wiues. Except the Noble-women, which are, or seeme to bee of more estimation with their husbands, then the rest of meaner sort. They haue this fowle abuse, contrary to good order, and the word of God it selfe, that vpon dislike of his wife, or other cause whatsoeuer, the man may go into a Monastery, & sheare himselve a Fryer, by pretence of deuotion, and so leaue his wife to shifte for her selfe so well as she can.

The other Ceremonies of theyr Church, are many in number: especially, the abuse about the signe of the Crosse, which they set vp in their high-ways, in the tops of their Churches, and in euery doore of their houses, signing themselues continually with it on their foreheades & brests, with great deuotion, as they will seeme by their outward gesture and behauiour. Which were much lesse offence, if they gaue not withall, that Religious reuerence and worshippe vnto it, which is due vnto none but God onely, and vsed the dumbe shew and signing of it, instead of Thankesgiuing, and of all other duties vvhich they doe owe vnto God.

When they rise euery day in the Morning, they goe commonlie in the sight of some Steeple, that hath a crosse made on the toppe of it: and so bowing themselues towarde the crosse, they signe themselues withall on theyr foreheades and brests. And this is their thank-

Signs of loue and affinitie betweene the parents and friends.

Drinking of the Bride and Bridegroome together.

The euening and night ceremonies.

Titles giuen to the Bride-groome and Bride.

Barbarous behauiour in liuing with their wiues.

The other Ceremonies of the Russe Church.

Rising in the morning.

giuing to God for their nights rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, *Aspody Pomeluy*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs.*

When they sit downe to meate, and rise againe from it, the thanksgiuing to God, is the crossing of their fore-heads and breasts. Except it be some few that adde peradventure, a word or two of some ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpose.

When they are to giue an oath, for the deciding of any controuersie at law, they do it by swearing by the Crosse, and kissing the feete of it, making it as **G O D**, whose name onely is to bee vsed in such triall of Iustice.

When they enter into any house (where euer there is an Idoll hanging on the wal) they signe themselues with the crosse, and bow themselues to it.

When they beginne any worke, be it little or much, they arme themselues first with the signe of the crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer vnto God, for good speede of their businesse. And thus they serue God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: not vnderstanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians, to be no better then Turkes, in comparison of themselues (and so they wil say) because they bow not themselues, when they meete with the Crosse, nor signe themselues with it, as the Russe manner is.

They haue holy water, in like vse and estimation as the Popish Church hath. But herein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hallow their holy water stockes, and tubs full of water; but all the Riuer of the Country once euery yeare. At *Mosko* it is done with great pompe & solemnity: the Emperour himselfe being present at it, with all his Nobility, marching through the streetes towards the Riuer of *Moskuā*, in manner of procession, in this order as followeth: First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of *Precheſte* (or our Lady) the other of *S. Michael*, fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after, the rest of the Deacons and the Priests of *Mosko*, two and two in a ranke, with coaps on their backs, and their Idols at their breasts, carried with girdles or slings, made fast about their

necks. Next the Priests, come their Bishops in their pontificalibus: then the Fryars, Monks and Abbots: and after, the Patriarchs in very rich attire, with a ball, or sphere on the top of his myter, to signifie his vniuersality ouer that Church. Last commeth the Emperour, with all his Nobility. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more.

When they are come to the Riuer, a great hole is made in the yce, where the market is kept, of a rod and a halfe broad, with a stage round about it to keepe off the prease. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers, and coniueth the diuell to come out of the water: and so casting in salt, and censing it with frankincense, maketh the whole Riuer to become holy water. The morning before, all the people of *Mosko* vse to make crosses of chawke ouer euery doore, & window of their houses: least the diuell being coniuered out of the water, should flye into their houses.

When the ceremonies are ended, you shall see the black gard of the Emperours house, & then the rest of the Towne with their pails and buckets, to take off the hallowed water for drinke, and other vses. You shall also see the women dippe in their children ouer head and eares, and many men and women leap into it, some naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if hee should but dippe it into the water. When the men haue doone, they bring their horses to the riuer, to drink of the sanctified water; and so make them as holy as a horse. Their set day for this solempne action of halowing their riuers, is that we call *Twelſe day*. The like is doone by other Bishops, in all parts of the Realme.

Their maner is also to giue it to their sicke, in their greatest extremitie; thinking that it will eyther recouer them, or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their vnreasonable superstition, as did the *Lord Borris* his onely sonne, at my being at the *Mosco*: whom he killed (as was sayd by the Physitions) by powring into him colde holy water, and by presenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint *Basileo*, in the colde of the Winter, in an extremitie of sicknesse.

Order obserued at the Riuer.

After the ceremonies are ended.

Horses drinke of the holy water on Twelſth-day.

Drinking of holy water.

They

Sitting downe to meate.

Oath for deciding controuersies.

At entering into houses.

At beginning worke.

Holy water.

Hallowing of Riuers.

The hallowing of the Riuer at Mosko.

The Image of Christ in processions.

They haue an Image of *Christ*, which they call *Neruchi*, (which signifies as much as *Made without hands*) for so their priests (and superstition withall) perswades them it was. This in their processions, they carry about with them on high vpon a pole, enclosed within a Pixe, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reuerence to it, as to a great mysterie.

Brewing with holy water.

At euery brewing, their manner is likewise, to bring a dish of their woor to the Priest, within the Church: which being hallowed by him, is poured into the brewing, and so giueth it such a vertue, as when they drinke of it, they are seldome sober. The like they doe with the first fruites of their corne in Haruest.

Palmesundaye ceremonie by ancient tradition.

They haue an other ceremony vpon Palmesundaye of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe holding his horse bridle, and the people crying, *Hosanna*, and spreading their vpper garments vnder his horse fecte. The Emperour hath of the Patriarch for his good seruice of that day, 200. rubbles of standing pension. Another Pageant they haue much like vnto this, the weeke before the Natiuity of Christ: When euery Bishop in his Cathedrall Church, setteth foorth a shew of the three children in the Ouen. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the rooffe of the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire, are made with rozen, and gun-powder, by the *Chaldeans* (as they call them) that runne about the towne all the Twelue dayes, disguised in their Players coats, and make much good sport for the honour of the Bishops Pageant. At the *Mosco*, the Emperour himselfe, and the Empreffe neuer faile to be at it, although it be but the same matter played euery yeare, without any new inuention at all.

An other ceremony before Christ-masse.

Besides their fasts on Wednesdays, and Fridayes throughout the whole yere, (the one, because they say Christ was sold on the Wednesday, the other, because he suffered on the Friday) they haue foure great Fasts, or Lents euery yeare. The first, (which they call their great Lent) is at the same time with ours. The second, about Midsomer. The third, in Haruest time. The fourth, about Hallowntide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of

Fasts, beside foure seuerall Lents, and at what times they are.

meere superstitions.

In their great Lent, for the first weeke, they doe eate nothing but Bread and salt, and drinke nothing but water, neyther meddle with any matter of their vocation, but intend their shriuing and fasting only.

They haue also three *Vigils* or *Wakes* in their Lent, which they call *Stoiana* and the last Friday their great *Vigil*, as they do call it. What time the whole parish must be present in the Church, and watch from nine of the clocke in the Euening, vntill sixe in the Morning, all the while standing, except when they do fall downe, and knocke their heads to their Idoles, which must be an hundred and seauentie times, iust, through the whole night.

About their burials also, they haue many superstitious and prophane ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corpes, a Letter to Saint *Nicholas*; whome they make their chiefe Mediator, and (as it were) the Porter of Heauen gates, as the Papists doe theyr *Peter*.

In Winter time, when all is covered with snow, and the ground so hard frozen, as that no spade, nor picke-axe can enter; their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so many as die all the Winter time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out-parts of the towne, which they call *Bohsedom*, that is to say, *Gods house*: where the dead bodies are piled vp together, like billets on a wood-stacke, as hard, with the frost, as a verie stone, till the Spring-tide come and dissolueth the frost; what time euery man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

They haue besides, their yeares and moneths mindes, for their friends departed. What time they haue prayers saide ouer the graue by the priest; who hath a penny ordinary for his paines. When any dyeth, they haue ordinarie women mourners, that come to lament for the dead party; and stand howling ouer the body, after a prophane, and heathenish manner (sometimes in the house; sometimes bringing the body into the backside: *Asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to die?*) They bury theyr dead, as the party vsed to goe, with coate, hose, bootes, hatte, and the rest of his apparel.

Vigils or Wakes they haue three.

Burials, and their superstitious ceremonies at them.

No buriall in the winter.

Month mindes for departed friends.

Buriall according as they went liuing.

Many

Many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies they haue, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appear; how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge and practise of Christian Religion: hauing changed the Word of God, for their vaine traditions, and brought all to externall, and ridiculous ceremonies, without any regard of spirite and truth, which God requires in his true worship.

### CHAP. V.

¶ *Lastly, an Oeconomical discourse of the Emperours Court; his Familie and Household affaires: And more priuate behaviour of the people.*

**T**He Emperours priuate behaviour, so much as may be, or is meete to be knowne, is after this manner: Hee riseth commonly about foure of the clocke in the morning. After his apparelling and washing, in cometh his ghostly father, or priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, *Otez Dybouna*, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blefseth him; laying it first on his fore-head, then vpon his cheekes, or sides of his face; and then offreth him the end of it to kisse. This being doone, the clauke of the crosse (calld *Chresby Deyack Profery*) bringeth into his chamber a paynted Imago, representing the Saint for that day. For euery day with them hath his seuerall Saint, as it were a patron for that day. This he placeth among the rest of his Image gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and wax Candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with pearles and precious stones. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour beginnes to crosse himselfe after the *Russe* manner; first on the fore-head, then on both sides of his breast, with *Asbody Pomeluy*, *Pomeluy mena hospody*, *facroy mena*

*gresnick Syhodesna*: which is as much to say, as, *Helpe mee O Lord my God, Lord comfort mee, defend and keepe mee a sinner from doing euill, &c.* This he directeth towards the Image or Saint for that day, whom he nameth in his prayer; together with our Lady (whom they call *Precheeste*) Saint *Nicholas*, or some other, to whome he beareth most deuotion, bowing himselfe prostrate vnto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

Then commeth againe the ghostly father, or chamber priest, with a siluer bolef of holywater, which they call in *Russe*, *Sweta Voda*, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand, and so all to besprinkles first the Image gods, and then the Emperour. This holy water is brought fresh euery day from the Monasteries, farre and neere, sent vnto the Emperour from the Abbot or from the Priour, in the name of the Saint, which is patrone of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

These deuotions being ended, he sendeth in to the Emperesse, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pause, goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle roome betwixt both their chambers. The Emperesse lyeth apart from him, and keepeth not one Chamber, nor Table with the Emperour daily, saue vpon the eue of their Lents, or common Fast: what time she is his ordinary ghest at bed and boord. After their meeting in the morning, they go together to their priuate Church or Chappell, where is saide, or sung a morning Seruice (calld *Zaurana*) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the Church he returneth home, & sitteth him downe in a great Chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobility, such as are in fauour about the Court. If he haue to say to any of the, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

About nine in the morning, he goeth vnto another Church within his Castle: where is sung by Priests and Choristers, the high Seruice (calld *Obeadna* or *Complin*) which commonly lasteth the space of two houres: the Emperour in the mean time, talking commonly with some

Sprinkling with holy water.

The emperors visitation of the Emperesse.

The Emperour giueth presence euerie morning.

The emperors high and sollemne seruice.

Of the Emperours domesticks or priuate behaviour.

The emperors ghostly father

His priuate praier, and the maner how it is perfourmed in ceremonies

of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captains, which haue to say to him, or hee to them. And the Councell likewise conferre together among themselues, as if they were in their councell house. This ended, he returneth home; and recreateth himselfe till it be dinner time.

Hee is serued at his Table on this manner; First, euery dish (as it is deliuered at the Dreffer) is tasted by the Cooke, in the presence of his high Steward, or his Deputy. And so is received by the Gentlemen waiters (called *Shilshy*) and by them carried vp to the Emperours Table, the high Steward going before. There it is receiued by the Sewer (called *Erastnoy*) who giueth a taste of euery dish vnto the Taster, and so placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his dishes for his ordinary service, is about seauentie; dressed somewhat grosely, with much garlike and salt, much after the Dutch manner. When he exceedeth, vpon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some Ambassador, he hath many more dishes. The seruice is sent vp by two dishes at a time, or three at the most, that hee may eate it warme: first the baked, then the rostie meates, and last of all, the brothes. In his dining Chamber is an other Table: where sit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his ghostly Father, or Chaplaine. On the one side of the Chamber standeth a Cubbard, or Table of Plate, very fayre and rich, with a great cesterne of Copper by it, full of yce and snow, wherein stand the pots that serue for that meale. The taster holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all dinner time, and deliuereth it vnto him with a say, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many dishes out of the seruice, after it is set on the Table, and to send them to such Noblemen and Officers, as the Emperor liketh best. And this is counted a great fauour and honour.

After dinner, he layeth him downe to rest, where commonly hee taketh three houres sleepe, vnlesse hee doe employ one of the houres to bathing or boxing. And this custome for sleeping after dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the *Russes*. After his sleepe hee goeth to Euentong (called by them *Ve-churna*;) and thence returning (for the most part) recreateth himselfe with the

Empresse till supper time, with ieasters, and dwarfes, men and women, that doe tumble before him, and sing many songs after the *Russe* manner. This is his common and vsuall forme of recreation betweene his meales, wherein he most delighteth.

One other speciall recreation, is the fight with wilde Beares, which are caught in pittes, or netts, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpose, against the Emperour bee disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort: The man is turned into a circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himselfe so well as hee can; for there is no way to flie out. When the Beare is turned loose, he cometh vpon him with open mouth. If at the first push hee misse his ayme, so that the Beare doe come within him, he is in great danger. But the wilde Beare being very fierce, hath this quality, that giueth aduantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he assaileth a man, to rise vpright on his two hinder legges, and so to come roaring with open mouth vpon him. And if the Hunter then can push right into the very breast of him betweene his fore-legges (as commonly he will not misse) resting the other end of the Boare-speare at the side of his foote: and so keeping the pike still towards the face of the Beare, hee speedeth him commonly at one blowe.

But many times these Hunters come short, and are eyther flaine, or miserably torne with the teeth and talents of the fierce beast. If the party quite himselfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doore; where he drinketh himselfe drunke for the honour of *Hospodare*. And this is his reward, for aduenturing his life for the Emperours pleasure.

To maintaine this pastime, the Emperour hath certaine Huntsmen, that are appointed for that purpose, to take the wilde Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the Holy-daies. Sometimes he spendeth his time in looking vpon his Goldsmiths and Jewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and such like, and so goeth to his supper. When it draweth towards bed time, his Priest saith certaine prayers; and then the Emperour blesseth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning,

for

The Emperours seruice at his Table.

A Table for the Nobilitie, &c.

His sleeping after dinner.

His euening recreation, or betweene meales.

Fight with Beares, by men put to them.

The manner to kill the Beare.

His preparation to bed.

for a quarter of an hour or thereabouts, and so goeth to his bed.

The Emperor that now is (called *Theodore Iuanowich*) is for his person of a mean stature, somewhat lowe and grosse, of a fallow complexion, and enclining to the dropsie, hawk nosed, vnsteady in his pace, by reason of some weaknesse of his limbs, heauy and vnactiue, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For quality otherwise, simple and slowe witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of pollicy, very superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his priuate deuotions at home, hee goeth euery Weeke commonly on pilgrimage to some Monastery, or other that is nearest hand. He is of 24. yeares old, or thereabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of fixe yeares.

The cheefe Officers of the Emperors household, are these which follow. The first is the Office of the *Boiaren Conesheua*, or Master of the Horse. Which containeth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Ouerseer of the horse, and not *Magister equitum*, or Master of the horsemen. For hee appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Emperesse. Of Horse for seruice in his wars (besides other for his ordinary vses) hee hath to the number of ten thousand, which are kept about *Mosko*.

The next is the Lord Steward of his household, at this time, one *Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his monies, iewels, plate, &c. now called *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The fourth his Controller, now *Andreas Petrowich Clesinine*.

The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called *Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay*.

The sixt his Tasters, now *Theodore Alexandrowich*, and *Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The seuenth his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the Office vnder the. These are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the cheefest account.

Of Gentlemen beside that waite about his Chamber and Person (called *Shilsfey Strapsey*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes.

His ordinary Guard is 2000. Hagbutters, ready with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other necessary Furniture continually day & night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time, there lodgeth next to his bedchamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him.

A second chamber off, there lodge fixe other of like account, for their trust and faithfulness.

In the third Chamber lie certaine yong Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called *Shilsfey Strapsey*, that take their turnes by forties euery night.

There are Groomes besides, that watch in their course, and lye at euery gate and doore of the Court, called *Estopnick*.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was saide before) watch about the Emperors lodging, or bed-chamber by course two hundred and fifty euery night, and two hundred and fifty more in the Court yard, & about the Treasure house.

His Court or House at the *Mosko*, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordenance planted vpon the Wall, and containeth a great bredth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowne to be sure and trusty to the Emperour.

The priuate behaviour and qualitie of the *Russe* people, may partly bee vnderstoode, by that which hath beene sayde concerning the publique state and vsage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are, for the most part, of a large sise, and of verie fleshy bodies; accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to haue them long and broade. But, for the most part, they are very vnweldy and vnactiue withall. Which may be thought to come, partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the colde in winter, and partly of their dyet, which is most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and

A description of the Emperour, when the Author was there.

Of the Emperors priuate, or household Officers, Master of the Horse.

The Lord Steward.

The Lord Treasurer.

Controller.

Chamberlain

Tasters.

Harbengers.

Gentlemen of the Chamber.

The Guard.

Night time.

Groomes.

The Guard for his lodging.

Of the priuate behaviour, or quality of the *Russe* people.

Constitution of their bodies.

Their ordinary dyet.

and such like things that breed grosse humours, which they vse to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their dyet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a *Chark*, or small cuppe of *Aqua viva*, (which they do call *Ruffe* wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another, at euery pledge. And therefore, after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his after-noonnes sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as theyr nights rest. When they exceed, and haue varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roste meates they vse little) and then their portage and broaths. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them euery day in the week. Their common drinke is *Mead*, the poorer sort vse water, and thin drinke called *Quasse*, which is nothing else (as wee vse to say) but water turned out of his wittes, with a little branne meashed with it.

This dyet would breede in them many diseases, but that they vse bath-stoues, or hot-houses, in stead of all physicke, commonly twice or thrice euery weeke. All the Winter time, and almost the whole Summer, they heate there *Peaches*, which are made like the *Germane* Bathstoues, & their *Pottlads* like Ouens, that so warme the house, that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the Winter of heate within their houses, and of extreme colde without, together with their dyet; maketh them of a darke and fallow complexion, their skinnes beeing tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that (for the greater part) are of farre worse complexions, then the men. Wherof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hot-houses, and busing themselues about the heating & vsing of their bathstoues, and peaches.

The *Ruffe*, because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heate and of colde, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their Bathstoues all on a froth, and fuming as hot almost as a Pig at a Spit, and presently to

leape into the Riner starke naked, or to poure colde water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the Winter time. The women, to mend the bad hue of their skins, vse to paint their faces with white and red colours, so visibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their husbands: who make their Wiues and Daughters ordinary allowance, to buy them colours to paint their faces withal, and delight themselues much, to see them of fowle women, to become such faire Images. This parcheth the skinné, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is off.

They apparell themselues after the Greeke manner. The Nobleman's attire is on this fashion.

First a *Tassia*, or little night-cappe on his head; that couereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of silke and gold thred, and set with pearl and precious stones. His head he keepeth shauen close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then hee suffereth his hayre to grow and hang downe vppon his shoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can.

Ouer the *Tassia*, hee weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best Furre) with a *Tiara* or long bonnet put within it, standing vp like a *Persian* or *Babilonian* Hat.

About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a collar set with pearle and precious stones, about three or foure fingers broad.

Next ouer his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Summer time, while he is in the house) is a *Shepon*, or light Garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a *Casfan* or a close coate buttoned, & girt to him with a *Persian* girdle, whereat hee hangs his kniues and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ankles.

Ouer that he weareth a loose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some gold Lace, called a *Ferris*.

Another ouer that, of Chamler, or like stufte, called an *Alkabén*, fleued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched

Their drinke  
at their meales

The after-  
noonnes rest.

Drinking  
drunke euery  
day.

Their often  
vse of Bath-  
stoues,

Two extre-  
mities of heat  
and colde.

At coming  
out of their  
Bathstoues.

Womē there  
paint grossely

The Noble-  
mans attire.

brooched and set all with pearle.

When he goeth abroad, he casteth ouer al these, which are but sleight (though they seeme to be many) another garment called an *Honoratkey*, like to the *Alkaben*, saue that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camells haire.

His buskins, which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folds vnder them in stead of boot-hose, are made of a *Persian* leather called *Saphian*, embrodered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of gold.

When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horse backe, although it be but to goe to the next doore; which is the custome and maner also of the *Boiarskey*, or gentlemen.

The *Boiarskey* or gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but diffreth in stuffe; and yet he will haue his *Castran* or vnder-coate sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth or silke.

The Noble woman (called *Chyna Boiarsbena*) weareth on her head, first a kall of some soft silke (which commonly is red) and ouer it a frontlet, called *Obrosa* of white colour.

Ouer that, her Cap (made after the coife fashion of cloth of golde) called *Shapka Zempska*, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearles and stones. Though they haue of late begunne to disdain embrodering with pearles about their caps, because the *Diacks*, and some Merchants wiues haue taken vppe the fashion.

In their eares they weare eare-rings (which they call *Sargée*) of two inches or more in compasse, the matter of golde set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like pretious stone.

In Sommer they goe often with kerchiefs of fine white lawne or Cambricke, fastened vnder the chinne, with two long tasselles pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle.

When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they vse to weare white hats with coloured bands, called by them *Scapa Zemskoy*.

About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and pretious stones.

Their vpper garment is a loose gowne

(called *Oposhen*) commonly of Skarlet, with wide loose sleeues, hanging downe to the ground, buttond before with great gold buttons, or at the least, siluer and gilt, nigh as bigge as a wallnut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastened vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich Furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backs.

Next vnder the *Oposhen* or vpper garment, they weare an other, called a *Leitnick*, that is made close before with great wide sleeues, the cuffe or halfe sleeue vp to the elbowes commonly of cloath of golde: and vnder that a *Ferris Zemskoy*, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foote.

On the hand-wreasts they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broad of pearles and precious stones. They goe all in Buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noble woman of *Russia*, when shee maketh the best shew of her selfe. The gentlewomans apparrell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

As for the poore *Moufick*, and his wife, they goe poorely clad. The man with his *Odnoratkey*, or loose gowne to the small of the legges, tied together with a lace before, of course white or blew cloth, with some *Shube* or long waist-coate of Furre, or of sheepe-skinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins.

The poorer sort of them haue their *Odnoratkey*, or vpper garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they doe weare nothing but their shirts vpon their backs, and buskins on their legges.

The woman goeth in a redde or blew gowne, when shee maketh the best shew, and with some warme *Shube* of Furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so do they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without.

On their heads, they weare caps of some colored stuffe, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold; but for the most part, kerchiefs. Without eare-rings of siluer, or some other mettall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no *Russia* woman, be she wife, or maide.

The vnder gownes.

Bracelets.

Womens buskins.

The *Mouficks*, or common mans attire.

The poore man.

The *Mouficks* wife.

Head attire.

Eare-rings & Crosses.

As

The Gentlemans apparel.

The noble womans apparel.

A coife cap.

Rich eare-rings.

Chin clothes.

Weather hats

Necke collers.

The vpper garment.

Their wittes  
and capacities

As touching their behauiour, and quality otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those meanes that some other Nations haue, to traine vp their witts in good nurture and learning. Which they might borrow of the Polonians, and other their neighbors: but that they refuse it of a very selfe pride, as accounting their owne fashion to be farre the best. Partly also (as I sayd before) for that their manner of bringing vp (voyd of all good learning, and ciuill behauiour) is thought (by their gouernors) most agreeable to that State, and their maner of gouernement. Which the people would hardly beare, if they were once ciuilled, and brought to more vnderstanding of God, and good policie.

Ciuilitie bringeth the knowledge of God

This causeth the Emperours to keepe out all meanes of making it better, and to be very wary for excluding of all peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to be disliked, if it set not a print into the very mindes of his people. For, as themselues are very hardly and cruely dealt withall by their chiefe Magistrates, and other superiours; so are they as cruell one against an other, especially ouer their inferiours, and such as are vnder them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christiano*e (as they call him) that stoupeth and croucheth like a dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lieth at his feete, is an intollerable tyrant, where he hath the aduantage.

Cruelty of the Russe people.

By this meanes the whole Countrie is filled with rapine, and murder. They doe make no account of the life of a man. Yee shall haue a man robbed sometime in the very streetes of their Townes, if hee goe late in the euening: and yet no man to come foorth out of his doores to rescue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not speake of the strangenesse of the murders, and other cruelties committed amongst them, that would scarcely be beleued to be doone amongst men, especially such as professe themselues to be christians.

Vagrant begging poore.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite; that are so pinched with famine and extreme neede, as that they doe begge after a violent and desperate manner; with, *Giue me, and cut mee; Giue mee, and kill mee;* and such like phrases. Whereby it may bee ghesed,

what they are towards strangers, that are so vnnaturall and cruell towards their owne. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the crueltie, or intemperancie that is vsed in that Countrie. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to be named. The whole Countrie ouerfloweth with all sinne of that kinde. And no mariell, as hauing no law to restraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like vncleannesse of life.

Intemperance

As for the truth of his word, the *Russe* (for the most part) maketh small regard of it: so he may gaine by a lie, and breach of his promise. And it may be said truely (as they know best that haue traded most with them) that from the great to the smal (except some few that will scarcely bee found) the *Russe* neyther beleueneth anie thing that an other man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himseife worthy to be beleued.

No care of word or promise.

These qualities make them very odious to all their neighbours, especially to the *Tartars*, that account themselues to be honest and iust, in comparison of the *Russe*. It is supposed by some, that doe well consider of the state of both Countries, that the offence they do take at the *Russe* gouernement, and their manner of behauiour; hath beene a great cause to keepe the *Tartar* still heathenish, and to mislike (as hee dooth) of the Christian profession.

The Russe odious to his neighbours.

CHAP. VI.

If it may be so ordered or limited, that poisons giuen at a certaine day, shall not cause death, vntill a time appoynted and prefixed.

**S**ir, though you can much more clearly and exactly resolue this doubt; yet notwithstanding, seeing you please to vnderstand mine aduice therein, concerning the limitation and efficacie of poysons, at a day or time prefixed; I shall briefly resolue you of my iudgement.

This is the last paradox of the first D: cad.

I haue euermore helde it absurde and  
Gggg ridicu-

A comparison  
derived from  
physicall me-  
dicines of best  
worth.

ridiculous ( although it bee maintayned in vulgare opinion ) that venoms or poysons should be limited to a certaine time, by empoysoners . For, how can it be so, seeing Physicall medicines, euen such as are most profitable, whose vertue ( in knowledge thereof, is limited to the composition and quantitie of the dose ) cannot be apprehended, but by long and frequent experience? And that being knowne, doth not yet leaue vs any certaine act, but coniecturall: wherefore, I cannot see by what reason, an empoysoner should gaine a prefixion of time, for the efficacie of his poyson. For, it is not lawfull to make triall, without danger, no nor without punishment: euen as if the action of Physicall receipts, should be experimented vpon healthfull persons.

It may be alleadged, and I am of the same opinion too, that they approue their poysons vpon beasts, as Dogges, Swine and Birds, and that thereby they constitute rules to themselues; hauing obserued diuers times of death, according to the nature of the poysons. As if the natures of men, ( being the most temperate of all creatures ) and the other were not verie farre different. Besides, it is much more easie, that a precise and certaine houre of euent and successe, should happen vnto beasts, then to men. For, creatures deprived of reason, haue very little diuersitie ( in their kinde ) betweene them, feeding on one and the same pasturage, and being not addicted to sundry studies, and occupations: from whence ensueth, that euen by and of the same things, beasts endure ( almost ) passions alike.

But for men, although they agree together in kinde, yet notwithstanding they are so different, as seldome or neuer, shall we find two together of likenesse in face: but are diuerse in complexions, conditions and occupations or professions, and no one like other among a thousand. Vndoubtedly, I am of the minde, that in the kinde of man, there is as many differences among particulars, as there is diuersities of kinde among all other creatures. And therefore, it ought to be helde altogether abusiuē, and no way firme, and such coniecture of empoysoners; as is very easie to be prooued, and made plaine to euery vnderstanding: and vpon this hopefull perswasion, wee will fall presently to our

businesse.

Many haue thought and held, that *Theophrastus* ( a very graue and approued Philosopher ) was the Authour of this opinion, because he wrote thus of *Aconitum*. *It is said to be compounded in such sort, that it can kill at a certaine time: as namely, within two moneths, three moneths, sixe moneths, a whole yeare, and sometimes in two yeares. And some affirme, that such people shall die more miserably, then if they could haue resisted longer time. For their bodies will impair by little and little, perishing in a daily languishing: whereas such as die suddenly, haue the more easie death.*

But the authoritie of *Theophrastus*, or of our selues, can moue nothing in this matter; considering, that he wrote this, more vpon others opinion, then his own, as the words themselues doe evidently testifie. And if any one desire to know the cause of this perswasion, hee shall meete with a two-folde answer thereto. The first is, the subtile craftinesse of men, who flatter and fondly play with their owne vices. For how many may be found, that can not so patiently endure, when they are reprooued in some euill, happening by an externall accident; as if one should tell them, that it receiued originall by a bad temperature of their body, or of their owne intemperance? For, admit that nothing could be saide, to bee the cause of the first constitution, and therefore ( by consequent ) the reproofe of his imperfection concerned him nothing: yet notwithstanding, because it is our owne naturally, we will conceale and couer it, yea, and fauour it beyond measure. So that if there happen any fault on the behalfe of our imperfection, we stand most in feare to be thereof reproued. And hence it ensueth, that we more gladly yeelde agreement, to haue the cause from some externall occasion, then of any interiour.

Examples in this case are very manifest, euen in such as haue least knowledge, being ignorant in good Arts and Sciences, transported by simple iudgement of selfeloue. As aged, and the most part of weake witted people doe, to whom nothing admittable can be spoken; vnlesse it be referred to some Saint, or poyson closely giuen, or to the witching lookes of some old woman: whence proceeded the complaint whereof *Virgill* speaketh.

Theophrastus  
a learned Phi-  
losopher, his  
opinion of A-  
conitum.

Theophrastus  
not to be cre-  
dited in this  
case.

Two answers  
to the frivo-  
lous perswasion  
The first an-  
swere.

We can not  
indure to hear  
our owne im-  
perfections  
reprooued.

The ignorāce  
of causes indu-  
ceth ( very of-  
ten ) a false o-  
pinion and  
Sorceries.

Triall of poy-  
sons made on  
Dogs, Hogs,  
Birds, &c.

Little diuer-  
sitie betweene  
vnrasonable  
creatures in  
their kinde.

Very great &  
strange varietie  
among mē,  
for seldome or  
neuer are two  
found of one  
and the same  
complexion.

*I know not by what ill aspect of wrong,  
My tender Lambes (enchanted) walke along.*

For there must needes be probable lying, that either instantly, or soone after the poyson is giuen, or contiued in the surest manner; if any length or respite of time can be giuen thereto.

The other cause of this opinion, is the depraued interpretation of Astronomical Theoremes or Speculations. For the prooffe whereof, Astrologers constitute (which is true) the diuers manners or passions of inferiour bodies, to be from the diuers coniunction, opposition and entchanged aspect of the superiour. From hence, the ignorant vulgar take occasion, to ground and establish the varietie of effects, euen vpon the least differences that can bee obserued in the celestiall bodies. As when they constitute some one plant, to haue power and efficacie against feauers; provided, that it be gathered before Sunne rising. This is an errour spread too farre abroad. For, not onely from these differences (triuiall, light, and of no account at all) men commonly construct the diuersitie of effects in their kinds: but also would haue the accidents of those effects to be diuers; for the selfe same reason; euen as is the time to manifest the efficacie of poyson. The folly (in this point) further related by *Theophrastus*, he sayth: *That death happeneth in as short a time, as a Plant is to be gathered.* Let vs seeke then for a true solution of this Probleme, by reason rather then the testimonies of any. Which we may most commodiously doe (if I abuse not mine owne iudgement) by beginning with the definition of venome or poison; to the end it may be the easier vnderstood, what the matter is that vrgeth our instant disputation.

We properly call venome or poyson, whatsoeuer being receiued into the body, doth so fight against the body, as it is not to be surmounted; but contrariwise, doth so alter the body, as the body it selfe alters in diet. In all venoms there are two especiall differences: for, eyther they are enemies to humane nature, by reason of their manifest qualitie; or else they are aduerse thereto in their whole substance. Moreouer, some may kill quickly, others more tardily, euen of their owne proper nature. Such kill suddenly, and in fewest daies and houres, which are immediatly carried to

the profunditie of the hart. Such venoms are extreamly hot, and (for the most part) corrosiue or putrefactiue; the Greeks call them *Septiques*, endued with most subtil parts. For, colde and grosse venomes are more ydle, and insinuate into the veines and arteries more slowly.

Some there are, which infect and kill the body, by their onely vapour or inuisible exhalation. Others, that holde the prime place of atrocitie and malignitie. As certaine poisons artificial, which haue so subtile a vertue, as being but rubbed or annointed vpon the stirrops, will pierce thorow the bootes of the Rider, euen till it attaine to the naked soale of his foote; and from thence ascendeth vp into the body, by the souspiralles or ouertures of the skinne, and so corrupt all the members. Bridles and Saddles of horses may also be infected, and afterwards, inducted by naturall heate into the arteries and veins of the rider entring by the pores in his hands and thighes. As in like maner, Garments, Beds and Coverings may be poysoned. To these venoms may be referred, such as kill only by sight, smell, or being but tasted onely (without swallowing or letting downe) suddenly destroying a man; without any the least lingering.

All venomes or poisons bring present death with them, so as there remains not any time of respite, for succor to saue the poore mans life, but he dies. I vnderstand, that such poisons are in frequent vse among the *Turkes*; and such other nations. Grosser venoms or poisons do differ from these, as being slower in performing their action; but in the end burne very strongly, bite, eat, torment, & (by their lingering) beget the greater strength & cruel violence.

Now there is not onely a difference of efficacie, in poisons of diuers kinds, but also there happens to them as great a varietie of respites, to hurt according to their constitution and temperature; by whom they are taken. For some feele the harme sooner or later then other; some are ouerthrowne thereby, others escape. Because many times it comes so to passe, that the poisons power is mitigated & overcome, by the very complexio of him that hath receiued it, else, that it is so strö of it self, as it needeth no other counterpoyson to vanquish it. So fallerh it out with them that dwell in pestilent aires, & others that

Of some that destroy sooner then other.

Poysoning mens stirrops, bridles & saddles for horses, garments, beds, &c.

Such speeding poisons are in daily vse amongest the *Turkes* and other barbarous nations.

Diffrence in the poisons, and diffrence in their times of working.

The second answeare and obseruation of the second cause.

The like ist of hearbs gathered vpon Saint Johns Eue or Vigile.

Theophrastus his words for the sudden en-suing of death

A definition of poison or venome, and what it is vnderstood to be

The operation of poisons in their owne nature.

Of bodies pe  
stilentially in-  
fected.

A very ridicu-  
lous affirma-  
tion.

Galen in Pa-  
rad. 1. Dec. 2.

A kind of ydle  
argumentatiō.

A Goate is a  
beast, there-  
fore a Goate  
is an Ass.

At a solemne  
Banquet in I-  
talie made by  
Cæsar Borgia.

An example  
deriued from  
physicall pur-  
gatiues.

are attainted with the plague : some of them being sicke, chance to die suddenly, others later, and other (in the end) escape.

If it be so, it seemes then altogether ridiculous to affirme, that it is possible to giue a poison, which (at a day prefixed, & at a certaine time of that day) shall cause the parties death, & that the condition of the poison is so to doe. To which error I may well referre another, fauouring of the same taste, and which we haue long since ouerthrowne, to wit: *That medicines take the beginning of their mutation or changing from our heate*. Whence it ensueth, that being grossely pressed, they produce their effects the later. But if I should consent to them herein, yet notwithstanding, they can neuer come to approue their affirmation, vnlesse it be captiously. For if any man argue thus: This drugg discovereth his power later then this; therefore he will doe it at a certaine time. The argumentation is false, and *Aristotle* calleth it *Elenchus non consequens*: Euen as if a man should say, A Goate is a Beast, therefore a Goate is an Ass. For, *To do a thing late, and to do a thing at a certaine time*, are of diuers kindes, and differ from doing a thing in some time.

Heereby it appeareth, that these great Professours haue no other eye, but onelie on the conditions of the poysons, as in this poynt it is very euident, for we heare no distinction of bodies: but onely presence of the poyson, whereunto they onely attribute the limitation of time, and not to any complexion in the parties. Obseruation hath bene made, that poison hath bene giuen at a Feast or Banquet to diuers persons, all in one houre, (when friends haue merrily met together, without suspicion of any such villanie) whereof some dyed suddenly, others died within some few dayes after, and some felt no anguish at all, yet euery one received a like quantitie.

The like we see to happen daily in purgatiue medicines, which being giuen to diuers persons (euen all alike in measure, and all alike in preparation) they worke vpon some bodies very suddenly, others more slowly, others very hardly, and vpon some nothing at all. Moreouer, the vacuitie of some men is with much ease, others with great difficultie, grievously grinding or cutting, and frequent debility

of the heart. What need is there then of alleading many men, when vpon one and the same man, one and the same medicine cannot produce the same effects?

Seeing then, that according to the diuers and vnparaleld complexion, & conformation of the body, we see such things to happen, for the most part; and besides, that the iust temperature of euery particular man is no way to be comprehended: how then shall any one man dare to say, how long time naturall heate shall resist or withstand poison? Say I admitted, that some one man should be so expert an empoisoner, that he could weigh (in a certainty of iudgement) the power of his poison, euen as exquisitely as he weigheth muske in the Ballance: yet notwithstanding, I will neuer graunt, that he can as exactly limite poyson, for the nature of him that is to receiue it: but he wil faile somewhat of the end, or of the time by him proposed. For, Physicke it selfe is held to be a Science, grounded but vpon coniectures, concerning what is to be prescribed for euery man, in the proper quantitie and qualitie of meetest remedies. For, *no man knoweth how to write or speake iustly or properly*, as *Galen* saith in the third book of his Methods. And a little after: *In the Arte of Physicke* (saith he) *there is not anie thing or remedie, but may bee named in his kinde: but that which cannot be spoken, written, nor entirely appointed or ordained, is the quantitie for euery one.*

Hee repeateth this same matter many times, and to the purpose ensuing, as enstruſting, that euery man hath his peculiar curing, and that the naturall proprietie is vspeakeable and incomprehensible of an exact Science. Vulgar Physitians call it *Idiosyncrasis*, the naturall proprietie, as *Galen* saith. And because all confesse, that it can not be comprehended; they attribute the true Art of Physicke to *Aesculapius* & *Apollo*. For the principle, and foundation (as it were) of perfect, compleate, & infallible Physicke (which *Galen* calls; *The true Arte of Medicine*) is the particular knowledge of Naturals. Whereupon he makes this addition. *If I knew how to acknowledge iustly, the nature of each one in particular: I should verily thinke to be such a one as Aesculapius, and to know as much in my understanding. But because it is not to be doone, I am determined to exercise my selfe*

The complex-  
ion and tem-  
perature of all  
men is incom-  
prehensible,  
neither can  
poisons worke  
in one and the  
same manner  
vpon them.

Physick a Sci-  
ence ground-  
ed but on  
coniecture.

Galen in libr.  
vbi supra.

so

so much, to come so neere him as a man may, and to exhort others therein to follow mine example.

If Physicke then be coniecturall, and not certaine in the party that prepareth or appointeth remedies to euery body, & the issue is not to be seene, but finally by a long obseruation and experience; who can perswade himselfe herein concerning poysons? For, if in the Art of physicke, Experience is dangerous, as the wise & learned Hippocrates well aduise vs: it is easie to conceiue, how vncertain the prooffe of poysons are, because it is not lawfull to experiment their vertue, both without danger and punishment also, as wholesome medicines in diuersitie of persons.

And whatsoever hath bin obserued vpon brute Beasts, as I formerly saide, is very vnapt for any accommodation to a man, because the natures of men and beasts are greatly differing, as namely by this prooffe: that Stares feede safely vpon Hemlocke, and Quails on Helleborus, which are both physicke and poyson to vs. From these reasons then we may collect finally, that the Arte (if it may be termed an Arte) or coniectures of empoisoners, is to be esteemed very erroneous, and of slender firmnes: considering, that one selfe-same poyson produceth his action, sometimes quickly, and sometimes slackly; and that not so much by any reason in it selfe, as by the nature and complection of the body, wideness or narrowness of the passages, strength or weakness of naturall beate; and the plenty or scarcitie of semblable excrements, & diuers other meanes.

For the power of poyson remaineth sometimes vaine and fruitlesse, or mightily rebated, according to such bodies, as haue their faculties of the soule stout and strong, by reason of an excellent good temperature. And Galen thinketh, that the building and composition of the body, is the cause why Hemlocke killeth a man, & nourisheth Stares. Whereto he addeth, the strength and vigour of heate, diminishing and subtilizing, in regard he is perswaded that it happeneth so, that colde poysons better and sooner doe declare their force, when they are given to hotte natures. Which may appeare a Paradoxe to many: but hauing bin made most euidently apparant by the said author; I dare

let the prooffe passe vpon my credite, because his experience is warrantable.

As for the nature of excrements, they weaken the actions of poysons, being repugnant to their qualities. For if there be any abundance of phlegme in the entrailes, the power of hot poyson will be greatly rebated: and on the contrary, hot moysture hasteneth the action of such a poyson. Likewise, ouer-copious choller stoppeth and breaketh the stupefactiue venome receiued, whereas phlegme fauoreth it. And all that these wicked empoisoners do know, is nothing else, but what poysons onely kill, by euident condition of their qualities, and that they hurt with all their substance. Such are they as kill by corrupting or corrosion, which must haue time to enforce their mallice (as Galen saith) whereas other do weaken themselves by their tardying. For they do all putrifie in time, & so much the more, as the place is moister and hotter.

Such then as worke by putrifying, time doth augment their action: because they encrease the corruption, and in regard they cease not to corrupt themselves; reciprocally they corrupt and rot the body. From whence ensueth, that death is caused long time after: especially such poysons as are of grosse and earthy substance. Thus you may see, what empoisoners haue learned by long obseruation.

First, they know how to distinguish venomes, which kill by their insigne and notorious qualities, from other that cause death by their whole substance.

Secondly, that they naturally bring to any man whatsoever, a most sudden harme, and yet doe not discouer their vigour, but vpon longer time.

Thirdly, that (of both the two kindes) they kill eyther sooner or later (without any respect to the body) according as they haue the most, or the least quantity.

Fourthly, they can deale in such sort, that all poysons shall be tempered according to their owne pleasure, and make them sweeter or sharper, because they should kill the sooner or slower, which is without any secret or myracle of nature.

We vsually exercise the same cunning, in-purgatiue drugges, setting an edge on such as are dull and slowe, and giue them as spurs to further purpose: and contrariwise, wee retaine ouer-hasty penetration

Of the seueral action of poysons vpon phlegme and choller; by their scanting or abound- ing.

Of poysons that haue their working by putrification.

What apprehension empoisoners haue of them by four means in obseruations.

Application of purgatiue drugs in physicke.

The Art of physicke is more coniecturall then certaine.

Hippoc. in lib. 1. Aphor. 1.

Beasts natures are very much differing from mens.

One selfe-same poyson differeth in his operation, and in his times.

Bodies of strong and good temperature resist the power of poyson,

Cold poysons work soonest on hot natures.

Effects of poysons im- possible to be limited to a moment of time.

Diuersity of effects both in the agent and patient.

The iudgement and answer of Pedro de Albano vpon this point.

Fore-spoken or bewitched.

Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 7.

A man of more then ordinary skill to haue such knowledge.

in the other, by mingling with them, such as are naturally more slacke & tardy. But that a man should limit the effects of poysons, to a certaine day, and to a point or moment named; we hold to bee meere absurd and ridiculous, because the nature of each man cannot be perfectly knowne (as we haue before sufficiently declared) from whence proceedeth the most vncertaine tearme or time of euery poyson, for procuring the death of a man. For euery naturall action meeteth with diuers effects, according to the diuers disposition, as well of that which worketh, as of that which suffereth. And this happeneth, not onely by reason of euident qualities, but also of hidden and proper: whence also it ensueth, that the thing which doth this man a great deal of harme, may bee as profitable to another.

*Pedro de Albano* (whom some call the Reconciler, or Peace-maker) where hee explicateth this question, propoundeth: That he may do it, who hauing certainly knowne the continuance of a mans life, by the measure and quantity of his radical humour: may giue him a poyson, that shall consume in ten yeares space. From hence he collecteth, some men may bee poysoned, that droope and dry away daily (vulgarly termed in *Italian*, *Herbatiet Strigati*) and so it may bee ordered sometimes, that poysoning may bee limited. But that it is to be presupposed by Astrologye, I hardly thinke to be euer diuined.

I confesse, that all such as are seene to droope and decay by little and little, being empoysoned, haue a long affliction: but yet there is no certaine time when those men shall bee taken hence. *Pliny* speaketh of no time knowne more certaine of death, then vse of the Sea-Hare (a venomous fish) bringeth, where he saith: *Such men as (in eating) feele poyson, and by the first signe perceiue the poyson: shall dye in as many houres after, as the Hare hath liued.* Now, who shall diuine the age of the Hare, to the ende, that the appointed houre of death, may be fore-tolde thereby?

And yet if I did admit them, that a man did know how many dayes the Hare hath liued: I can neuer grant (for al that) that all men shall dye at one and the same time; because one and the selfe-same poyson, worketh diuersly, according to the

diuersity of mens bodies, as it hath bene more then sufficiently proued. So that it had bene much more truely saide (as the same *Pliny* after addeth) *The saide poyson can haue no certainty of time, according as Licinius Macer also saith.*

Poyson can haue no certainty of time

## CHAP. VII.

*Of diuers erroneous and idle opinions, conceived in fantasticke braines, and verily beleued, as if they were sound truths.*



People erre in many matters, concerning diuers creatures (haply not inuented of them selues) but held by elder and precedent intimation, as little also apprehended or vnderstoode by them; but, perhappes, meere fictions of their owne braines, vpon some appearing probable reasons. As wise and woorthie Poets, who haue entrusted bad and bestiall men, to the imitation of vertue, by witty fables and pleasant inuentions, which euer hath bene, and still is permitted as lawfull in them, euen as the like licence is allowed to Painters, as *Horace* testifieth, saying:

Reports deliuered by ancient people, do carry no mean credite among many.

*Poets and Painters equall power containe, To say or do, what best shall like their braine.*

The saying of Horace.

As for Painters, we see that they figure an Angell in the forme of a Youth, cloathed with a garment of Starres, bare headed, and hauing wings like a Bird. And the Soule of man is represented like to a young Infant, stark naked. The diuell, to haue hornes, and a dreadfull taile: And yet neuerthelesse, these are but spirites without bodies, and cannot carry the resemblance of any visible creature.

The variable shapes giuen by Painters to many things. Angell. Diuell.

In the like manner, Hell, which is but a place, is figured with a hideous gaping throate: Death, beeing but a priuation of life, is resembled by the Anatomized bones of a dead man, carrying a Scithe in his hand. Loue, which is but a passion and accident, not subsisting any way of it selfe; is painted and presented like a naked childe,

Hell. Death.

Loue.

The Windes. childe, and blind; wearing wings, a Bow, and a Quiver furnished with Arrowes, The Winds, which are but a moued agitated Ayre; are figured with mens heads, hauing their Cheekes hugely swolne, euen as we see one sounding of a Trumper.

The twelue signes in the Zodiack in several figures. As for Astrologers, though they want paintings, whereby to enstruct ignorant people: yet haue they demonstrations likewise, and presentation is made of the twelue Signes of the Zodiack (which are but certaine Starres) yet disposed into diuers figures, as one of a Ramme, another of a Bull, the third of two twinne infants, &c. And so the images of heauen vvhich are out of the Zodiacke; one in forme of a Beare, another of an Eagle, others in riuers, in an Harpie, Dogge, Dragon, &c. And next the Planets, which are but stars, as Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Mercurie, and Venus; these beare the forme of personages, in diuers habites and countenances: but the Sun and Moone are otherwise shewne and distinguished.

The figures of heauen. Painters also haue euermore denoted the figure of a Starre with siue rayons or beames, thereby expressing their twinckling splendour: although all the Starres do not sparkle in that manner; and well wee know beside, that they are all round in figure, without points or corporeall beams. As for the Elements, they figure the fire (which is inuisible) like vnto our artificiall fire, which is not much amisse to the purpose. The Ayre cannot be painted, no more then heauen, cleare and transparant bodyes; but yet they are represented by a blew or azure colour. Water is figured by Waues, and the Earth in shape of a Globe, rounde as a Ball.

The Planets. Of Creatures, they counterfeyte some fabulously: as the Salamander, which is no such thing as it is painted; nor the Dolphin likewise, as it is presented in Armes and Deuices; Nor the Flower de Luce, as it is commonly knowne to euery one. And the Heart, be it of a man, or of other creature, it is of no such shape as Painters giue it.

The Starres. The Pellicane is figured, vwith her sharpe Beake turned vpon hir brest, which she launceth therewith, to make hir blood yssue forth, for the nourishing of hir yong ones, euen to the price of her owne life,

The elements Fire, Ayre, Water, Earth. The Pellican. dying thereby: And yet we see and know that the Pellican hath her beak edgelesse, flat, and broad; iustly like in fashion vnto the Apothecaries Spatule or Slice, as being no way able to wound her breast. Also, the Greeke worde [*Pellican*,] signifying an Axe or Coopers Adge or Ads, plainly declareth that her Beake is flat, & as it should be.

Moreouer it is sayde, that the Sire or Hee-Bird, beateh the young ones, euen as with blowes on the face, or (as wee vse to say) boxes on the eare, vntill they are almost dead; and then the Dam woundeth her breast, to reuiue them with her blood: blowes commonly are giuen with flat, and not pointed things.

The Phœnix. The Phœnix, being painted burning her selfe in a fire, prepared purposely for her; is much more fabulous. But al these things are lawfully permitted to Painters and Poets (as we saide before) vpon some good respect and secret reason, needlesse to bee reported heere; making mention onely but of certaine erroneous opinions, which the vulgar holde for sure and most certaine, and which are the more excusable, because many great Philosophers and ancient Physitions, haue defended the like opinions.

I. *Of the Viper.*

It hath bin a very ancient opinion, that the Viper ioyneth with her male, by receyuing his head in at her mouth (through defect of other genitall partes) and that the female by the delight she feeleth, locketh her teeth so fast together, as thereby she biteth off her males head, and so conceyeth. Afterwardes, when the time for deliuey commeth, the yong ones hauing no other yssue, and (euen as it were) to reuenge the death of theyr Father: bite and teare the belly of their mother, whereby she dyeth. Here is the reason why it is saide of a *Posthumus*, of whome the mother dieth in deliuerance, *He is like the Viper, that neuer seeth his father nor mother.* This hath sometime serued as an Emblem with this deuice or motto, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri nefeceris.*

All this is false, and fauored by many, but badly; that beeing well vnderstoode which *Aristotle* hath said. *The Viper* (saith he) *is conceived of Egges which she hatcheth*

in

In what manner the Viper is saide to engender by hir male.

Words giuen of the posthumus.

What thou wouldst not haue done to thee, doe not thou to another.

*Arist. in Anim. lib. 9. cap. 7.*

The Viper deliuereth her broode, but by one daily.

in her bellie, and become little Vipers: they come foorth all formed, being despoyled of the membrane or thinne skinne, which contained them within the wombe; and that is their secondine. But the later-most (moored with impatience) bite and teare that membrane, to issue forth the more hastily. For the damme or mother bringeth aboue twenty, and yet deliuereth but one daily; which maketh the him-most impatient, and constraineth them angrily to gnawe the tunicle or membrane; but neither the mothers sides or belly, as is vaine-ly imagined.

No Serpent yeeldeth her yong liuing, but the Viper.

Many may be deceiued also, concerning the originall and etymologic of the word, as if *Vipera* were to say, *Quasi vi pariens*: whereas it is (indeed) of *Vivum pariens*. For there is not any Serpent, that produceth her broode or young aliue, or liuing, but the Viper. Others lay egges, which (out of the belly) are conuerted into Serpents.

#### 2. Of the Beauer, called *Castor* also.

The naturall vnderstanding of the Beauer.

IT is vulgarly helde, that this beast teareth away his testicles with his owne teeth, when he perceiueh himselfe to be pursued by Hunt-men: hauing a kind of knowledge naturally, that they seeke him only for them. Whereupon some thinke, that this name of *Castor* was giuen him: because he geldeth himselfe, and so (by consequent) becometh chaste.

*Diosc. li. 4. c. 23.*

Which is meere false, for, as *Dioscorides* wrote long since; hee can by no meanes reach or touch his stones. Those are onely two tumours, which (by yeares) comes to him, & are as impostums, full of fatte matter or suppuration, called *Castoriam*, which also hee can not teare away. And he is not tearmed *Castor*, of gelding, or of chastitie; but of the Greeke word *Gaster*, which signifieth a Belly, because he is full paunched, and this is nothing else, but by changing the letter *G* into *C*. Read hereupon the most learned History of *M. Rondeletius*, of Fishes, in the last chapter of the second Tome.

*Rondelet. de pisc. tom. 2. cap. vlt.*

#### 3. Of the Salamander.

Great error is there also, concerning the true nature of this creature, which is said to liue in the fire, and hath power to extingwish it. From which coniecture,

was taken the deuice of great King *Frances*, the first of that name (father of Arts and Sciences) *Nutrisco, & extingo*: I feed and extingwish.

*Dioscorides* hath very learnedly deliuered the contrary, and *Galen* also, saying: That the Salamander can resist the fire for some time; but it burneth, by carrying any long while therein. Neuerthelesse, it were better to hold with *Aristotle*, in saying: That the Salamander is not burned in the fire, but walkes aloft vpon it, extingishing both the flame and coales.

Experience, which is more strong then all authorities of the wisest in the world, teacheth vs, that this is a matter no way to be credited. As for the figure of the Salamander, the portraiture thereof also is meere fabulous, and contriued by Painters, who haue thrust such an imagination vpon it; making shew also of it, to be a farre greater Beast then it is. It is like to the smaller sort of Lizzards, which frequent the walles in *Languedoc*, named *Langroles*, and in *Daulphine Larmuses*. But the Salamander is somewhat greater, marked with many spots. His body is full of a white moysture, and thicke like Milke, which issueth foorth by the pores of the skinne, pressing it neuer so little. Which milke or moysture is so colde, that the Salamander may (for some time) withstand the fire, but yet not long, without burning, roasting and dying, as we haue many times made good triall of. Farre is it from quenching the fire, or much lesse liuing in it: like as the Chameleon liueth by the ayre; and I iudge both alike in truth: albeit I neuer saw any Chameleon aliue to make prooffe of.

#### 4. Of the Shee-Bear.

IT is said also, that shee produceth a piece of flesh, not hauing the forme of any creature: and afterward shee licketh it in such manner, that thereby onely shee giueth it both fashion and forme. This is but a kinde of hyperbolical speaking, for to say truely, the yong one is very vnslightly after the birth, being all couered with foame or froth, and in such a quantity, as it seemeth indeede but a lumpe of flesh, without any distinction of parts. The Dam or Mother cleanseth it immediately thereof, by licking al the filth away; wher-

*Diosc. lib. 2. ca. 8*

*Galen in lib. 3 de Temper.*

*Arist. in hisor. Anim. l. 5. ca. 19*

Painters haue failed in true forme of the Salamander.

Like Newtes, Askes and little Lizzards haunting olde and ill-kept houfes.

A description of the Salamanders resemblance.

The Beare is brought forth a perfect creature at the first, although not so readily distinguished, as afterward.

by (not long after) it appeareth in the true shape of a creature. So may we see a Whelp (or a yong Lambe newly yeaned) much muddied and besmeared at the first, as it is hardly knowne at the prime view: but when the Damme hath doone her louing and naturall Office, then all the parts are plainly seene and distinguished.

CHAP. VIII.

*A vulgar Question: What Language a child shall speake, that neuer heard any speech. That a man or woman borne dumb, is necessarily deafe. As also, hee that is Nurst among dumbe people; And not, on the contrary, that one dumbe by Nature, should be deafe: And whence it ensueth, that a man is so tardie, in knowing howe to speake.*



The opinion of the vulgar people.

Vulgar people beleue, and hold it as a thing most assured, that a man should naturally speake the Language of Adam, if he neuer learned any other speech from his infancie; euen as if hee had bene nurssed by a dumbe Woman, among dumbe people, or in a Desert vtterly vnihabited of people, where neuer any speech had bene heard.

Herodotus declareth in his second book, that *Psammeticus*, a King of the Ægyptians, was desirous (on a time) to make prooffe heereof, to the end, that he might iudge thereby, what was the most auncient and naturall Language, of all them that were spoken in the world. He caused two Children to bee nurssed in a Forrest, where neuer any voyce of man was, or could be heard. After two yeeres were past, and they being brought before the King, sometimes they could pronounce this Word *Bec*, which in the Phrygian tongue, signifieth Bread. Whereuppon some gathered, that the Phrygian was the first language of man.

But as Saint *Augustine* sayeth, these children might haue learned the Word *Bec* (and so retained it) of Goats, among

Herodot in l. 2. Prooffe made by a King of Egypt, to know which was the most auncient Language of all other.

The opinion of S. Augustine Aug. in Genes. lib. 9.

which they were nourished. For, as hee sheweth in his worke of the quantitie of the Soule; all manner of speaking is by hearing, and by imitation. Notwithstanding, in his Booke of the Cittie of God, hee thinketh and beleueth, that before the confusion of Tongues (which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babel*) the Hebrew Language was naturally to all. As if words were an action proceeding from naturall instinct, or the simple and proper motion of the soule: euen as if they had power in themselves (and of themselves, with some naturall inclinations) to bring forth in euidence and effect speech, without any enstrueting. Such knowledge is to sucke, to cry, mourne, laugh, mouing hands and feet, & when strength serueth, to go.

The Goate, Lambe, Chicken, and other such like creatures, so soone as they are bred and brought forth, bring themselves to the teates, knowing naturally, that there is their nourishment. Beeing grown greater, they make choise (among a thousand diuers plants) such as best digest and agree with their complexion. They bleate and cackle, euen from their production, which answereth to the cries of children: and this is done without teaching, or any enstrueting, or so much as example or imitation.

Man hath the like actions and representations, euen as other creatures, simply naturall of his owne, and without any apprentiship. But the worde or Speech, which is a voyce significatiue, expressing the conceptions of a reasonable Soule: they proceede onely and wholly from a Science or Discipline, which is comprehended by the means of hearing. So that it is impossible, that any one being deafe, from his birth, and perseuering in the same deafenesse, should euer knowe how to speake, although that his tongue, and other parts thereto appointed, are most exquisitely composed and ordayned, as none more formally can be any way desired.

What then shall wee say of him that neuer heard any thing? Speech is a Discipline, no lesse then that of Musick: both the one and the other, are apprehended by hearing. From whence it commeth, that a childe (in what place soeuer it is nourished and brought vp) apprehendeth

Aug in Cinital. Deul. 16. ca. 11

A refutation of the latter words of S. Augustine.

Such things as are done by instinct of nature onely.

That wordes or speaking proceedeth of a science or discipline.

Speech is an instruction comparable to Musicke.

The mother tongue, or learned from the Mother.

That Adam had neuer spoken of himselfe, or naturally.

Men naturally more enclined to euill then good.

What is truly naturall of the Soule.

The vnaptnes of children in their first yeares, & the effects ensuing by passions of the minde,

The opinion of Aristotle, that the soule hath nothing of it selfe, as concerning Sciences.

eth and retaineth the same vulgar Language (which some tearme Vernacle or Maternall) whatsoever it be, either Hebrew, Greeke, Latine or Barbarisme; one is as easie to him as another. For, in hauing nothing by naturall impression, he is indifferent to all: like as the colour of white receiuerh all other tinctures, and some kinde of water all sauours; and so in the like comparisuns.

*Adam* could neuer haue spoken any naturall language of his owne, no more then we: but God inspired him with an vnderstanding soule, capable of such a language as pleased him: As he did likewise to *Eue*; and their first children learned to speake by them, euen as ours now do of vs.

Heere wee are to know, that from the corruption of our first Parents transgression, we haue and hold al our naturall conditions and inclinations, and namely, the very greatest imperfection that can be, of enclining more vnto euill then good, more truly tearmed Original sinne. But as concerning speech or speaking, we haue it not but by aptitude & habilitie, euen as all other disciplines or instructions.

That which is truly naturall of our soule, is enchased or carractred into a body of such quality, temperature and completion, as man ought to haue for his perfection. For the sonde nicenesse of birth, is like the infant in his first yeare, vnapt to reason, by the imperfection of his body, and likewise as they, who by accident of sicknesse, or passion of minde (as Loue and idle disturbances) become weakly braind, foolish, sottish, lunaticke, and mad. In all which imperfections, the soule is euermore her owne, remaining still in her integrity: and yet (neuertheless) cannot exercise her reason, by not hauing the body at her command.

*Aristotle* instructeth (to singular good purpose) *That our soule is ignorant of all things, and like vnto a new Table, newly polished and prepared, wherein nothing hath bene depicted or engrauen, when it was infused into the body of man, but sent downe from Heauen as we beleue. Shee hath nothing but simplicity, sincerity, purity, facility and conueniencie, with inclination and aptitude to euery Arte and Science, and to all*

*knowledge of things diuine and humane* (which is the true definition of Philosophy) Alwayes reserued and excepted, those faculties and actions, necessarily required in a liuing soule, as those in Beasts; which our soule exerciseth in the body from the very beginning, and before the infant is borne, without doctrine or discipline (as already hath bene related).

Doctrine is not requisite in her, but for Artes and Sciences, hauing nothing in her, whatsoever diuine *Plato* sayeth to the contrary, affirming; *That the reasonable soule hath knowledge of all things, when it commeth into the body: but beeing plunged and submerged in the great humidity of the body, it forgetteth all.* Like to him that becommeth obliuious, or (as they say in Greeke) sicke of a Lethargie, in regard of the Phlegmaticke humour which drowneth his braine. But afterward, in such measure, as the body loseth this great humidity, and drieth it selfe by little and little: the Soule also recouereth it selfe by paucity of degrees, and comprehendeth all things demonstrated and shewne vnto her, as in remembring and acknowledging her selfe, and not in learning any nouelties.

This was the opinion of good olde *Plato*, which maketh well for such as affirme, that wee haue some certainty of Language, which came from our first Parents, *Adam* and *Eue*: and that wee should (in time) speake the very same, if the other, which wee ordinarily heare in our houses, did not preoccupate it. But in truth, our soule neyther knoweth, or holdieth (of it selfe) any Language, nor is affected or giuen to any one in particular: but enclineth equally, and is indifferent to all tongues, and in so good manner, as one hindereth not another, which (perhaps) a naturall tongue would, if it had any at all. At leastwise, some slippes or branches would be remembered thereof, as in such, that could not altogether forget the accents, or the prolations, with some certaine words and phrases of their mother-tongue.

The reasonable soule then, hauing not any language of it selfe, is very proper and apt to comprehend, and well to expresse by sound and entire instruments,

The true definition of philosophy concerning the Soule.

The opinion of *Plato*, quite contrary to that of *Aristotle*, concerning the capacity of the soule.

A naturall Language from our first Parents *Adam* & *Eue*.

That our soule knoweth not any manner of language naturally.

The happy memory of King Mithridates.

That the voice is onely of nature, and not of words or speech.

Every creature hath properly a voice.

Arist. Probl. 57. lib. 11.

What it is to speake, how it is formed, and to what ende.

How an infant beginneth first to practise & attaine to speech.

ments, all diuersity of tongues. As it is recorded of King *Mithridates*, to haue so happy a memory; that he could well and properly speake two and twenty diuers Languages.

By nature, we haue no more simply then a voyce, common to all other creatures that breathe, and different onely in them, by and according to their kindes. For euery animall hath a proper voyce, which grossely signifieth his affections or passions: *Which is no way knowne how to be expressed (saith Ammonius vpon Aristotle) or represented by letters or syllables; no more then the sundry murmures of the Sea, and of the Windes.* Euen so, man in his prime or first moneths, when hee liueth simply as a beast, hath nothing but a voice onely, before he learns to speake: whereof being deprivied, he is said to be dumb, although he hath not lost his voyce. Whereof *Aristotle* speaketh very notably in his Problems: *That Man onely is dumbe.*

Speech then is nothing else, but to fashion and articulate the voice naturall, by addition of a vocall consonance, in the composing and enterlacing, for the expressing of significant words, which explicate, and (as a man may say) do infantize and produce the conceptions of mā: which are infinitely more diuers, and in farre greater number, then those of other Creatures, exempted of reason and discourse. And therefore it greatly behooueth, that a man should know extraordinarily, how to diuersifie his voice, for answering to that which the great capacity of his spirit containeth.

An infant collecteth and assembleth diuers conceptions in his vnderstanding, and the words which he heareth (accompanied with some actions) striue to make signification of all: which he comprehendeth by little and little, and then retaineth by frequent reiteration. Afterward, when his tongue is growne more firme and able; hee striueth to represent that which he hath retained, by imperfect fumbling, and at the ende of a little long apprenticeship, speaketh like to a young Parrot, after a long time spent in listening. For otherwise, as well the one as the other, would haue but his branches or slips, which is the naturall voyce, without any other signification; then of certaine affections or passions, as we haue already said.

Lets now obserue that which *Aristotle* saith, in his Historie of Creatures. *Those creatures which speake, haue voyce also: but all such as haue voyce, speake not. For, such as are deaffe by nature, are also dumb: where by they may yet render a voyce, but not, speake one word.* And in his Booke of the Sences, and their organs, where he maketh a comparilon of such as are blind and deaffe borne, he saith, *Deafe and dumbe are as accidents, which necessarily follow one another.* Also *Alexander Aphrodiseus* produceth in his Problemes, that beeing demaunded, why men borne deafe, should be dumbe likewise; answereth familiarly, *They can neuer speake that which they neuer heard.*

For better confirmation of this matter, we must necessarily adde that which *Aristotle* writeth in the same place before alledged, concerning the Voyce, and the singing of Birdes, which is in part simply naturall, and in part of some intelligence and learning as his owne amongst them. For, I will not heere inferre, that some man may reach a Bird, to tune another Song beside her owne: and the enstruction of the dammes (both he and she) to their yong ones. Whereby we may easily comprehend, that if Birdes haue one naturall song (which is the voyce common to all their kinde) and another taught or apprehended in time of continuing with their owne: that, they could not so keepe and enioy, as if they had bin immediatly seperated, and taken out of the nest. Euen so in like manner, an infant to be frequented with all people that speake, and (by their meere conuersation) instructed to speake; would else haue none other but his owne naturall voyce, as at the instant of his birth, and bringing into the world.

*The voice (saith Aristotle) displaieth, what difference is saide to be among the languages of Beasts & Birds, euen among them of one and the same kinde, in diuers places. Let the Partridge in sundry Countries serue for example, hauing diuers notes; for some chucked or iouke, and others clacker or chirpe. And there are diuers smaller Birds, which chaunt no such notes as their Dams doe; but being taken out of their Nests, are quite changed from paternall education: and so learne the tunes of other instructed Birds, or of mens voices: inuring themselves to their notes, customes and manners. Sometime it hath bene obserued in a Nightingale, that*

Difference betweene the voyce and speech. *Arist in 4. lib. Anim. in cap. 9.*

cap. 1.

*Alex. Aphrod. in lib. Probl. 133.*

That the singing of Birdes is in part by apprehension or learning.

A child without teaching to speake, could haue but his naturall voyce.

*Arist in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 7.*

That Birdes do learne diuers notes & tunes one of another, besides their owne.

taught her *Largon* to her young ones, and so gave them imitation to diuers songs. For, speech cannot come of nature, as the voyce doth: but is to be attained by study and discipline. Thus you may perceiue also, why men make vse of diuers Languages, albeit they are like to one another in voice, &c.

Me-thinks this should seeme prooffe enough, that speech is a thing properly learned by the meanes of hearing, from whence it ensueth inuitably, that such as are deaffe borne, & they that neuer heard any speech (without being deaffe) are dumbe by consequent, except (by succession of time) they doe enjoy hearing, and their eares be vnstopt; as we haue diuers times obserued, and made practise of, by children that haue not spoken before seauen or eight yeares.

Now I come (in passing along) to touch a point not impertinent to our purpose, to wit: What difference there is in the speech, which an Infant learneth of himselfe, from that of a Parrot, a Starling, a Pye, a Larke, a Linner, a Thrush, a Raue, a Iaye, and such like, as they haue learned. Very certaine it is, that as their soules are different, euen so is their Language: in regard that a childe vnderstandeth what he speaketh, and would speake so and so, or better if hee could, to explicate and make his conceptions vnderstood: whereas on the contrary, a Bird hath not any intelligence, of the signification of whatsoever it prateth. So that, if a Bird demaund, or answer sometime (prouing to purpose) it is by hap or aduventure, and not ordinary; except it bee suggested, remembred, or else expressly made to speake it.

Moreouer, a Bird will alwaies adde some crosse thwarting word or other, which argueth sufficiently, that it hath not any intelligence at all. Whereupon it hath bin commonly saide, that whofoeuer speaketh, and knoweth not what he speaketh, prateth like a Parrot. So a simple man may learne some folly, or vnfitting words, in the *Germane*, *Polish*, or any other vnknowne tongue to him, and ignorantly vse it as a salutation, and be derided for his labour: like others, that thinking to bee reputed learned, will vse many Latine sentences and phrases, quite contrary to their owne meaning in the speaking.

It remaineth now to know, seeing the naturall dumbe man is deaffe by consequent: if likewise the man dumbe by nature (by reason of some defect in his tongue, or in other parts requisite for speaking) bee also deaffe consequently? *Lactantius Firmianus*, in his Booke of the workes of God, would haue it to bee so: but being too grosse an Anatomist (as is easily comprehended by his reasons) hee is not in this point to be credited. *Alexander Aphrodisiens*, in the place before alledged, seemeth to say no: but he buildeth vpon no good foundation, when he saith; *That there is a paire of nerues, which come from the Braine, one portion whereof goeth to the tongue, and the other to the eares. And that by this means, the affections of the tooong and of the eares, doe easily communicate themselves together.* Also, forasmuch as that one of the said portions may bee offended and corrupted, without the other: it hapneth also, that a man may become deaffe by some disease, and yet (on the contrary) not be dumbe.

But his supposition holdeth no place in this point, no more then the reasons of some moderne men; following *Pedro de Albano*, tearmed the Peace-maker, saying: *That the sixt likenesse in the Nerues of the Braine, which moueth the tongue, is firmly allied to the fift likenesse, which serueth for hearing.* For, as I will neuer grant, that defect of speech followeth deafenesse, by any consent or simpaty of the tooong with the eares, but only through want of enstruction, which should be receiued by the eares: so can I not consent, that by the vice or incongruity of those parts dedicated to speaking, hearing should any way be offended.

In the acte also there is no likelyhood or coherence, considering that those parts worke not, eyther for the integrity, nor for the construction of the eares, & lesse for the enstruction of hearing, who (for her selfe) hath no neede of any teaching, no more then the sight, or any of the exterior fences. And as for them, they require nothing else, but to be free and open, without any impeachment or hinderance, and that their obiekt should bee neere, within a certaine distance. Why then, we see and heare naturally, without any doctrine or discipline. Seeing then, that hearing neyther taketh or apprehendeth any thing of the verball instruments,

These cond Argument: whether the dumbe man by birth, is also deaffe by consequent.

*Lactan. in Oper. Dei li. 2. cap 7.*

*Alex. Aphrod. in lib. Probl. 133.*

Diuers both ancient and moderne writers deceiued in this point.

An especiall note well worth the obseruing.

What the exterior fences do necessarily require.

The conclusion, that men borne dumbe, are deaffe also

What difference there is betweene the speech of Infants & that of Birds

Whatsoever Birds practise, is quite without any intelligence.

Hearing apprehendeth nothing of the verbal instruments, nor of words.

nor of words themselves (as concerning her owne simple action to heare) he that is dumbe from his birth, by the imperfection of his tongue, shall not be deafe in that respect: no more, then as if from a brane discoursing man, the toong should bee torne out of his head. And it hath bene commonly obserued, that such as haue their tongues cut or slit, haue heard neuer a jot the lesse in that regard, neither found any defect in their hearing.

If it be true then, that the instruments of speech, conferre not nor communicate particularly with the eares, and that speaking worketh nothing with hearing, as (on the contrary) hearing doth, and is necessarie for speech; it ensueth plainely, that the dumbe by nature, shall neuer heare in that respect (supposing, that the organ of the eare or hearing, is no way therein interested. And that the deafe by byrth, must be dumbe necessarily: although in his tongue, and those other parts, requisite for speech, there is not any defect at all. Obserue then I pray ye, that in all this purpose, I speake of birth and of Nature, indifferently, to signifie the deafe or dumbe from the beginning. And I name the dumbe from byrth, not he that cannot speake (for so wee should bee all dumbe) but hee that is not any way apte to speake.

Let vs come now to the third point. From whence it proceedeth, that a man hauing so prompt and able a spirite, that hee comprehendeth all thinges in small compasse of time; is yet (notwithstanding) so slow and tardie, in knowing howe to speake, and articulate his voice. Whereas on the contrarie, beasts & other creatures, immediately, or soone after theyr production, haue their voice absolute & perfect, euen as well and fully, as euer they shall haue.

*Aristotle* in his Problemes, maketh answer heereto, saying; *The voyce of man hath great diuersities in it; other creatures expresse no Letters at all, or very fewe, (as two or three onely) and without Consonants, which, ioyned with Vowels, make the worde. Speech (saith he) is not soly and simply of the voice, but is perfected and accomplished of the affection or condition of the voyce, with signification; and the affections of the voice, they are the letters.* Children therefore, before they know how, or can pronounce

letters, expresse their passions (no other wise then as beasts do) by a natural voice and no way taught or instructed, which is common to all infants, of any country whatsoeuer. But yet speech is different in Towne and Towne, nay, in one and the same Towne or Citty, by reason of the voice artificially distinguished, thorough the great diuersity of letters coupled, and interlaced of infinite kinds; whereof proceedeth diuers words, signifying an infinity of things. Seeing then, that there are so many manners or fashions of speaking; and that (of siue or six letters) may bee made fifty scuerall words, and al differing the one from the other: wee may easilie thereby vnderstand, why an infant formeth his voice so late, in regard of beasts; who haue their voices meeerly simple, & (as *Alexander Aphrodiseus* sayth) most naturall of all creatures.

For, whatsoeuer is extremely diuers, & must be diuersified by many differēces; cannot bee attained in any short space of time. Be it in regard of the soule, which apprehendeth the science of speaking; or be it in the toong, which ought to expresse it, & requireth time also, both to break and enable the words in their vttering, as we vse to say of the hand, for instruments of Musick. Whereupon he that is dumb, beginneth at the first to mumble and snaffle in the mouth, being not able to make a sound of al the Letters, nor to pronounce words with any hability; onely by reason of the tongues softnes, whereas her rudenesse requireth a new labour.

There is another doubt vpon the same purpose, which is much more vneasie to explicate, & *Aristotle* propoundeth it in his Problemes. *From whence it cometh, that some infants begin to speake before due age; to whom commonly the words are formed, and after they haue wel expressed som words, become dumb again, and return to the first condition, until the ordinary terme and time of speaking?* Many haue held this to be prodigious, & especially, when it is told them, that some haue spokē at the very point of their birth. Questionles, it is very rare, and hardly to be credited: and yet it may well happen by naturall reason, as thus. An infant, at the same instant it heareth, it vnderstandeth, & then it may speake. But ordinarily, hearing goeth far before vnderstanding, & vnderstanding likewise precedeth

A childes speech hath many diuersities and difficulties in it.

Difference of speech almost in euery Citie and Towne.

Concerning the voyce of beasts. *Alex. Aphrod.* l. ii. Prob. 48

Things of extreme diuersitie craue time for their learning.

*Arist. in lib. ii. Prob. 27.*

What is the reason, that some infants speake before their time, & afterward become dumbe

The Authors caueate, because he would not be misunderstood.

The third argument. From whence it ensueth, that man is at first so tardie of speech.

*Arist in lib. ii. Prob. 58. & 60*

In the voice of beasts, are few or no letters at all,

speaking: the instrument for speech and words, is not (as yet) of such temperature as is conuenient for explicating those things which the spirit hath conceiued.

On the contrary, some speake much sooner then they knowe how to vnderstand (as we haue already saide of Parrats and other Birds that prattle) counterfeyting such words as they heare: vntill time conuenient for them both, that is to say, ability to vnderstand and speake. Such children then, to whom the obiectes of hearing make much sooner impressiō in the soule, then the instrument of Speech knowes how to perfect: it happeneth to them sometimes, that after they haue vnderstood diuers things, sodainly they pronounce them. And especially after they sleepe, when the spirits haue made themselves more copious; they haue the more strength and impetuous vigour, to moue the tongue in distincter manner. But this endureth not, neither can be of any long continuance; but the infant will returne to his first dumbnesse againe.

In like manner, sometimes wee shall finde our selues so disposed as (vwithout thinking thereon) words and sentences will meerey flow in our mouths: whereof againe (at other times) we shall be so delayed and hindred, as wee can scarcely, or with any easie possibility, expresse things well knowne and familiar vnto vs. Euen so it may come to passe, that an infant shall speak something, and afterward his tongue returning to the first ordinarie condition: he becommeth dumbe, vntill the vttermost time of his perfection and strength.

It is a contrary case, in an infant that becommeth dumbe by deafenesse, after he hath spoken some gibbridge or prittle prattle, yea spoken intelligibly; as we haue heard credibly reported, concerning all the male children of M. *Anthony Butin* (a famous Apothecary in *Tolossa*, dwelling at the signe of the three Kings) frō which his daughters were exempted. They all spake, till about the age of foure years, & afterward became deafe in such sorte, as they could not heare any noyse; and so (by little and little) ceased to speake. This hapned, in regard that their hearing continuing no longer, they did easilie forget

the little Language, which they had learned in their first yeares. As an infant (indeed) is very obliuious, by reason of his great humidity: and particularly the saide *Butines* children, who were verie rheumaticke. And so hauing no longer means of continuance, to apprehend and speake by hearing, they became dumbe. As any one, who hath learned some few French or Dutch words, through want of continuing conference in those Languages, forgets the little he had before. Or hee that discontinueth his Grammer, or som other Science, or playing on Instruments of Musicke, easily forgetteth all by want of vse.

These and such like accidents hapning dayly, confirme our first proposition, in fauour whereof, we haue thus largely discoursed. For, if one may become dumb, by reason of deafenesse, which happeneth by accident, & after he could speak: who will make any doubt at all, but that the deafe by birth, must needs be inuitably dumbe?

I will adde heereto a very notable accident, which maketh some-what to this purpose: of some, that by a Wounde or hurt, or some sickenesse beside of the braine: haue wholly lost remembrance of all things, yea euen of speech, which they learned againe by little and little, like as children do, hauing hearing at their command, and the instruments of speech no way engaged. Graue men, and woorthie of faith, doe testifie, to haue seene some wounded in the head, from one side to the other, and euen in the eye (wherof M. *Rondeletius* relateth an History in his practise, and the appendix to the 21. Chapter) who forgot so much as they owne Names, and were faine to bee taught all things, euen like yong children. So came they wholly to the first condition of an infant from birth: except vulgar speech, which yet some of them retained. But other impressiōs of their tongues became estranged, concerning Artes and Sciences learned before, and thinges which they had formerly both seene and knowne; all quite defaced out of their soules, by the inundation and rauine of the harme.

*The End of the Ninth booke.*

Of such infants as soonest practise to speake, and yet faile thereof afterwards.

An apt comparison of some conditions in our selues, answerable to childrens imperfections.

Of children becomming dumbe by deafenesse.

A rare example of dumbnesse.

Men learning Languages, may soone lose them by want of vse.

Deaf by birth, is inuitably dumbe.

Of such as haue forgot all things, and their owne very names.

*Rondelet. in lib. pract. Cap. 21.*



# The Tenth Booke.

## CHAP. I.

*Of the Kingdome of Ireland: The Antiquity, Originall; and first Inhabitation thereof, according to the confirmation of the best approved Authors.*



**N**In the yeare of the world 1525. the holy Patriarch *Noah*, began to admonish the people, of vengeance to follow, for their wicked liues and detestable finnes; and hee prepared to builde the Arke, as thereby foreshewing to his kinsfolke and friends, the vniuersall Flood or Deluge that was to ensue, and wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered within few yeares, except amendment grew from them in short time; all which he did before the Flood, one hundred and fise and twenty years. But when euery man seemed to neglect his worthis admonitions; a Neece to *Noah*, who was named *Cesara*, hearing this dreadful prophesie of her Vnckle, and doubting least it would come to passe indeed, determined (with certaine friends of hers) to seek their fortune in some forraigne Region. Perswading her selfe, that if she could find a Countrey neuer inhabited, and (consequently) vnspotted with sin: the generall sentence of Gods wrath would not there take effect.

Hereupon, rigging a Nauy, shee committed her selfe to the seas, sayling foorth stil, til at length she arriued in *Ireland*, with three men only, and fifty women; hauing

lost the residue of her company, by misfortune of sundry shipwrackes, sustayned in that her long and troublesome voyage. The names of the men were these, *Bithi*, *Laigria*, and *Fintan*. The coast where shee first set foote on land, and where also shee lyeth buried, was cald *Nauiculare Littus*, *The Shipping riuage or shore*. The Stones, wherein the memory heereof was preserved from violence of the Waters, haue beene seene of some, as they themselues haue reported, but how truely I haue not to say.

Within forty dayes after her comming on Land there, the Vniuersall Floude came, and ouer-flowed all that coast, as well as the other parts of the worlde. But whereas this tale bewrayeth it selfe (too manifestly) to bee an vntrueth, if time and other circumstances be thorowly examined; I will stand no longer about the prooffe or disproofe thereof. Onely this is sufficient (I thinke) to bring it out of credite, to consider: that the Art of Navigation or sayling, was vnknowne to the world, before the vniuersall Deluge, and no part inhabited, except the continent of *Syria*, and thereabout.

But to let passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof engrauen in a Stone, (a deuice borrowed, as some think, from *Iosephus*;) it shall bee sufficient for the glory of the Irish nation in their Antiquity, to graunt, that *Ireland* was discovered and peopled by some of *Noahs* kindred, euen as the first Islands of the Worlde (if they wil needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to y<sup>e</sup> which is set forth in their histories. When about 300. yeares after the generall floode, immediately vpon the confusion of Tongues; *Iaphet*

H h h h 2 and

*Bithi, Laigria, Fintan.*

*Nauiculare Littus.*

*An. mun. 1556*

This tale can carry no likelihood of any truth in it.

*Rab. Isaac in Gen. 50.*

*An. mun. 1557*  
After the best authors, make 300. yeares, & not 100. betweene *Noahs* Flood, & *Babel*.

The warning giuen by *Noah* of the worlds vniuersali destruction by water.

*Cesara*, who was the neece of *Noah*.

*Cesara* arriued in *Ireland*, with three men, and fiftie women.

and his posteritie (imboldden by *Noahs* example) aduentured by ship, to commit themselues to passe the seas, and to search out the vnknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuers Isles in the west parts of the world.

There was (say they) in that retinue, one of the same progeny named *Bartolenus*, or *Bastolenus*, who, encouraged with the late attempt and successe of *Nimrod*, kinsman to *Ninus* (then newly intruded vpon the Monarchy of *Assyria*.) searched so farre west: intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without any partner in authoritie; till at the length, Fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of *Ireland*. Heere hee settled himselfe with his three sonnes *Languina*, *Salanus* and *Ruthurgus*, right actiue and stout Gentlemen, who, searching the Land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names, in certaine notable places, and named after them; as *Languine*, *Stragruus* & mount *Salanga*, since named Saint *Dominicks* hill, and *Ruthurgus* his Poole. Little is remembered of *Bartolenus*, sauing that in short space (with many hands working at once) hee ridde and made playne a great part of the Countrey, ouer-growne with woods and thickets.

Thus became *Ireland* inhabited by this people, vnder the gouernement of the three Sonnes to *Bartolenus*, and their offspring, for the space of three hundred yeares. Together with *Bartolenus*, arriued in *Ireland* certain vngodly people of *Nimrods* race, woorthily tearmed Giants, as those that (in bodily shape) exceeded the common proportion of other men, and vsed their strength to gaine soueraigntie, and to oppresse the weake with rapine and violence. That lineage (*Chams* brood) did grow, in short while, to great numbers, and alwaies endeouored themselues (wheresoeuer they came) to beare the rule ouer others. One cause thereof was their bodily strength, answerable to their hugeness of stature; another, the examples of *Cham* or *Zoroastres* the Magitian, & *Nimrod*, grandfather to *Ninus*. Which two persons (in themselues and progenie) were renowned through the world as victorious Princes, ruling ouer two mighty Kingdomes, *Aegypt* and *Assyria*.

A third cause also there was, namely,

they repined at the blessings bestowed on *Sem* and *Iaphet*, thinking it necessary to withstand all lawfull rule and dominion: lest the curse of slauery (propheesied by *Noah*) should light vpon them, as at the length it did. Whereupon, rebelliously withdrawing their obedience, from their lawfull Gouernours heere in *Ireland*, and raking head; they set vp a King of their owne fashion, and maintayning his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides, betweene the lawfull Gouernours and these vsurpers, with daily risings and skirmishes, so much to the grieffe of them, who coueted to liue in quiet order vnder their rightfull Princes: that they determined, with the chance of one generall battel, eyther wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else, to end their liues in freedome, and so be rid of further misery.

But first, whereas there had growne certayne debates and enmities amongest themselues, whereby they had weakened their owne forces; they held it not amisse, to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the Giants: concluding therefore an agreement, & ioyning in league (with promise) to assist each other in subdewing the common enemy. Growing to assemble their power, out of all partes of the land, and coming to ioyne battel with the Giants; after they had fought fiercely together for the space of certayne houres: victorie enclined to the rightfull part, so that the lawfull Kings preuayling against the vsurping tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole broode of that mischieuous generation. For the Kings, meaning to free themselues from all danger in time to come, vsed their happy victorie with too great crueltie, which after turned to their owne confusion. For, sparing neyther man, woman, nor childe that came in their way, for meere despite, & fuller satisfying their intended reuenge; they vouchsafed not to bury the carcases of their slaine enemies, but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs; through the noysome stench whereof, such an infectious pestilence ensued in all places, only thorow the ayres corruption, as few escaped with life, besides such as got away by Sea.

And hereby runnes a vaine tale among the

Euill exampls are too quickly followed,

Rebellion against Gouernours.

A very generous and worthy resolution

It is not good in weakenes, to warre with strong men,

Victory ouer cruelly vsed, and with more rigour then needed.

A very strange infecting pestilence. *Anno mundi. 2257.*

Bartolenus or Bast lenus. Lem. lib. 4. Cambreid. li. 3

Languina, Salanus and Ruthurgus, the three sons to Bartolenus.

Ruthurgi Stragrum.

Ireland first inhabited.

Giants arriued in Ireland.

Bergion the sonne of Neptune, and brother to Albion (as Iohn Bale hath it) conquered Ireland and the Orkenis.

the *Irish*, that one of the Giants named *Ruanus*, chancing to be preferred from this mortalitie, liued 2041 yeares, which is more then twise the age of *Methusalem*. By this man (say they) *Saint Patricke* was informed, concerning the whole estate of the Countrey, and afterwards, (vppon request) hauing receiued Baptisme of the sayd *Saint Patricke*: hee deceassed in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour, foure hundred and thirty, as in the *Irish* historie hath beene very vnaduisedly written. But, letting that passe, wee finde it recorded, That an infinite number of Giants were slayne and destroyed, in manner as hath beene already related: yet some got themselves into lurking Caues and Dens, and kept closely there, till lacke of food caused them to come foorth, and make shift for sustenance. When, perceiuing no resistance, because the Land was (in a manner) left desolate; they waxed bolder, and when they vnderstoode how matters had passed: they settled themselves in the best parts of the Countrey, easily subdewing the poore silly soules that remayned, and so reuiuing their linage, they became lords of the whole Iland, keping the same in subiection, three score years together.

Among the sons of *Iaphet*, we reade in *Genesis*, that *Magog* was one, who planted his people in *Scythia*, neare *Tanaïs*, from thence, about the yere of the world, 2; 17 *Nemodus*, with his foure sonnes, *Starius*, *Garbaneles*, *Anwinus* and *Fergusius* Captaines ouer a faire companie of people) were sent into *Ireland*: who passing by *Grecia*, and taking in such as were desirous to seeke aduentures with them; at length they landed in *Ireland*, inhabited the Countrey, and multiplied the Land, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giants two hundred and sixteene yeares. At the end of which tearme, the Giants preuayling, chased them thence agayne, so that they returned into *Syria*. This was about the yeare after the Creation (as by their account it should seeme) two thousand five hundred thirtie three; from which time, the Giants kept possession of the Land (without forraigne inuasion) till the yeare two thousand seauen hundred and foure teene. But yet all that time, they were not able to frame a Common-wealth: for, falling still at variance among themselves,

and measuring euery thing by might, seditiously they vexed one another.

Which coming to the knowledge of the *Grecians*, it moued five brethren, sonnes to one *Dela* (being notable Seamen and skilfull Pilots). to rigge a Nauie, & to attempt the conquest of this Iland. These were all of the neereff posteritie to *Nemodus*, and named *Gaudius*, *Genandius*, *Sagandus*, *Rutheranius* and *Slanius*. When all things were ready, and their companies assembled: they put to Sea, and landed at the length in *Ireland*; where finding the power of the Giants greatly weakened, by their owne quarrells and ciuile dissentions; with the more ease did they come to the end of their owne purpose, winning the whole Countrey, and vtterly extirpating that bloodie generation, deadly enemies to mankind: diuiding also the Iland into five parts, and in each of them they seuerally reigning. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and auoyde contention; they concluded to fixe a Meare-stone in the middle point of *Ireland*, to which each of their kingdomes should extend; so that they might be equally partakers of the comodities, found within the Countrey soile.

These brethren also are supposed, to haue inuented the distribution of Shires into Cantreds, euery Cantred or Barony to containe one hundred towneships. At length, desire of soueraignetic, set the five brethren at variance, and greatly hindered their growing wealth. But *Slanius*, getting the vpper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a lowe ebbe: tooke on him as chiefe aboue his other brethren, intruding round about the Meare-middle Stone, for the space of certayne miles, which plot of ground (in time) obtayned the priuilege and name, of one intire part, and now maketh vp the number of five parts (into which *Ireland* is sayd to be diuided) and is called *Meth*, and in Latiné *Media*; taking this name (as some haue supposed) because (in respect of the other) it contained but the moitie of Cantreds, viz. sixteene; whereas each of the other Cantreds comprehended 32. a peece: or else, because it lyeth in the middest of the land. This part *Slanius* ioyned as a surpluse (ouer and aboue his inheritance) to the Monarchy; which part (notwithstanding) grew after to be a seuerall kingdome.

A strange report how long *Ruanus* the giant liued, and that hee was baptized by *S. Patricke*.

Some Giants left that saued their liues in caues & dens.

*Genesis* 10, 2

An. mun 2317 *Nemodus* and his foure sons, *Starius*, *Garbaneles*, *Anwinus*, and *Fergusius*.

*Ireland* again inhabited by the of spring of *Iaphet*.

An. mun. 2533

The sonnes of *Dela*, neere in linage to *Nemodus*, skilfull in Navigation

They passe into *Ireland*, & vtterly rooe out the race of the Giants,

They diuided the whole Iland into five parts, distinguished by a meare-stone.

A Cantred.

Desire of Soueraignetic is the cause of variance,

*Meth* or the middle part of *Ireland*, and how it attained that name

Slanius dyed:  
and was buried  
in a moun-  
taine in Meth

A new Armie  
of Scythians  
arriued in Ire-  
land.

Brennus cald  
into Ireland,  
to ayde one  
part of the fa-  
ctious people.

Segwine king  
of the Allo-  
broges.

The British  
Princes neuer  
enjoyed the  
quiet possesi-  
on of Ireland.

Thirty yeares the Monarchy yet continued in this order; but finally, *Slanius* departed this life, and was buried in a Mountaine of *Meth*, which till now (as they say) beareth name after him. Then the Princes, subiect to him, began to stomacke the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereupon ensued continuall Warres betweene them, which (in long time) could neuer be fully ceassed. In the necke of these troubles also, there arriued in *Ireland* a new Army of Scythians, who made claime vnto the Land (by a title of right) which they pretended from their fore-father *Nemodus*: and so taking and making parts, they set all in such an vprere, that hauocke vvas made on each side hostilely, in most miserable manner.

To be short, they spent themselues, in pursuing one another with such outrage: that they began to grow carelesse, what Nations or Soldiers they receyued to their ayde, either to keepe vp, or beate downe a side. By which occasion, the *Britaines* also stept in among them, procuring *Brennus*, the brother of *Belinus*, to direct his course thither with the same Navy, which he had made ready to passe ouer into *Gallia*, now called *France*, to the ayde of *Segwine*, then King of the *Allobroges*, that inuaded the Countreyes of *Sauoy* and *Daulphinois*.

But his enterprize into *Ireland* tooke small effect, though there were other Kings of the *Britaines*, that got dominion there; insomuch that *Gurgwintius*, or *Gurguntius*, the sonne of *Belinus*, accounted *Ireland* (among other his dominions) to belong to him by lineall descent. Notwithstanding, the British Princes neuer enjoyed the quiet possession thereof, longer then they held it by maine force; but were often repelled, and put to the worse with seeking after it, finding there little other gaine then stripes, whereof they carried away good store. But now to com to the Spaniards, that lastly (vnder the conduct of foure Captaines) passed into *Ireland*, from *Biscaye*, and inhabited that Island: it shall not be impertinent (following the order obserued) to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may the better appeare, from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

In the yeare of the world, 2436. after

the vniuersall flood, 870. while the *Israclites* serued in *Ægypt*, *Gathelus* the sonne of one *Nealus*, a great Lord in *Grecia*, vpon disfaour was exiled his country, with a number of his factious friends and adherents. This noble Gentleman, beeing very wise, valiant, and well spoken: gotte honourable entertaine of *Pharaoh*, surnamed *Orus*. And afterward departing that Countrey, trauesed the seas, and landing first in *Portugall*, after some bickerings with the inhabitants: at length, yet hee got (by their consent) a portion of the Countrey, lying by the bankes of the Riuer, anciently called *Munda*, and now *Mondego*, where (shortly after) he began to builde a Citty, first named *Brachara*, but now *Barsalo*, as *Hector Bætius* affirmeth.

After this, when the people vnder *Gathelus* began to encrease in power; thorough perswasion of the Spaniards their neighbours, they remoued into *Gallicia*, where they also builded a Citty, named *Brigantium*, which is now called *Coruna*. Finally, when they grewe into such a huge multitude, that *Gallicia* was not able to sustaine them; *Gathelus*, with a certain number of them, passed ouer into *Ireland* and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge especially in Languages, hee was highly honoured. For, he not onely enriched and beautified the Irish tongue: but enstructed them in letters also: he sought vp their Antiquities, and likewise practised their youth in warlike exercises, after the manner of the Greekes and Egyptians, from whence he was discended.

To conclude, hee was so acceptable and welcome to them, that (to gratifye such a worthy benefactor) they agreed to call the Island *Gathelia*, and after his wife *Scotia*. This is one opinion, but yet incredible, not onely to *Humfrey Lhuid*, but also to other learned men, and diligent serchers of Antiquities: by reason of the sundry arguments of improbability, as well in the miscount of yeares, as other vnlikelihoods found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, thorowly weighed, and well considered. Yet certaine it is, that *Ireland* was aunciently named *Scotia*, and the people Scots, as by diuers old writings it may be sufficiently proued: albeit, by what occasion it took first

The history  
of the Spaniards  
arriual in  
*Ireland*, vnder  
the conduct  
of foure  
Captaines.

The Riuer of  
*Munda*, now  
*Mondego*.

*Brachara* now  
*Braga* or  
*Barsalo*.

The Cittie  
*Compostella*  
of *Gallicia* in  
*Spaine*.

*Gathelus* pas-  
seth into  
*Ireland*, and is  
there highly  
honoured.

The names of  
*Ireland*, and  
whereof they  
were deriued,  
as they holde  
opinion.

Ireland was  
anciently cal-  
led Scotia.

Bayon build-  
ed by Gathe-  
lus his people

The gouernor  
of Bayon, and  
four brethe-  
ren Spaniards  
trauelled to  
seeke their  
fortune a-  
broad.

Gurguntius  
coming from  
the conquest  
of Denmarke.

Gurguntius  
appointeth  
the Spaniards  
seates in Ire-  
land, to liue  
vnder his  
subiectiō.

first that name, or from whence they came, it is yet doubted. But to proceede with the History, as we finde it. The residue of *Gathelus* his people, which remayned in Spaine, founded the City of *Bayon*, in the Confinnes of *Gascoigne*, and replenished the Sea coastes of *Spaine*, with store of inhabitants. And wel-neere about two hundred yeares, after their first arriual there (when they were againe pestered with multitudes of people) they began to fancie a new voyage: but whether at that time, or some other els, they crosed ouer into Ireland, is altogether vncertaine.

Notwithstanding, sure it is, that in the dayes of *Gurguntius*, King of the Britains, the cheefe Gouvernour of *Bayon*, with four Brethren Spaniardes, two of which are saide to be *Hiberus* and *Hermion*, not the sonnes (as some thinke) of *Gathelus* (as *Heet* or *Batius* affirmeth) but some other perhaps, that were descended of him; who vnderstanding that diuers of the westerne Isles were empty of inhabitants: assembling a great company of men, women, and children, embarked with the same in threescore great vesselles, and directing their course Westwarde, houered a long time on the Sea, about the Isles of *Orkeney*. At length, they met (by good hap) with *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conquest of Denmarke (as in the Brittiish history it apeareth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of victuals and other necessaries (being such, as they were no longer able to endure the Sea, being cumbred with such store of women and children) to direct & appoint them some place, where they might inhabite; promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege-people to him and his heires for euer.

*Gurguntius* aduising with himselfe hereon, remembred, with what trouble he held the Irish in subiectiō, & cōceiuing hope that these strangers might either subdue, or wholly destroy that vnruely generation; accepted & took those oathes of the Spaniards with hostages, & furnishing them & their ships, with all needful things; set them ouer into Ireland, where, assisted with such Brittaines as *Gurguntius* had appointed to go with them for their guides: they made a conquest of the whole country, & settled themselues ioyfully therein.

Some write, that *Ireland* was (before that present) voide of all inhabitants: but yet they agree, that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Britains, & vnder such conditions as before is recited. Whereby it appeareth, that the kings of Britain had an elder right to the realm of *Ireland*, then by the conquest of *K. Henry 2.* which title they euer maintained, & sometimes preuailed in pursuit thereof, as in the daies of *K. Arthur*, to whom the Irish (as in diuers histories is remembred) acknowledged their due subiectiō, with paimēt of their tribute, & making their appearance at the city, called in the British toong, *Caer Lheon*. Vherunto, when their free assent, the submission of their Princes, with lawfull conquest & prescription are annexed; an inuincible title must needs be enforced.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantially assisted with the Britains, settled themselues, and diuided their seats in quarters; the foure Brethren reigning seuerally apart in sundry portions, with good quiennesse and encrease of wealth: vntill pride & ambition armed two of them, against the other two; as *Hiberus* and one of his brethren, against *Hermion* and his Brother. In this dissention, *Hermion* slewe his brother *Hiberus*: of whom, at the same time (as some hold) the countrey was named *Hibernia*. Although some are of opinion, that it tooke name of Iron, by plentifull Mines of that kinde of Metall, wherewith the land abounded: & so those Authors of Antiquity, which call it *Ierna*, name it more aptly after the speech of the inhabitants, then others which cal it *Hibernia*.

Proceede wee now to *Hermion*, who to auoyde the ill opinion of men, by attaining thus to the Soueraignty, making his way through his brothers blood most vnnaturally, and in an unhappie Ciuill-Warre: purged himselfe to his subiects, that neyther maliciously, nor contentiously, but for his necessarie defence and safety, hee had borne Armes agaynst his brethren. And to witnesse, how farre he was from all desire to rule alone: hee appointed certaine Captaines, as Kings, to rule (vnder him) seuerall Countreyes: referuing to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of *Meth*, allotted to the Monarchy, for the better maintenance of his estate.

The arriual  
of the Spani-  
ards in Irelād,  
and their con-  
quest there.

Geffrey Mon.

The Irish wer  
subiect to K.  
Arthur, and  
payed him  
Tribute at  
west Chester.

Dissention  
betweene the  
bretheren,  
such are the  
fruites of am-  
bition.

Hibernia, af-  
ter the name  
of Hiberus, as  
some imagi-  
ned.

No crime so  
manifest or  
detestable,  
that wanteth  
a colourable  
pretence to  
excuse it.

Ireland diu-  
ded into five  
Kingdomes:  
And one soue-  
raigne Ruler  
ouer the rest.

These parts appointed foorth in this wise, at length grew to five Kingdomes, *Leinster, Connaght, Ulster,* and *Mounster* diuided into two parts, and sometime to more, by vsurping or compounding among themselues: but euer, one was chosen to bee chiefe soueraigne Monarch ouer them all. Thus it seemeth certainly, that the *Spaniards* of the North parts of *Spaine*, inhabiting about the Countries of *Biscaine* and *Gallicia*, came and peopled *Ireland* (as both their owne Histories, & the *British* do agree wholly) but from whence they came first, to inhabite those Countries of *Spain*, cannot by me be auouched. For no other Writers (but such as haue registred the *Scottish* Chronicles) make mention of *Gathelus* his coming thither, with *Scota* his Wife, and their people, as by the said Chronicles is pretended.

An hundred and thirty cheefe Kings are reckoned of this Nation, from *Hermion* to *Laogirius*, the sonne of *Nealus Magnus*; in whose time, that holy esteemed man, *S. Patricke* conuerted them to Christianity. But now, while the *Irishmen* liued in some tollerable rest & order, vnder their seuerall Kings; one *Rodoricke*, a *Scythian* Prince (with a small company of men, being weather-driuen about the Coasts of *Britaine*) was by chance cast vpon the shore of *Ireland*. These were *Picts*, and the very first that had bin heard off in those parts (as some good Authors haue recorded) a people (euen from their cradle) naturally addicted to contention, land-leapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardy. They being brought & presented to the *Irish* King, desired Interpretors; which being granted them; *Rodorick* their chiefe Commander and Leader, made this request for him and his, as followeth.

### The Oration of Roderick, King of the Picts, to the King of Ireland.



Not as degenerate, or falling from the courage of our Ancestours, but fashioning our selues to Fortunes course; wee are become to craue of Ireland (as humble Suppliants) who neuer before this present, haue embased our selues

to any other Nation. Behold Sir King, and regard vs well: no light occasion causeth these lustie bodies to stoope. *Scythians* we are, and *Picts* of *Scythia*; no small portion of glory remaineth in these two names. What shall I speake of the ciuill warre, that hath expelled vs from our natiue homes, or rip vp olde Histories, to mooue strangers to bemoane vs? Let our seruants and children discourse thereof at leisure. Our instant motion is, to grant vs some time of abode in your Land, for which effect & purpose, our urgent necessity beseecheth your fauour: A King, of a King, and men of men, are to craue assistance.

Princes can well discern and consider, how neere it toucheth their honour and reputation, yea, and their owne surety, to uphold and releue the state of a King, decayed by treason. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more becometh the nature of men, then to be moued with compassion: yea, euen (as it were) to feele themselues hurt, when they heare and vnderstand of other mens calamities. Admit then (we beseech you) and receiue among yee, these few scattered remnants of *Scythians*. If your roomes be narrow, we are not many: If the soile of your Country be barren, we are borne and inured to hardnesse: if you liue in peace, wee are at your command as subiects: If you warre, we are ready to serue you as Soldiours. We demaund no Kingdome, no State, no pompeous triumph in *Ireland*. We are heere alone, and haue left such vanities behinde vs with our enemies. Howsoeuer you esteeme of vs, we shall content our selues therewith, and learne to frame our likings to yours: as calling vnto minde, what we haue bene, not what we are.

Great consultation was had about the request of these strangers, & many things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the *Irish* gaue foorth for answer, the opinion of their Antiquaries, such as were skilfull in olde Histories, & graue sayings of their Elders. Whereby they gathered, that it could not be expedient for the, to accept the *Scythians* into their Land; because commixture of Nations in any Realme, bringeth quarrels. Moreouer, the multitude of their owne Inhabitantants was such, that roome in the whole Isle was scarce able to receiue them: and therefore those few new commers, being placed among

Dreadlesse he deliuereth of what country they are, and what manner of people in the Country.

Princes can best iudge how to succour and releue one anothers distresse.

Misery is very apt in making shewes of great humiliation.

In doubtfull cases it is alwayes good to consult with deliberation & aduice

An hundred and thirty Kings from *Hermion* to *Laogirius*.

The first *Picts* arriued in *Ireland*.

mong so many auncient Inhabitants, might quickly breed disturbance to bring all out of ioynt, neuerthelesse, they returned them this answer.

The Answer of the Irish King, to the Oration made by King Rodericke.

WE haue considered on your request, as also those extremities wrdging thereto: And though we may not (conueniently) receiue you among vs; yet shall you finde vs ready in furthering ye to our neighbours. Not farre hence lyeth the great Isle of Britaine, in the North-part whereof (being voide of Inhabitants) your manhood and pollicie may purchase roome, to place your selues at your ease. We shall appoint Captaines to guide you thither, and wee shall assist yee with our Forces in that Countrey. Make ready your Shippes, that you may passe thither with all conuenient speed.

Encouraged by this perswasion, they tooke their course towards the North parts of Britaine, now called Scotland, where (contrary to their expectation) Marius, King of Britaine, was ready to auaite their comming, and with sharpe battaile vanquishing them in field, slewe Rodericke, with a great number of his followers. Those that escaped with life, & sought vnto him for grace; he licensed to inhabite the vtermost ende of Scotland. This Marius, Humfrey Lhuid taketh to be the same, whom the Romaine Writers name Aruiragus, who reigned about the yeare of our Lord, seuenty: A Prince of noble courage, and of no smal estimation in his dayes, as appeareth by that which is written of him. His right name (as the said Lhuid auoucheth) was Meurig.

But now concerning the Picts, whether those that escaped with life, got the Seas by King Meurigs graunt, or getting to their Ships, with-drew into the Isle of Orkeney, is doubtfull. Wiues also they wanted to encrease their issue, & because the Britaines thought scorne to match their daughters, with such an vnknowne and new come Nation: the Picts continued; their first acquaintance with the

rish, and (by entreaty) obtained Wiues from them, with condition, that if the Crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yeelde thus much to the prerogatiue of the woman: that the Prince should bee elected rather of the blood Royall of the Female kinde, then of the Male. Which order (saith Beda) the Picts were very well knowne to keepe vnto his time.

Heere I could enter into a long, various and fruiulous discourse, concerning great combustions, warres and bloody contentions, happening (for a very long time) betweene the Irish, Picts and Scots: but being impertinent to my intended purpose, and little beneficiall to the Reader; I will first describe the parts and diuisions of Ireland into Shires and Countries, and then proceed to shew, how it receiued the Christian faith at the first.

Ireland became diuided into foure Regions; Leinster East; Connaght West; Ulster North; Mounster South: And into a fift plot, defalked from euery fourth part, yet mearing on each part, called thereof Media, Meeth, compuzing as well East Meeth, as West Meeth. Leinster butteth vpon England; Ulster vpon the Scottish Islands, which face with the Hebrides, scattered betweene both the Realmes: wherein (at this day) the Irish Scot, Successour of the elder Scythian, Pict or Red-shanke dwelleth. Each of these fiue, where they are frame-able to ciuility, & answer the Writs of the Princes Courts; are sundred into Shires or Counties in this manner.

In Leinster lyeth the Counties of Dublyn, Kildare, Weisford or Gueisford, Cathirlach, Kilkenny, the Counties of Leise and Ophalie, called the Kings and Queenes Counties: these two were so named by Parliament, in the Reignes of Phillip and Mary, hauing Shire-Townes concordant, as Phillips Towne, and Mary-Bourgh.

Connaght hath the County Clare. Ulster, the Counties of Louth, Doune, Antrim, one moiety of the Towne of Droghedagh (for the rest is in Meeth) and Carre-fergus.

In Mounster lye the Counties of waterford, Limerike, Corke, the County Palantine of Tipperary, Kerie, & the Crosse of Tipperarie. In elder time, Mounster was

Picts marry with the Irish, and couenant the succession of their kings

The diuisions of Ireland.

- 1 Legenia.
- 2 Connatia.
- 3 Hultonia.
- 4 Momonia.
- 5 Media.
- West Meeth & East Meeth
- Hebrides.

The Shires & Counties of Ireland. Leinster.

Connaght. Ulster.

Mounster, and how diuided in elder time.

Wise men preuent their owne perils by putting the to others, so the Irish perswaded the Picts to place themselves in Brittain.

Marius, otherwise called Aruiragus King of the Britaines slew king Roderick

The Britaines scorned to marry their daughters with the Picts

was diuided into East *Mounster*, *Ormond*, West *Mounster*, *Desmond*, South *Mounster*, and *Toonemound*. Now the reason why *Ireland* was thus diuided, you haue heard already, by the five brethren arriuing there, valiant and Martiall Gentlemen; *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagundus*, otherwise named *Gangandus*, *Rutheragus* or *Rutheranus* and *Slanius*.

There was also another diuision of *Ireland*, into the *English Pale*, and *Irishry*. For, whē *Ireland* was subdued by the *English*, diuers of the Conquerours planted themselues neere vnto *Dublin*, and the confines thereto adioyning, and so enclosing and impaling themselues (as it were) within certaine lists and territories; they forced away the *Irish*. In somuch, as that Country became meere *English*, and thereof it was tearmed the *English Pale*: which (in ancient time) stretched from *Dundalk* to *Catherlaogh* or *Kilkenny*. But afterward, what by the slacknesse of Marchers, and encroching of the *Irish* enemy; the scope of the *English Pale* became greatly impaired, being cramped and caught into an odde corner of the Country, named *Fingall*, with a parcell of *Meeth* the Kings Land, the Countries of *Kildare* & *Louth*, which parts were applyed cheefely with good husbandry, and taken for the richest and ciuilest soyles in *Ireland*. But *Fingall* especially (from time to time) was alwayes so addicted to the chiefe points of husbandry; as that they became nicknamed by their neighbors (for their continuall drudgery) *Collonnes*, of the Latine word *Coloni*, wherunto the clipt *English* word *Clowne*, seemeth to be answerable.

The word *Fingall* counteruaileth in *English*, the race or sept of the *English* or strangers, because they were soly seized of that part of the Island, gryping with their Talents that warme nest so firmly; thar from the Conquest, to this day, the *Irish* enemy could not rouze thē thence. The Inhabitants of the *English Pale*, haue beene (in olde time) so much addicted to their ciuility, and so farre sequestred from barbarous sauagenesse; that their onely mother tongue was *English*. And truly, so long as these impaled dwellers, did sunder themselues (aswell in land, as in language) from the rude *Irish*: rudenesse was day by day supplanted in the Country,

ciuility engrafted, good lawes establisht, loyalty obserued, rebellion suppressed, & in the ende, the coine of a young *England* was like to shoote in *Ireland*. But when their posterity became not altogether so wary in keeping, as their Ancestors were valiant in conquering; the *Irish* language became free-dennized in the *English Pale*. This canker tooke such deepe roote, that the body, which before was whole and sound: became festered by little and little, and (in a manner) wholly putrified. And not only this parcel of *Ireland* grew to that ciuility; but *Ulster* also, and the greater part of *Mounster*. Albeit, of all other places, *Weisford*, with the territory baied, and perclosed within the Riuer called the *Pill*, was so quite estranged from *Irishry* (which was rare in those dayes) that if a trauailer of the *Irish*, had pitcht his foote within the *Pill*, and spoken *Irish*: the *Weisfordians* would command him forthwith, to turne the other ende of his tongue, and speake *English*, or else to bring his Troughman with him. But afterward, they so acquainted themselues with the *Irish*, making a mingle-mangle of both languages, that (commonly) the Inhabitants of the meaner sort, grew to speake neither good *English* nor good *Irish*.

Wee come now to declare, in what manner *Ireland* came to receiue the christian faith: And finde, that immediately after Christs time, Saint *James* the Apostle & other, trauailing into these West parts; did first enstruēt the *Irish* people, and teach them the glad tydings of the Gospel. So that diuers among them, euen then were christened, and beleecued: but not in such numbers (as may be thought) wherby it should be said, that the Country was generally conuerted. Notwithstanding, the *Scottish* Chronicles doe auouch, that in the dayes of *Fincomarke* their King, who departed this life in the yeare of our Redemptiō, 358, *Ireland* was conuerted to the faith, by this meanes.

A woman of the *Pictish* blood (say they) chanced in those dayes to serue the Queene of *Ireland*; which woman herselfe beeing a Christian, first enstruēt her Queene and Mistresse, in the faith & true points of Christianity, & the Queen her Husband the King, who conuerted the whole *Irish* Nation. Howbeit, by the report

The Irish Language free-dennized in the English Pale.

Weisford wholly English.

The Riuer Pill

Ireland enstruēt in the Christian faith by Saint James the Apostle.

Fincomarke King of Scotland.

A Pictish woman conuerted the queen of Ireland to the faith.

Another diuision of Ireland into the English Pale, and the Irishry.

The empaying of the English Pale.

Fingall excelled in husbandry.

Collonnes of Fingal clownes

Fingall, and why it was so named.

The great ciuility in ancient times among the impaled dwellers.

of the *Irish* Writers themselves, this should not seeme altogether true.

For they affirmed, that their Country was rather still esteemed as one of the vnchristned Isles, till about the yeare of our Lord, foure hundred twenty and sixe: when *Celestine*, the first of that name, gouerned the See of *Rome*, who, on conference had with his Cleargie, touching the restoring of the Christian faith in the West parts of the world (greatly there decayed by the heresie of *Pelagius*) vnderstood that *Ireland* also, by reason of distance from the heart of Christendome, and rudenesse of the Nation; had receiued little fruit at all of true Religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other, that then were assembled to treat of those matters, was one *Paladius*, Arch-deacon of *Rome*, who offered his charitable trauaile, towards the couersion of those lands, whither it should please them to appoynt him to goe. *Celestine* knowing the sufficiency of the man, consecrated him Bishop, authorized his journey by Letters vnder his Seale, furnished his wants, and associating to him, such religious persons and others, as were thought necessary to assist him: deliuered vnto him the Bible with great solemnitie, and other monuments, in furtherance of his good speede, for so long and tedious a journey.

At length hee landed in the North of *Ireland*, from whence he hardly escaped (with life) into the Isles adioyning, where he preached the Gospell, and conuerted no small number of *Scots* to the Christian faith and beleefe; purging also that part which was christened, from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottish historie more at large appeareth. He was required by the *Scots*, that dwelt in *Britaine*, to leaue the Isles, and come ouer to them, there to instruct the people in the way of true saluation: to the which (with the Popes licence) he seemd willing enough. And the bishop of *Rome*, the more readily condescended thereto, because at that instant time, when *Paladius* was to depart: one *Patricke* attended at *Rome*, suing for licence to be sent into *Ireland*.

The Pope therefore graunted, that *Paladius* might passe ouer to the *Scottes* in *Britaine*, and appoynted *Patricke* to goe (with authoritie from him) into *Ireland*,

where, vpon his arriual, hee found the people so well bent to heare his admonitions (contrary to their accustomed forwardnesse) that a man would haue imagined, vpon sight of their readinesse; that the Land had bene reserued for him to conuert. And because it pleased God, to bestow such an vniuersall benefite on the Land, by his meanes; wee thought good (by folowing our Author herein) to touch some part of the course of his life.

This *Patricke*, in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the Marches betweene *England* and *Scotland*, in a Towne by the Sea side, named *Eiburne*, whose fathers name was likewise called *Calphurnius*, a Deacon, and sonne to a Priest: his Mother, named *Conches*, was sister to *S. Martine*, that famous Bishoppe of *Tours* in *France*. *Patricke* (of a childe) was brought vp in learning, and well instructed in the faith, beeing much giuen to deuotion. The *Irishmen* (in those daies) assisted with some *Scots* and *Picts*, were become arch-Pirats, greatly disquieting the Seas about the Coasts of *Britaine*, and vsed to sacke little small Villages, that lay scatteringly along the shore, and would leade away the Inhabitants captiue home into their Country. And as it chanced, *Patricke* being a Lad of sixteene yeares olde, and a Scholler then in secular learning: was taken among other, and became slaue to an *Irish* Lord called *Maebuaine*, from who (after the terme of sixe yeares) he redeemed himselfe, with a piece of gold, which he found in a clod of earth, that the swine had newly turned vp, as he followed the in the time of his captiuitie, beeing appointed (by his Master) to take charge of them, and keepe them.

And as affliction (commonly) maketh men religious; the regard of his former education, had stamped in him such remorse and humility, that beeing thenceforth weaned from the world: hee tooke himselfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and trueth in that Land. And withall not despairing, but that (in continuance of time) some good might be wrought vpon them; hee learned the Language perfectly. And, alluring one of that Nation, to beare him company for exercise sake; hee departed thence, and got him into *France*, euer hauing in his minde, a desire to see the conuersion

The heresie of Pelagius had greatly decayed Christian faith in the west parts of the world.

Paladius made offer to go into Ireland, and therupon was consecrated Bishop.

Paladius landed in the north of Ireland, and conuerted many to the Faith.

The Scots in Britaine required the company of Paladius

Patricke sent into Ireland, and Paladius appointed to go into Scotland.

The towardnesse of the Irish men to heare Patricke's preaching.

In what place Saint Patricke was borne.

The life of S. Patricke discoursed briefly.

Saint Patricke taken prisoner when he was young, and how hee redeemed himselfe.

Affliction is an especiall meanes to make men become religious

The passage Patricke into France.

uerfion of the *Irish* people, whose babes yet vnborne, seemed to him in his dreaming, from forth their mothers wombs, to call for Christendome.

In this purpose, he sought out his vnkle *Martine*, by whose meanes he was placed with *Germanus* the Bish. of *Auxerre*, continuing with him as Scholler or Disciple for the space of fourtie yeares: all which time hee bestowed in the studie of holy Scriptures, Prayers, and such godly exercises. Afterwards, being renowned through the Latine Church, for his wisdom, vertue and learning: hee went to *Rome*, bearing Letters with him in his commendation, from the *French* bishops vnto Pope *Celestine*, to whom hee vttered his whole minde and secret vow, which long before hee had conceiued as touching *Ireland*. *Celestine* inuested him Archbishop and Primate of the whole Island, set him forward with al fauor he could deuise, bringing him and his disciples onward to their Countrey.

In the 23 yeare of the Emperour *Theodosius* the yonger, being the yeare of our Lord, 430. *Patricke* landed in *Ireland*, and bicause he spake the tongue perfectly, and withall, being a reuerend personage in the eyes of all men; many listened and gaue eare to his preaching. And the rather, because (as some Writers haue recorded) he confirmed his Doctrine with diuerse miracles. But especially those men regarded his words before all others, that had some taste of the Christian Faith before, eyther by the coming into those partes of *Paladius* and his Disciple one *Albius*, an *Irish* Bishop, or otherwise by some other. For, it is to be thought, that continually there remained some spark of knowledge of Christianity, euer since the first preaching of the Gospell, which was shortly after Christs Ascention, by *S. James* as before is mentioned. But in continuance of time, *Patricke* wonne the better part of that kingdome to the faith of Christ.

*Lai gerius* son to *Nealus* the great Monarch, albeit he receiued not the Gospell himselfe; yet he permitted all that would to embrace it. But because he refused to be baptised, and apply to his doctrine; the Bithop denounced against him a curffe from God accordingly, but yet tempered with mercy and iudgement, as thus: *That during his life he should be victorious: but*

*after him, neither should the kingdome stand, nor his linage inherit.* Thence he tooke his way to *Conill*, lord of *Connagh*, who honorably receiued him, and was conuerted with al his people: sending him afterward to his brother *Logan*, king of *Leinster*, who he also conuerted. In *Mounster* he found great frendship, by the means of an Earle there, called the Earle of *Daris*, who honored him highly, & gaue him a dwelling place in the East Angle of *Armagh*, called *Sorta*, where he erected many Celles and Monasteries, both for religious men and women. He trauelled 30. yeares in preaching through the land, planting Bishops and Priests in conuenient places, whose learning and conuersation, by the especial grace & fauor of God, established the Faith in that rude nation. Other 30. yeres he spent in his prouince of *Armagh*, among his brethren placed in those houses of Religion, which by his means were founded. So he liued (in all) about 122. yeares, and lyeth buried in *Downe*.

Now, concerning the chiefe citties and townes of *Ireland*, we are first to speake of *Dublin*, termed the beautie and eye of *Ireland*. I find it recorded, that about the yere 155. three noble Easterlings, being brethren, ariued in *Ireland*, whose names were *Auellanus*, *Sitaracus* and *Tuorus*. *Auellanus* being the eldest brother, built *Dublin*; *Sitaracus*, *Waterford* and *Tuorus*, *Limerike*. Of the founder *Auellanus*, *Dublin* was termed *Auellana*, and after, by corruption of speech, *Eblana*, and so *Ptolomie* calleth it. Some termed it *Dublin*, other, *Dublinia*, many *Dublinum*, but Authors of better skill name it *Dublinium*. This cittie, as it is not inferiour for Antiquity to any in *Ireland*; so in pleasant scituation, gorgeous buildings, multitude of people, martiall Chiuallry, obedience and loyalty, abundance of wealth, largeness of hospitality, in manners and ciuilitie, it is superiour to all other citties and towns in that realme: whereupon it is commonly called, the *Irish* or yong *London*. The Charter of this cittie is large, King *Henry* the 4. gaue it the Sword, in the yeare 1409. and was ruled by a Maior and two Bailiffes: which were changed into Sheriffs, by a Charter granted by king *Edward* the sixt, 1547. But it appeares by the ancient Seale of this cittie called *Signum prapositura*, that the Cittie hath (in elder times) bene gouerned

Conill Lord of Connagh.

Logan King of Leinster.

The Earle of Daris.

The death of S. Patricke & his place of buriall in Downe

The famous cities & townes of Ireland.

Dublin, & the first founder thereof, who was Auellanus

Dublin the Irish London.

The Sword giuen to Dublin. Sheriffes of Bayliffes.

Saint Patricke placed in seruice with Germanus Bishop of Auxerre.

He went to Rome, highly commended to pope Celestine.

Patricke inuested Archbishop of Ireland.

Patricke verie reuerently respected by the people in Ireland.

Albius an Irish Bishop, disciple to Paladius.

Lai gerius son to Neale the great monarch of Ireland, permitted the Irishmen to become christians

uerne by a Pronost.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus, in the yeare 155. beeing a Citty properly builded, and very well compact. Both yong and old there are giuen to thriving, free from factions: the men deale in traficke, the women in spinning & carding; and as they distill the best Aqua vita, so they spinne the cheefest Rugges in Ireland.

Of this Citty Waterford it is written, to haue continued so loyall to the Crowne of England, that it is not found registred (since the Conquest) to haue bin stained with the smallest spot of treason, notwithstanding the sundry assaults of traiterous attempts. And therefore the Cities Armes are deckt with this golden word: *In tacta manet.*

Limericke, called in Latine *Limericum*, was builded by Yuorus, about the very same yeare of 155. coasting on the Sea, hard vpon the Riuer *Sennan*; whereby are most notably seuered *Mounster* and *Connaght*, the *Irish* name this Citty, *Loumneagh*, and therefore in English it is called *Limerike*.

Corke, in Latine *Corciuam* or *Corracium*, the fourth Citty of Ireland, happily planted on the Sea: their Hauen being a Hauen royall. On the land-side they were so encumbred with euill neighbours, the *Irish* Out-lawes, that they were faine to watch their gates hourelly, to keepe them shut at seruice times, and at meales. And from Sun to Sun, not to suffer any stranger to enter the Citty with his weapon, but to leaue it at a Lodge appointed.

Drogheda, accounted the best Towne in Ireland; and truly not farre behinde some of their Citties: the one moiety of this Towne is in *Meeth*, the other planted on the further side of the water, lyeth in *Ulster*.

There ranne a blinde Prophecie of this Towne, that *Rosse* was, *Dublin* is, *Drogheda* shall be the best of the three.

*Rosse*, a Hauen Towne in *Mounster*, not farre from *Waterford*, seeming to haue beene (in ancient time) a Towne of great port, whereof sundry and probable coniectures are giuen, by the olde Ditches, which are now a mile distant from the Walles of *Rosse*: betweene which walles and ditches, the reliques of the auncient Walles, Gates, and Towers (placed be-

tweene both) are to be scene vnto this day.

*Weisford*, a Hauen Towne not farre from *Rosse*, whereof no great matters are recorded: but onely that it is to be esteemed by all the English posterity planted in *Ireland*, as a Towne that was the first Fortresse and Harbourer, of the English Conquerors, doing them (from time to time) many great and acceptable seruices.

*Kilkenny*, the best vpland, or (as they tearme it) the properest dry Towne in *Ireland*; is diuided into the high Towne, and the *Irish* Towne. The high Towne was builded by the English, after the Conquest, and had a parcell of the *Irish* Towne vnted to it, by the Bishops grant, made vnto the Founders vpon their earnest request. *Robert Talbot*, a worthy Gentleman, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred, enclosed with walles the better part of this Towne.

*Thomas Towne*, a proper Towne builded in the County of *Kilkenny*, by one *Thomas Fitz-Anthony*, an Englishman: thereof the *Irish* call it *Ballie mac-Andan*, that is, *The Towne of Fitz-Anthony*. But because the Reader may perceiue, in what parts of the Country the Citties and cheefe Townes stand, I haue set them downe in this order.

*Drogheda*, *Carregfargus*, *Downe*, *Armagh*, *Arglashe*, *Cloagher*, *Muneighan*, *Doonegaule*, *Karreg mac Rosse*, *Newrie*, *Carlingford*, *Ardie*, *Doondalke*, *Louth*, *Dublin*, *Bulrudrie*, *Luske*, *Swords Tashaggard*, *Lions*, *Newcastle*, *Ratheoule*, *Oughter arde*, *Naas*, *Clane Mainooth*, *Kilcocke*, *Rathaimgan*, *Kildare*, *Luiarne*, *Castle-Towne*, *Phillips-Towne*, *Mary-borough*, *Kilcullen*, *Castle-Marten*, *Thistledermot*, *Kilca*, *Athie*, *Catherlaugh*, *Leighelen*, *Garrarne*, *Thomas Towne*, *Enestio ke*, *Cashelle*, *Callanne*, *Kilkenny*, *Knocktofer*, *Rosse*, *Cloumelle*, *Weisford*, *Ferres*, *Fidderd*, *Enescortie*, *Talbmon*, *Wickloa*, *Ackloa*, *Waterford*, *Lismore*, *Doonarnon*, *Yoghill*, *Corke*, *Limerike*, *Kilmallocke*, *Aloana*, *Galuoie*, *Anrie*, *Louaghriagh*, *Clare*, *Toame*, *Sligagh*, *Rosse comman*, *Aritlowne*, *Trimme*, *Doonshaghenne*, *Rathlouth*, *Nauanne*, *Aooie*, *Scrim*, *Taraugh*, *Kelmles*, *Doonboine*, *Greenocke*, *Dulecke*, *Molingare*, *Fowre*, *Loughsende*, *Kilkeniwest*, *Moilagagh*, *Deluinne*.

Waterford called Menapia by Ptolomy.

The worthy loyaltie of Waterford.

The Poetic of Waterford.

Limericke, Yuorus the Founder thereof.

Corke the fourth Citty of Ireland.

Drogheda.

Rosse.

Weisford.

Kilkenny.

Walles builded in Anno. 1500 by M. Robert Talbot.

Thomas town

The names of the cheefe Townes in Ulster.

The names of the cheefe Townes in Leinster.

Cheefe townes in Mounster. Cheefe townes in Connaght. Cheefe townes in Meeth. Cheefe townes in Westmeeth

Diuisiō made of Meeth into two Counties.

The names of the cheefest Hauen towns in Ireland.

Of the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in Ireland.

The Archbshoppricke.

29. Suffragans

Vnder Ar-magh.

Vnder Dublin

In the foure and thirtie yeare of the Reigne of King *Henry* the eight, it was enacted in a Parliament holden at *Dublin*, before Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, Knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland: that *Meeth* should be diuided and made two Shires, one of them to bee called the County of *Meeth*, and the other to bee named the County of *Westmeeth*. And that there should be two Sheriffes, & Officers conuenient within the saide Shieres, as is more at large expressed in the Act.

*Loughfoile*, the *Banne*, *Wolderfrith*, *Carregfergus*, *Strangford*, *Ardglass*, *Longheuē*, *Carlingford*, *Kilkeale*, *Dunkalke*, *Kilclogher*, *Duane*, *Drogheda*, *Houlepatrike*, *Namie*, *Baltraie*, *Brimore*, *Balbriggen*, *Roggers-Towne*, *Skerrish*, *Rush*, *Malahide*, *Barleadoile*, *Houth*, *Dublin*, *Dalkee*, *Wickincloa*, *Arckloa*, *Weisford*, *Bagganbun*, the *Passage*, *Waterford*, *Dungaruan*, *Rosse noua*, *Youghille*, *Corke mabeage*, *Corke*, *Kinsale*, *Kierie*, *Rosse Ilbere*, *Dorrie*, *Baltinimore*, *Downenere*, *Downeshead*, *Downclounge*, *Attannanne*, *Craghanne*, *Downeubwine*, *Balineskiliiedge*, *Daugine Ichouse*, *Trolie*, *Semme*, *Cassanne*, *Kiluewine*, *Limerike*, *Inniskartee*, *Belalenne*, *Arinewing*, *Glanemaugh*, *Balliweiham*, *Binwarre*, *Dowris*, *Woran*, *Roskam*, *Galwaie*, *Killinillie*, *Innesbosinne*, *Owran*, *Moore*, *Kilcolken*, *Burske*, *Belleclare*, *Rathesilbene*, *Bierweisowre*, *Bucaneis hare*, *Ardnemakow*, *Rosbare*, *Kilgolinnewallalele*, *Rabranne*, *Strone*, *Berweis now*, *Zaltra*, *Kalbalie*, *Ardnocke*, *Adrowse*, *Sligaghe*, *Innes Bowsenne*.

The spirituall Iurisdiction of Ireland, is ordered into foure Prouinces, whereof the Primacy was euer giuen (in reuerence of *S. Patricke*, that conuerted the Country) to the Archbithoppricke of *Armagh*, who is called *Primas totius Hiberniæ*, and the Archbishop of *Dublin*, *Primas Hiberniæ*. Which custome was since confirmed by *Eugenius* the third, in Anno. 1148. or 1152. Who sent withal three other palles of Archbishops to be placed, one at *Dublin*, one at *Cashill*, and the last at *Twene*.

To these were Suffraganes in right, nine and twenty, and they all to the *Primas* of *Armagh*. Vnder whose Prouince are the Bishops of *Meeth* and *Deren*, *Ardach*, *Kilmore*, *Cloghere*, *Donne*, *Coner*, *Clonknos*, *Raboo*, *Dromoore*.

Vnder *Dublin*, whereunto *Innocentius* the third vnited *Glandelagh*, the Bishop

of *Elphine*, *Kildare*, *Fernes*, *Ossorie*, and *Leighlin*.

Vnder *Cashill*, the Bishop of *Waterford*, to whom *Lismore* is vnited, *Corke* and *Clone*, *Rosse*, *Ardigh*, *Limerike*, *Emelie*, *Killalooe* and *Ardfert*.

Vnder *Twene*, *Kilmaco*, *Olfine*, *Anaghdonne*, *Clonfers* and *Morroo*.

In this recount some difference happeneth, by reason of personall and reall vnion of the Sees, and for other alterations.

The Names of the Gouernours, Lieutenants, Lord Iustices, and Deputies of Ireland, since the Conquest thereof, by King *Henry* the second.



*Richard Strongbow*, Earle of *Pembroke*, Gouernour, *Reimond le Grace* beeing ioyned (for his more ease) in Commission with

him.

*Reimond le Grace*, Lieutenant by himselfe.

*William Fitz-Adelme*, Lieutenant, hauing *John de Curcy*, *Robert Fitz-Stephans*, and *Miles Cogan*, ioyned in Commission with him.

*Hugh Lacie*, Lieutenant.

*John Lacie*, Constable of *Chester*, and *Richard de Peche*. } Gouernours.

*Hugh Lacy*, againe Lieutenant.

*Hugh Lacy* the younger, Lord Iustice.

*Henry Loandoris*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

*Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, Lord Iustice.

*John Fitz-Geffrey*, Knight, Lord Iustice.

*Alan de la Zouch*, Lord Iustice.

*Stephen de Long Espe*, Lord Iustice.

*William Deane*, Lord Iustice.

Sir *Richard Rochell*, or *Capell*, Lord Iustice.

*David Barry*, Lord Iustice.

*Robert Vfford*, Lord Iustice.

*Richard de Excester*, Lord Iustice.

*James Lord Audley*, Lord Iustice.

*Maurice Fitz-Maurice*, Lord Iustice.

*Walter*, Lord *Genuille*, Lord Iustice.

*Robert Vfford*, againe Lord Iustice.

*Fulborne*,

Vnder Cashil

The yeares of our Lord. 1174.

1177.

1182

1227.

1228.

1253.

1258.

1261.

1267.

1268.

1269.

1270.

1272.

1281.	<i>Eulborne</i> , Bishop of <i>Waterford</i> ; Lord Justice.	<i>Robert Vere</i> ; Earle of <i>Oxford</i> , Marquesse of <i>Dublin</i> , created Duke of <i>Ireland</i> .	
	<i>John Stamford</i> , Archbishoppe of <i>Dublin</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Roger Mortimer</i> Earl of <i>March</i> , Lieutenant.	1394.
	<i>William Vesce</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Roger Mortimer</i> , Earle of <i>March</i> and <i>Wester</i> , Lieutenant.	
1295.	<i>William Dodingsels</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Roger Grey</i> , Lord Justice.	
	<i>Thomas Fitz-Maurice</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>John Stanley</i> Knight; Lord Lieutenant.	
1298.	<i>John Wogan</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Thomas</i> of <i>Lancaster</i> , brother vnto King	
1384.	<i>Theobald Verdon</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Henry</i> the 4. Lord Lieutenant; whose	1401.
1315.	<i>Edmond Butler</i> , Lord Justice.	Deputies at sundry times, were <i>Alexander</i> , Bishop of <i>Meeth</i> ; <i>Stephen Scroop</i> , Knight, and the Prior of <i>Kilmainan</i> .	
1317.	<i>Roger Lord Mortimer</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>James Butler</i> , Earl of <i>Ormond</i> , Lord Justice	1403.
	<i>Alexander Bignor</i> , Archbishop of <i>Dublin</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Gerald</i> , Earle of <i>Kildare</i> , Lord Justice.	
1319.	<i>Roger Lord Mortimer</i> , the second time Lord Justice.	<i>James Butler</i> , Earle of <i>Ormond</i> , sonne to the foresaid <i>James</i> , Lord Justice.	1407.
1320.	<i>Thomas Fitz-Iohn</i> , Earle of <i>Kildare</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>John Stanley</i> , againe Lord Lieutenant.	1413.
1321.	<i>John Birmingham</i> , Earle of <i>Louth</i> ; Lord Justice.	<i>Thomas Cranley</i> , Archbishop of <i>Dublin</i> , Lord Justice.	
1323.	<i>John Lord Darcy</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>John Lord Talbot</i> of <i>Sheffield</i> , Lieutenant.	1414.
1327.	<i>Roger Outlaw</i> , Prior of <i>Kilmainan</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>James Butler</i> , earle of <i>Ormond</i> , the second time Lieutenant.	1420.
	<i>Anthony Lord Lucy</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Edmond</i> Earle of <i>March</i> , <i>James</i> Earle of <i>Ormond</i> , his Deputy.	
1332.	<i>John Lord Darcy</i> , second time Lord Justice	<i>John Sutton</i> , Lord <i>Dudley</i> ; Sir <i>Thomas Strange</i> , his Deputy.	
	<i>John Lord Charleton</i> , Lord Justice.	Sir <i>Thomas Stanley</i> , Sir <i>Christopher Plunket</i> his Deputy.	Lieutenants to King <i>Henry</i> the 6.
1333.	<i>Thomas</i> , Bishop of <i>Hereford</i> , L. Justice.	<i>Lion</i> , Lord <i>Welles</i> , Deputy to the Earle of <i>Ormond</i> .	
1339.	<i>John Lord Darcy</i> , ordayned Lord Justice by Patent, during his life, by King <i>Edward</i> the third.	<i>James</i> Earle of <i>Ormond</i> , by himselfe.	
	<i>Raphe Vfford</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>John</i> Earle of <i>Shrewsbury</i> ; the Archbishop of <i>Dublin</i> (in his absence) Lord Justice.	
1346.	<i>Robert Darcy</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Richard Plantagenet</i> , Duke of <i>Torke</i> , Father to King <i>Edward</i> the 4. had the Office of Lieutenant, by letters Patents from King <i>Henry</i> the sixt, for ten yeares. His Deputies (at sundry times) were the Baron of <i>Deluin</i> ; <i>Richard Fitz-Eustace</i> , Knight; <i>James</i> Earle of <i>Ormond</i> ; and <i>Thomas Fitz-Morris</i> , Earle of <i>Kildare</i> .	
	<i>John Fitz-Maurice</i> , Lord Justice.	<i>Thomas Fitz-Morris</i> , Earle of <i>Kildare</i> , Lord Justice in the dayes of King <i>Edward</i> the fourth, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After whom, <i>George</i> Duke of <i>Clarence</i> , brother to the King, had the Office of Lieutenant during his life, and made his Deputies (at sundry times) these men following:	
	<i>Walter</i> , Lord <i>Birmingham</i> , Lord Justice: his Deputies were <i>John Archer</i> , Prior of <i>Kilmainan</i> , and Baron <i>Carew</i> , with Sir <i>Thomas Rokesby</i> .	<i>Thomas</i> , Earle of <i>Desmond</i> .	
	<i>Maurice Fitz-Thomas</i> , Earle of <i>Desmond</i> , had the Office of Lord Justice, for tearme of his life, by the grant of king <i>Edward</i> the third.	<i>John Tiptoft</i> , Earle of <i>Worcester</i> .	Deputies to the D. of <i>Clarence</i>
	<i>Thomas Rokesby</i> , Knight, Lord Justice.	<i>Thomas</i> , Earle of <i>Kildare</i> .	
1355.	<i>Almericke de S. Amand</i> .	<i>Henry</i> , Lord <i>Grey</i> of <i>Ruthin</i> .	
1357.	<i>John Butler</i> , Earle of <i>Ormond</i> .	Sir <i>Rowland Eustace</i> , Lord Deputy.	1470.
	<i>Maurice Fitz-Henry</i> , Earle of <i>Kildare</i> .		
1361.	<i>Lionell</i> , Duke of <i>Clarence</i> , Lord Justice.		
1367.	<i>Gerald Fitz-Maurice</i> , Earle of <i>Desmond</i> , Lord Justice.		
1369.	<i>William Lord Windsor</i> , the first Lieutenant in <i>Ireland</i> .		
1372.	<i>Roger Ashton</i> , Lord Justice.		
1381.	<i>Roger Mortimer</i> , <i>Phillip Courtney</i> , <i>James</i> Earle of <i>Ormond</i> .		
	Justices & Lieutenants especially recorded, in the dayes of King <i>Richard</i> the second.		

*Richard, Duke of Yorke, younger sonne to King Edward the fourth, Lieutenant. Edward, sonne to King Richard the third, Lieutenant, his Deputy was Gerald, Earle of Kildare.*  
*Iasper, Duke of Bedford, and Earle of Pembroke, Lieutenant: his Deputy was Walter, Archbishop of Dublin.*  
 1494. *Edward Poynings Knight, Lord Deputy.*  
 1501. *Henry, Duke of Yorke, afterward King, by the name of Henry the eight, Lieutenant: his Deputy was Gerald, Earle of Kildare.*  
*Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, Lord Deputy.*  
 1520. *Thomas Howard, Earle of Surrey, afterward Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant.*  
*Piers Butler, Earle of Ossorie, L. Deputy.*  
 1523. *Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, again Lord Deputy.*  
*The Baron of Dublin, Lord Deputy.*  
*Piers Butler, Earle of Ossory, againe Lord Deputy.*  
 1529. *William Skeffington Knight, Lord Deputy*  
*Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, the third time Lord Deputy.*  
*William Skeffington, againe Lord Deputy.*  
*Leonard Lord Grey, Lord Deputy.*  
 1535. *Sir William Bereton, Knight, Lord Iustice.*  
 1540. *Sir Anthony Sentleger Knight, L. Deputy.*  
 1541.

¶ The Names of all the Lords, Deputies, and Iustices in Ireland, since the death of King Henry the eight, who dyed in January, 1546.

1546. *SIR Anthony Sentleger Knight, by Patent, dated 24. Martij. Anno primo Edw. 6.*  
 1546. *Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy, 22. Aprilis An. eodem.*  
 1547. *Sir Francis Brian, Lord Iustice.*  
 1548. *Sir William Brabeston, Lord Iustice.*  
 1549. *Sir Anthony Sentleger, the third time lord Deputy, 4. August.*  
 1550. *Sir James Crosbe, Lord Deputy, 29. Aprilis.*  
 1551. *Sir Anthony Sentleger, the fourth time Lord Deputy, September 1. Anno primo Reg. Marie.*  
 1553. *Thomas Lord Fitz-Walter, Lord Deputy, 27. Aprilis.*  
 1555. *Sir Henry Sidney.*  
 1556. *Doctor Coren, or Corwen.*

*Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Iustice alone, 18. January.*  
*Thomas Earle of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant 19. Martij.*  
*Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Iustice.*  
*Thomas Earle of Suffex, Lord Deputy, 6. Maj Anno primo Reg. Elizab.*  
*Sir Nicholas Arnold, Lord Iustice.*  
*Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the third time.*  
*Doctor Weston, Lord Chancellor.*  
*Sir William Fitz Williams.*  
*Sir Henry Sidney, lord Deputy the fourth time.*  
*Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy, 11. Decemb. Anno. 14. Elizab.*  
*Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the fifth time, August 3.*  
*Sir William Drury, Lord Iustice, 14. September, by Patent, 18. May.*  
*Sir William Pelham, Lord Iustice.*  
*The Lord Arthur Grey.*  
*Adam, Archbishop of Dublin.*  
*Sir Henry Wallop.*  
*Sir John Perot, Lord Deputy.*  
*Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy.*  
*Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy.*  
*Thomas, Lord Burrough, Lord Deputy.*  
*Kobert Earle of Essex, Lord Lieutenant.*  
*Charles Blount, Baron Montioy, Lord Deputy.*  
*Sir George Carew, Lord Deputy.*  
*Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy.*  
*Sir Oliver S. John, Lord Deputy, who yet to this day, continueth in that honorable Office.*

1556.  
 1557.  
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 1600.  
 1602.  
 1604.  
 1618.

CHAP. II.

*A briefe Discourse, how those parts and Countries, commonly called, The New world, were first found: Also, by whom, and what things were there found, and seene, and brought away thence.*



*Caruell sayling on the Spanish Seas, there fell a tempest, comming so impetuously from the East, the Windes growing still so crosse and contrary; that at length it was transpor-*

The Windes and Weather will be Commanders at Sea.

transported into an vnknowne Country, which neuer was in any Carde for Navigation. Staying there longer time, then was or could be allowed for returning; no more remayned liuing then the Pilote or Maister, and three or foure Mariners beside: who also falling sicke, by extremitie of hunger and tedious labour, dyed also at a Port some few daies distance from thence.

But the Pilote, whose name was *Andaluzo*, dyed in the house of one *Christopher Columbus*, a natiue of *Cughero*, or (as some others say) of *Albizolo*, a small village on the riuer of *Genes*, neare to *Sauona*. With this *Colombus* remayned all the Pilotes goods of the sayd *Caruell*, and especially the Papers and Memories of that whole voyage, reporting the height of the lands, which by them had beene discouerd, and found. Some say, that the sayd *Andaluzo* trafficked in *Canaria* and *Madera*, when this long and fatall navigation happened. Others also tearme him a *Biscane*, which dealt with *England* and *France*: and some repute him a *Portuguze*, that went and came from *Myrrha* or *India*. Others againe report, that the sayd *Caruell* went into *Portugall*, or to *Madera*, and other Islands; but none doe assure any thing for certaine. It is no maruell then, if Authors do disagree in many points, concerning things happening, or found by graue Ancients, and that the Inuenters of them are not to be knowne; when our selues are ignorant of matters, within the compasse of so small time since, for finding the Occidentall or Westerne Isles (which we call the *New-found World*) and which was a matter so signall, nouell, and remarkable.

But all agree together, that this *Andaluzo* dyed in the house of the sayd *Christopher Columbus*; who hauing (at the first) beene a Saylor or Mariner, had practised in diuers parts of the world. Afterward, hee learned diligently the measure of the two Tropickes, of the Equator, and of the Clymates, proouing an expert Maister, in making Cardes to sayle by. And to be informed concerning the Meridionall coasts of *Affrica*, and of other places where the *Portugalls* had sayled: he went into *Portugall*, to the end he might make his Cards the better, and there he married. Or, as some say, in the Isle of *Madera*: where it may be credited (as most likely)

that he dwelt when the said *Caruell* coasted there; and the Patron or Pilote thereof lodged in his house, where he recounted to him the voyage he had made, and the new lands by him discovered: to the end that *Columbus* might set them downe in his Carde, wherein he was further instructed by him.

It is generally supposed, that *Columbus* was a learned man, a good Geographer, very singularly experienced in Astronomy and Cosmography; and that hee laboured to finde the land of the *Antipodes*, and *Il Rico Cipango de Marco Polo*. Moreover, he was often heard to say, that (necessarily) by good coniectures, there was another world, which extended it selfe towards the West: whereof *Plato*, *Seneca*, and many other Authors, both Greek and Latin, did leaue to Cosmographers some good and considerable arguments. Also, that he had read many good ancient Authors, who, in the place where they discourse on the great *Athlanticke* Isle; make mention of a land vnknowne and concealed, more great then *Asia* or *Affrica*. And especially *Aristotle*, writing, that certaine Merchants of *Carthage*, sayling in those parts of *Gibraltar*, towards the West & South, after many dayes; found a great Island inhabited, with Riuers nauigable.

But, after all this so diuersly deliuered, on the behalfe of *Columbus*, it is most certaine, that he was not learned, but of good iudgement and vnderstanding, and receiuing notice of these new Lands, by the meanes of *Andaluzo*; he conferred with diuers learned and iudicious men, concerning what had aunciently beene written of other lands and worlds. And the sayd *Columbus*, wanting meanes to bring to passe what he so earnestly desired, because he was poore; stode in neede of some farre greater fauour, whereby hee might discouer those lands.

Perceiuing then, that the King of *Portugall* was hindered by his enterprize of *Affrica*, & nauigation into the East, which he had then in readines, and that the king of *Castile* was busied about the warre of *Granada*: he sent his brother, named *Bartholomew*, to *Henry* the seauenth, king of *England*, a very rich and potent Prince, (who had at that present time no warres or troubles) to furnish him with fauour and shippes apt and fit for the enterprize,

Reasons of apparent likelihood in the case of Columbus.

The generall opinion concerning Columbus, touching his sufficiency in learning and iudgement.

The Authors further examination, and final conclusion as touching Columbus.

Kings, whose help he intended to haue moued.

In the house of Christopher Columbus died the Pilote Andaluzo.

Variety of opinions concerning this Andaluzo.

Needs must many Antiquities be lost, when later times neglect all memorie.

What Christopher Columbus was at his beginning.

promising to bring him home from those vnknowne Islands (and in small time) vnvaluable treasures. But *Bartholmew* returning thence without any resolution; he began to negotiate with *Alphonsus* the first, King of *Portugall*: of whom he could neyther haue fauour nor money, to finde such wealth as he had promised; because the Bishop of *Viso*, and one Master *Roderick*, men greatly experienced in Cosmography, contraried him therein, confidently assuring; that there could not bee in the West, any such gold or treasure, as *Columbus* spake of.

Being much dismayed and out of comfort (yet his heart encouraging him still, with hope of a happy and successfull aduventure) and being imbarqued at *Lisborne*: hee set thence to *Paly de Moguera*, where he spake with *Alphonso Pinzono*, a Pylot well skild in the arte of Nauigation: there also he discovered his secret to *John Perez*, a Fryar Minor, in the Conuent of *S. Frances de la Rubida*, a most excellent Cosmographer. These men encouraged him to follow his enterprize, counselling him further, to impart the businesse to *Henry*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and then to *Lodwick*, Duke of *Medina Cælia*, who, in his Port of *S. Maria*, had good and commodious meanes to provide Shipping, and people apt for such a businesse. But these two Dukes helde this Voyage and Nauigation, for no other then as a dreame or phantasma; euen as the Kings of *England* and *Portugall* did. In regard whereof, the poore grey Fryar aduised him to goe to the Court of the Catholique King, and (on his behalfe) wrote to Fryar *Ferdinando de Talauca*, Confessour to the Queene.

*Columbus* followed this aduice of the Fryar, and came to the Court of *Castile*, in the yeare 1486. and (by written petition) presented both his sight and demand, to King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Elizabeth*, who made no great account thereof; as hauing their mindes troubled, for expelling the *Moores* out of *Granado*. He grew then to speake with some, that had neerer eare about the King, and were of most employment with his Maiesty, to negotiate in affaires of importance. But because he was a stranger, meanly habited, and without any other credit, then being commended by a poore Fryar Minor: he

was no way beleued, and much worse listened vnto; whereat *Columbus* grew very greatly displeas'd.

*Alphonso Quinta-villa*, Great Chamberlaine or Treasurer to the King, kept him in his house, and dietted him at his owne table, taking great delight to heare him talke of such things, as he made promise of in vnknowne Countries. By the helpe of this Great Treasurer, *Columbus* found the meanes, to haue accessse & audience with *Gonzales de Mendozza*, arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and Cardinall, who had great credit and authority with their Maiesties. This Lord brought him to the Kings presence, and, after the case was well examined and vnderstood (notwithstanding all was esteemed vaine and false, which *Columbus* had spoken off in the beginning) yet hope was giuen him of expedition, and imployment in his voyage of Nauigation, to those Islands vnknown; so soone as the King had taken order for the war of *Granado*, which then lay heauily on his hand.

*Columbus*, vpon this answer, began to mount his hopes farre higher then before, and was then graciously both heard and esteemed of all the Courtiers, who laughed and made a mockery of him at the first. After the surprizall of *Granado*, he preuailed so successfully, that the Catholique King consented vnto his request, for passage into those vnknowne parts: assigning vnto him in gift, the tenth part of the Rents and Royall tributes, in all the Lands found and conquered: but without preiudice (notwithstanding) to all rights belonging to the King of *Portugall*. And because the King was then vnfurnished of money for this expedition; *Lodonico*, Secretary for his accounts, lent him seuentene thousand Ducats: by meanes whereof, *Columbus* armed & furnished \* three Caruels at *Pally de Moguera*, and in them fitted 120. men, aswell Marriners as Soldiours.

Of one, hee made *Martino Alphonso Pinzono* the Guide and Conducter. Of the second, *Francesco & Vincentio Aeneio*, Brethren to the said *Martino*. And himselfe was Captaine and Commander of the greatest Caruell among them; taking also with him his Brother *Bartholmew*, who (in like manner) was very practicke and well experienced on the Seas. From

Some meanes of entrance for *Columbus* to worke by.

*Columbus* was promised supply by the Catholique King.

Christopher *Columbus* (by meanes of the Catholique King) armed three Caruels to goe finde out the New World.

\* *Paulus Ioufus* saith five His ordering of the Caruels, and setting forth on his Voyage.

*Columbus* hindered in dealing with the King of *Portugall*.

*Columbus* though discouraged, will not yet be wholly disheartened.

The 2. Dukes of *Medina* acquainted with this great offer, & refused it also

His petition to the Catholique King *Ferdinand* & his Queene, & neglecting where he had greatest hope.

*Paly* he set forward on Friday, being the third day of August, and held on his voyage betweene the West and South, passing by *Gomera*, one of the *Canary* Islands, where he stayed for a small refreshing; & thence onward, followed the directions giuen him in the papers and memories of deceased *Andaluzo*.

Hauiug sayled eight dayes, he espied so much grasse or Herbage, as if it seemed to be a Meadow; whereof (at first) he & all grew doubtfull, although ther was no danger at all, and backe they would haue returned, but that they saw diuers Willow trees a farre off, which gaue an euident and most certaine signe, that some Land must needs be neere.

On the morrowe following, which was the eleauenth day of Nouember, in the yeare 1492. *Rodericke de Traiana*, beganne to cry out alowd, Land, Land: at which words, all ran to see whether they were true or no; and hauiug likewise discovered that it was firme Land, they beganne to praise GOD, and sung *Te Deum Laudamus*, mourning euen vwith great excesse of ioy, and proud of a hopefull proceeding.

The first land which they saw, was *Guanay*, one of the Isles *Lacayas*, situated betweene *Florida* and *Cuba*; where sodenly they went on shoare, and there tooke possession of the *New world*. From *Guanay* they went to *Barucon*, the Porte of *Cuba*, & there tooke some Indians, and returning backe to the Isle of *Hayti*, cast anchor in the Port, which *Columbus* called *Porte Royall*. There hastily they were faine to land againe; because the chief Caruell smote against a rocke, and began to rift; but yet no person was in perill. When the inhabitants of the Isle saw the Spanyards come on shore so speedily, and with their Armes: they fled from the sea side vp to the Mountaines; imagining them to bee the *Carybes* or *Canibales*, that came to assaile them.

After them ran the Spanyards, as hastily as they might, and yet could take none but one woman, vnto whom they gaue Bread, Wine, and Comfittes, as also a smocke, and other Garments, because she was naked, and so sent her away after the rest. She went and told her country people, how kindly shee had bin vsed, shewing them the giftes bestowed vpon her:

which caused them presently to come downe againe to the Sea side, to speake with the Spaniards, without any vnderstanding on either side, otherwise then by signes, euen as dumbe folke vse to do. They brought Birds, Bread, Fruits, Gold, and other things, to giue in exchange for Ballads, Beads, Glasses, Needles, Sizers, Pinnes, and other such like things, to the no little ioy and comfort of *Christopher Columbus*; who saluted, embraced, & reuerently entreated the Lord of that land, being of his people called *Cachico*. & gifts passed betweene one another, in signe of loue and amity.

The Indians brought boats of theyr owne, wherein to bestowe the goodes of the cheefe Caruell that was broken, and brought them on Land with the Spanyards, so louingly, euen as if they hadde dwelt all their life time among them: falling downe in reuerence to the Crosse, and beating themselues on the breasts, like vnto Christians.

Now *Columbus*, thinking no time soon enough for his returne to Spaine, with newes to the Catholike King, of what he had scene and done, preuailed so wel with the prompt and sodaine consent of *Cachico*, and the assistance of his subiects: as to build a Castle of Woode and Earth; wherein hee left eight and thirty Spanyards, vnder the charge of Captaine *Roderigo d'Arma*, of *Cordoua*: to the end, that during his voyage, they might learne the Language and secrets, both of the Nation and Countrey. And this was the first inhabiting of the Spanyardes in the *Indias*.

The Castle being finished, *Columbus* tooke with him tenne Indian men, forty Parrats, many Tortoises, Conies, and other strange thinges, farre differing from ours in forme and nature, as testimonies of the places where hee had found them. He brought aboard also into his ships, all the Golde which the people of the countrey had giuen him, in exchange of those toys and trifles which hee returned for them. And, after hee had taken leaue of his friendly Companions, appointed to remaine there in his absence, as also of *Guacanari* (for so was the *Cachico* or king of that Countrey named) who was verie sorry and loath, that hee should depart thence, he sent away with two Caruels, wherein

Cachico the fyrst Indian Prince scene by Columbus.

The kind offices of the Indians to the Spanyards.

Columbus, by consent of *Cachico*, & help of his people, builded a Castle of Wood and earth.

Such things as Columbus caried aboard his Ships with in.

After 8. dayes sayling, Roderick de Traiana was the first man that discovered Land.

Their fyrst landing at Guanay, between Florida & Cuba.

The Indians feareful of the Spaniardes at their landing.

A woman Indian taken & clothed, and let loose againe.

wherein were all the other Spaniards of the voyage, except the eight and thirtie before remembred, and (having a successful winde) arrived at *Paly* within 50. daies or somewhat lesse.

The Catholike King and queene were then at *Barcellona*, whither *Columbus* went to see them; and although it was a long way, and he had many things to carry: yet notwithstanding, they were all conveyed with him by Land, and hee was welcomed vnto the Court with great Honour. Infinite people flocked about him, to see the things which hee brought from the New-found Worlde, which were of extraordinary wealth and riches, beside the strange men, of such colour and habit, as neuer hadde the like beene seene before. Some sayde, that hee had found the Navigation, concealed from the *Carthaginians*. And others affirmed it, to be that which *Plato* had written of to bee lost by fortune, and by an ouer-great quantity of mudde or slime encreasing in the Sea. Some other helde another opinion, saying, That that which *Seneca* had foretold was now accomplished, speaking in his Tragedy of *Medea* after this manner, *The time will come, that (manie yeares hence) New worldes shall bee found, and that their Thile could not bee the furthest part of the earth.*

Finally, *Columbus* entred the Court of Spaine, the third day of April, a yeare after he had departed thence, presenting to their Maiesties, the Golde and all things else which he had brought from the New World; vwhereat the King, Queene, and all then present, meruailed not a little, to see such rare things, all (but the gold) nouell and vnaccustomed vnto theyr sight. They highly commended the Parrats, being of so many goodly colours; some of an extraordinary shining green, others of a liuely red or Vermillion colour, intermixed vwith many other of choise splendour, little or nothing at all resembling them that were brought from other places. The Conies were small, having their eares and tayles like vnto Rats, and their colour grizeld. Also they greatly praised the Cockes of those Countreyes, being farre more beautifull then Pea-cockes, wondering besides, that those Countries yielded no other Corne, and no other bread was yet fedde on there, but such as

was made of rootes and the like things. But their cheefest meruaile was at the men, who had little circklets or Buckles of Gold hanging in their eares, and finely pierced through their nostrilles: theyr bodies being neither white nor black, or browne, but like vnto an Oliue colour, or boyled Quinces.

Very attentue was the King, to heare what a worthy Relation *Columbus* made, wondering greatly, that the people should haue no Habite, Learning, Mony, Iron, Corne, Wine, neyther any Animall which was greater then a Dogge, nor Shippes or Boates of any bignesse. And much was his patience moued, when he heard him tell, that they did eate one another, being all Idolaters. But hee promised, that if God pleased to blesse him with life and health: he would free them from that horrible inhumanity, and root Idolatrie out of those Lands, that could bee reduced vnder his dominion and power. In like manner, hee extended great fauour and courtesie to *Columbus*, commanding that he should sit down before him, because (according to the custome of Spaine) the Gentlemen and other attendants, stand alwayes in the Kings presence, for greater honour to the Royall authority.

Moreouer, he confirmed his grant and priuilege, concerning the tenth part of reuennewes in the saide Lands, giuing him the title and Office of Admirall of the *Indias*, and made his Brother *Bartholmew* Lieutenant or vice-Admiral to him. All which beeing done, a Courier or Poaste was dispatched vnto Rome, with letters concerning the New-found lands, to his Maiesties ambassadors, whom (but some few moneths before) he had sent to congratulate Pope *Alexander* the sixt, at his new creation, and (on his behalfe) to do him obeysance. Which letters of full and further information, they deliuered to his Holinesse; he not a little reioycing at these good newes, as the like did al the Roman Court. In regard wherof, the holy Father, with consent of the whole Colledge of Cardinals, made a new donation to the Kinges of *Castile* and *Leon*, of all the Isles and firme lands that should bee found in the West: with charge to send Preachers thither, for conuersion of the Infidels.

The Indian men were their greatest matter of maruell

The people did eate one another, and were Idolaters.

Observance in the Court of Spaine.

Columbus made Admirall of the *Indias*.

News of these Indian discoveries, sent to Rome to pope Alexander the sixt.

Columbus goeth to Barcellona to the King and Queen

The peoples variety in opinion concerning this voyage of Columbus.

Since in Tragedy of *Medea*.

No mean admiration in the King Queene and Courtiers at the rare nouelties brought by Columbus

When

Columbus sent againe, with more power to the Indiaes.

A Vicar Generall sent on the Popes behalfe.

The King and Queene Catholike, sent preachers and handy-crafts men into the Indiaes.

His second setting to sea againe for the West Indiaes.

When the Catholike King had receyued this ioyfull answer from the Pope, he sent *Christopher Columbus* againe, with more store of people, for further trafficking in this New-found World, and for vtter destruction of Idolatry, and adoration giuen to false Gods. For the better furtherance heerein, by *John Fonsequeio*, Deane of *Siuell*, he sent eight Caruelles, making him President of those countries. He sent also twelue Priestes, of vertuous life, and good leatning, with Friar *Buleio Catellano*, of the order of *S. Benedickt*, who went to be Vicar-Generall for the Pope: to the end, that those Ecclesiasticall persons might preach the word of God, conuerting the people to the Faith of Iesus Christ, and do all things appertaining to the conuersion of soules.

Beside all this, many Knights & courtiers, moued by the fame and desire of riches in the same Countries, and earnest affection to see them; went along with them in company, hauing diuers Artzans among them, as Goldsmithes, Taylors, Masons, Carpenters, Laborers, Fishermen, and such like persons, fit for diuers employments.

The King caused also (at his own charge) to be bought some store of Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, and Asses, that breede might there ensue of them. Great store also was sent of Wheat, Barly, and Graine of all kindes to sowe; with Slips, Sprigs of Vines, Sugar Canes, and Plants of sweete fruites, as also Chalk and Limie to build withall. In breese, they carried diuers other things for the like needefull vses; entertaining into this seruice 1500. Soldiers, which *Columbus* shipt at *Cadiz* the 25. day of September, 1493. and good prouision of Artillery.

Proceeding on in his voyage, & much more neere to the Equinoctiall then hee did before in his first passage; he came to arriue and take landing in an Iland, which he termed by the name of *Desire*, and without any staying there, won the Port *D'Argent*, in the Isle called *Hispaniola*. Passing on thence to *Porte Royale*, where he had left the eight and thirtie Spanyards, who were all slaine by the Indians, because they had lustfully forced their wiues and done them many outrages besides. *Columbus* being displeas'd hereat, yet shewing no outward discontentment, imme-

diately commanded his Masons & other men to fall to worke, for the building of a Towne, which (in honor of the Queene) he named *Isabella*.

He builded also a Fort or castle among the Mines of *Cibao*, where he established as Gouvernor, *Moyse Marguarito*, & sent twelue Caruels thence into Spain by *Antonio de Turco*, which carried many grains of Golde, one especially amongst them, weighing eight ounces, which was found by *Alphonso de Honieda*. Hee sent likewise many Parrats, very faire and goodly, and certaine Indian *Caribes*, being such as fed on the flesh of men, bred and born in the Island of *Acay*, which hee called *Santa Cruz*, and hee himselve, went with three Caruels more, to finde out other Lands: where he found *Cubo* on the South-side, and *Ianianca*, with other small Isles in diuers parts.

At his returne backe, he found many Spaniards dead and sicke, and some that hadde carried themselues scarcely honest with their companions: whereof he commanded some to bee hanged, and others to be well beaten, that had giuen forth euill speeches of him. By means whereof, he had some talke with the Vicare to the Pope, who had written to the King; accusing *Columbus* of cruelty and couetousnesse: which caused his Maiestie to send thither his Chamberlain *John de Aguado*, who sent *Columbus* into Spaine prisoner, to render an account of his behauiour to the King.

*Christopher Columbus* obeying the kings command, went away to iustify himselfe. And arriuing at *Medina del Campo* (where as then the Court was) hee came before the King and Queene, presenting infinite graines of Gold to them; some whereof, weighed fiftene, and twenty Ounces a peece, with great lumps of Amber, goodly wilde Oliue trees and wonderfull huge plumes of Parrats Feathers, vsed & worn by the Indians, beside many other strange things.

He made report also vnto their Maiesties, concerning the Countries founde by him, greatly commending the Islands for their admirable riches; declaring beside, that in the moneth of December, which we hold to be the heauiest time of all Winter, that the Birds there, do then produce their yong ones on the trees; &

A Town builded by Columbus, and called Isabella in honour of the queene.

Columbus findeth out diuers other small Islandes

Spaniards hanged for misdemeanour and Columbus accused to the king by the Popes Vicar.

Columbus returned as a prisoner into Spaine.

Columbus his appearing before the King and Queene.

The wonderfull plentie yielded by the earth.

in March, the wilde raisins were ripe; and corne (sowne in Januarie) yeelded graine within seauentie dayes, Lettice and all rootes grew to be very great. Afterward, he gaue a faithfull report to the king, concerning the behaiour of the Spaniards, how he had punished some; and inflicted death vpon other, to the end, that his iustification might the more plainly appeare.

Greatly did the King both commend and thanke him for his good seruice, and knowing, that hee had doone no more then Iustice; declared him to be absolved of all imputations layed vnto his charge, furnishing him with eight shippes, for the finding out of other Countries: two whereof *Columbus* sent before with victualles and munition, and with the other sixe shippes, himselfe set away from Saint *Luca de Barrameda*, about the end of the month of Maie, in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand foure hundred nintie and seauen. And because fame and rumour of *Indian* treasure did spread it selfe, enciting diuers Pirates of *Fraunce* to make voyages ebroade: hee went to *Madera*, and from thence hee sent three shippes, by the right way, for the Island called *Hispaniola*, with three hundred banished men; and with the other three shippes, he went vnto the Isle of *Cape de Verd*, to make his voyage very neare to the *Æquinoctiall*, arriuing at the last in a great Countrey of firme land. On hee went coasting three hundred leagues, beyond the Cape with full sayle, and thwarting the Sea, came to Saint *Dominico*, a towne belonging to his brother *Bartholomew*, and builded on the Riuer *Ozama*, where hee was receiued to be gouernor, as was contained in his Letters of priuiledge and grant, which the King Catholique had made vnto him, and which hee brought thither with him. Albeit some were much displeas'd thereat, and his brother *Bartholomew* did not greatly like it: because (in his absence) till now, he had the care and managing of all affaires.

*Columbus* hauing taken on him the gouernement, and made many enterprises against them of the Countrey, finding out many other Islands beside; grew to be enuied by the Spaniards, and in such sort, that a man named *Roldan Simenes* (a great Potestate or Iudge) mutined against him,

and threc-score and ten men more, all leagued and coniuered against him, who forsaking *Columbus*, went to *Siragna*, and wrote infinite euilles of him and his brethren to the King. His Maiestie, beeing not a little moued, that matters should be thus combustuous in the *Indiæes*, and the Queene taking it very heauily: suddenly sent *Francesco de Bonadello*, a knight of good repute, to be gouernour in those parts, and giuing him authoritie, eyther to punish or imprison the faultie.

This man came to the Island of *Hispaniola*, and foure Caruells with him, in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred nintie and nine; and after hee had made inquisition in the Citie of *Dominico*; he sent *Christopher Columbus*, with *Bartholomew* and *Diego* his brethren, all prisoners to *Spaine*, with yron fetters on their feete. Being landed at *Cadex*, they were deliuered, by Commission sent from the King, and commanded to appeare at the court. *Columbus* readily obeyed thereto, and could so well shape his excuses (mingled with teares and sighes very passionately) that the King hauing heard him, and knowing his fidelitie, sent him againe (three yeares after) with foure Caruells, to discover more new Countries, and this was in the yeare of our Lord God, 1502. or thereabouts.

*Columbus* being come to the Island of *Hispaniola*, and arriuing neare to the riuer *Ozama*, *Nicholas de Ouanda* Gouernour of the Isle, would not suffer his entrance into the Cittie of Saint *Dominico*, whereat *Columbus* being much distasted, sent in to tell him: That if he might not come into the citty, which he himselfe had caused to be builded; he would goe finde out another Port, where he might be in better assurance. So parting thence, and coueting to search the Straits, for passing beyond the *Æquinoctiall*, which he had promised the King to doe: hee drew directly towards the West, withall, turning to the Cape of *Niguerra*, following still the Meridionall coast, returning then to *Cuba*, and after to *Ianianca*, where hee lost two Gallies, and with two other he went to discover new lands. But not without great harmes and perills endured before, for some of his followers grew sicke, and certaine other Spaniards made warre vpon him.

*Columbus* and his two brethren *Bartholomew* and *Diego* sent prisoners into *Spaine* fettered in yrons.

*Columbus* againe sent to the *Indiæes* with foure Caruells.

*Columbus* denied entrance into Saint *Dominico*, goeth on to seek his further fortune.

*Columbus* returneth honorably to the *Indiæes*.

His voyage very neare to the *Æquinoctiall*.

Enuy against *Columbus* by *Roldan Simenes* and his associates, and great complaints written against him to the King.

*Francesco de Porras*, Captaine of one Galley, and *Diego*, brother to *Columbus*, hauing taken certayne small Barkes, went towards the Isle of *Hispaniola*: where the Natiues and Inhabitants seeing them; would admit them to haue no Victualls, but laide trappes and traines to kill them. Whereuppon, *Christopher Columbus* calling some of them to him, reprov'd their lacke of kindnesse and charity, entreating them to sell him some victualls; aduising them further, that except they did succor them, all they in the Island should dye of the plague. And to giue them a signe as witness of his words, he tolde them, that such a day it would so come to passe; as they should see the Moone whollie as red as bloode, and quite contrarie to her former condition.

Afterwardes, when they behelde the Moone Ecclypsed, at the same houre of the day, as *Columbus* had foretolde (not knowing any rules of Astrologie) they verily beleued his words. And, craving pardon of him, desired him not to be offended with them; & brought him what victualls he could desire. By this meanes, *Columbus* hauing gotten the victorie against those Spaniards, gaue a name vnto the Port, calling it *Porta S. Gloria*.

Returning home afterward into Spain, to yeelde an account of all that hee had done, being arriued at *Valyllolid*; a sicknesse seized on him, whereof hee dyed in May, in the yeare 1586. and was enterred at *Siuill*, in the Monastery of the Charter-house Monkes. During his life time, he was a man very patient in all his Trauailes, and in foure voyages which hee made into the *Indiaes*, both founde and conquered many Countries, vterly vknowne before: beside, he builded a great part of the Towns and Castles in the Isle of *Hispaniola*, purchasing great renoune, by bringing to end many actions, so well deseruing glory and fame; that his name can neuer be forgotten, or Spaine cease to speake, in giuing him such true honour as he worthily merited.

He had two Sonnes, *Don Diego*, who was married to Madam *Maria of Tolledo*, daughter to *Don Ferdinando*, great Commandadore of *Leon*; and *Don Ferdinando*, who was neuer married, but hee had a Library, consisting of more then twelue thousand Volumes, and which (at this

present) is in the Conuent of Saint *Dominico* at *Seuill*, a worthy deede of the son to so famous a Father. As for King *Ferdinand*, he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and sixteene, hauing reigned fortie and two yeares, in the two kingdomes of *Castile* and *Arragon*: Queene *Elizabeth* his wife dyed before him, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1604.

Before wee close vp this Discourse of the *New-found World*, it shall not varie much from the matter, to speake of a strange opinion, among the people there naturally liuing; concerning the first men that ener were in the world, and likewise of the generall Floud or Deluge, as I doe finde it set downe by the worthy Gentleman of *Fraunce*, *Anthony du Verdier*, lord of *Vaaprinaz*, in this manner.

Among the Inhabitants of the *West Indiaes*; or *New world*, a common and generall receiued opinion was embraced with them, that (at the beginning of the world) from the Septentrionall or Northernne partes, there came a man called *Con*, or *Conon*, who had no bones in his whole body, and therefore went verie quicke and lightly, much shortening the wayes, abasing the hills and mountaines, and raising the lowe-layd vallies, onelic with his word and will, and named himselfe to be the sonne of the Sunne.

This man filled the earth with men and women; which he produced, giuing vnto them diuers fruites, and other things necessary for humane life. But by a displeasure he receiued from them, hee conuerted the earth (which hee before had freely giuen them) into a drie and barren sand, and tooke away the raine also, that it should neuer more showre downe, nor moisture any place. Yet, as pitying their misery, he left them riuers onely, to the end, that they might conserue themselves, in watering the grounds by their owne paine and labour.

At length came one *Pachamo*, who was like-wise sonne both to the Sunne and Moone, and (hauing expelled or banished *Conon*) conuerted those men into Cattes, and afterward created other men. The people tooke this man to be a God, and so he was generally reputed: vntill the Christians came into those countries, hauing erected a very good Temple vnto him,

The ingratitude of the people to *Columbus* in denying him victualls, and conspiring against his life.

The peoples opinio of the first men in the world, & of the deluge

Con, or Conon, a man without bones in his flesh.

A heauie displeasure conceiued by *Conon* against men.

*Pachamo* came and expelled *Cono*.

The death of *Christopher Columbus* at *Valydolid* in Spaine.

The two worthy sonnes to *Christopher Columbus*.

The Library of *Don Ferdinando*, son to *Christofer Columbus*.

Oracles and Answers of diuells in their Temple by Liua.

Their opiniõ concerning a generall Deluge or drowning of the world.

By what means they gathered the cessation of the waters.

Their acknowledgement of the worlds ending.

him, neare to *Lima*, it being the most renowned in all those lands: because of extraordinary deuotion there vsed, in regard of Oracles and Answeres; which diuells gaue to Priests and Sacrificers there dwelling in diuers places. The Spaniards carried away all the golde and siluer (in wonderfull heapes) out of this Temple, and all the Oracles and Visions ceased, diuine prayers hauing bene sayd there, the Sacraments administr'd, and the Crosse placed where the Idolles stode, which caused no mean maruell and feare among the *Indians*.

Moreouer they sayd, that at a certaine time it rained so extreame, that all the lowe grounds and lands were drowned, and all the world likewise; except such as could hide themselues within some caues, which were among the high mountaines, hauing little doores or mouthes of entrance, and closed so fast to them, as no water could gaine the least passage in, and therein also they had store of foode and beasts. Afterwards, when they felt the raine and water to be somewhat passed ouer, they sent forth two dogges, which returned all wet and besmeared: whereby they iudged that the waters were not (as yet) wholly shrunke and gone away.

Within some while after, they put forth many dogges together, which returned in againe, drie and sleeke as when they went abroad. And by this means they conceiued, that the waters were quite spent; and so came forth agayne to dwell vpon the earth: where they greatest paine and trauell was to kill infinite Serpents, which the mightie extremitie of mudde and slime had engendred euery where.

They beleue an end of the world; but that a great drought shall goe before it, and that the Sunne and Moone (which they all adore and reuerence) shall loose themselues. And, vpon this occasion, they make cries and lamentations whensoever the Ecclypses happen: but especially them of the Sunne, as fearing then, that the Sunne, they, and all the whole World, shall be quite consumed and destroyed together.

### CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the Excellencie and Dignitie of Marriage: with many singular and worthy examples, tending to that purpose.*



Concerning our present argument, wee haue had a chapter alreadie in our former Volume, declaring verie much good matter to that effect, but yet iustly deseruing this addition or supplement; in regard, that nothing can be sayd too much in the honour of Marriage. This holy institution of Marriage, was made in the earthly Paradise before sinne, in the time of Innocencie, when as God said to our first Parents. *Bring forth fruit, and multiplie, and fill the earth.* But it was not brought to effect, vntill the offence by them committed, and for which, they were expulsed out of the terrestriall Paradise: as Saint *Ierome* hath obserued in his Booke against *Iouinian*.

¶ After the vniuersall Deluge, God gaue command to the good Patriarch *Noah* againe; *To encrease and multiplie*, which is the principall occasion, wherefore Marriage was ordayned, and hath euer since bene so generally recommended: that it hath bene, and is permitted to aged and decrepitate people (free from all power of encreasing, and out of hope of any linage) to marry: which yet is expedient for them (if I might say so) to the end, that they may passe theyr age the more ioyously, as in the kinde company of husband and wife, receiuing pleasure, solace, consolation, and comfortable seruices each to other. Euen as heereof we haue an example by *Dauid*; who (in his very olde age) tooke a yong maiden to wife, as namely, *Abisbag* the *Shunamite*, with whom hee ordinarily lay, and shee slept in the bosome of the King, warming and comforting him, and yet the King knew her not carnally.

What more holy, chaste, assured, and acceptable societie can be amongst men, then that of the husband and wife? Oh, how heauenly an harmony, when the one

The Lord Verdiere's addition to the former Chapter of Pedro Mexia.

Gene. 1.28.

Hierom. in libr. contr a Iouin.

Genes. 8.17

The oldest aged people not prohibited to marry.

King Dauid's marriage in his olde age. 3 Kings 1.4.

The iust and worthy commendations of Marriage, according to the diuine & original institution.

is as the other, two bodies, one soule, one spirit, one will, and one mutuall consent (sympathizing in two bodies) The sole married man and his wife, enuy not one another, but loue infinitely together, each depending vpon the other, shee reposing in him, and he in her: euen as one selfe-same flesh, one and the same concord, alike equally in all things, and all but one: One ioy, one sorrow, one wealth, one poerty, one gaine, one losse, and one selfe same dignitie. They are alwayes companions of one selfe same bed, one and the same table. *Therefore they shall be two in one flesh (said God) and not three, or many.*

God would by no meanes haue in the Ark of Noah, to be any more women then men, to the end that they should all be as one sole woman. In brieft, the loue of the husband to the wife, and of the wife to her husband, surpasseth that of father and mother to their children, of children vnto the father; and that which brothers and sisters ought to haue together. And like as the Ring which the husband (euen as God) puts on the finger of his Spouse or wife (as the soule to the Church) ought to be of golde, and round, as gold, being the most excellent of all mettalles: euen so this coniugal loue exceedeth all other, and ought to continue perpetually. And as *Propertius* saith: *Omnis amor magno, sed aperto in coniuge maior. Every loue is great, but in wedlocke it appeareth to be much greater.* For, Father, Mother, Children, Brethren, Sisters, Cousins and Friends, all these are the workes of Fortune: but the Husband and the Wife are Mysteries of Almighty GOD: And man had his Wife, and Wife had her Husband, before there was cyther Father, Mother, or Children.

The fruits of Marriage are of Almighty GOD, and not of Nature, from whence it ensueth, that children borne out of Marriage, that is to say, Bastards, are called Naturall onely, but they which proceede of loyall Marriage, are sayd to be Legitimate. And therefore, the opinion of Lawyers, is, *That a childe borne out of marriage, hath no certaine father, but we may well say, a bad or lewd mother. He (say they) is the Sonne of the people, or else the Sonne of no body, that is the Sonne of an unmarried woman.* Onely marriage then (which *Baldus* calleth, *The principle, origi-*

*nall and foundation of Mankinde*) maketh Children and Heires certayne, augmenteth kindred, engendereth amitie among Allies, reuerenceth and pleaseth God.

Holy Marriage was so pleasing to the Authour thereof, that he would haue his onely Sonne, to bee borne of a married woman, and although it was his will, to be borne of a Virgine, without the seede of a man; yet was it not without the honour of Marriage. For it pleased him, to proceed from a Mother married; yet pure neuerthelesse, exempt from any carnall soyling: elected to be the Arke of the Testament, the Bush not burning, and the Violl of golde to contayne the celestiall Manna; as well to declare the wonders of his infinite power, as to make that sacred estate so much the more honorable. Witness the presence of the same son of God himselfe, at the mariage of *Cana in Galile*, where expressing his gracious loue & furtherance, he conuerted water into wine, by an especial and extraordinary miracle.

Moreouer, there is not the name of any house or stocke, but (without a woman) it would be quite extinct; neither kinred perpetuated, family increased, or a Common wealth continue in intire condition, or any Empire hold, without such help: which the first founders of the *Romaine* Empire approved; for, they hauing no wiues, desired the Daughters of the *Sabines*, their neighbors, but they would not grant the. Whereuppon, there followed a rape or stealth of 683. of them, which procured a mighty & mortall warre, betwixt the *Romans* and the said *Sabines*: albeit *Romulus* well foresawe, that his Empire could not last, without women. For, the Citty being composed of houses, and the Common-wealth of chosen Princes, both domestickes and familiers, how shall he gouerne a Citty, that hath not learned what it is to gouerne a private house? The Philosopher *Socrates* testifieth, to haue learned more morall Philosophie of women, then euer he could naturall, of *Ariaxar* or *as* and *Archelaus*.

Assuredly, Mariage giues exercitation to morall Philosophie; there is a domestickall Common-wealth conioyned therewith, and in it selfe. For the gouernement whereof, a man may easily experiment the power of wisdom, temperance, pietie, & al other vertues; whereby louing his

Kkkk wife,

The great glorie done by God to the honorable estate of Marriage, as also at the wedding in *Cana in Galilee*.

The manifold great blessings that ensue to the world by women in marriage.

*Dionys. Halicar. in libr. 2.*

*Socrates* learned Morall Philosophie of women.

Marriage occasions great exercise to morall Philosophie.

Gods owne appointment in the Arke of Noah.

The incomparable loue of man and wife.

Comparison of the Ring giuen by the husband to his wife.

Propertius of coniugal loue.

Husband and wife before father, mother, or children.

Bastards haue no certain father, but are naturall children onely.

*Baldus in C. Nonnulli col. 2. de resc.*

wife, enstructing his children, ruling his family, protecting his goodes, ordering his house, and encreasing his race; the yeares of his life, will pace on the more happily. Whereas on the contrary, hee that seeketh to spend his life time without being married; is miserable, and worthe to be abandoned of all men.

The Lawe of Lycurgus made for the vnmarried yong men of Lacedemon.

For this cause, *Lycurgus* made a Lawe to the *Lacedemonians*, that all such as had attained vnto the age of eight and thirty yeares, without enioying women in marriage; should be banished in some time, from all publique playes, spectacles and pastimes, iudging them as vnworthie, to be seene there amongst other in an open assembly. And in winter, they were led out naked, in the common view of the people, because they should be outraged and abused by words and exclamations of every one, detested as vnwoorthie the name of men. And themselues enioyned to confesse, that they suffered these afflictions iustly, as hauing scorned and despised that religion: whereof they were preuaricators, and disobedient to the ordinance of Nature.

The Romans Law for men vnmarried till their age.

As concerning the Romans, they were not altogether so strict and seuerer, & yet ordained, that such as had liued without marriage till their olde age: should be condemned in payment of a great summe of money to the publike Treasury, according to their quality and facultie. *Plato* appointed in his lawes, that such men as were not married, should enioy no honor estate, or publike dignity: but to be more charged with fines and mulcts, then any of the other Citizens.

A yong man of *Lacedemon*, would not arise out of his place in the publike Theater, to giue way and honour to a valiant ancient Captaine (neuer married) named *Callidus*, who was come thither to see the pastimes. And the Captaine growing offended at the arrogancy of the yong man because he disdained him in that manner; gaue him some words of heat and choler, whereto the yong man returned him this answer. *O Callidus, thou hast not (as yet) begotten, neither occasioned the birth of any one that being now at mine age, and vnmarried as thou art, may arise hereafter to giue me place, and therefore no other esteeme is to be made of thee.* The Romaines in the time of *Q. Metellus* Consull, established many fa-

Et in institut. de excus. tut. vel curat.

mous and worthy priuiledges for newe married persons; and for such as had three sons, as may be seene in the *Digest*, of such as had ten. And our greatest Diuines, set downe twelue causes, the which hinder a man from marriage, and doe yet disanull marriage, although it be consummated & children procreated. As namely error, conition, vow parentage, sin, to wit, of adultery or murther, diuersity & diffrence in religion, violence, prophanes in Priesthood, or profession of a false religiō, bond and promise of contrary marriage, as being otherwise contracted, honesty, affinity, and inhability. All these twelue, are bars and hinderances to marriage, according as *Cardinall Caietane* hath comprehended them in these verses.

Twelue especiall occasions that impeach and hinder marriage.

*Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen, Cultus disparitas, vis, or do, ligamen, honestas Si sis affinis, si forte coire nequibus: Hac socianda vetant connubia, facta retrahant.*

Card. Caietan in Sum. Dist. 19

I haue a great desire to discourse particularly on every one of these causes, if I had not such a multitude of other matters to speake of: let therefore (for this time) suffice that which hath bin said. And for such as are louers of Poesie, I referre them to the renowned Poet *Scanola de S. Martha*, partly turned and imitated out of the fift booke of *Marcellus Palingenius*, a Latine Poet, in his Zodiack of Life, where he singeth elegantly in the praise of Marriage.

### CHAP. III.

*Of Partharites, King of the Lombards, who being pursued by Grimoald, fledde first to Cacanus, King of the Auarians or Huns, afterward into France. And in the end after many heauy and troublesom Trauayls; was (with great honor and renowne, seated in his owne kingdome.*



*Partharites* was sonneto *Albert* King of the Lombards, who (after the death of his father) reigned at *Myllaine*; and *Gondebert* his brother, at *Pania*. A strife and quarrell, growing betweene the two Bretheren, *Gondebert* sent

Paulus Diaconus sets down this historie more at large.

Grimoald gaue ouer his Dukedome to his Sonne, in hope of a Kingdome.

Partharites fled and left his kingdome.

Grimoald suffered not Partharites to abide with Cacan.

A hard case, when a King is constrained to trust to his enemy for mercie.

sent *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, towards *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, a verie generous Captaine and Commaunder, requiring his assistance against *Partharites*, with toleinne promise, of giuing him his Sister in marriage. But *Garibald* intending treason to his Lord and Master; perswaded *Grimoald*, to come and possesse the kiugdome to his owne vse, which (thorow discord betweene the two brethren) was growne to weake estate, and verie neare vpon vpon viter ruine.

When *Grimoald* vnderstood this, hee gaue ouer his Dukedome of *Beneuentum* to his sonne, creating him there as absolute Duke, and, with the greatest forces he could get together, prepared his iourney for *Paui*a: and in all cities and towns as he passed along, begot himselfe store of friends, for his better helpe in obtayning the kingdome. Being come to *Paui*a, and entring into priuate conference with *Gondebert*: by close practise and intelligence with *Garibald*, *Gondebert* was slaine at a Banquet, and he made possessour of the kingdome. No sooner did *Partharites* heare these sad tydings, but, leauing faire *Rhodolinda* his wife and Queenc, and a yoong sonne of his (both confined by *Grimoald* to *Beneuentum* for close custody) fled secretly away, making his recourse to *Cacanus*, king of the *Auarians* or *Hunnes*.

*Grimoald* hauing made sure his Kingdome at *Paui*a, and vnderstanding, that *Partharites* secured his safetie with *Cacanus*: sent Ambassadors to him, to let him know, that if hee kept *Partharites* in his kingdome, no long peace should continue betweene him and the *Lombardes*, but he must expect a King as his enemy. According to this Ambassage, the King of the *Auarians* called *Partharites* to him in secret, desiring him, that he would wander whither himselfe pleased: because (thorow his meanes) the *Auarians* might not fall into the hatred of the *Lombardes*. And so, vpon a royall, sad and mutuall interchange of wofull lamentations on eyther side; the two kings parted, as might haue moued pittie in Marble to behold it.

*Partharites*, frustrated now of all helpe and comfort, returning into *Italie* againe: purposed his repaire to his enemy *Grimoald*, confiding on his kingly clemencie, bicause he was left destitute of any other succour. And beeing come neare to the

City of *Lody*, he called to a Gentleman of his, named *Vnulpbus*, in whom his intimate trust wholly consisted, sending him before, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his coming, and to deale iustly for his safetie: *Vnulpbus* presented himselfe before the new-made King, vsing such wise and honourable language to him, concerning *Partharites* his King and Maister, making recourse to his royall mercie, and trusting onely in his goodnesse; that he would freely submit himselfe to him, if he (with the like benignitie) would vouchsafe to embrace him.

So effectually did *Vnulpbus* deliuer his message, and *Grimoald* (eyther in pride or pleasure) accept it: that hee promised and sware vpon his faith, no displeasure should any way be done to the King his maister, he might come when he would, & builde securely vpon his faith. *Vnulpbus*, hauing brought backe this aunswere to *Partharites*, hee went and presented himselfe before *Grimoald*, meerey prostrate at his feete, who took him vp graciously, & in most friendly manner kissed him: wherevpon, *Partharites* beganne thus: Sith I am your humble vassaile and seruant, and knowing you to be most Christian, and a faithfull louer of pietie: though I might liue safe among Pagans, yet, building vpon your mildnesse and mercy, I am come, and heere yeeld my selfe at your feete.

*Grimoald* vsing his accustomed oathes, promised him, saying; *By him that made me to be borne, seeing you haue put your selfe into my power, you shall suffer no harme anie way whatsoeuer; but I will take such order, that you shall liue well and honorably.* So he commanded him a conuenient lodging, with entertainment aunswerable to his qualitie, and all things affoorded to him in plentiful maner. *Partharites* being departed from the King, to such place as was appoynted for him; it came to passe, that the people flocked and resorted daily thither (hauing formerly knowne & honoured him) earnestly desiring to see and salute him.

But see how ready euill tongues are to commit mischief, diuers flatterers and audacious Informers, obseruing the peoples kind greetings to *Partharites*: reported it in such maner to *Grimoald*, that they incensed him very strangely, perswading him, that if he did not the sooner procure

Vnulpbus a loiall seruant to Partharites

Partharites presenteth himselfe before Grimoald.

Conference between Grimoald and Partharites.

Grimoald his protestations to Partharites and the honorable intertainment he gaue him.

Sycophants and flatterers are alwayes too neare about kings and princes.

the death of *Partharites*, hee would bee shaken out of his kingdom, yea, and lose his life likewise; for *Partharites* lodging seemed now, rather to be a Court then his. *Grimoald* beeing a man ouer-easie in beleefe, and led away with the least persuasions; became so confounded vwith ieaalousie and distrust, that (neuer remembering his solemne oathes and promises) he fell into an extraordinary rage, and in extremity of heate and choller, swore the death of innocent *Partharites*, wanting nothing but aduice and meanes, how it might both safely and sodainely bee effected.

Now, because it grew somewhat late, and on the morrow the deed must needs be done; he caused (that Euening) great store of delicate meates and wines to bee sent to *Partharites*, purposely to make him drunke: that being ouercome with eating and drinking, and all his senses possessed with drowinesse, hee might haue the lesse care of his health, and so his life be the sooner betrayed. But a Gentleman who before had serued the father of *Partharites*, and brought him these Iunkets from the King: stouping his head lowe beneath the table, as doing him reuerence and embracing his knee, secretly revealed to him, how *Grimoald* had concluded his death, and that this nightes iouiall drinking supper, must be a solemne induction thereto.

Heereupon, *Partharites* immediately, (but very coueity) gaue order vnto his Cup bearer and Taster, to fill and bring him no other drinke all supper while, but some small quantities of water onely, and in his private siluer Bowle. So that the Courtiers (who were sent to keepe him company) quaffing and carowing many healths of the King to *Partharites*, desiring him still to pledge them in like manner, as thereby expressing his loue to the King: *Partharites* accepted all their severall charges, protesting all honor and reuerence to *Grimoald*, rowssing vp cup after cup as readily as they, seeming as merrie as any of them all, and yet drank nothing else but water. Supper being ended, and the Courtiers returning back to the king, reported the iocund behavior of *Partharites*, and how forward still he was in turning off his owne Bolle, as readily as they did theirs, and neuer refused to pledge his

Highnesse health, thinking him to be very farre spent with wine. Whereat *Grimoald* heartily reioycing, merrily saide; *Alas poore silly Drunkard, little thinkes hee, that the Wine and his blood wil lye mingled on the earth to morrow together, in despite of all the friends he hath.*

The same night, he sent strong guards to watch about the house where *Partharites* was lodged, because he should haue no meanes to escape, nor any friends com to giue him assistance. But the poor harmlesse Prince, when supper was past, and all the Courtiers departed thence (remaining alone in his Chamber, & none with him but *Vnulphus*, and a Page that vsed to waite neereft about, to helpe his Garments both off and on, they beeing both his faithfull seruants, and in whom he reposed most confidence :) he discovered plainly to them, how peremptorily his death was concluded on by *Grimoald*, and what a strong watch was set round about his lodging, so that now their poor Lord and Masters life must needs perish by his treachery.

*Vnulphus* hauing a prompt and readie witte, louing his Lord deerey, & caring for no danger to himselfe, so hee might set him free from perill: by means of certaine Blankets belonging to a bedde, and a Beares skinne which he found there in his chamber by chaunce, so substantially he disguised *Partharites*, that it was impossible to distinguish him from a meere Country boore or Pezant, and his counterfeiting drunkenesse, made the matter to seeme the more likely. *Vnulphus* had gotten a good Faggot-stick, and pretending sweating, with beating that drunken Rascal (for so, and sometimes worse he commonly called him) tumbled him first downe the staires, and lastly out of doores, labouring still as if he had giuen many fore blowes. Which when the Guardes there attending perceyued, they demaunded of *Vnulphus*; what was the matter? Hee answered, saying: Here is a drunken slaue, who while the Lordes were heere at Supper with *Partharites*, hath secretly gotten in, and stolne himselfe starke drunke; keeping such a terrible noise, that my Lord (who is as drunk as hee) I feare can take no rest, and by no meanes would I haue him to bee disturbed.

The best and quickest witted drinkers, may sometime be deceyued.

*Partharites* discovereth his danger to *Vnulphus* and his Page.

The cleanly shift of *Vnulphus* to saue the life of his kingly master

*Vnulphus* cunningly beguileth the Guard, and gaineth the escape of *Partharites*.

The death of *Partharites* is vowed by *Grimoald*.

One of *Grimoalds* owne Gentlemen bewrayed the treason.

The wisdom of *Partharites* in preventing the Treason prepared for him.

No doubt at all made the Guardes of *Vnulphus* his words, but laughing, to see the slaue belabored so lustily; suffered him to driue him on before him; bidding him beate still, and spare him not. While the Guards stood laughing at this merry iest, no man needed to bid them make hast, & *Partharites* being quickly got out of sight, *Vnulphus* returned to the lodging, which made the Guards the more confidently perswaded, and secured the King from all pursuite. Moreouer, after the Kings departure in that manner, the faithfull Page kept the doors lockt vp fast, till *Vnulphus* was returned againe: where they two on-ly remained in the chamber, praying for their Kings prosperous successe; who arriued that night at the Towne of *Aste*, and from thence (passing the mountaines) went into *Fraunce*.

On the morrow morning, messengers came from the King, to bring *Partharites* to the Pallace; and beating at the doore, the Page spake out at the windowe, saying: Good Gentlemen forbear, his Ma-iestie hath drunke somewhat hard, is very sleepey, and therefore I pray ye trouble not his rest. Whereto they in modesty yeelding, went and reported the same to *Grimoald*, who well liked that he should sleep so long: yet sent them againe in all haste, and howsoeuer (awake or asleep) to bring him away with them. The Souldiers fearing to displeas the king, came and knockt earnestly at the doore; but being intreated by the Page, as aforesaid, they boldly broke the doore open, & seeking for *Partharites* in his bed, found him not, which made them to demanda, what was becom of him; & the Page said, he was fled.

Presently were *Vnulphus* and the Page seized on, and haled furiously to the Pallace, where being brought before the king; with vnappalled countenance, they tolde, that the King had escaped with life, disco- uering the maner truely how, and dread- ing no infliction for the fact. When *Grimoald* had aduisedly considered on theyr faith and loyalty, he called them seuerally againe before him; wishing he had such an other faithfull Page, exhorting him earnestly, to keepe his loyalty to his Lord *Partharites*, promising to recompence him worthily for it. *Vnulphus* afterwards was brought againe before him, and the king greatly commending both his wisdome

& honesty; demanded, whether he would chuse to liue with him in good grace and acceptance, or follow *Partharites* in the extremity of his fortunes? whereto *Vnulphus* said, with an oath, That he would rather chuse to die with *Partharites*, in al torments whatsoeuer; then liue any where else, with all the pleasures and delights that the world could giue him.

The same demand was also made to the Page, & his answer was the like in effect: whereon the King highly extolling theyr vnpareld loyalty; prayed them both, to commaund whatsoeuer his Court affoorded, & go in all safety to seek their master. Prouided of all things they could desire or carry with them, and securitie granted for their safe passage; they set onward to *France*; in a longing desire to meete with *Partharites*; as soone after they did, to great ioy and comfort on euery side. But first, newes being abroad, that *Grimoald* had vnited peace with *Dagobert* King of *France*: it made *Partharites* fearful of some close ambushes to be layed for him, & so he might be sent backe to *Grimoald* againe; which made him forsake *France*, & to ship himselfe for *England*: all which calamities happened to him, before his two faithfull seruants could any where finde him.

Being on the Sea all together, and (in hope of good successe) boūd for *England*, they had not past a full league from land: But *Partharites* heard a voyce, seeming to come directly from the shoare where hee took shipping, demanding in this maner: *Speake there, is Partharites in the ship, or no?* *Partharites* replied without pausing: *Who is it that calleth Partharites? I am that most unhappy man, and (blessed be heauen) heere I am. Tell him then (answered the voyce) his native Country calles him home, and further he may not goe; for, within three dayes, Grimoald is dead.* *Partharites* amased at this strange accident, required fauor to be landed with his seruants againe; but could neuer know him that tolde those tidings of *Grimoalds* death, which made him verily perswaded, that it was no mortal man, but his owne good Angell, that thus enstru-cted him, after his passing thorow so many miseries.

*Partharites* returning home againe, to- wards his owne native Countrey, hee was no sooner arriued at the limites of *Italie*; but he met there with a goodly com-

The worthy answer of a loyall and constant seruant.

The honorable dealing of *Grimoald* with *Vnulphus* and the Page, sending them after their royal Maister.

A strange and myraculous accident hap- pening to *Partharites*, lay- ing towards *England*.

Every thing su- red well for the Kings safe deliucring from his ene- mic.

*Grimoald* sends for *Partharites* to the Pallace, in hope to ex- cute his will vpon him.

*Vnulphus* and the Page vio- lently haled to Court, & the whole matter confessed.

pany of *Lombards*, with Laurell wreathes on their heads, and Palme branches in their hands, who purposely attended there for his coming, and so conducted him ioyfully to *Pavia*; from whence, the Sonne of *Grimoald* being expelled, he was there (by generall consent) created absolute King of the *Lombards*, within three moneths after the death of *Grimoald*. He dispatched Poasts to *Beneuentum*, in quest of *Rodesinda* his Queene and Wife, as also his sonne *Cunibert*. And being a man pious, Catholique, a great obseruer of Iustice, and charitable to the poore; so soon as he was quietly seated in his kingdome, he builded a goodly Monastery, neere vnto the Riuer *Thecina*, in which sometime he had concealed himselfe, when he was enforced from place to place; dedicating the Temple to Gods seruice, and in honour of *S. Agatha* the Virgin & Martyr, planting therein many religious virgins, and endowing it with great liberality of rents and reuennues. His Queene also, after her many troubles, and long separation frō her husband, erected the Church of our Lady without the walles, bestowing infinite rich and precious ornaments thereon. And at length, *Partharites* (having reigned eightene yeares) changed this mortall life for a better, to the great greefe of his louing Subiects the *Lombards*.

Nor may we heere omit to say somewhat of *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, the beginner of this poore Princes calamities. He hauing infligated (as hath bin related) *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, to murder *Gondebert*, King of the *Lombards*, treacherously: within no long while after, a certaine meane man, of little or no respect at all, coming to the City of *Thurine*, and vnderstanding, that *Garibald* would be in the cheefe Church on Easter day neere ensuing; stood on the steps of the Font for baptisme, leaning carelessly on his left arme, by a collome of the Tabernacle, being at the very entrance into the Church, hauing a weapon ready drawne vnder his Cloake. So soone as *Garibald* came to bee neere him; he (not fearing all the traine about him) suddenly ran the Rapier quite through his body, that instantly he fell downe dead. Such as attended *Garibald*, being somewhat amazed at so vnexpected an accident, pursu-

ing the murderer, could fasten no hold on him, vntill they had slaine him, with many weapons being in his body at once. So, although he lost his life; yet courageously he reuenged the iniurious act, committed on *Gondebert* his Lord & Master.

## CHAP. V.

*What manner of men those were and are, that be called Doctors of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnists.*



Am sure there are many, that neuer saw the goodly, rich, populous, commodious, and well governed City and Vniuersity of *Paris*; and yet diuers that haue seene it, or read the Antiquities thereof, may perhaps be ignorant, what kinde of men they are, that beare the title or name of Doctors of *Sorbonne*. For all other Doctors are honoured by those Citties names, wherein they receiued their degrees: As Doctours of *Louuaine*, of *Poitiers*, of *Doway*, of *Tholossa*, of *Montpelier*, of *Pavia*, of *Bologna*, of *Tubinge*, of *Fribourge*, and so of diuers other. But the Doctours in diuinity of *Sorbonne*, beare their name, not of the City where they receiued their licences and degrees Doctorall; but of the place peculiarly. A matter which hath much amazed many, & raised doubt in diuers other, that neuer had the happinesse to visit *Paris*; in which respect, I purpose to set down the true originall thereof, how, and vpon what occasion it came so to passe.

It is to be vnderstood, as I haue elsewhere saide, that the course of nature will sooner faile; then people be any other but as their Princes are, as *Cassiodorus* saith. King *Lewis*, ninth of that name, reigning King in *France*, whereas other Princes deuised (euen as to this day many do) how to build Palaces & vnprofitable houses, for pride, luxury and prodigality: this holy & religious King caused Churches to be erected, Hospitals, Abbayes, Colledges, & other places of piety; in imitation of whom, many of his Subiects, & other

A goodly Monastery builded by *Partharites*, neere to the Riuer *Thecina* in Italy.

A further prosecution of the History, concerning *Garibald*, the Duke of *Thurine*.

*Garibald* slain in the cheefe Church vpon Easter day, by a poore silly fellow.

All Doctors, except they of *Sorbonne*, are instituted by names of the Citties & Vniuersities where they were graduated

The holy life of *Lewis* the ninth, commonly called *Saint Lewis*.

other strangers did the like.

Amongst other, there was a Diuine of the Kings house, his Almoner, and one of his Preachers, who was thought to be provided of some good Benefice; yet neyther enriched his kinred, or spent his reuenues in vanities, as too many churchmen now-adayes vse to doe. This good man was called Master *Robert de Sorbonne*: but to relate further, of what Nation hee was, or of what Family, hath scarcely (as yet) beene discovered by any. In brieft, mooued in great pietie, and by the example of his King; hee bought a place, which vsually was called in Latine, *Locum Termarum Casaris*, that is to say, *The place of Casars Bathes*. And it is sayd, that *Iulian*, Nephew to the Emperour *Constantine*, Governour of the *Gaules*, caused those Bathes to be builded, and the Lodgings of *Cluny*, which then were without the City of *Paris*, and as places of pleasure: according as we reade in some Epistles, which *Iulian* wrote to them of *Antioche*. The said *Iulian* was afterwarde Emperour, surnamed the Apostata by the Christians. And then, such as pretended to the Imperiall Crowne, termed themselves *Casars*: as now at this day, such as are designed Emperours after him liuing, are called Kings of the *Romaines*.

In this place there is apparance, that there the *Casars Bathes* were, as evidently may be discerned, by the channells of hewne stone, which were found in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand siue hundred forty and foure, at the gate of Saint *James*, when Bastions and Rampires were then made, to resist the forces of *Charles* the sixt, Emperour, who was entred into *Fraunce* with a mighty army. Which gutters or conduits of water, were continued from the village of *Arcueil* (so named, in regarde of Arches builded of Bricke, as yet to this present are to be seene; or of the Latine compounded word *Aqua ductio*) and reaching into *Paris*. Those conduits of water serued well for those Bathes, and were needfull now to be renewed, to water the higher parts of the Vniuersitie of *Paris* (which haue great neede thereof) if my maisters the *Escheuins*, would therein employ theyr paines.

As already hath beene sayd, this place was builded to bathe or wash the Romain

Emperours, Confulls, Proconfulls, and such like, and was bought by the said Master *Robert Sorbonne*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred three-score and foure. If you desire to know, to whom (as then) that place appertayned; I must therein confesse mine ignorance, although I haue made good search in the euidences, belonging to that place of *Sorbonne*, & elsewhere (specifying large rents & reuenues thereto belonging, yet much enlarged by the bounty of K. *Lewis* 9. king of *France*, and others, calling it only *Sorbonne*) and finding it appoynted, to maintaine a certayne number of Doctors, who should reade publicly in Diuinitie; and also of Batchellers to study, there to be lodged and maintained. Whereupon, from that time to this present, the Professors, Batchellers, and other Students in this Colledge, did endeouore themselves so industriously, and became so capable; as there is hardly any other Colledge throughout all Christendome, wherein may be found men so ready and exact in Diuinitie, as they are that belong to this *Sorbonne* Colledge.

The Students in this House, are not (as commonly else-where) young men, but wel stept in yeares; because they haue read publicly, enstructing the course of Philosophie, which is performed in three yeares, in regard there are as many parts, which are *Logicke*, *Physicke* and *Metaphysicke*. And many times some such are there, that haue made three courses, which are nine yeares, and employed by them in publique Lectures; before they will aduenture to study or reade publicly in Diuinitie; and therefore it is no matter of maruell, that there should continually be such singularly learned men in that Colledge.

The Doctors and Batchellers, ouer & beside their being great Philosophers, are likewise very skilfull in humane learning, and vnderstand the tongues, *Greeke*, *Latine* and *Hebrew*, speaking them (for the most part) eloquently. They are held in such reputation, that (commonly) they deale in the greatest difficulties, and in all Ecclesiasticall occasions, their aduice is wholly vsed; the Colledge being reputed as one of the best Bulwarks to the *Romain* Catholique Church, and so accounted through Christendome.

Bathes for the emperors and confulls of Rome.

Vpon what occasion, and to what end the Colledge of Sorbonne was erected.

The Batchellers of Sorbonne, how they become so learned.

The place that at this day is called Sorbonne, how, and by whom it was bought.

Aqua ducts or Gutters for conueying of water from Arcueil to Paris.

Admirable  
disputations  
of the Doc-  
tors of Sor-  
bonne, & how  
their order  
began at the  
first.

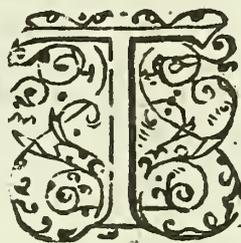
Very laborious are they in their disputations of the sacred Scriptures, resolute, and of great vnderstanding, and the generall disputes vsed in this Colledge, are on euery Friday after the Feasts of *S. Peter & S. Paul*, in the Moneth of Iune, vntill the solemnity of the Feast of *All Saints*, the answerer standing there from morning till euening, and bound to answer all the Batchellors Questions, which commonly are about two hundred in number, euery one keeping his ranke and place: nor is there any President, to support him that answereth, whereas all other faculties do not obserue any such order. It is reported, that this custome was introduced by a religious man, of the order of *S. Frances*, who (to make prooffe of his knowledge) kept open the Schoole all the whole day: and his fellowes, coueting after as much honour as hee had; continued the same course, so that whatsoeuer consisted in the will of the arguers and answerers, became conuerted into an inuiolable loue.

Learned Doctours are as Assistants there, to the end they may iudge on the merit of men, and vnderstand withall, to whom the prime places for Licences are to be giuen. And thus you see, why all Doctours in the facultie of diuinity, which receiue their degrees in that place of *Sorbonne*; are stiled by an Emphasis, Doctours of *Sorbonne*, or *Sorbonnists*, because that there are principall acts obserued, to approue the learning of any, that would aspire to haue the degree of a Doctor. And this place is peticularly noted, as well for antiquity (hauing bene one of the appurtenances to the Pallace Imperiall, at such time as the *Romanes* were Lords of *Gaule*, as I declared in the beginning of this Chapter,) As also in regard of the famous men, renowned for their learning and knowledge, that liue (ordinarily) in a sacred society in that Colledge. In which respect, the most part of the best Citties in *France*, Bishoppricks and Collegiate Churches, resort thither, to make choys of their Diuines, to prouide them of Prebends, and other reuennues meete for such men.

Doctours of  
Paris are vsu-  
ally tearmed  
Doctours of  
worth and e-  
reeme.

## CHAP. VI.

*That the Law of the Emperour Seuerus, and that of Solon, for promoting any one to Office and Authority in the Common-wealth (being first informed, of a mans life & good manners) was much better then those of the Venetians, Florentines, Genewayes and Lucanes; examining after the time of their Iurisdiction is past.*



He Emperour *Seuerus*, the eighteenth, reigning in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 196. albeit that he was no Christian; yet (after the example of Christianity) wold ordinarily say: *That it was great shame, to bee lesse carefull of the life of a Governour, or one that exerciseth the place of iudgement; then the Christians were, in the quality of their Shepheards and Watchmen ouer their Flocks. For they obserued a kinde of Siquis, or a Bill fixed vpon Poasts, wherein were set downe the names, of such as aspired to any Ecclesiasticall dignity, and examined their liues and behaiour with strictest seuerity.* In the very same manner, this good Emperour, when hee intended to prouide any man for the gouernment of a Prouince, or place where iudgment was to be vsed, or whatsoeuer else appeared requisite: wold first set vp publike Placards, or Bills of inscription, in diuers places about the Cittie, to the ende, that if any notorious vice were knowne, or criminall cause deseruing open detection, in such as were named in those publike Placards: it was lawfull for all men, to accuse or set downe their blemishes & incapacities, that no wicked or vnworthy person, might be aduanced to such degree of eminency. Thus euery one, and all in generall were permitted to accuse; but yet on penalty of life, if it should be proued to be scandall or calumniation, and thereupon, an especiall Law was ordained and enrouled expressely.

In my poore opinion, this Law seemeth much more honest and equall, then those

La mpridius  
in the life of  
the said Alex-  
ander Seue-  
rus.

Placards Bills  
of Siquis, or  
publike in-  
scription fixed  
vpon Poasts,  
and to what  
end they were  
ordained.

The Authors  
comparifon of  
precedency  
with prefent  
ordenations.

A good ad-  
uice againft  
vnlawful eua-  
fions.

It is better to  
chafte finne  
late, then ne-  
uer.

What kinde  
of men are in  
equity to be  
aduanced to  
places of au-  
thority.

Refpect is the  
befte rule to be  
ordered by.

Alexander  
Seuerus was  
no Christian,  
yet imitated  
the Christians  
in making  
this Edict.

thofe now adayes in vfe, with the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Genewayes*, and *Lucanes*, who after the time of a mans Office is expired, or, that the limitation of his gouernment ceaffeth: do then make enquiry, to caufe him render an account of his adminiftration, and then proceed againft him according to his demerits. A wicked Magiftrate, and publike Concuffionary or extortioner, by giuing a piece of bread to dogs barking at him, fo to flop their mouths: may thus falue his thefts, and other depredations of his vile life.

It is much more expedient, to prevent a difeafe, then to tarry till it come, & then to expulfe it: notwithstanding, it is better late, then neuer, to the ende (at the leaft) that feare of fearch and fyndication, may retaine Officers within compaffe of their duty.

And yet the ordination of *Solon* (methinks) was farre better, whereby the liues of Officers was to be examined, both before and after their authority, as we reade in the lawes fet downe by *Demosthenes*. For by examining the life and manners of fuch, as couet or feeke after degrees of Offices, Benefices, Knighthood, exemptions, immunities, gifts and rewards, if they appeare to bee foule or deformed: not onely they may be reiected, but alfo directly (in iuftice) punished, & rewards diftributed to honeft perfons, according to the merit of euery man. And by an hermonious proportion, the purffe fhould be giuen to the moft faithfull; Armes to the moft valiant; Iuftice-degree to the vprighteft; cenfure to the entireft; painfull trauaile to the ftrongeft and beft able; Prelacy to the moft learned and deuouteft. And yet neuertheffe, carrying refpect to Nobility, wealth, age, and the power of euery one, as alfo the quality of their charges and offices: for it were very ridiculous, to make a Iudge a Warriour, a Prelate a common Lawyer, or a Soldiour to manage cafes of confcience.

Now for the better comprehension of our purpose in this Chapter, it is to be obserued, that *Alexander Seuerus* neuer was a Christian: but a worthy man otherwise, and when he made that Edict. As being defirous to place good Magiftrats, to gouerne in the Romaine Commonwealth vnder his Empire (finding it full of exacting Officers) in imitation of the

Christians; euen (as it is faide) in the fecond time of the Primitiue Church. And when (for any perticular Church) any need appeared of a Bifhoppe, a Priest, a Deacon, or fome other Officer; the Christians (in thofe times) fixed vp their Pla-cards, fetting downe the name of him or them, that fought to haue fuch office and dignity: they did it to fuch ende, that if any vice were knowne in him or them; objection might bee made againft the pretendant, fo to debout him of his requifition and fute.

And questionleffe, great need there was, that this pollicy fhould bee obserued among the Christians; for the Pagans & Idolaters then (being their capitall enemies) fought nothing more, then fome fubieft or argument, whereby to iniurie and caluminate the Pastors and Prelates among the Christians, onely to make the odious to the people. And they that were promoted vnto Ecclefiasticall Offices in thofe dayes, had no other ftipend or reward, but only fome collection of Corne and other matters, among the Christians of the Churches then, to make them garments, and maintaine them poorely enough, being prouided of thofe places, & oftentimes their beft affurance was moft cruell martyrdom. And that which made men then defirous of Ecclefiasticall aduancements, was not (as now adayes) to deriue thence large benefits & reuennues: for then, there were not any foundations ordained, neyther were any tenths leuied for or from them. But the Pastours then, in a moft sacred kinde of charity, coueted to enftrect the ignorant, and confirme in faith, intimidate, affrighted and difperfed Christians, persecuted by the Romanes and other Princes, onely for the Christian faith, and to encourage them for fuffering martyrdom, according as *Eusebius* (who liued in thofe times) hath written at large.

As for the eftates of the *Venetians*, *Genewayes*, *Lucanes*, and others now exercifed in *Italy*, they are not during life, as it is in *France*: wherein yet it is not much amiffe, to haue information of them, vpon the expiration of their charges, to caufe terror in their offices fucceffors, for beft carriage and behauior in their dutie, leaft a further inquisition come vpon them. In *France*, eftates and offices are exercifed, during

The Pastours  
and Preach-  
ers among  
the Christians  
were very  
poore in the  
beginning of  
vndertaking  
their charges

The defire of  
Pastors in the  
Primitiue  
Church.

The eftates &  
offices in *Italy*  
differing fro  
the in *France*.

during life of the party in possession: but yet with caution, that if he commit any vnbecoming acte, to bee instantly dismissed, and (oftentimes) death ensueth thereupon. But before any man may bee so aduanced, the Statutes of *France* haue enioyned, that good information must be made, concerning the life and manners of the party to enioy it; before such persons as his Maiesty, or other soueraigne Iudges shall appoint.

The Kings of *Spaine*, cause information of life and behaiour, of any that aime at degrees and offices, before they are admitted to them. And moreouer, at every five yeares end, sometime in more, and in lesse compasse of yeares very often; secrete enquiries & informations are made, of all Officers in euery Seignury: as in all the *Spaines*, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Millaine*, the lower Countries of *Germany*, the County of *Bourgongne*, the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and other, & namely of the places where they exercise their Offices. And if the King do finde, that they mis-behaued themselues; his Councell deposeth them, appointing other in their places, of whom (likewise) the life and conuersation is well questioned. Sometimes they are put to death, but very rarely, and many times deposed, yet without note of infamy: only giuing them to vnderstand, that the King is not well contented with their seruice. Heere is also to be vnderstood, that information commeth not onely against Officers of Iustice, as Aduocates, Procurators, Pregnotaries, Iudges soueraigne and subalterne: but likewise against Ecclesiasticks, and men of warre. By which means, euery one is compelled to containe himselfe within compasse of duty; and beside, the estates & offices are not vendible.

#### CHAP. VII.

*Of the reason and cause, why both some Princes, and also some Common-wealths, haue alwaies prosperously flourished in the times of warre; and in peacefull dayes haue runne to decay and ruine.*

Although I discourse in this Chapter, that some Princes and Common-

wealths haue bin very happy and successful, in times of wars and molestations; and contrariwise, in times of peace haue become vicious, running on to ruine and desolation: yet I neyther will, or do thereby inferre, that warre is to bee esteemed more necessary then peace. But I will shew the causes whereby (not all Common-wealths, nor all Princes in generall) yet many liued more vertuously & happily in the times of war, then in their easier dayes of peace. And that so soone as they came to enioy peace; they fell into ruine, vtterly losing all their greatnesse & splendour. Euen like vnto Iron, which not being vsed or handled, or whereof no frequent employment is made; rusteth and consumeth of it selfe. And this ensued by no other occasion, but only through negligence and want of respect, that when they enioyed the Sunny daies of peace; no discreete order was taken, for institution of good life and pollicie, and how to make vse (as men ought to doe) of such sweet tranquillity.

Before I come to approoue my sayings by examples, I would first make a brieue relation, concerning the actions of men of warre; to demonstrate, that it is (almost) vtterly incredible, that any goodnesse can deriue it selfe from war. For, who is a greater enemy to the peacefull man, then the furious Soldior? To the milde, meeke cuntryman, then the bloody Warriour? To the Philosopher, then the fierce Captaine? To the wise, then fooles? Because the greatest delight and felicity of warriors, is, to forrage Countries, rob the husbandmen, burne Towns and Villages, to massacre good men, to giue all licence to the wicked, to besiege, batter, force and ransacke houses, to kill olde and young, to spare no age or sexe, to rauish Wiues and Virgins, to bathe their hands brutishly in innocent blood, to make a spoile of sacred things, to ruinate Temples, to blaspheme the Name of God, to trample (vnder their foule feete) all right both diuine and humane. These are the fruites of warre, highly acceptable and pleasing to fiery-eyde Soldiors, abhominable to good men, & detestable before God. Needleffe is it to amplifie with words, that which hath bin too well seene and felt in ouer-many places, whose very memory hath startled the

Peace is alwaies to be preferred before war in any Kingdome.

In Sunshine dayes men haue greatest need to feare stormes.

The fruites are but bad that proceed from war, be it neuer so iustly followed.

Where warre keepes his reuels, all goes to wracke and ruine, without any pittie or remorse.

foules

Prouision made by the Statutes of *France*.

The obseruation of *Spaine* in the admission of their Officers.

How the kings of *Spain* carry themselves to their substitutes.

soules of them in best safety, and made their haire stand on ende, that thought themselves of boldest resolution.

If then the case stand thus, and that war hath so many discommodities and mischiefs waiting vpon it: how can any good ensue from it?

Further wee are to vnderstand, that when Soldiours are guided by Captaines voide of iudgement, vnderstanding and vertue: all the forenamed euils and mischiefs are ordinarily committed. But if they haue a vertuous Commander, hee will carry himselfe so much the more modestly. And like as greatnesse of courage & magnanimity, is a bright flaming Beacon, leading the way to all other vertues, and exalteth Princes vnto the very highest point of honor: euen so it is vertue (onely) likewise, that most discourageth the hearts of enemies, be they neuer so potent or powerfull Warriours, and (oftentimes) gaineth the victory, without a blow deliuered on either side.

Heereof I intend to set downe some examples, that in the Roman Commonwealth, and in the times of their war; there was greater store of vertuous minded men, then when they liued in peace and quietnesse. First let vs remember *Furius Camillus*, who hauing sent backe the children, which the Schoole-Master had brought into his Campe, to make them bondslaves to the Romanes; conquered the City without one blow smitten; which neuertheless was very strong, and well furnished with al warlike munition.

And *Fabritius*, hauing sent the Physition to king *Pyrrhus*, that had promised to poison him, and refused the moiety of his Kingdomes: although he was one of the very poorest Romane Gentlemen, and caused the prisoners ranome to be payde, which *Pyrrhus* had freely deliuered, not suffering the meanest of them to stand beholding to so great a King. And *Scipio*, who (without any paine) conquered a great part of both the *Spaines*: by sending a lady of rare beauty to her husband, the Prince of *Celtiberia*, according to the example of *Cyrus*. These so generous and vertuous actions, tooke away all courage from enemies, to make war any longer against such magnanimous people; who neither could conquer, nor yet be conquered, by base or vnbeseeching

behaviour.

And yet this was much better made knowne, after the great day at *Cannas*, when *Hanniball* had put eight thousand prisoners to their ranome, at an hundred Crownes each man, and one bearing credite for another: hoping vndoubtedly, that the Romanes hauing lost so many men, would not be slacke in paying their ranome. But it was flatly forbidden (by the Senates especiall decree) that not one prisoner of them al should be redeemed. Whereat *Hanniball* (saith *Polybius*) was so amazed, as all his courage quite forsooke him. Whereas on the contrary, the Romanes secured their state the better, which was shrewdly shaken, and vterly abandoned (as it were) of all friends and confederates. For the iudgement of the Senate was wise and honourable; because *Hanniball*, hauing so much Romane blood to spil at his pleasure, thoght to empty their Treasury of money, and draw eight hundred thousand Crownes from them; which they rather chose to spare, then to redeeme the very scum and cowards of all the Roman Army. Wherevpon, and thence forward, euery one took a resolution to conquer or dye, & so became dreadfull and inuincible. And like as their hearts neuer failed them in their greatest losses; so were they neuer conquered by arrogancy in their victories. And therefore; in the time of war, the Romanes more expressed their greatnesse in courage, then in peace they could do.

*Charles* the eight of that name, King of *France*, in the voyage which hee made into *Italy*, to conquer the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*, they belonging to him, as he pretended: at the surprizall of a City, a very goodly Lady was brought vnto him, whom he would not touch; but sent her away (and great gifts with her) to her husband. By this acte of chastity he sped so well, that most part of the Townes and Citties as he passed along, brought their keyes vnto him, and conquered (the more easily) the Kingdomes hee laide clayme to. And yet neuertheless, this King had Ladies (sometimes) at commaund in his owne Court, albeit very secretly.

So long as *Caius Marius* followed war, he performed many braue and vertuous exploits therein, largely encreasing (with great

Hanniball & his 8000 Romane prisoners.

The generous and vnconquerable courage of the Romanes, and grounded on good reason.

The honorable action of Charles the 8. King of France.

The fame & reputation of Marius, so long as he continued a Warriour.

Vertue is many times victorious without any blowes giuen.

The Romanes had more vertuous men in warre then in peace.

Furius Camillus.

Fabritius.

Scipio.

Vertue can neuer conquer by cowardise.

great Prouinces) his Country and Common-wealth of *Rome*. As hauing conquered *Iugurthe*, King of the *Numidians*, and made an absolute surrender of his Kingdome to *Rome*: hee likewise vanquished the *Cymbrians* in *Gaule*, and the *Germanes* that were entred into *Italy*, and seauen times was he made Consull, euen in iust regard of his great deseruings. But when he ceased from being a Warriour, adding himselfe to idlenesse, and desiring to liue in peace: aspiring by his ambition to tyranny, he caused aboue tenne thousand Cittizens to dye wretchedly, & ended his owne life in miserable exile. And the very same did *Sylla*, who was esteemed one of the most fortunate men in his time; who in a ranged battaile, ouerthrew *Mithridates* neere to *Charonea*; and his Lieutenant at another time after, not farre from *Athens*. He vanquished also the *Medes*, and the *Dardanians* or *Troyans*; he put *Carbo* to flight, & droue him quite out of *Italy*; winning the battaile likewise against *Marius*; and so long as he followed the warres, liued most nobly and vertuously. But being returned home to his house, and liuing therein peace; hee became a tyrant and butcher of the Cittizens; so that (in one day) he commanded nine thousand of them to be slaine, promising a certaine stipend or wages, to any one that brought him a *Romane* Cittizens head.

While *Pompey* managed Armes, and was a braue Commander in Armies; hee was esteemed the most vertuous man the liuing. For he restored the Kingdome of *Numidia* to *Massinissa*, which *Hiarbas* had vsurped from him. He vanquished *Sertorius*, King of *Portugall*, ending also the most dangerous warre of the Pyrats; and ouercame *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, constraining him to slay himselfe. He warred in the Northerne parts, conquered *Albania*, *Morea*, the *Henioches*, *Cassia*, *Hiberia*, and afterwards (in the East) surmounted the *Parthians*, *Arabians*, and subiected *Iudea* beside. But afterward, the *Romane* people hauing no longer warre, and he returning home to his abiding; grew enuious against his kinsman *Cesar*, and as by the precedent warres, the *Romane* Empire had attained vnto vnspeakable greatnesse: so by peace it impayred too much, onely through ciuill warre, engen-

dered among themselues. In which respect, many people and Kings shooke off the yoke, wherein they stood tributaries to the *Romanes*, and so their Empire (by little and little came to decadence.

Great *Alexander*, so long as hee continued warre in the East, hee was accounted most valiant and temperate. And hauing vanquished *Darius*, finding none other to resist against him, he grew to such insolence; that he would be often drunk, & made himselfe so contemptible, as he became despised of his owne people, his friends and kindred, who caused him to dye by poison, hauing scarcely attained to the age of thirty yeares.

So long as the *Lacedemonians* had braue warlike Kings and Captaines, and found them employment in warres, eyther, whether it were for defence of their owne Country, or for conquering others, such men as were *Agefilauus*, *Agis*, *Archidamus*, *Brasidas*, *Damonidas*, *Euricratidas*, *Termistias*, *Callicratides*, and more such like beside; they daily prospered in all attempts they vnderooke. But so soone as they had conquered the *Athenians*, & pillaged and polled their City vnder *Lysander*, and had filled their purses with money, making no more account or care of war: the sweet ease and goodnesse of the time then seized on them, & contemning both exercise and military discipline, they became quickly ruined. For, from all former times of antiquity, they commonly employed painfull diligence, rather by stratagems and pollicies of warre to conquer their enemies, then by power: which was more commended in *Archidamus*, then any other vertue else. They alwayes shunned peace, not as disallowing it to be good; but because it continually enticed them to too many vices. For the *Lacedemonian* Lawes ordained, that men might walke through the City in the night time without light; because a Soldiour, most often being in war, might (by all meanes) march against his enemy, and at al houres as occasion presented it selfe, eyther by day or night. Patient also they were in all externall iniuries, as raines, windes, heats, frosts, mysts, and in greatest hungers; being euermore constantly resolu'd, eyther to conquer, or dye in the field. Which extremities, could not bee exercised by slothfull people, or liuing in peace.

Idlenesse and negligence was the ruine of Great *Alexander*.

Through sloth and idlenesse, the *Lacedemonians* vterly ouerthrew themselues.

\* A Noblema of *Sparta*, son to *Telis*, that would aduventure any danger whatsoever for his Countries safety.

The misfortune that idlenesse & negligence broght to *Marius* and *Sylla*.

Ease hath bin reputed the Nurse of tyranny.

The renowne of *Pompey* so long as he followed Armes.

By peace the *Romane* Empire vterly lost it selfe.

The

The *Romans*, in those times, when they were not corrupted with forces of forren nations, banished all the *Gracian* Philosophers, and would not admit any knowledge of letters among them, but for their vse: and no lesse hated they the professors of questionary sciences, then their books. They would not practise or learne anie thing, but to know how they might best bee obedient to Magistrates, and endure the hardest trauels in battels, to live or die. A *Thessalian* being demaunded, who were the worst conditiond people in his countrey, answered; Such as had withdrawne themselves from Military labour and discipline.

A poet, named *Archilochus*, being come to dwell in *Lacedemon*, was banished presently thence, being knowne to haue written: That it was much better to forsake the Target and Armes, then to die in warre. Among the *Lacedemonians*, it was an especial obseruation, to figure al the Images of their gods and goddeses armed, holding launces in their hands, as signifying themselves to be warriors: Because they reputed nothing to be more vile & infamous, then idlenesse and vnarmed peace, being no way so goodly in apparance, as Military vertue: and therefore they paynted their gods in such forme, as themselves alwayes wished to be. Contrariwise, the *Gracians* Theology instructed them, to figure their gods, idle, peaceable, and lying all along. And it seemed, that the *Lacedemonians* had good reason so to do, bicause they imagined, that al our actions should be conformable to those of the gods: for, in painting the shapes of the gods effeminately, and so to follow them in like qualities, is to be pernicious, and vnprofitable to the Common weale.

So soone as *Henry*, second of that name king of *France*, had contracted peace with the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, with all the princes of *Italy*, and with the countries of high and lower *Germany*, they all being enemies to him: he was very shortly after slaine in a iousting, with a spield of a launce, entring in at the sight of his Beauer. All the great Captaines of *France* esteemd vertuous among all other Nations, in times of peace, fell to killing one an other, keeping neither faith nor promise, but proditoriously massacring their very best friends: feining assemblies

about the State affaires: some vnder colour of marriages; others, by pretended feasts and banquets, proceeding on so far in this wicked courte, till they killed their king, yea & sought to murder his successor. In brief, they leagued themselves daily one against another, and some against the State, growing into such factious and treacherous coniurations, that the *French* were thoght to be a most barbarous kind of people. All which had hapned, but thorow discontinuing exercise of Armes against ancient enemies, and calling them in, to despoyle them of their goods. Like as the ancient *Gaules* formerly did, who in meere enuy one to an other, and hauing giuen ouer the exercise of Armes, one part called in the *Romaines*, and an other the *Almaines* or *Germanes*, who were their vtter ruine in the end. And so they became tributaries, who were wont to bee the onely terrour of the *Romaines*, *Gracians*, *Spaniards*, yea, and likewise of the *Germanes*.

Seeing then it cometh so to passe, that some Princes, and likewise some Common-weales (as appeareth by our passed Discourse) attained to much honor, and orderd their affaires better in their storms of warre, then in the calmer seasons of peace: and because it is not possible that warres should continually endure, but Peace must, and will haue some time of sway and dominion: Let vs now see, if there be not as good meanes of vertuous containment, as well in the dayes of peace as of warre; doubtlesse it may bee done more commodiously, and the waies of compassing it I will briefly declare.

First of all, when there is no more occasion, for employing men of warre in a Kingdome or Common-weale: aduice is to be had, what Princes, friends or confederats of strangers, haue any need of men of such martiall qualitie, and thither to send them in their assistance, with charge of returning from thence agayne, when they shall bee sommoned thereto. Not onely shall the State or Common-weale be thus disburthened of paying such wages: but also of such scelerates, as ordinarily doe follow men of warre, the more safely to commit their thefts and villanies, without checke, law, or punishment.

In like manner did *Charles* the fifth of that name, and King of *Fraunce*, who

The Grecian Philosophers banished out of Rome, and the reason why.

A poet banished out of Lacedemon for writing against warre.

The gods of the Lacedemonians were painted armed, and those of the Greekes effeminately.

The French nation entred into long continued seditions, onely by peace.

Discipline of military discipline breeds no mean store of evils in any peaceable nation.

The Authour falleth to reprehend his first proposition, and to effectually pursue.

How Souldiers are to be dealt withall, when they owne wanteth employment for them.

A good aduise to discharge any kingdom of theeuces & wicked persons, who are dangerous people in the times of peace

Henry Earle of Richmond, afterward K. of England.

Augustus Cæsars care of his countries honor.

War serueth sometime as good Physick, for a Commonwealth, to rid it of corrupted humors.

hauing taken truce with the *English, Narrians, and Britaines*, beeing entreated by *Henry of Castile*, the Bastard, who made warre vpon his legitimate brother for the kingdom: For Pope *Vrbane* had conferred the Crowne vpon him, in regard that *Don Peter*, king of *Castile*, had intelligence and confederacy with the King of *Granado*, who was of the Mahometane Religion: Moreouer, he was a tyrant, doing many things vnbecoming the name or credit of a Christian. King *Charls* sent him succour of souldiers, vnder conduct of the Constable *Bertrand du Guesclin*, who (by that voyage) purged *France* of an infinite number of Theeuces, the greater part whereof were slaine in that warre. The like did *Lewes* the eleventh, who, hauing peace with all his enemies, sent all his souldiers (that rauaged strangely in his kingdom) to the Earle of *Richmond*; who passed them ouer with him into England, because he laid claime to the kingdom. By this meanes, hee ridde his realme of rascality, and had some reuenge also vpon his ancient enemies.

*Augustus Cæsar*, hauing ouercome his Competitor *Mark Anthony*, and hauing no further employment for war; was not so improudent or indiscreete, as to suffer his souldiers liue idle and negligently: but sent forty Legions into remote Prouinces, and to the frontiers of barbarous nations, still to support their militarie discipline, and to keepe all occasions of ciuill war, so farre off as might bee. But Great *Constantine* the Emperor, following the counsell of diuers Bishops and Priestes, who were slenderly experienced in State affaires: threwe off his Legionaries and men of warre; which was the cause, that ancient Military Discipline became quite lost, and opened a gate to such enemies, as (afterward) inuaded the Romane Empire on al sides. For they vnderstood not, that Lawe, Iustice, and the whole State (next vnder God) are in the protection of Armes, as vnder a soueraign & safe buckler of defence.

Yet there is one point more, very considerable, to shew, that Militarie Discipline ought to be maintained, and warre made, vpon good and iust occasions; for there hath alwayes bene (and neuer shall we bee without) some theeuces, murthers, idle loyterers, vagabonds, murmu-

ners, and sturdy vagrants, which (in any Common-wealth) do hurt and spoyle the honest simplicity of good subiects, & notwithstanding the verie best Iustice that may be vsed, yet can no countrey bee intirely censed of such Cankers. The best helpe (in this case) is warre, to send such vnecessary members farre off from home-abiding, wheresoeuer any fitting employment happeneth. Because it serueth as a purgatiue medicine, very cordiall and conuenient, for expelling such corrupted humours, out of the Commonwealths vniuersall body. Furthermore, in times of peace, and for better enioying the benefit thereof; no tolleration is any way to bee suffered, of such as haue not trade or vocation; for idlenesse and negligence, cause too many euils in any kingdom. By this discourse then may bee obserued those reasons, why many Princes & Commonweales flourish in times of war, & fell to ruine in the daies of peace; the best meanes also in both of them hath briefly bin deliuered.

## CHAP. VIII

*That Princes ought not to erect sumptuous and stately buildings; as hoping thereby to make their names immortall.*



OME Flatterers cannot be sufficiently blamed, that perswade Kings and great Monarks, to builde sumptuous houses and Palaces, therby to make their names immortal, contrary to the iudgment of Count *Balthazar* the *Castilian*, in his booke of the Courtier, who (in mine opinion) hath highly erred, to write and approoue such a vanitie. For, *the end of all vertuous actions* (according to the saying of *Cicero*, in the 3. book of his *Tusculanes*) is *honour glory, and good renown: not a dumb building, which is composed of the sweat, blood, and means of poor people.* Palaces cannot moue out of the places where they are builded; nor can they make knowne the generous deeds of such as erected them: And men that dwell

How Magistrates are & ought to cary their authority in times of peace.

That no man should builde, vainly to immortalize his name.

*Cicero in Tusculan. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

Men s names  
rmaine not  
by their build-  
ings.

by those places, and strangers that see or passe by them, when some fifty yeares (or so) are ouer-passed, can scarcely bee informed, who were the founders, albeit their names may be engrauen vpon some stone or other matter; whereby the erecters of Pallaces and prowde Buildings, are often frustrated of theyr hope and intention.

Princes are  
aply compa-  
red to Swal-  
lowes in theyr  
loue to theyr  
buildings.

Moreouer, if it be well pondered and considered, the sayrest buylding is but a matter of frailtie, and subiect to no long continuance: for, when men cease from dwelling there, they runne in poasting speede to ruine and decay. And Princes are the occasion heereof: Resembling Swallowes, who will neuer neastle twice in one neast: Euen so, the most parte of Princes dwellings become desert, like to King *Frances*, who buylded a great Tower in the Castell of the *Louure* in *Paris*, made after the auncient manner, and ruinated the body of the Lodging, by causing another to be erected. Afterward he builded *Madric*, and then agayne the house of *Fontaine bleau*, yet neuer dwelt in any of the sayd buildings.

Example of  
Catharine de  
Medicis, nor  
long since Q.  
Mother of Fr.

*Catharine de Medicis*, widdow to King *Henry* the second deceassed, when shee was Regent (although shee was well furnished with vnderstanding, and a Lady of great honour) yet notwithstanding, shee suffred her selfe, to be ouermuch perswaded by some flatterers in the Court about her: that, to render her memory to posteritie euerlastingly, shee should erect some goodly Pallace; whereto she yielded, after a long time of sollicitation. She had not seene the fourth part of the building out of the ground, but shee began to repent her selfe, saying: Shee knew well enough, that it was meere vanity, to hope for immortallizing by buildings, frayle, & subiect to ruine in a short time, and so left off, from proceeding any further in so friuolous a businesse.

The Qu. Mo-  
ther of Frãce  
liked not the  
building of  
sumptuous  
houses, which  
were indeed  
to small vfe.

The sayd Lady had houses of pleasure abroad, passably fayre and commodious: but in *Paris* shee had not a dwelling, her children being come to age. The *Louure*, a royall habitation, was not sufficient to receiue her and her traine: wherefore, seeing that the Court (in those times) kept ordinarily at *Paris*: shee built an other of indifferent cost, in the place where was founded the order and religion of *Marie*

*Magdalen*, for sinfull women and maides, conuerted to repentance, and transported the religious women thence, vnto the Abbey of Saint *Mary Magdalen*, beeing much more commodious for them. Reprouing the counsell formerly giuen to her, she would vsually say: That money might be better employed, in redeeming the Crowne lands, paying of debts, easing the people oppressed with grieuous taxations; then to bee wasted in such vaine manner, which wordes right well became so great a Princeesse as shee was.

Oftentimes she commended the good Emperour *Vespasian*, who neuer builded any Pallace, but contented himselfe with such as were erected by his predecessours: yet did hee re-edifie diuerse and sundry ruined Temples and Theaters, and gaue very bounteously to Hospitalls. As she like did the Emperour *Domitian*, who was well satisfied with a small dwelling: and yet builded hee the Capitole, which was greatly decayed by age, and a Temple of his owne, dedicated vnto *Iupiter*.

This Qu mo-  
ther was re-  
puted a very  
wife Lady.

The sacred Scriptures tell vs, that the magnificence and ouer great sumptuousnesse of *Salomon*, in building his pallaces and houses, were the cause, that tenne Tribes of *Israell* did seperate themselves from obedience to his heyre *Rehoboam*, and reigned onely but ouer two. I will not speake here of the Temples building, for his father left him all the stufte and the meanes, as needed for the creation of so holy a Temple. But the immesurable expences layde out on his Pallace, for furnishment whereof, the people themselves so pressed after his decease: that they were constrained to seeke another King, then his Sonne *Rehoboam*, who would continue the prodigall expences of his father in building, and so (of twelue partes) hee lost ten in his kingdome.

Prowde build-  
ing lost Sa-  
lomons sonne  
tenne of the  
Tribes of Is-  
raell.

It is right well knowne, by the Text of the Iewish Chronicles, that King *Salomon* abused the Graces and Blessings both of Almighty God and men: for, it was not sufficient for him, to make walls in his pallace of the very goodliest stones, the best polished, and most splendant in in all the world; but he would needes illumine them also with exquisite colors, couering them besides with masse golde, as

The exceed-  
ing great cost  
of Salomons  
pallace.

Costly wood of Cedar and Cechin, whereof the planks and floores were made.

Salomon builded many more Pallaces beside that in Ierusalem, & all as rich as that.

Salomons people reuolted from him for oppressing them with his buildings.

The vanity of Nero Claudius Caesar.

making lesse account of siluer, then hee did of leade or yron. The like is to be vnderstood of the planchers and floores, all made of curious and strange woods, the very worst being of Cedar and Cechin, without corruption, and smelling most sweetly, resembling in coulour, the beames of the Sun, being so ingeniously handled in the working, that they appeared like most curious shapes and figures, as no men in the world were able to inuent, or counterfeit the like. And yet neuerthelesse, hee covered those costly woods with plates of gold, enchased with infinite precious stones: so that the very floores seemed to be second starry Heauens; whereby may easily be presupposed, what the other parts of his Pallace were.

Moreouer, *Salomon* did not onely build one Pallace in *Ierusalem*, but many more beside in diuers places, euen as rich, or rather more costly then the other. As that which hee erected for his Summers recreation, in the Wood of *Lybanus*, abounding in all variety of vanities. In two Hals he placed five hundred Shields or Targets, of inmeasurable greatnesse, and all of massiue gold, each Target valuing (at the least) two thousand and foure hundred Crownes, as *Empolemus* hath recorded. The said Bucklers or Targets were beaten with the hammer, and engrauen with rare and costly braunched workes. He builded another Pallace in *Gazer*, more sumptuous then the two former were: which was quickly ruined after his death, and at this day the places are not knowne where those Pallaces stood. For the building of these, hee trauailed and molested his people, who reuolted from him, losing thereby his heyre and successour, and (well neere) all his Kingdome; his Reigne (beside) being full of many warres and other miseries. Behold what goodly benefit redounded to him, by erecting such ouer-sumptuous buildings: for, the *Egyptian* people destroyed and pilled his Pallace before his eyes.

*Tranquillus* declareth, that *Nero Claudius Caesar*, the sixt Romane Emperour, was so ambitious; that he desired to make his name immortall, by the meanes of buildings, which he intended to erect, and valued the price of his life, whereof I pur-

pose to sette downe a brieve description.

First, he would haue had all *Rome* to be pulde downe, and then to be built againe at the Cittizens charges: saying, that the streets were not straiter nor large enough. Heereupon, diuers leud persons (by him subborned) fiered the City in sundry places: hee intending afterward to haue it beare his name, and to be called *Neropolis*: which partly was put in execution, albeit the eight part could hardly be burned, and because many houses were built all of stone; with engines he caused them to be destroyed. And as he perseuered thus in ruinating the houses, certaine conspiracies (intended against him) chanced to be discovered to him; which made him leaue off, and proceed therein no further. *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, that hee caused a false fame to be noysed in *Rome*, throwing scandalous aspersions vpon the Christians, as if that they had fired the city. And great likelihood there was, that this imposture should proceed from him, and to be imposed on the Christians: because he was a vowed enemy to all vertuous, holy and well affected people. In which respect, so many Christians as hee could apprehend, were bathed and anointed on their naked bodies, with grease and pitch, and then tyed to pillers, and fire put vnto them, so they seemed as flaming Linkes or Torches, for passengers and night-walkers through the Citie.

For continuance of his names immortalizing, and onely by such buildings he intended; I meane to describe one, another manner of thing, then those which *Salomon* caused to be erected, what store of gold soeuer he bestowed vpon them: whereof let the Reader be Iudge, for what is heere inserted, I haue traduced out of the saide *Tranquillus*, who both saw that *Nero*, and his Pallace, and auoucheth, that *Nero* neuer did more harmes in all his actions, then in his buildings. He erected a house, extending from his Pallace so farre as Mount *Esquiline*, which hee named, *The House of Gold*: and being almost finished, it was wholly destroyed with thunder and lightning falling from Heauen, and yet neuerthelesse, hee builded it againe. It was so spacious, that it had a place for him to walke in, which was a

Gallery

The reason why Nero commanded that Rome should be burned.

*Cornel. Tacit. in Annal et vit. Nero. lib. 3. ca. 7* Slanderous imputations laide on the Christians.

One Pallace built by Nero, compared with all them erected by Salomon.

The description of Neros costly building, called, *The House of Gold*.

Gallery at the very entrance, containing a thousand paces in length, hauing three rankes of Marble pillars, all made with Arches, most proudly glittering with goodly coulors, hauing infinite fabulous Histories, and Poeticall figures. In that place also was a Colossus, of an hundred and twenty foote in height, formed after his owne effigie and resemblance. There was likewise a Poole or Pond, seeming as if it had beene an huge spacious Sea: on the Bankes wherof (all round about) were stately houses builded, so that it appeared to be a faire great Citty.

Within the compasse of this building, were eareable grounds, Vineyards, Pasturages, Medowes and Forrests, with multitudes of diuers kindes of Beaste, as well wilde as tame, enclosed within high walles, in the manner of a Parke, and formed with very artificall cunning. All other parts of this Pallace, were richly guilded, thickly powdered with precious stones, and mother of Pearle, the floores of the Halles for Dinners and Suppers, were all in-layed with Iuory, and curious wrought plates of fine gold, so subtilly turning each against other, that flowers and sweete waters descending from the Roofe, by conuoyes of artificall conueiance, fell on them sitting at the Table, & after were receiued into the floores. Among al the Halles for banquetting, there was one entirely round, which (by inimitable arte) was so composed, that it turned round night and day, like vnto the world.

ouer and beside all these, hee caused a Fish-Pond to be made, from *Misena*, so farre as the Lake *Auerna*, all engirt with Galleries: where the warme waters of the gulfe *Baia* fell into it. Beside, he had a trench or ditch made, reaching from *Auerna* to *Ostia*, for Boates to floate on, containing foure score French miles in length, and of such wideness, that two great Gallies, with fiue rankes of Oares might passe on front. Because if one should mount one way, and the other come againe to meet it: they might freely passe without danger of touching one another.

Nor could these Fish-Ponds, Lakes, Ditches, and other deuices serue the turn; but hee must also haue an artificall Sea made, which he caused to come from ve-

ry farre off, cutting through Mountaines, Rocks, pulling downe Forrests, and such like: so that it seemed a worke of no mortall power, but as if it were done by God himselfe. To perfect this mighty labour, he gaue command, that so many prisoners as could be found, were it for criminall causes, debts, or any case else whatsoever throughout the whoie Romane Empire (which contained then almost al our Hemisphere) should bee brought to *Rome*, and there to bee employed in this seruice.

And because these mighty workes could not bee effected without inestimable expences; he imposed on the City of *Rome* (without exempting people of any quality) great and extraordinary subsidies, and vpon the whole Lands of the Empire, wherein the *Gaules* (among other Prouinces) felt no meane affliction, although they were (well neere) quite ruined by the precedent warres, so that they were constrained to reuolt from his obedience. The like did *Spain*, and great store of the Prouinces in *Asia* and *Affrica*, and (in the end) all *Italy*. Heereupon, he sent out strickt prohibitions, that no Officer of the Empire should be paid his wages, no, not the Bishops & Priests, who were paid by the hands of the publike Receiuers; neither could the Legions haue their pay, which caused great hauck in the Prouinces whether they were sent. For he employed all his moneyes, about those admirable Workes and Buildings, and yet could not prouide sufficient for that purpose.

In regard whereof, the Senate and whole body of the people, being no longer able to support those prodigall expences; conspired against him. Which coming to his knowledge, & he perceiuing approaching danger (being forsaken of all his owne followers) fled out of the Citty, to a Country Farme belonging to one of his Libertines; where, by the help of one of his friends, he had his throate cut; for he was such a cowardly slaue, that he durst not do it himselfe.

Such was the deserued and miserable end of this Emperour, which happened to him, by employing his reuenues, and the goodes of his Subiects so prodigally, in erecting proude buildings, and to no profite.

The building must needs containe a wonderfull compasse, to haue so many meruailes within it.

Planchers & Tables of admirable cunning.

An admirable Fish-pond, & a strange Ditch for Bardges.

A counterfet Sea made at the charge of infinite expences.

The horrible taxations imposed on the people, for effecting these idle vanities.

The next way to ouerthrow all together.

The end of Nero like to that of Sardapalus.

Neroes Palace was more sumptuous than all them of Salomon.

This one worke of his, was three or foure times more costly, and of greater admiration, then eyther the Temple, or all the Pallaces of *Salomon*, King of *Israel*. Of which (as also of *Neroes*) not anie kinde of noate or memory remayneth to be seene, and the places are not knowne where they stode. And although men commune and speake of *Nero*; in these our dayes, it is not in regarde of his sumptuous buildings, whereby hee thought to immortalize his name: but for his abominable whooredomes, parricides, and infamous life, which hee ledde so long as hee liued. Whereof, at this time, I desire not to make anie more mention: for so many Historians haue written thereof, and especially *Tranquillus* (Authour of all that hitherto hath bene spoken) as I must send them to his Volumes, which are desirous to reade any more of his life and actions.

### CHAP. IX.

¶ *Who was the first, amongst all other Monarches and Princes, that commaunded, to present by writing, whatsoever was to be negotiated with him.*



Every man of iudgement wel may thinke, that a Prince, who hath manie Prouinces vnder his charge, and giueth command to diuers people; must needs be much hindered, from answering all such as are to negotiate with him. And it would be a matter vtterly impossible for him to satisfie all sutes and demands made vnto him: if hee were not eased by some especiall persons, of good vnderstanding in the State affaires, as a Chancellor, Secretary, and some such other beside. In like maner, that which giueth him greatest contentment, is, when men make their sutes to him by writing, as in these dayes is discretely vsed: which was well inuented (and to good purpose) by the Emperor *Tyberius*, who commaunded it to be so done, for any matter whatsoever, and likewise deliuered his aun-

A great trouble to any Prince, to answer many sutes made vnto him by word of mouth

The Emperor *Tyberius*, the giuing of petitions was first diuised by him

swers by writing. The reason was, to the end that nothing might escape, till it had bene considered on so well as possibly might be: For, by ouer much talking, and communicating himselfe too often, a Prince may commit diuers errors, which will cause him to be misprised, or meanely esteemed. And it neuer ought to bee (as an auncient Greeke said) *That a Prince should speake any otherwise before the people, then as if he were in a stateley Tragedy.*

But some may obiect vnto mee, That this is not the true state of a Prince; for, in doing iustice to his people; hee should heare theyr complaints and greuances, vnderstanding from each mans mouth, the vrgent occasions constraining them thereunto, which are ordinarily suppressed, or else disguysed by others manning.

I am not of the minde, to haue him so conceale himselfe, that hee should not be seene but very seldome, or neuer. As now-adayes the Kings in the East *Indias* vse to doe, and especially the King of *Borney*, who neuer speaketh, but onely to his wife and children. When hee is to speake to other, hee doth it by a Gentleman, through a place made of purpose, where he can not be seene, but hath the wordes conueyed from the Gentlemans mouth to his eare, thorow the hollow passage of a Truncke: as hee did vnto the Ambassadour of the King Catholique, and as wee reade in the Histories of the *Indias*.

But although he shew himselfe very little, as standing vpon his greatnesse and maiestie; regarde is yet to be had to his quality and power. For, it is not seemely, that a petty Prince should counterfeit the great Kings of *Aethiopia*, of *Tartaria*, *Persia* and *Turkie*, who (indeed) will not haue their subiects to looke directly vpon them: because, they are not so much redoubted for power, as they are for maiestie, as they expresse sufficiently, when they will be seene of their Subiects. And if some say, that the Princes of the East and South should gouerne in that maner, and not they of the West and North: I holde it to be all one in the maine regard. For, it is knowne well enough, that the Kings of *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke* and *Poland*, do containe farre more greatnesse towards their Subiects, then the King of *France*,

An obiection in this case alledged, and to good purpose.

The Kings in the East *Indias* are daintie of their sight and audience.

Kings more dreaded for maiestie then power.

Difference in the maiesty of princes to their Subiects

France, and the King of *Moscovia*, much more then all the rest: and yet perhappes they are not lesse, but (it may bee) better obeyed.

Now let vs returne againe to our purpose, of conferring with a Prince by petition or writing, whereby many commodities ensue vnto him. For first (as hath already bene said) he vseth no communication by that meanes, nor shewes himselfe too familiar with his people, which contayneth him still in the farre greater esteeme.

Another reason is, that either if he will not, or cannot grant the demands moued vnto him: if he make refusall, he can receiue no shame or disgrace therby; considering, that the written paper will not blush.

Moreouer, answere is returned with the more assured iudgment, by the time allowed to set downe the Princes Will; which cannot be so well done, speaking with him face to face. For oftentimes, he may be incited to anger, by mouing the matter disorderly, or else vpon some other occasion, whereby he may answere farre from his owne minde. Or els it may happen in some intemperate time; for all Princes are not alike in diet; & then, gifts so immense; and of such importance may be granted, as the whole State shall fare the worse for it.

All which approoueth not, that hee should despise to answer requests, being made to him by his people: least it happen to him, as it did to *Demetrius*, who quarrelled the kingdome of *Epyre* against *Pyrrhus*. Hee hauing receyued a great number of petitions, kept them all in the lap of his cloake; and, passing ouer the bridge of a Riuer; he let them all fall downe into the water, according as wee reade in *Plutarke*. Whereupon, his subiects seeing themselues so contemned, conceiued capitall hatred against him: & (soone after) he was forsaken of his Army, who yeelded themselues & the kingdome to *Pyrrhus*, and so he won it without fighting.

It hath bene obserued also, that princes, listening verbally to the suites and requests of their subiects, haue mette with bold and insolent confronters. As the woman, who was put off day by day by *Phillip*, King of *Macedon*, in some matter

of expedition which she required of him; whereupon she sayd: *If thou neither wilt; nor canst do iustice: depose thy selfe, and another will giue it me*: saucily seeming (by this meanes) to taxe the King with neglect and carelesnesse. The very like words vsed *Ioane de Pierre busiere*, a Ladie of *Chambaret*, to King *Charles* the ninth, he being in the City of *Bordeaux*, where she demanded iustice of him against the murderer of her husband.

A certaine Rouer of the Sea was taken, who was reported, to bee the most cruell and detestable Pyrat, that euer was heard of. *Alexander* the Great; woulde needes see him and speake with him, to the end hee might the sooner condemne him. Wherefore he demanded of him: whence it proceeded, that he would be a Pyrate, and leade such an infamous kind of life; hauing meanes to prouide for himselfe otherwise: As to be in pay with some Warlike Nauy, where hee might receyue good respect; considering, that hee was strong, stout, and a good Soldier, as it had appeared by his passed course of life? With a bold and vndanted countenance, the Rouer returned him this answere. *I am sayd to be a Pirate and Rouer on the Sea, because I sayle with a small Vessel, without any other Followers: and when I meete with another, beeing weaker then my selfe; then I make some appropriation of him. But thou that makest thy Navigations, with great multitudes of Gallies, and other Shippes of Warre, robbing and ransacking all Maritime Townes and places, yea, and vpon the firme land likewise: Thou must be called an Emperour and a Monarch.* Full well knew *Alexander* by the Pyrates answere, that his behauiour differed verie little from the others, and that hee deserued as well to bee punnished as hee: and therefore, beeing ashamed of so fowle a detection, he freely pardoned him.

*Frances*, Duke of *Anion*, and a sonne of France, not long since deceased, being desirous to settle himselfe, and to match with some Queene or Princesse that was an heyres made meanes of marriage vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of England, letters passing betweene them to that purpose, and their pictures. In the end, the Queen sent him word, that she wold neuer contract with any that sought her, except shee might

Good and substantiall reasons, why princes should negotiat with writing, rather then confer in person with their subiects.

*Demetrius* made a scorn of his subiects suites.

*Plut. in vit. Demetr.*

Bold affrontings receiued by Princes, only through speaking with their people.

A Pirat of the sea, that was taken and brought before Great *Alexander*.

The bold answer of the Pirat to *Alexander*.

Mounseur of France his suite for marriage with *Elizabeth* Queene of England.

might see his person, otherwise there needed no further speech. The Prince, being perswaded by yong heads (as litle aduised in such a businesse, as himselfe) and leauing the counsell of more graue experience; went into England to bee seene, and with a very slender train. But beeing well obserued by that Lady, he was found so deformed by the small pockes, which had left such a deep driving into his face, his nose also much mishapen, and some kernels rising in his necke beside; as might bee the causes of loosing the fauour of so fayre a Queene. Some were of opinion, that hee should not haue gone, but to haue continued the treatie of Marriage still by Letters; which peradventure (at length) would haue wonne him grace and fauour.

More wisely dealt the Arch-duke of *Austria*, and Prince *Henry*, afterwardes King of *Sweden*, who made suite also to the sayde Queene to espouse her, but at sundry times, and were sent for likewise to be seene. But they satisfied themselues to treat with the Queene by theyr Letters, and not verbally: for, by this means, they wer assured that she could not cause them to blush.

I conclude then, that this inuention of *Tyberius*, was, and is very conuenient for great Monarches and Soueraigne Princes, not to negotiate by words with their Subiects; but to expedite by Writings, because thereby they shall so much the sooner dispatch, and a great deale more equally.

Moreouer, if Princes or Princesses, haue any matters betweene them to disintangle; to performe the same by Letters and Deputies sent from either side: for by enter-view and speaking together, litle good can ensue, at least verie sildom.

The Arch-duke of Austria, & Henry Prince of Sweden much better aduised

The Authors aduice vpon this Chapter.

## CHAP. X.

*Of such qualities and carriage, as (necessarily) is required to be in a Prince.*



Vch as couet to command ouer any one whole Nation, should first propounde two things to himselfe: one is, to be liberall; the other is, to bee clement and gentle. For the Prince, which exerciseth liberality, shall make his enemies to become his friends; those of all other places to be his owne; and of disloyall, faithfull seruantes. Hee must bee affable to strangers, chiefly such as dwell in the furthest parts of his Land: And as a Prince endued with clemencie, is admired of all men, and honoured as a God: So by these two Vertues, Liberality and Clemencie, hee is made like vnto God; because his Office is, to doe good vnto all, and to pardon such as are delinquents.

I confesse it to bee true, that a Prince ought not (alwayes) to be facile and benigne to his subiectes: but that (with his facility and mildnesse) he may commixe a grauity and seuerity, such as may be termed a kinde of rigour, at such times as neede requireth; to cause feare and terror in bad liuers, and to punnish them rigorously, if necessity enforce it, for the preuention of a greater euill. Otherwise, the Prince may bee the cause of his peoples losse, if hee permit too much license and libertie, in the performance of dishonest actions; like to *Alcibiades*, who thorough too much easie carriage in himselfe, corrupted and spoyled his people. And yet seuerity ought to be moderated; for when it is excessiue, and ouer-sharpe seueritie: it afflicteth Townes and Citties with great miseries: euen as when license is facetiously accommodated to the onely grace and fauour of the people, it prooueth to be the cause of their ruine, by the lacke of a leuell temperature both in the one and other.

Howbeit that in time & place, according to cir-

Pontanus in his booke of a Prince.

Of Liberalitie and clemency in a Prince.

Seuerity ought to bee mingled with mildnesse.

Seuerity ouer sharpe is the occasion of much annoyance.

Respect of  
time, place &  
difference of  
persons.

*Sophocles in An-  
tig Pomp. Trag.*

The office of  
Discipline in  
a prince.

The spirits &  
maners of the  
people are by  
the prince to  
be vnderstood

The diuerſitie  
and vnlikenes  
of mens com-  
plexions.

The difference  
Berweene Ly-  
curgus & Nu-  
ma Pompilius

circumstances and difference of persons, the Prince ought to vse, eyther more seueritie, or sometimes more facilitie (according to reason) and as Wisedome iudgeth it fittest to be done, or spared for generall good.

Assuredly, in regard that the people is as a Monster with many heads; there is great neede (as *Sophocles* sayth) of a maine and strong bridle. And as it is a principall poynt of Arte in a good Querrie, to make a horse pace milde and obediently; euen such is the office of discipline in a Prince, to render his subiects obedient and modest. And yet notwithstanding, to do it in gentle manner, and by benigne means, not rudely constrayning them alwayes: but perswading, admonishing, and reprehending sometimes, not pursuing euerie suspicion; but conuiuing in light matters, deferring a businesse in time of daunger and doubt, to redresse it at some other season, more apte and proper. For, by repressing and punishing all arrogancie and wickednesse; he may the more benignely entertayne the good, when humbly they present their afflictions and requests vnto him. All which is the easier done, by vnderstanding the maners and spiritēs of the people, because, such as are of rude and harsh brain (like vnto those of barbarous nations) must bee gouerned with more seueritie; then they that be of more docible nature, who ought to be managēd with mildenesse and benignitie, without stearne lookes, or vnkinde manner of dealing.

The complexions of men are diuers and dissemblable, eyther by the nature of the place and ayre; or else by custome and manner of life. The *Athenians*, were easie to anger and mercy, the *Carthagēnians* sad, opinionatiue and obstinate; the *Romanes* great, benigne, louers of theyr Country, ambitious and couetous of glory and honor. And therefore, ignorance in the maners of such as wee conuerse withall, doth oft deceiue and disappoint vs in our opinions and enterprises; wherefore, by the diuers nature and custome of the people, *Lycurgus* was rather a sectator of power, then iustice; and *Numa Pompilius* of iustice, rather then of power.

For, as a Prince (in ciuile actions) imitateth the skilfull behauiour of a Lute-

nist, who tendeth and distendeth their cordes of the instrument, to bring an accord of tune as he would haue it; so doth hee likewise follow the Chirurgicalian, in order and meanes for tempering with life; because light infirmities hee can cure easily, whereas to them of more perill, hee applyeth both yron and fire. In the same manner, a Prince maketh vse of the Rod and the Sword, according to the seuerall occurrences, and as they appeare.

It foloweth, that a Prince ought to entertaine good Lawes, and to obserue the chiefest of such as hee hath made: but aboue all other) to haue the honour and feare of God before his eyes. It is necessary also for a Prince to haue the commaund of himselfe, and beare a strict hand on the bridle of his owne affectiōs: directing first a good course of life to himselfe, to the ende, that it may serue as a Square or Rule, to measure the liues of other after his maners. For, *very hardly (shall hee commaund others (sayth Pindarus) that hath not learned himselfe to obey reason, which is the Queene of all things, and a Law, not engrauen in Marble, but in our spiritēs, commaunding to performe lawfull actions, and prohibiting such as are contrary, and bad.* Her woorthy enstruptions, wicked Kings (being slaues to theyr owne affectiōs) will not immitate: For, if they were their Queene & Gouvernesse, they should bee constrained to contemne their vilenesse, and honestly to enter faire Vertues seruice.

The *Pythian Oracle*, by the answer it gaue to King *Cresus*, That he should know himselfe, was not to be vnderstood; that he should know the glory and greatnesse of his Empire: but Reason, Queene and mistris of humane life, which appeaseth the perturbations of the minde, and restrayneth the mightinesse of power: For, the Poet *Horace* sayth (by way of enstruption) that it is a matter no lesse royall, to repress appetites and affectiōs, then to rule ouer people.

*Latins regnes auidum domando  
Spiratum, quam si Lybiam remotis  
Gallibus iungas, & vterq; Poëmos  
Seruiat vni.*

And *Agésilauus* gloried, that hee had learned better to commaund himselfe, then

Apte compar-  
isons of a  
princes imi-  
tation.

For the feare  
of God, and  
maintaining of  
good Lawes.

A good direc-  
tion giuen  
by Pindarus  
the poet.

The answer  
of the Pythi-  
an Oracle to  
king Croesus.

The enstruc-  
tion giuen by  
Horace.

Flattery ought  
to be auoyded  
by a Prince.

Ambition the  
Mother of  
many mis-  
chiefs & the  
bane of king-  
domes.

Of care and  
respect in a  
Princes pro-  
mises.

An auncient  
and excellent  
ordination  
for faithful-  
nesse.

Of affability  
in his lookes  
& language.

then other. *Alexander* the Great, accounted it much more honest and glorious, to conquer himselfe, rather then to conquer enemies. A Prince should shunne flattery, for if he lend his eares to flatterers, he will not alwayes bee himselfe. Credulity is accompanied with rashnesse and folly, and there is no greater argument of folly, then credulity: therefore a Prince should not be too credulous, that is, ouer-light in beleefe,

Ambition also, which is the Mother and Nurse of many great euils, and the plague of Kingdomes and Commonwealths, should bee excluded from the heart of a Prince. A Prince that remembers himselfe to be but a man, and consequently mortall, will neuer mount vp his thoughts in pride; but pursue equality. If he perceiue all things prosper, and succeed according as hee can wish: hee will then beleefe, that God commandeth ouer humane occasions, whereof himselfe onely hath care, and pride is highly displeasing to him.

I would aduise a Prince, to be carefull of what he promiseth, and to whom hee maketh any promise; to be respectiue of mens merits and their faculties, as also the times of his giuing promise, for the better preseruation of his faith: because there is nothing more vnworthy, and villainlike, then to breake fidelity, and the force of faith is so great, that it ought to be kept, euē with an enemy, if it be promised. And in regard that faith (according as our graue Auncients haue defined it) is constancy and truth in words and conuentions: a Prince ought to be true, and to loue truth, in regard whereof, our betters and elders ordained, and by them it was most wisely instituted; that the Booke of the holy Euangelists (wherein the diuine verity is contained) should daily (in the time of diuine seruice) be giuen to the Prince to kisse, to the end, that being admonished thereby, to pursue and honour truth; he should likewise remember, how studious he must be in louing her vprightly.

I could wish also, that a Prince should suffer no man to depart sad and discontented from his presence: but with cheerefull lookes and gracious language, and so expresse himselfe both vnto small and great. Whosoever knoweth his Prince

to be endued with temperance, dare neuer vrge any vile or vnbeeseeming motion to him. *O happy Marcus Cato* (said *Cicero*) to whom no man durst make any vnjust demand! He shall bee thought worthy of authority and soueraigne power, and bee reputed a hopefull Prince by his people; that sharply pursueth wicked men, hateth the intemperate, reiecteth lyars, & flyeth (as from the plague) such as aduise him to follow voluptuousnesse: for whosoever takes pleasure in crediting such counsellors; his childhood in rule shall be immodesty, his youth effeminacy, and his age infamy.

Whosoever holdeth government ouer the people, ought to be free from affections; for anger hindereth knowledge of whatsoeuer is good; hatred puffes him on to imperfect actions; loue blindeth his iudgement; pleasure and inordinate will induceth him to violence; passion pricketh him on to reuenge; and enuy enflameth him, with a more hasty and fiery temper, then is expedient in him. One and the same constancy in courage (at all times) is most required and commended in a King, as well in cases of aduersity, as prosperity. And if God please to visite him, with any scourge of his diuine Iustice; he ought to reioyce, and remember, that God chastiseth such as hee loueth; learning thereby, to support all with the vertue of patience in contrary fortunes, and not to mount vp in pride, whē affaires are fitting to his owne desires.

Sloth, accompanied with negligence, is greatly hurtfull to a Prince, which in times of safety, begetteth (ostentimes) feare and distrust, whereof the Poet saith,

*Otiū Reges prius, et beatas  
Perdidit vrbes.*

Wherefore, to shunne such inconueniences, some honest exercise is very fit for him; to play at Tennis (euē till hee sweates) is wholesome for him, and Musicke is very commendable; sometimes to hunt, and to ride great Horses is necessary, for which *Virgill* gaue commendations to *Picus*, King of the Latines.

*Picus equū domitor, debellatorque ferarū.*

Which exercises of hunting & managing

*Cicero in Offic.  
lib. 1. cap. 5.*

Particular re-  
spects fitting  
to be in a king  
or Governour.

Of constancy  
in courage in  
all occasions  
whatsoeuer,  
best becom-  
ming any  
Prince.

For the pre-  
uention of  
sloth & neg-  
ligence by  
some honest  
exercises.

ging horses, were (aboue all other) frequent with King *Cyrus*, for encreasing the strength of his body, and greatly seruing for the enstruction of Militarie discipline. And patience, to endure both heat and colde, is laudable in a Prince, and is many times more expedient for him, then strict abstinence from meate and drinke.

It is very necessary also, that he should haue good knowledge in Histories, and (if it were possible) not to bee ignorant in Morall Philosophie, which may well be tearmed the Hunt-vice: also, to vnderstand Naturall Philosophie, the Science of Ciuile right, and Mathematicall Disciplines. He should be assiduate in reading Poets, as *Homer*, whome *Alexander* had alwayes in his hand: and *Virgill*, singularly affected by the Emperor *Octavius Augustus*. A Prince being endued with all these Sciences, shall receiue inestimable benefite thereby.

First, he shall become wise; for learning begetteth wisdom; next, they will yeeld him such vnspeakeable pleasure, as no delectations can be thought or vttered, comparable to those that come from erudition: for, inquisition after truth, is the proper worke and perfection of the Spirit. What is more woorthy in a Prince, then to vnderstand true & honest things? To discern falshoode from truth, and villany from honestie? In mine owne iudgement, I account an ignorant man, I will not say onely, like vnto a Statue or Image, or the truncke of a tree: but (almost) differing in nothing from a brute beast.

If the Prince himselfe be not seene in all these Sciences and Disciplines, it shall be a good quality in him, to cherish and affect the Professors of them, alwayes hauing wise and learned men about him, and to execute nothing, vntill he haue first heard the councell of them; For, *Councell is a sacred thing*, said *Epicharmus*. And he should strue to be like vnto them, in so much as possibly he may: according to the example of many great Kings, Princes and Captains, who highly loued and maintained Philosophers, Poets and skilfull men.

A Prince may perceiue, what account Great *Alexander* made of *Aristotle*, and how much he admired learned men; what

dignitie and praise *Pericles* wonne by the institutions of *Anaxagoras*; and *Epaminondas* by the study of philosophy, who (almost of himselfe) subdued the *Lacedaemonians*, that commanded all *Greece*. He may further obserue, how *Scipio* kept company with *Panetius* and *Polybius*, learned men; how *Augustus* would walke betweene *Virgill* and *Horace*; and what honours he gaue to *Arrius*. Finally, what depertments were vsed by many other Emperours and Kings, on the behalfe of learned men; and, by the example of such persons, himselfe ought to performe the like. The Prince that attaineth to the issue of the qualities before remembred, and are required necessarily in him: shall reigne happily, and the people that liue vnder the lawes of such a Governour, will finde themselues more happy then he.

CHAP. XI.

¶ That the eldest Sonne ought alwayes to be preferred before a younger, especially in the succession of Kingdomes and Principalities, according to the Lawe of Nature. And what harmes haue followed, by doing the contrary.



**I**n *Allemaigne* or *Germany*, this bad custom they haue (I meane among the Noblemen,) that if they perceiue their youngest Sonnes able of spirit, and ad-

di& themselues in Armes, and not to endure any iniuries; they make them their heyres. And the elder, perhappes more discrete, following naturall goodnesse, & being nothing so turbulent; they make them beleue, that they are idiots and fooles, confining them in prison, or else appointing them to Church-seruice. This maner of dealing, hath caused much war in the Realmes where it is put in practise: and the reason is, because it behoueth alwayes, to keepe the order and commaundement of God. For, although that the eldest

\* A philosopher of Alexandria.

A custome obserued in Germany, not very commendable.

The Lawe of God and Nature is for the eldest. Deut. 21. 16.

Instructions to Militarie Discipline.

Historie and Morall Philosophie fit for princes; and Poetrie a daily companion.

What benefite the prince receiue by education.

Comparatiues of an ignorant man.

Councell is held to be sacred.

An especiall looking glasse for all Kings and princes.

eldest Sonne be ill-fighted, lame, crooked, and wholly mis-shapen, provided, that hee haue a reasonable soule remaining in him; he is not to be excluded from his naturall right. This is not onely to holde, and take place, when question is made about the right of eldership: but also, when the very nearest male by the fathers side, ought to succeed in the crown, how much deformed soeuer he be. Because, for one inconuenience, a good law should not be infringed, and so daungerous an ouerture made in Monarchies. Nor ought that to be followed, or held as a good lawe, which was made by *Lycurgus*, commaunding, that deformed or mis-shapen children, should be slaine.

Heereupon, Iudgement passed for the Realme of *Hungarie*, by the States of the Countrey, against the disposition of *Launcelot*, King of *Hungarie*: who adopted *Alanus*, the youngest sonne of his brother, to make him King, and sent *Colomanus*, his eldest brother to study at *Paris*, causing him afterward, to vndergoe the Orders of Priesthoode, and bestowed a Bishoppricke vpon him, to depriue him of all hope of succeeding in the Crowne; because he was squint-eyed, crook-backt, lame and stammered. Neuerthelesse, the State and people expelled the younger brother: and would haue none other to be King then the eldest, who was brought backe againe, dispensation being graunted for his Orders, and he married.

*Pompey*, being gone into the East parts, to make Conquests, and comming into *Iudea*, found it full of watre, because two brethren warred each with other, onely for the kingly dignity. For *Aristobulus* the younger brother, had inuaded the best places of the Kingdome, and quite expelled his brother *Hyrchanus*: because hee sayd, that hee was not borne, or apte for Armes. Notwithstanding, *Pompey* adiudged the Kingdome to *Hyrchanus*, and the high-Priesthoode to *Aristobulus*, which was the chiefest degree next to the King; and thus the stowt Warriour was stayed from prosecution of his purpose.

*Ptolomie*, the first of that name, King of *Egypt*, preferred the youngest before the eldest; Against the Lawe of Nations, saith *Iustine*, and so caused the one to kill the other. In the same kingdome, an other *Ptolomie*, named *Phisconius*, at the entrea-

tie of his wife *Cleopatra*, preferred the youngest sonne before the eldest: but after the fathers death, the people repealed the eldest, and excluded the youngest, as *Pausanias* affirmeth.

In like manner, *Anaxandrides*, King of *Lacedemon*, preferred *Doricus* before *Cleomenes* his elder brother, because hee was more gentle; and yet notwithstanding, *Herodotus* in his fourth Booke sayth, That the people would not permit or suffer it, because it was against the right of Nations.

King *Pyrrhus* making election of an heyre amongst his Sonnes, chose him that had the best and keenest Sword: neuerthelesse, after his death, the eldest (who was lesse valiant) carried the inheritance away. For, whatsoeuer hardines, gentleness, fayre feature and wisdom, that may be in the younger, more then in the elder: yet it is not anie occasion, whereby the father should so forget himselfe, as to preferre the youngest before the eldest, as did the father of *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, who would needs preferre the youngest Sonne, because hee had better and more vnderstanding in the affayres of State, but thereon ensued bloudie tragedies.

Heereunto likewise I may adde, *Lewes* the Pittifull, King of *Fraunce*, who (at the request of his second wife) preferred *Charles* the Baulde, before his elder Brother *Lotharius*, whereby the Realme became embraced with warres.

The like consequence came by *Robert*, King of *Fraunce*, in preferring *Henry*, the first of that name, before his eldest brother, who contented himselfe with *Bourgogne*; because he was a coward and false to his owne heart.

*Charles* the seuenth, could neuer obtaine of Pope *Pius* the second, to aduance *Charles* the yongest Sonne, before *Lewes* the eleauenth, although the King had then good occasion: because the sayde *Lewes* made two attempts to take the Crowne, and to teare away the Scepter from his father, without anie occasion whatsoeuer. And in very truth (as *Herodotus* saith:) Throughout the whole world, the eldest are aduanced to the dominion, euen amongst the most illiterate and barbarous on the earth, they obserue the course of Nature.

When *Frances Bizarro*, a Spanish Captayne, conquered the kingdome of *Peru*,

*Pausanias* in lib. 1.

The greater cour of King *Pyrrhus*.

They were the sonnes of *Pelops* and *Hypodamia*.

*Lewes* the mercitull.

*Robert* King of *France*.

Example of King *Charles* the seuenth.

*Herodotus* li. 4. Barbarous, illiterate and Sauages imitated nature.

Concerning right in the succession of kingdomes.

The Hungarians held firmly for the right of the eldest brother.

The journey of *Pompey* into *Iudea*.

The equall iudgement of *Pompey*.

Iniustice in *Ptolomie* the first King of *Egypt*.

he put to death king *Attabaliba*: whereof all the people were very ioyfull, to see him dye, that had slaine his elder brother, to make himselfe King, contrary to the custome of the Country, & conforme to the testament of the Father, who hauing two sonnes, willed, that *Gasca* the eldest, should succede him in the Kingdome, without any diuision.

There might also arise a doubt, to wit, if two infants be twins, which of them both should bee reputed the eldest; that must needs bee the eldest, which came foorth first to the worlds light. Another doubt also may bee moued in this case, that if any man (not being a king) hauing a sonne, shall afterward conquer a Kingdome, or some other such like dignity, be it eyther by Armes, or by donation. It falleth out in following dayes or yeares, that he hath another sonne; to which of these shall belong the kingdome or other honor? It is held for certain, that he who was or shall be borne, after that the Father became a king, in right ought to succeed: for the eldest son was not of royall blood, but holds of his fathers first condition, who was not then royall by nature. But the other younger-borne sonne, though coming long after the first, is truly & really a Prince by blood. Like as he is not to be accounted for infamous, and out of hope for being legitimate, who was begot by a man neuer made Priest: but afterward, when he commeth to vndergo the order of Priesthood, he begetteth then another Sonne; that Son is to remaine impeached, and can neuer come to such legitimacy, as the first borne.

Another difficulty there remaineth yet vndecided, to wit, whether the sonne of the eldest ought to succeed his grandfather, or else the Crown appertaine to the younger brother (as it should seeme) because he is the neereft to the King, & the younger standeth withdrawne in degree. It was the opinion of some, and this difficulty hapned for the Kingdome of *Nu-midia*, where the younger son would succeed next after his elder brother, without any respect to the children of the eldest. Heereupon, *Scipio* the *Affricane* being arbitratour, not knowing what to answer in this case, betweene the Vnckle and the Nephew: gaue order, that the Kingdome should be enjoyed, by a combate fought

betweene them, as it hath often hapned in *Germany*.

Now at this instant, the Kingdome of *Moscovia* is deferred vnto the younger sonne, after the death of the grandfather, without any regard of the sonne to him that was eldest. Nay, which is more, the elder brother succeedeth to theyonger in the Kingdome, although hee haue sonnes: As great *Basilus*, King of *Moscovia*, succeeded in the Kingdome after his elder Brother, who had sonnes. And this was vsuall, not onely among the *Vandales*; but also in all the Northerne countries, according to the affirmation of *Procopius*, as also in England. And for this cause, *Richard*, sonne to the heire & eldest, was defeated of the Crowne, which was adiudged by the States to *Henry* of *Lancaster*, younger brother to the Father of *Richard*, in the yeare 1399. And in the like case, *Robert* of *Naples*, the younger sonne, enjoyed the kingdome of *Naples*, by sentence of the Pope, and the sonne to the elder brother, King of *Hungary*, was dispossessed. But now adayes, this rule holdeth not in the countries hitherward, neyther doth it carrie any practise in the Crowne of *France*, since then when it so happened: the sonnes of the eldest are alwaies preferred before the younger brother, and the *English* obserue the same course.

Some kings haue bin so superstitiously affected, and (beside) very ill aduised, that they would needs make search for the natiuities of their childrē, to giue to him the Crowne, whose Stars appeared most to fauor him. In the number of whom, was *Alphonfus*, king of *Castile*, who by this means would needs preferre the yoonger son before the elder; but he slew the younger, and caused his father to die in prison: by which I find, that he was but a poore Prognosticator. Wherefore, to auoyde ciuile war, which is the ruine of kingdoms and common-weales, the law of nature, (or rather the Lawe of God) ought to be followed, which commaundeth, to conferre kingdomes vpon the eldest, as alwayes it was practised among the Hebrues: and as we further finde, that the kingdome of *Juda* was conferred vpon *Iehoram*, because he was the eldest, as the Scripture affirmeth. Which also the wise *Lycurgus* imitated; for, although the *Lacedemonians* had created him King, after the death of *Charilaw*:

Concerning the Kingdome of *Moscovia*.

An vsfitting law deserueth to be abolished.

Kings becoming superstitious Astrologers.

Alphonfus, K. of *Castile*.

*Paradis. lib. 2. cap. 21. 3.*

Concerning two Twins.

*Tit. Linius in lib. 8. Bello Punici.*

A pretext of inheritance decided by combate.

The honest  
conscience of  
Licurgus.

yet notwithstanding, hee would not accept the crowne; but kept it, and rendred it to the sonne of the others brother, whē he was come to competent age.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Monarchy of the Cæsars, or Romanes.*



*N* *Vlius Caesar*, a verve gracious Prince, and one of the Worldes cheefest Captaines; reigned 5. yeares. He vanquished *Pompey* & his confederats: *Ptolomy* he slew, & restored *Cleopatra* his friend (sister to *Ptolomy*) to the Kingdome of *Egypt*. Returning home to *Rome*, hee was slaine in the Senate house, by *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and other Conspirators. *Dioscorides* then liued: but if you would haue more of *Cæsars* life, reade *Suetonius* and *Florius*, in the life of *Cæsar*.

*Octavius Augustus*, the last Nephew of *Iulius*, by the sisters side, and his adopted Sonne, reigned 56. yeares: he was happy in warre, moderate in peace, and liberall to euery one. Then liued *Virgill*, *Horace*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Vitruuius*, *Mecenas*: And then died *Cleopatra*, and her husband *Marke Anthony*, *Egypt* beeing then reduced into a Prouince. *Herod* a stranger (faouered by *Augustus*) was then King of *Iudea*. So the Scepter being wholly taken from *Iuda*; *Iesus Christ*, God and man, the Sauour of the world, was then borne of a Virgin in *Bethlehem*, according to the Propheesies of *Iacob*, *Genes. 49. Esay 7. Micheas 5.*

*Iesus Christ* came in the yeare of *Augustus*, 42. and of the world, 3963. *Ouid* was then in exile: the City of *Lyons* founded: and then liued *Titus Liuius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Strabo*: and *Francus*, King of the *Sicambrians*, in the lower *Allemaigne*: *Aquila*, *Tuberus*, *Galba*, *Labens* and *Caius*,

were then Law-giuers, or Law-makers. *Herod* the great murderer of Innocents; and there were numbred then at *Rome*, foure hundred, sixty foure thousand men.

*Claudius Tiberius*, the sonne of *Liua*, afterward Wife to *Augustus*, reigned 23. yeares, beginning very well, but prouing afterward to bee most wicked. *Iesus Christ* (for our saluation) was then crucified in *Hierusalem*, vnder *Pilate* the Prouost of *Iudea*: he saide, that *A good Shepheard* should clip his *Sheepe*, and not deuoure them.

*C. Caligula*, Sonne of *Germanus*, a most wicked mā, reigned 13. yeares. This beast, the ruine of men, made himsele to be adored as God: hee poysoned his Vnckle *Tiberius*, and deflowred all his Sisters, leauing them then vnto others like abusing.

*T. Claudius*, Vnckle of *Caligula*, and monster of men, reigned fourteene yeares. He preferred *Nero* before his owne Son, by the treason of whom, he was poysoned with a Mushrome. *Messalina*, his first Wife, peerelesse in all lubricity and wickednesse, then flourished: And *Saint Peter* the Apostle liued (reported to bee first Bishop of *Rome*): Then liued likewise *Philo* the Iew, *Perseus*, *Mela*, *Pliny* the elder, and *Columella*. *Saint Paul* the Apostle went then through the World, proclaiming *Iesus Christ*, accompanied with *Saint Luke*. Then liued *Dyonisius Areopagita*: And then was the first councill of *Ierusalem*.

*Nero*, the sonne of *Agripina*, afterward the Wife of *Claudius*, reigned thirteene yeares. He was the first Persecutor of the Church, and did put *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* to death: he slew likewise his Master *Seneca*, also his owne Mother, and *Lucan* the Poet. Then liued *Simon Magus*, and *Appolonius*. *Nero* being expelled from *Rome*, slew himsele; after he had set *Rome* on fire, to make himsele pastime of a Bon-fire.

*Sergius Galba*, in the seventh Month of his Empire, was slaine by *Otho*. *Suetonius*, *Egesius*, lib. 4. cap. 21.

*M. Siluius Otho*. hee also most wickedly slew himsele, in the third Moneth of his Empire: confessing, that hee had cruelly tormented the spirit of *Galba*. According to *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus*, lib. 7.

The yeares of  
Christ.

17.

39.

43.

57.

70.

3918.

3923.

3963.

71.

*Aulus Vitellius*, brought vp at *Bourdeaux de Caprea*, being a vicious man and a glutton, was hewed in peeces, and cast into *Tyber*, hauing reigned eight Moneths. He caused himselfe to be serued at his table, with two thousand seuerall kindes of Fishes, and seauen thousand of Fowles, all at one supper. *Suetonius*, lib. 9. *Iosephus*, lib. 5. de Bel. *Iudai*.

71.

*Vespasian*, a modest & gracious Prince, a louer of skilfull men, and good Artizans, reigned tenne yeares, accompanied with his sonne *Titus*, who ruinated *Ierusalem*: *Iosephus*, *Proclus*, *Epietetus*. This ruine was the most lamentable that euer happened, for therein dyed eleuen hundred thousand men: Reade *Iosephus*, in his sixe and seauen Bookes of the Iewish wars, and *Egesippus*.

81.

*Titus*, the delight and solace of mankinde, reigned two yeares. He vsed to say, *That no man ought to depart from a Prince, with a sad countenance*: *Cassius*, *Neracius*, *Proculus* & *Pegasus* were then Lawyers, and *Saint Bartholmew* was then martyred in *India*: *Saint Matthias* in *Iudea*: *Saint Andrew* in *Scythia*: *Saint Mathew* in *Ethiopia*: *Saint Thomas* in *Bragmania*. *Hierusalem* was then taken; the famine beeing so extreame, as Mothers were compelled to eate their owne children.

83.

*Domitian*, brother to *Titus*, was a most wicked man, and persecutor of the Christians: he reigned fiftene yeares: then liued *Martiall*, *Iuuenall*, *Statius*, *Trogus*: and *Saint Iohn* wrote the Gospell, as also *Iosephus* did the warres of the *Iewes*. *Domitian* would needs afterward bee called God and Lord of his people, wherefore (being greatly hated of all men) hee was slaine.

97.

*Nerua*, a good Prince, and the adopted Father of *Traian*, reigned one yeare: he gaue more then an hundred thousand Crownes, to releue poore Cittizens. He tooke away extreame taxations, & (wanting money) he sold his garments, plate and Pallace, esteeming his owne Parents and Kindred much lesse, then hee did the publike benefit. The Christians were in great quiet vnder him, and the banished repealed, among whom was *Saint Iohn*.

99.

*Traian*, a good Emperour, but that hee persecuted the Church; reigned nineteene yeares. Being admonished,

that he was ouer-gracious to all men, hee answered; *That he was such to his Subiects, as hee could wish others should bee to him, if he were a Subiect*. Then liued *S. Ignatius*, *S. Eustachius*, *Pliny the younger*, *Plutarch*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Solinus*.

*Aelius Adrianus*, a man studious and skilfull in all Sciences, and the first Emperour that suffered a Beard on his Face, reigned 21. yeares: *Iulius Celsus*, *Iulian*, and *Neracius Priscus*, were Lawyers and Councillors to the Emperour. Then were liuing *Ptolomy the great Astrologer*, *Phaoninus*, *Dyonisius the Milesian*, and *Heliodorus*. *Hierusalem* was repaired by *Adrian*, who therfore had his name changed, and was called *Helias*.

*Antoninus Pius*, reigned twenty three yeares. He was a Prince of such esteeme, as strange Nations wold resort vnto him, and make him Iudge of their differences; for he had alway this saying ready: *I had rather saue one Cittizen, then kill a thousand Enemies*. In this time were *Polycarpus*, *Ireneus*, *Iustine Martire*, *Egesippus*, *Appian*, *Florus*, *Macrobius*, *Iustine*, *Galen*, and *Palladius*: *Lucian the Atheist*, also was then torne with Dogs. This Emperour tooke away the wages or hyre of Strumpets, punished idle Magistrates, and was called, *Father of his Country*. Reade *Eutropius*, lib. 8. *Thelesphorus* the ninth Pope (as some report) did then institute, or rather restore the time of Lent.

*M. Antoninus* the Philosopher (called *Aurelius*, borne in *Gaul*, with *L. Commodus Verus*, and called Brethren in the Bookes of the *Pandectes*) reigned nineteen years. This yong Prince being vnwilling to oppresse his subiects, made sale of all his fairest and richest Iewels, Plate, and wearing garments belonging vnto him and his Wife. *Eutrop. lib. 8.*

*Lucius Aurelius Verus*, governed the Empire with his brother *Marcus Antoninus*, the space of eleuen yeares: By some Authors, he is set downe in order before his brother, and by others after him.

*L. Commodus*, the most wicked sonne of good *Antoninus*, reigned 13. yeares. He was strangled by his Concubine, & other Conspirators. *Eutrop. lib. 8.* *Orosius lib. 8. cap. 18.* *Lampridius* doth most amply describe his life at large.

*Aelius Pertinax* reigned sixe Moneths.

M m m m 2 He

118.

139.

A ditine saying of a Pagā.

162.

181.

194.

He had refused the Empire, and being desirous to reforme the government, hee was slaine by *Iulian* his Successor; who bought the name of *Cæsar* of the Warriours. The people much bemoaned this Prince, crying out aloud: *O Father of goodnesse; Father of the Senate; Father of all bounty: Farewell.*

*V. Iulian*, reigned seven Moneths, and being hated of all men, for sleying his predeceffour, himsele was also slaine by appointment of the Senate. Dissention grew amongst the Christians, for the celebration of Easter; And the second Councell appointed the day of Sunday, and five other after, *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24.* *Metianus*, *Scuola*, *Martianus* and *Cassius*, were now Iuris-consults: *Aphrodisens* and *Sphronius* Sophisters.

*Prescennius Niger*, or *Nigerius*, the sonne of *Annius Fuscus*, indifferently learned, fierce, proud, and inclined to all vice; was saluted as Emperor, by the Soldiours of *Syria*, where he commanded, and was slaine by *Seuerus*.

*L. Septimius Seuerus*, reigned 18. years. He was a persecuter of the Church, but otherwise a valiant Prince, addicted both to good Letters and Armes. He was so wel beloued, and gouerned so nobly, that the Senate said of him: *Eyther hee should neuer haue bene borne, or else hee deserued neuer to dye.* Reade *Spart.* and *Vict.* Then liued *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Philostratus* the Sophister, and *Apuleius*.

*Cl. Albinus*, issued of the Romane Families, of the *Posthumians* and *Albines*, made himsele Emperor in *France*. He was surprized by the Soldiours, & brought halfe alieue to *Seuerus*: where hauing his head smitten off, he was hanged on a gibbet, and being torne with dogs, he was throwne into the Riuer.

*A. B. Caracalla*, the sonne of *Seuerus*, and husband to his stepmother, reigned seauen yeares. He slew *Geta* his brother, and *Papinian* the great and famous Lawyer, with diuers other. At last, himsele was slaine by a Soldiour of his Guard. *Herod. lib. 4.*

*Antoninus Geta*, the sonne of *Seuerus* and *Iulia*, borne at *Milain*; After the *Parthian* warre, wherein hee wonne great fauour, was called *Cæsar Antoninus*, in the life of his Father.

*Op. Macrinus*, with his sonne *Diadume-*

*mus*, reigned one yeare. Both the one and other had their heads smitten off, by their men of warre. *Macrinus* was learned and seuer, but (withall) detestable and crafty, causing his Predeceffour to be murdered.

*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus*, the bastard of *Caracalla*, who was a dishonest whore-hunter, and most abominable in life beside; gaue great estates to wicked Bawds, Panders, Iesters, &c. And being generally despised, hee was slaine by his Soldiours, in the fourth yeare of his Reigne: both his owne body and his Mothers being dragged along the Streetes, and cast into the common lay-stall.

*Alexander Seuerus*, reigned peaceably without effusion of blood, 13. yeares. He was a good Prince, & did vtterly forbid the selling of Offices. *Vlpianus*, *Paulus*, *Pomponius*, *Alpheneus*, *Africanus*, *Callistratus*, and other excellent Ciuil Lawyers (the Schollers of *Papinian*) then liued, with *Dion* the Historian, and *Philostratus*. The Kingdome of the *Persians* was then founded by *Atarxerxes*, and after transported to the *Sarrazins*, and now commanded by the *Sophi*.

*Maximinus*, a persecuter of the Christians, reigned three yeares. Being at first but a silly Shepheard; he was made Emperour by the Souldiours (without authority of the Senate) and then by them was slaine.

*Gordianus*, a Prince of a Noble spirit, with his Son named *Gordianus* the younger, a good Prince, reigned sixe yeares, and was slaine by *Phillip* his successour. In his time was a wonderfull Eclipse of the Sunne. Reade *I. Capitolinus*, who placeth also *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* (created by the Senate) with *Gordianus* the elder.

*Pupienus Maximus*, a new man, and sonne to a Smith, gaue himsele alwayes to vertue and Military seruices, proouing fortunate against the *Polonians* and *Germanes*.

*M. Calus Babynus*, and *Pupienus*, after they had bin Consuls, and that the *Gordians* were slaine in *Affrica*; were created Emperours, by appointment of the Senate, against *Maximinus*, and both of the were vnderseuedly slaine.

*Gordianus* the second, yongest son of *Gordianus* by his Daughter, borne at *Rome*; was

194.

195.

213.

220.

221.

225.

The kingdom  
of Persia.

238.

241.

was slaine in a sedition of Soldiours, by *Phillip, Prefect of the Pretorians.*

*C. Valens Hostilianus*, is not placed in this ranke by some Historians, because immediately hee dyed, smitten with the pestilence, so that scarcely there remaineth any memory of him.

247.

*Phillip*, an *Arabian* by Nation, was the first Christian of the *Cæsars*, and reigned five yeares. He gaue (by his Testament) all his rights and treasures to Pope *Fabian*; and heere began the riches of the Roman Church. He was likewise slaine by his successor, as he had kild his Predecessour.

252.

*Decius Traian*, a persecuter of the Christians, reigned two yeares. *S. Saturnine* the Bishop was martired at *Tholouse*. *S. Lawrence, Hippolita, Cecily, Azatha, and Apollina.*

*Q. Herennius Hetruscus*, is not by any Historian placed among the Emperours. Neuerthelesse, in this ranke is his picture found in the Booke of *Hubert Goltzius*, and there it is recorded of him, that hee was the sonne of *Decius*, and that he was slaine in *Hungaria*, in a battell against the *Gothes*.

254.

*Vibius Gallus*, with his soune *Volusianus*, reigned two yeares: Being persecutors of the Church, were both slaine by the Soldiours. At this time there was such a contagious pestilence, and almost so generally dispersed, that in many places ther was left no creature liuing. This pestilence continued fifteene yeares, and seemed to be partly occasioned through the wicked government of this Emperour.

256.

*Aemilianus Lybiennus*, borne in *Mauritania*, in his young yeares followed armes, and soone after he was made Emperour. He was slaine at *Spoleta*, being aged forty yeares.

271.

*Licinius Valerianus*, with his Son *Galien*, persecuting the Church, reigned fifteene yeares. He was Captiue to *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, who vsed him as a footstoole when he mounted on horse-backe. *S. Cyprian & S. Cornelia*, were then martyred. *Porphirius* wrote against the christians: The thirtie Tyrants vsurped the Empire. Reade *Trebellius Pollio, &c.* *S. Paul* the first Hermite began the solitary life.

*Galien* the son of *Valerian*, suffered the Christians to liue in quiet, and reigned 9. yeares alone, after that his Father was led

captiue into *Persia* by *Sapor*. He was exceeding wise, but addicted to Lust.

*Saloninus Valerianus*, the sonne of *Galtien*, was slaine with his Father, being retired to *Millaine*, and was but tenne yeares olde.

*Cassius Labienus Posthumus*, from being a simple Souldior, attained to great dignities: and being in *France*, was made Emperour in the time of *Galien*, where he was slaine.

*Flavius Claudius* (of whom issued the family of the *Constantines*) a good Prince, of Noble Linnage, and highly esteemed, reigned two yeares. *Dyonisius* being then Pope, divided the Diocesces and Parishes of the Christians. *Tom. i. de Concil. Iamblicus, Plotinus.* and *Inuencus* Priest, reduced the foure Gospels into *Hexameter Verses*.

*Aurelius Quintillius*, brother to *Claudius*, after the death of his brother, was saluted as Emperour by the Senate, and slaine 17. dayes after.

*Valerius Aurelianus*, a cruell man, reigned sixe yeares. He tormented the Christians, and repulsed the *Franconians*, entring out of *Germany* into *Gaul*. He was the first that wore an Emperiall Crowne: a louer of Military discipline; and one that rigorously punished the vices of his Soldiours. He vanquished *Zenobia*, a very Warlike Lady, holding the Empire of the East.

273.

*Tacitus* was slaine the sixt Moneth of his Empire. This good Prince caused the Bookes of *Cornelius Tacitus* to be receiued into all Libraries. The *Manicheans* began (from the time of *Aurelianus*) to infect the Church.

279.

*Annius Florianus*, brother to *Tacitus*, being desirous to reigne, vsurped the Empire as by inheritance: but in a short time he was slaine at *Tharsus*, by his Soldiours.

*Probus*, a good Prince, the Authour of peace in the high and lower *Germany* or *Almaine*, reigned sixe yeares and foure Moneths. He said, *That he had no neede of Warriors, hauing no enemies; and that the Souldior (not doing any thing) ought not to eate vp publike prouision.*

279.

*Carus*, a good and wise Prince, reigned two yeares, with his sonnes *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, two Brethren of very different nature. The first, was most wicked, and full of cruelty: The other was full of

286.

goodnesse, valour and knowledge. Then liued *Volcatius*, *Herodian*, *Lampridius*, *Spartianus*, *Pollio*, *Vopiscus* and *Capitolinus* Historians.

288.

*Dioclesian* with *Maximianus Herculus*, reigned 20. yeares: hee was a most cruell persecutor of the Christians, and would haue himselfe to be worshipped. *Katharine*, *Lucy*, *Agnes*, *Barbus*, *Sebastian*, *Vincent*, *Cosmo* and *Damian*, and innumerable other Martyrs through the world (in his Reign, to the number of 17. thousand) were put to death in thirty dayes.

*Valerius Maximus*, fir-named *Herculus*, a man of fierce and cruell nature, was very out-ragious in lust, especially with his owne sisters: blockish in giuing counsell, without ciuillity and gouernment, & therefore had *Dioclesian* to assist him in the Empire.

308.

*Constantius Chlorus*, father of *Constantine* and *Galerius*, the one gouerned in the East, the other in the West, 4. yeares together. *Constantine* commaunded in *Gaul*, *Spaine*, *Affrica*, and *Italy*: The other in *Greece*. *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Dorotheus*, Bishop of *Tyre*, *Eusebius* and other learned personages liued at this time.

*Galerius Maximianus*, tearmed *Armentarius*, because he was a Neat-heards son, was made Emperour, being a goodly person, and a fortunate warrior. *Maximinus*, Nephew to *Armentarius* by his sister, was Emperour, and persecuted the Christians in the East. *Seuerus*, Prefect of *Italy* and *Affricke*, was published Emperour by *Galerius*, and fighting with *Maxentius*, was taken at *Rauenna*, and flaine.

*Maxentius*, elected Emperour by his Soldiours, reigned a Tyrant, and was like vnto his Father *Maximinus*. Being vanquished by *Constantine*, neere to *Pont-Miluius*, he was drowned in a Gulfe, and his body neuer after found.

*Licinius Licinianus*, borne of Country Parents, was fortunate in the wars which he had against *Maximinus*. Afterward, he became a mocker of Christ, and persecuted such as beleued in him; and because he was ignorant, he was a great enemy to all that were learned.

*Martinianus*, was created *Cesar* by *Licinius* against *Constantine*; hee was in his Camp at night, but fled before next morning.

310.

*Constantine* the Great, sonne of *Helena*

an holy woman, with *Maxentius* and *Licinius*, reigned 31. yeares. He was religious and affable, and transported the Bible into diuers Countries. He assembled the Councill of *Nice*, against *Arrius* the Hereticke. He builded the City of *Constantinople*, calling it after his owne Name: whither the Imperiall seate was translated, and changed from *Rome* into *Greece*, after he had granted *Siluester* to be Pope. *Euseb. lib. 10. Niseph. lib. 8.*

*Crispus* was made *Cesar* by his Father *Constantine*, but beeing afterward falsely accused to his Father, he was put to death, for that hee would not consent to the inordinate appetite of *Faustine* his stepmother.

*Constantine* the second, with his Brethren reigned 17. yeares, ioyning thereto the three yeares reigne of *Maxentius*. *Themistius*, *Donatus*, and *Libanius* the Sophister then liued: and Saint *Anthony* the Hermite was knowne in *Egypt*; by many miracles.

*Julian* the Apostata, held the true Religion ten yeares, and was named Emperour by the men of warre in *Paris*, against his will. Hee forbad the Christians the study of letters: and beeing wounded to death, he cryed out: *At length thou hast vanquished, O Galilean. S. Cyrill, Optatus, Basile, Nazianzene, Epiphanius, Hillary, Didimus, Exuperus* (all learned Diuines) then flourished.

*Iouianus*, a kind and learned man, reigned eight Moneths, and made confession to his Warriours, of the name of Iesus Christ. Now was the first order of Monks instituted by *S. Basile*, vnder certaine rules of liuing.

*Valentinian*, a good and Catholique Prince, and *Valens* his brother, reigned 15. yeares. This man held the error of the *Arrians*, and constrained the Monkes to vndertake Armes in warre: he dyed vnhappily.

*Gratian*, the sonne of *Valentinian*, during whose life time, he was an associate in the Empire. He reigned afterward with *Valentinian* the second, his younger Brother, and *Theodosius* fixe yeares.

*Maximus*, tearmed Emperour by his Soldiours, flew *Gratian*, and held the Empire foure yeares: after which time, *Valentinian* returned to the Empire againe five yeares.

*Theodosius*,

The Council of Nice.

341.

358.

368.

368.

381.

387.

<p>395.</p>	<p><i>Theodosius</i>, after that <i>Gratian</i> was slain by <i>Maximus</i>, reigned three yeares with his brother <i>Valentinian</i>: the death of who was benomed by <i>S. Ambrose</i>, for the great zeale hee had to Christian Religion. <i>S. Hierome</i>, <i>S. Augustine</i>, and <i>P. Orosius</i> then liued.</p>	<p>perors in twenty yeares, who all flew one another.</p>	<p>493.</p>
<p>399.</p> <p>Rome foure times surprized.</p>	<p><i>Arcadius</i> and <i>Honorius</i>, the sonnes of <i>Theodosius</i>, reigned twenty nine yeares, as well in the East as in the West. About this time, the great empire of <i>Rome</i> began to decline (by the infidelity of <i>Ruffinus</i> &amp; <i>Stilico</i> their Tutors.) The very greatest part thereof was vsed by the <i>Scythians</i>, <i>Burgundians</i>, <i>Lombards</i>, <i>Hungarians</i>, <i>French</i>, <i>Goths</i>, and <i>Vandales</i>: And <i>Rome</i> was four times taken by the <i>Goths</i> and <i>Vandals</i>, within one hundred thirty nine yeares. Then liued <i>S. Chrysostome</i> and <i>Claudian</i>.</p>	<p><i>Anastafius</i> reigned twenty five years: he was an <i>Eutichian</i> Heretique, was smitten with lightning, and dyed (as a iust punishment) for his heresie. <i>Fulgentius</i>.</p> <p><i>Iustine</i> reigned nine yeares: hee was first a Swine-heard, afterward a Cow-heard, next a Carpenter, a Souldior, a Captaine, and last of all Emperour, gouerning very well and godly, and expelling the <i>Arrian</i> Heretiques. Then liued <i>Boetius</i>; and <i>S. Bennet</i> or <i>Benedict</i> began this Order.</p>	<p>519.</p>
<p>411.</p>	<p><i>Honorius</i> reigned with <i>Theodosius</i>, Son to his Brother, sixteene yeares.</p>	<p><i>Iustinian</i> reigned thirty eight yeares. All his care and study, was to reaire the decayed Empire, and re-establish ciuill right; in the execution whereof, hee was seconded by excellent personages, especially by <i>Belisarius</i>, <i>Narses</i>, and <i>Tribonianus</i>. They first chased the <i>Vandals</i> out of <i>Affrica</i>, which they had held 95. yeares: and deliuered <i>Rome</i> from the <i>Goths</i>, who had conquered it, &amp; yet were once more expulsed thence by <i>Narses</i>.</p>	<p>528.</p>
<p>427.</p>	<p><i>Theodosius</i> the second, youngest sonne of <i>Arcadius</i>, reigned at <i>Constantinople</i> 27. yeares, after the death of <i>Honorius</i>; hauing assisted <i>Valentinian</i> the third, the son of <i>Constantinus</i>, and <i>Placida</i>, daughter to <i>Theodosius</i>, who reigned five yeares in the West. At this time, the <i>Frenchmen</i> leauing <i>Franconia</i>, began to enter vpon the <i>Gaules</i>, vnder <i>Clodion</i> their second King.</p>	<p><i>Iustine</i> the second, reigned ten yeares, beloued of all men for his liberality. <i>Sophia</i> his wife mocked him with <i>Narses</i>, the Governour of <i>Italy</i>, whereat he being offended, called the <i>Lombardes</i>, by whose helpe he reuenged himselfe. Now was the Kingdome of the <i>Lombards</i> founded by <i>Clebus</i>, wher reigned thirty two kings, vntill the time of <i>Charles</i> the Great.</p>	<p>566.</p> <p>The kingdem of the Lombards.</p>
<p>453.</p>	<p><i>F. Valerius Martianus</i>, reigned in the East, seauen yeares, and <i>Valentinian</i> the third (at the same time) in the West: during their Reigne, the <i>Burgundians</i> and other Westerne Nations, were conuerted to the Faith. The <i>Vandals</i> came out of <i>Spaine</i> into <i>Affrica</i>, and afterward they tooke <i>Rome</i>, vnder the conduct of their King <i>Genferichus</i>. <i>Attila</i>, King of the <i>Hunnes</i>, entered into <i>Gaul</i> with five hundred thousand men: deliuered battaile to <i>Merouieus</i> their second King, who had ioyned with <i>Aetius</i>, Lieutenant vnto the Emperour. There he lost an hundred and fourescore thousand men, and fled into <i>Hungaria</i>, not any man being wounded behinde. About this time was great <i>Arthur</i> King of <i>Britaine</i>.</p>	<p><i>Tiberius</i> the second, reigned 7. yeares: he was a very charitable man, one that loued God and his Saints, and therefore (no doubt) was beloued of him againe.</p>	<p>577.</p>
<p>460.</p>	<p><i>Leo</i> the first, reigned 17. yeares, associated by <i>Leo</i> the Sonne of his Daughter; who after he had reigned one year alone, gaue vp the Empire to <i>Zeno</i> his Grandfire, who reigned tyrannically 17. yeares. The estate of the Church was then very greatly troubled, as also that of the Westerne Empire. <i>Italy</i> had then nine Em-</p>	<p><i>Mauritius</i> reigned twenty yeares: he was descended of very meane Parentage, and (in the end) was murdered for his couetousnesse: a vice as much discommendable in a Prince, as liberality is beseeeming, and maketh him renowned.</p>	<p>584.</p>
<p>476.</p>	<p><i>Phocas</i> reigned eight yeares: and being the murderer of his Predecessor, himselfe was likewise murdered, with all his Race. Now was the contention for the Primacy of the Church, betweene <i>Rome</i> and <i>Constantinople</i>, and now was <i>S. Gregory</i>.</p>	<p><i>Heraclius</i> reigned thirty yeares, who was the murderer of <i>Phocas</i>. The fifteenth yeare of his reigne, began the rule of <i>Mahomet</i>, the false Prophet of <i>Arabia</i>, where were the <i>Agarens</i> &amp; <i>Sarrazins</i>: to whom the</p>	<p>604.</p> <p>Contention for Primacy of the church.</p>
<p>476.</p>	<p><i>Leo</i> the first, reigned 17. yeares, associated by <i>Leo</i> the Sonne of his Daughter; who after he had reigned one year alone, gaue vp the Empire to <i>Zeno</i> his Grandfire, who reigned tyrannically 17. yeares. The estate of the Church was then very greatly troubled, as also that of the Westerne Empire. <i>Italy</i> had then nine Em-</p>	<p><i>Heraclius</i> reigned thirty yeares, who was the murderer of <i>Phocas</i>. The fifteenth yeare of his reigne, began the rule of <i>Mahomet</i>, the false Prophet of <i>Arabia</i>, where were the <i>Agarens</i> &amp; <i>Sarrazins</i>: to whom the</p>	<p>612.</p>

the Egyptian and Arabian princes (called *Soldanes*) next succeeded. After them came the Turkes, about the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand and three hundred, *Mahomets* false doctrine (through the negligence of the Emperors & Christian princes) grew to such an head; that it not onely poysoned *Asia* and *Affrica*, but also a very great part of *Europe*.

640

*Constantine* the third, reigned foure moneths, being a good prince, and verie young: He was poysoned by his stepmother, that her sonne might reigne.

641

*Heraclion*, who hauing his nose and tongue cut out, was banished two yeares after.

643

*Constans*, the sonne of *Constantine*, reigned twenty and seauen yeares: And being very couetous, hee was slayne by his owne followers, in the Bathes of *Syracusa*.

670

*Constantine* the fourth, reigned seauenteene yeares. Hee ouercame in one battell, thirty thousand *Syracusans*, and afterward fell to great wickednesse. The learned and venerable *Beda* liued in this time.

687

*Iustinian* the second, a wicked man, reigned sixteene yeares, but not without interruption, being deiected by *Leontius*, and *Leontius* by *Tyberius Absimaris*, who reigned other three yeares; therefore these three are sayde to reigne sixteene yeares. Now was the beginning of the Dukes of *Venice*, which had beene gouerned before (for the space of two hundred and thirty yeares) by Tribunes.

The State of the Venetiās.

713

*Phillip Bardasanes*, reigned two yeres. Hee was cast out of his Empire by his Lieutenant: and after that, they plucked fourth his eyes. Hee had much talke and little wisdome, disposing badly of the Empire, he became after a schismaticall Monke.

715

*Anthemius*, called also *Athanasius* the second, reigned three yeares: He was deiected from his Empire by *Theodosius* chiefe of his Armie, and turned into a Monastery. He had taken away the Empire, and then pluckt out the eyes of his predeceffour.

718

*Theodosius* the third, reigned one yeare. He left the Empire, seeing himselfe to be assayled by *Leo* his successour, and became a Monke.

719

*Leo* the third, a wicked man, reigned

five and twenty yeares. Hee was called *Iconomachus*, a Defacer of Images, and would not suffer the Christians to haue any in their Temples. He was excommunicated by *Gregorie*, and by authoritie of a Councell held at *Rome*, against his owne of *Constantinople*. *Blond.* in his tenth book. The *Sarazins* besieged *Constantinople* three yeares together, in which time died three hundred thousand of the pestilence and famine.

742

*Constantine*, the fift of that name, the sonne of *Leo* the *Isaurian*, succeeded his father in the Empire of *Constantinople*, in the yeare of our Saluation, seauen hundred fortie and two. Hee was surnamed *Copronymus*, because he would discharge his belly in the Fonts, appoynted for Christian Baptisme. Hee was an vtter enemy, not onely to the Images of Saints, but also to theyr Reliques, causing them to be burned. Hee did put to death many of the best and most respected persons, and (amongst others) two Patriarchs of *Constantinople*. He made warre against the *Bulgarians*, both by Land and Sea, Fortune smiling vpon him, other-whiles lowering. In his absence, one *Artabasdus* was made Emperour at *Constantinople*. But he receiuing news thereof, returned, and either put out, or rent soorth the new Emperours eyes, and caused his children to be slaine. In his time, there was so cold a Winter, that the Sea of *Constantinople* was frozen. After many cruelties, this Emperour dyed a Leaper.

743

*Artabasdus*, albeit he was descended of meane birth; yet notwithstanding, for the faithfulness, good vertues, and commendable qualities which were in him, he was liked of the Senate and Souldiers, & afterward was elected Emperour by the zealous Christians, for the hatred that euery one bare to *Constantine* the fift. Hee became a better louer of the Saints, and fortified the City of *Constantinople* against *Constantine*, who had beene expelled from thence. Neuertheless, both hee and it were besieged; and the City being surprized, his eyes were pluckt out, and his children put to death.

*Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father *Constantine* the fift. He was not onely heyre to the Empire, but also to his fathers vices: And his mother, who was deuout, and one that loued God, would giue

745

giue no consent, that he should be Emperour. Hee made some attempts vpon the *Sarazins* that dwelt in *Syria*. Hee tooke the Crowne, which *Mauritius* had dedicated vnto Almighty God, and set it on his owne head, it being very richly beautified with rich pretious stones: But soon after, hee had an Impostume in his head, with a fiery Ague, whereof he dyed.

780

*Constantine*, the sixt of that name, and sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father: Hee reigned nine yeares (very young) with his mother, who with his consent also, was perswaded by *The- rasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to call a general Councell of three hundred and fifty Bishops. In a short while after, *Con- stantine* excluded his Mother from the Empires gouernement. Hee caused the eyes and tongue of *Nicephorus* to be pulld and cut out, hearing of a secret intention, to make him Emperour. Also he did shut vp in a Monastery, his wife *Marie*, who was the daughter of King *Charle- maine*, and then tooke a Concubine, by the councell of his Mother, who pretended that her sonne was hated of the people. Heereupon not long after, shee caused him to be taken, and plucking foorth his eyes, shut him vp in prison, where hee dyed, in the yeare 798, and then she reigned alone, about the space of fīue yeares.

798

*Irene*, issued from *Attica*, was Wife to the Emperour *Leo* the fourth, by whome he had *Constantine* the sixt before mentioned, and reigned with him nine yeares, & afterward (alone by herselfe) fīue yeres, or little more, as hath already beene sayd. She was thence expelled by *Nicephorus*, and sent into exile to the Isle of *Lesbos*, which at this instant is called *Mitilene*. At the time when this Lady gouerned the Empire of *Constantinople*, *Charlemaine* was sacred and crowned Emperour of *Rome*, (or of the West) for his vertues.

CHAP. XIII

The ancient and honourable Historie of the life, fortunes and admired vertues, of faire Landgartha, the royall Queene of Norway.

IT is a case most certayne and assured, that a generous spirit, a gentle soule, and

an vnderstanding filld with cheareful delicacie, is much sooner seized with amorous apprehensions; then that which is farre off from this queint temper, and which substillizeth the same perfection of the soule. Considering that loue, pure and perfectly naturall, being a vertue, and vertue euermore bidding in such subiects, where the hearts are best and most sanctimoniously nourished, and gentle spirits hauing (I know not how) a rellish more diuine then vulgare, or apted for grosse popularitie: It followeth, without anie question to the contrary, that men, the more remarkable they are for greatnesse, gentlnes, good spirit, & illustrious blood; doe also best discourse on louely occasions, and effect them with clearer iudgement, then such as fayle in the accomplishments of the soule.

And, to list this poynt the more seriously; Is it for a Clowne or peazant, to iudge on the raritie of vertues, on the singular giftes of the Spirit, of that which is beloued, and what offices and duties are in the partie affectionate? Effectes doe plainly approoue the contrary; for Poets, who are the very subtillest Painters of humane affections, that I know, and which trace Trueth vnder the distemperd colours of wittie Fables, can not better let vs beholde the picture of such an impression; then by the iudgement (so often sung) and performed by the *Trojan*, on the beautie of the three Goddesses. For, the rudenesse of the Shepheard, hauing extincted the bright beams of bloud frō his Parents, among the base and grosse thoughts fit for flock-keepers, not knowing the spirites forces, the beautie of the soule, the gentlenesse of vnderstanding, and the galliardise of the bodie it selfe, in being gouerned by interiour reason; gaue the prize (he knew not how) of beauty, by appearing in the exterior shape of a lasciuious Lady.

Beholde how farre Poeticall Philosophy extendeth it selfe, and iudge, if the sottish Shepheard degenerated not from his Parents, who should more haue cherished vertue, which liueth and continueth for euer; then that which withereth, and looseth it selfe by the steppes of age. And if that indiscreet Iudge pronounced the Sentence, in fauour of the most vnwoorthie, and lent his affections to the onlie

The reason why good spirits are much more amorous then dull and leaden capacities.

It is not for the Buzzards eyes to gaze on the Sunnes radiant splendour.

The interpretation of the Fable, concerning the iudgement of Paris.

The extēdure of poeticall Philosophy in the Fable.

onely tickling of desire, full of wretched folly: so was he as well recompenced according to his merit, and felt in the ende, that a manly *Hectors* desseignes, fauouring of that which is proper to the vertue of a man; was much rather to be chosen, then the light promise of a hurtful thing, how pleasant soeuer in wish, and alluring the sensuall part of a man.

Also, to speake truly, so many famous women, as haue honoured all the Ages past and ours, by effect and memory of their commendable vertues; if they had had no other rarities to renoune them, but onely beauty of the body: questionlesse, their names had long since bin buried in a more obscure graue; then cuer time ordained for things to be forgotten. No, no, it was vertue, generosity, height of courage, and great enterprizes; which made them immortall, and equalled their glory with the renoune of men, yea, of the most signall and illustrious.

Against the venemous tongues of such, as neuer cease to taxe the reputation of so honourable a sexe; no boast need to be made, either of search into the valiancies of *Semyramis*, whose memorie is somewhat too farre off; neyther the incredible forces of the *Amazones*, the History being (I know not how) doubtfull in the occurrences. Nor will I induce *Zenobia* the *Asian* Queene, the dreadfull astonishment (sometime) of the Romane Empire: whose wisdom also was as much to bee commended, as any of the very chiefeft Generals, her direction, policy and good carriage, all making her reputed (long time) for one of the Worlds Monarchs. Nor am I willing (feareing to make men blush, by reading how many women haue managed Armes, and with no meane felicity) to insert *Cinana*, Daughter to *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, who made head against the ingratefull successours of her Brother *Alexander*, pursuing the viter ruine of his bloode that had aduanced them. After many foughten Battailles, hauing carried herselfe beyond the compasse of man-like valiancy; in the ende, she affected rather to dye, then to see the viter ruine of the famous House of her Ancestors, beeing vnable any way to helpe it. I will be silent also, in speaking of the braue *Valasca*, a young Lady of *Bohemia*, who arming

the Ladyes of her Country against their Husbands; made a happy course of long warre against the men: vtill such time, as (being betrayed) shee crowded into the throngs of her enemies, of whom (before she could be slaine) she slew a great number.

I will not (I say) discourse so many examples; beeing satisfied with a History most true and memorable, collected frō famous Antiquity, and from among the Ladyes of a people, heeretofore accounted very barbarous: wherein (by my slender opinion) honest Gentlewomen shall receiue some taste of vertue, without learning the fierce obstinacy of any; and Gentlemen, may haue meanes to see and consider, how to make choise of vertue in louing; and faire minded Maidens, obserue a rule, how to contain their thoughts in loyall affection, to them whom they haue dedicated their desires.

In the time when *Dagobert*, sonne to *Charles* the Great, reigned in *France*, and ouer the Empire, there was a King in *Swetia*, named *Froll*, or *Frollo*, a cruell man, a tyrant, and insupportable to euery one. This King, being neuer contented with his owne Royalties, began to insult obstinately on his neighbours Lands: but especially to fletch on the king of *Norway*, vpon whose Countries entring without challenge or defiance, he made such great spoyle; that hauing pilled, sacked, and well-neere ruined the whole Country, he vanquished and slew the King, with all his Family. Nor did it suffice this rauinous Wolfe, to haue shed so much innocent blood, for the glutting of his greedy desire: but hee must needs also foyle his name with all kindes of cruelty and villany, insomuch, that hee left neyther Lady of the House Royall, nor any other that he could lay hold on; but he abused them as villanously, as wickedly hee had robbed other of their inheritable rights. They that were not (as yet) fallen into the gripes of this abhominable Goate, and not knowing how to shunne falling into his cunning and treacherous snares, made such a private consultation among themselues by secret intelligence; that at length, they mette together in a corner of the desert belonging vnto the Kingdome, to haue a more free vnderstanding of particular grieuances, and how

Valasca a yong Lady, entred into Armes in Bohemia, gainst the men of the Country.

The Author referreth his Readers to this History onely.

King Frollo the cruell tyrant of Swetia

A bloody tyrant makes no spae of any thing, so he may compasse his owne vile desires.

Corporeall beauty & feature in a woman, is no matter of any great moment

Semyramis the Assyrian Queene. The Amazones women warriors.

Queene Zenobia that made warre vpon the Romanes.

Cinana daughter to Phillip King of Macedon.

how they might best defend theyr honor and innocencie.

Newes likewise ran cursorily among them, that the Nobilitie of the Country (who had withdrawne themselues into *Denmarke*) solicited King *Reyner*, to bring thither his forces, in reuenge of a dishonourable iniury done to his owne bloud (for his mother was issued from *Norway*) and the *Dane* being easily spurred on to warre, in regarde he was very youthfull, his bloud chearefully boyling, and desirous to atchieue honour by Armes; gaue the easier eare to the motion. Beside, desire of reuenge, to see his reputation so much interested, by the tyrannies of *Swetia*, with pretending a right and title vnto the kingdome of *Norway*: These were no meane motiues to incite him on the sooner. And these considerations, gaue hart also to the distressed Ladies, for hope of good successe thereby: but fearing, that matter and meanes (in this case) were not as yet sufficiently ready; this intimated perswasion vanished into smoake, euen (well-neare) as sodainely as it was conceiued, being no way able to resolue on anie thing.

At length, one in their goodly troupe, and (almost) one of the youngest, fairest and gentlest Virgines, and such a one as had propounded to herselfe, neuer to submit vnder any Lawe, that gaue a man power ouer his wife: She, beholding the sad astonishment of the whole company, and what iust reason they had to be so dreadfully dismayed; making a reuerent obeyesance vnto them all, deliuered her minde in this manner.

*The Oration of Landgartha, to the whole Company of Ladies.*

*Can it be (faire Ladies of Norway) that illustrious blood, appeareth onely in the strength and dexteritie, which fondly wee presume proper and peculiar to men: and we that haue hearts, spirits, bodies and members like vnto theirs, must make them reuengers, and defenders of our continence & chastity? If Fate be so maleuolently affected, that our fathers, brothers and husbands, can obtayne*

*no succour, to recover their lands, and expulse the Tyrant out of theyr territories: shall it therefore be sayd, that we must needs serue the inordinate appetits of a villaine, & Frollo must abuse those remayning Ladies, that neuer tasted his abhominable embracements. Let Landgartha liue no longer, if she be voyde of all other dueties and deuotion, then to attend the pleasures of a Tyrant, and (without resistance) suffer violence to be done to her honour and modestie.*

*why Ladies, the Lyonesse and Tygresse whet their claws and sharpen theyr teeth, to defend theyr yoong ones, and preserue theyr liues from the Hunts-mens hands. The verie smallest Bird will vse both the Beake and Wing, to reuenge the wrong offered by rape of her brood. And we, that surmount the one, in sence and reason, the other in strength, & all in wisedome and councell for bolde attempts; shall we suffer that a Stranger (not one iote stronger then our owne Countries strength) shall make a mockery and abusive pastime, of the most honourable Matrones & Gentlewomen in our Land? No, no, it is not for Landgartha to endure such indignitie, or that (without effusion of her blood) can yeeld to the beast-like Prince of Swetia.*

*Are we inferiour in courage and generositie of spirit, to braue Aluilda, who so long time fought on the Seas, and amazed the very boldest warriors of the world? Are wee defectiue in any thing she had? We are healthfull, young, gallant, strong and rich enough, to winne what soeuer is needefull for vs, by seruice eyther on Sea or Land. And if Aluilda (moued by vniust means) prosperd in her actions, and had Fortune fauorable to all her attempts: can you imagine, that Heauen hath not farre fayrer successe in store for vs, hauing Reason and Vertue on our side, and upright iustice to support our cause? were our iourney to death onely, and that the ending of this wretched life, could appease the Tyrants cruelty, without proceeding any further: I would be the foremost, freely offering my selfe as a Sacrifice, to sattiate the furie of his raging lust. If he coueted, and would haue nothing else but our wealth and treasure; I would aduise you to deliuer all, and rather then spare aught, let vs goe seeke future fortune, and beg our bread through all strange countries in the world.*

*Ah, no, no, (sweete Ladies) hee likes our liues too well, and by taking pleasure in them, desireth our euerlasting displeasure. He will suffer*

Unreasonable creatures arme themselves in their owne defence & theirs

Aluilda was daughter to Siward king of the Gothes, & ranged on the seas as a Pirat

The noble me of Norway solicite Reyner king of Denmarke to redresse their woful miserie.

Distressed nor, especially in Ladies, is earnestly desirous of redresse.

A Councell called among the Ladies of Norway.

In extremities all means conuenient are to be sought and vsed.

Shame and infamy waite continually at the heeles of vnbridled lust.

A famous and worthy resolution in a chaste, veriuous & sprightfull minded Virgin.

A League sworne, among the Ladies, & Landgartha made the Lady Generall.

It is no common matter, that moueth women to march in arms

*suffer vs to enioy our wealth, for his freeer wallowing in wicked dalliances, which prey is the maine purchase whereat hee most aymeth: for hee more delighteth in our Honours violation, then, by massacring our bodies, to become Lord of all our Jewells, lands, and inheritances. What remaineth then for our deliuerance? Shall we tarry for them that are in Denmarke, expecting when they will come to succour vs? No, rather let Ladies arme themselves, and appearing in open field; fight valiantly against the willaine, that seeketh to rob vs of our true repute. Let vs giue him plainly to vnderstand, that effeminate persons are more soft, and lesse valiant then we are; that chaste and vertuous Ladies are of other temper, then Souldiers mollified by base paillardise: yea that they are more truly constant then the Tyrant, whose consciuous guiltinesse in foule offences, is his owne continuall torturing hangman. On then (valiant Princesses, and Ladies of no meane lustre;) away with our wanton tires, paintings, perriwigs, and ydle deckings: Let vs change our Spindles, Needles and Samplers, into Horses, Launces, Swords and Armour, and trie, if Frollo be as furious in warre, as hee is fierie wanton in his lasciuious Pallace. Let vs reuenge the wrongs our Parents and Kindred haue receiued; or die most gloriously, in the pursuite of so holy, iust and commendable a reuenge.*

This couragious remonstrance of the brauc spirited Virgine, gaue such bolde animation vnto the rest of the Ladies, as (with one consent) they made a league, vowing louing alliance, and (sollemnly swearing faith, loyaltie, mutuall succour, and assistance among themselves;) Landgartha was elected chiefe commandresse, or Lady Generall of the Army, and well deseruing that, or any other higher dignitie, being the motiue to such a maine and important businesse.

Now beganne a muster of all the Women and Maidens, of the most noble and famous houses throughout the whole Countrey: but not without much amazement in Frollo, wondering whereto tended such an assembly. Hee, perswading himselfe, that they intended fight to their friends and kindred in Denmarke; sent command vnto them, that (on perill of their liues) they should returne home to their houses, for enioying the benefite of their

libertie; which he was content to graunt them, in regard of their beauties and gentle behauiour.

But Landgartha, the man-like woman champion, hearing the peremptory command deliuered by the Tyrants Herald; sent them backe with blows and inurious speeches, telling them; that they would not take their liues, in regarde of any respect they had to their Lord: but onely, because they should let him vnderstand, in what deuotion and readinesse they found them, & or seeking some conuenient means and way, whereby to make him render an account for his tyrannie and cruelties.

When Frollo heard these tidings, at the first he made but a scorne thereof, laughing extremely, at this womanish enterprise and Armie of Ladies, saying: They did well, to make a present of themselves, because he should haue the easier way to find them, and if they came into the field; the bootie would suffice for his Souldiers pay, and likewise for their pleasure beside, in regarde he would bestow wiues vpon them all, and saue them a labour from any further fighting. But this pleasant humour soone forooke him, and converted into fury, when he was aduertised of their being in the field, & making such a strange massacre of his men, as the like was seldome scene or heard of. Nor spared they the liues of any, that durst reclaime himselfe from following his seruice, which made him curse and sweare, threatening them with a thousand kinde of torments and afflictions, going now (in good earnest) to arme himselfe; as being perswaded, that this feminine furie had extended so farre, that it was no light matter that could allay it. Hee grew also into such suspicion of himselfe, that he kept a strong Guard about him: as holding but small assurance of his life, amongst the armed troupes of his owne Souldiers: yet hee made many large promises vnto them, of the very fairest and richest amongst them, with all their lands and treasure, to shew themselves valiant and coragious, against this giddy headed army of women; which encreased daily more and more, both in number, victuals and munitions, brought continually to them from euery part.

But howsoeuer (one way) the bad affection of the *Norwegians* gaue affliction

The Heralds & Messengers of Frollo are sent back with iust payment by the Ladies.

The Tyrant made a mockerie of the Ladies preparation in aims meaning to marry them to his Souldiers

Frollo prepareth himselfe to Armes against the Ladies.

Tyranny is al  
wayes subiect  
to tormenting  
passions.

The arriuall  
of Reyner, K.  
of Denmarke  
in Norway  
with a mighty  
Armie.

to his spirits, and the fauour which his owne subiects afforded to this womanish Army, tormented his soule as violently on the other side: yet he seemed to set a good countenance on his feares, declaring no outward doubt of preuayling against them, though (inwardly) his cogitations tolde him dreadfull tydings. Neuertheless, being already in the field; and preparing his equipage, to get the best advantage he could, of the place where the Ladies were encamped: a Courtier came galloping in poast to him, bringing newes of the king of *Denmarks* descent into *Norway*, with a very potent Armie. What astonishment soeuer seized on his soule, to see himselfe inclosed (as it were) with two puissant enemies, and knowing how highly he was hated, by them whom hee had ouercome and subiected: yet notwithstanding, perceiuing that flight was preiudiciall to his honour; and (moreouer) almost impossible, in regard that the ways whereby he should passe into *Suetia*, as also euery port and passage were in the enemies power; he resolued, first to runne his fortune on the men, who being defeated, the fight would be farre easier against the women; and thereupon, in the forme of an Oration, thus he spake to his Army.

¶ *The Oration of Frollo, King of Suetia, to his Soldiers.*

When men be  
in bad actions  
(especially in  
Armes vniustly)  
they stand  
in neede of  
good incouraging.

IF you were not those valiant *Gothes* and *Suetians*, that haue tamed and beaten this kennell broode of *Norwegians*, and now conquered their land: If it were not your valiancie, that hath often made pillage and spoile of the *Danes*; If your inuincible force were not well knowne to the world: I should then haue now entreated you, to remeber your Ancestors, and the glorious conquests of your predecessors: I should also set before your eies, how many Kings, People and Nations were vnder-yoked, by the greatnesse and deedes of your famous fore-goers. But, seeing that your proper vertue sufficiently sheweth it selfe, and auoucheth you to be the worthy sonnes and successours, to so many valiant and famous Fathers, and that your deedes are no way indebted to the glorie of their greatnesse: Let vs goe

then, gentle and worthy warriours: Let vs pace on, and giue *Reyner* to know, that this is no Countrey for him to reigne in, nor to deale in actions of Armes, with the most furious and brauest Nation of *Europe*. Let vs on, (bold spirites) to chase them againe, which haue so many times fled before vs; and let vs chastice the rebellion of the *Norwegians*, who falsifying their faith sworne vnto vs: haue called in our enemy to their succor, to quarrell with me for that, which is yours by right of Conquest.

In the meane space, while *Frollo* marched on to meete the *Danes*, obserue the wisdome and diligence of *Landgartha*, and her Ladies, who stepped before him with such poasting speede, that ere the time, as any intelligence could be obtayned of her departure: tydings were suddenly brought him, that both the Camps were ioyned together, and came mainly marching onward to bidde him battaile. Now, although this did not a little startle his minde, and intimated a suspicious kind of feare, lest Fortune should turne her backe on him, hauing formerly fauored him in all his proceedings: yet being a man of high heart, valiant, and borne for Armes: he shewed no semblance of dread or distrust, but rather still sollicitated his men, to shew themselues such as alwayes they were knowne to be, and to account the ennemy no stronger by the womens combination; but rather to hope, that fortune had conducted them purposely thither, for the larger encreasing of their benefit, and to heighten their corage against any, that durst presume to deprive them of so faire a booty.

On the other side, King *Reyner*, beeing come within the view of the enemy, rode among the ranks, encoraging his people, proposing to them his right, and the inuasion made by the *Suetian*. He required them, to reuenge the wrong doone to so many honourable houses, vterly overthrowne by the Tyrant, and to sustain the cause of womens modesties, for whome, and in whose defence, long agoe theyr Auncestours had attempted rare actions of Armes, and spent their blood in many parts of the world. He also set before their eies, the courage and animositie of the Ladies, who marcht orderly vnder the

The noble diligence of *Ladgartha*, ioyning her forces with King *Reiners* Campe.

Necessity and enforcement makes a cravenly coward valiant.

The effect of an Oration made by king *Reiner* of Denmarke to his folowers, in fight of the enemies camp

Ensignes of valiant *Landgartha*, and to imitate by theyr force, that which weake women had vnderaken, to free themselves from the violence of a Tyrant. Also, that they might assuredly bee perswaded, beside the gaine and bootie, in getting the bagge and baggage of the *Swetians*: himselfe would (moreouer) vse such rewarde and courtesie to well deseruers; that they should for euer haue iust cause to commend his munificence. He declared to the *Norwegians*, that (for the loue to them) hee would aduenture to fight against *Frollo*, whom if he conquered, hee would spare him no more, then the rest of his race formerly had doone. And therefore, to shew themselves valiant, and now to bee fully reuenged on the *Swetians* tyrannies; seeing Fortune had almost (with great aduantage) deliuered him into their hands.

*Landgartha*, beholding how euerie one encouraged other to the fight, and obseruing some rare galliardise, euen in the gracefull lookes of her female followers; in steade of further animating, thus she spake vnto them.

### Another Oration of Landgartha, made to the Armie of Ladies.

*It is for vs (fayre Ladies) that the glorie of this battaile is reserued, and to none else is due the reuenge, for our parents, kindred, friends and familiars. Men may fight (if they will) in their owne quarrell, and deale with whom themselves thinke best: but the valorous Ladies of Norway, will pursue none other then the very Squadron of the Tyrant, and there will wee die in the middest of our endeuour, or make this the last day of his miserable life. Let our horses seeme to flie among the ranks, that we may be obserued to surmount the prowesse of men, and that wee can quickly re-vnite our strength againe, if any disorder should chaunce to diuide vs. Fair Fortune be our guide, and fauour vs to die gloriously, or vanquish (with hearts be-seeming our Sex) the onely infamous Prince in the world. In a spirit gentle and generous, see (I beseech you) what power Disdayne hath, to behold it selfe offended, and of what woorth illustrious blood is, (touched with wrong) receiued by women and maydens,*

*tender, soft, and delicately borne and bred, not inuied to the trauaile of Armes, but driuen by desire of reuenge onely. For, the rapes made on theyr violated kindred and friends: must needes bee now acknowledged, by the ornament which fayrest embellisheth our faces, and exposeth vs to all manner of hazards, amongst the gallantest troups of men.*

King *Reyner*, hauing giuen the assaults signall, aduisedly obserued the behauiour and warelike order of the women, seeing *Landgartha* perforce both the actions and discrete conduct of a good Souldier, making way through the throngs, and entring (euen in meere despite of the enemy) with her faire-locked troups of Ladies, into the Tyrant of *Swetiaes* Squadron. Hee stood as astonied at so braue hardiment, and (in this astonishment) he felt a kind of softning in his manly soule, rauishing both his eyes and thoughts, with admiration & contemplation of this chaste Damosell: he forthwith followed her fighting, yet knew he not the cause of so sodayne an alteration, and beholding her woonderfull carriage in the fight, saw no stroke returned against her, but it seemed to cleaue his heart in sunder. Hee wished himselfe neere her, to free her from all perill and daunger; yet he tooke great delight to beholde her braue behauiour.

So long his eyes were led by this amorous contemplation, that (very soone after) he saw the Ladies presse on with such impetuous furie, into the maine body of the battaile; and where the king of *Swetia* was in person: that (in a short while) it became so shrewdly shaken, as, both the vanquishers; and the vanquishd confessed, that the victory was more to be attributed to the wise leading of *Landgartha*, and valiant following of her Ladies, then to the long breathing and loose courage, either in the Souldiers of *Denmarke* or *Norway*: for they neuer ceased to pursue the point, till *Frollo* was hewne in peeces amongst them; as the corrupter of blooming youth, and violater of their chastities, whom he ought (in honour and duty) to defend. Thus in an instant, *Frollo* payed the crueltie due vnto his disgracefull life, & was punished by celestiall Iudgement; for inuading the land and inheritance belonging

Fighting in a good cause is an especiall encouragement.

The valiancie and carriage of *Landgartha* greatly admired by the King of *Denmarke*.

Keyner becommeth suddenly amorous of *fayre Landgartha*.

Her action, gesture and behauiour inflamed the desires of all her faire followers

The overthrow of the *Swetians*, and death of their King by the braue valour of the women.

longing to another, and abusing the honor of so many chaste Ladies.

The victory won by the Dane, he freely confessed, that he enjoyed it by the valiancy of the Ladies, and above all the rest by the wise and hardy conduct of hir, who commanded over the female troops. But concealing (as yet) the fire crept into his heart, and which stole on still to the verie depth of his soule; he cunningly enquired (as one rapt with amazement, among the rest, at the dexterity of this woman Warriour) what she was, of what house, and in what country she receiued her Originall? Answer was returned to him, that she was a Maiden to be married, so chaste as possibly might be, as vertuous as any that liued in *Norway*, in blood Noble, of a famous house, and inferiour to no Ladie in wisdom. The vertue and wise carriage of *Landgartha* in war, hauing won the heart of this youthfull King; gaue yet a far larger entrance to loue, that left no part of his soule vnbesieged: when he heard say, that she was a Virgin Lady, and of great birth.

But because he could rather haue wisht her to be his louely friend, then wedded wife; he saw how short hee came of any such hope, being truly informed of her virgin modesty, standing cleere from all possibility of corruption: neither might he dare to attempt it, seeing how respectfully she was esteemed, affected, and reuerenced, & hardy enough to suppress all such sinister enterprises. Moreouer, as elsewhere we haue declared, though rapes had bene too common in that *Scandian* countrey; yet it was no easy offer to her, that knew wel how to reuenge such wrong, and had made good prooffe therof so lately, in the iust infliction on a lustfull tyrant. In which respect, hauing a faire and gentle spirit; she resolued, to cloath with grace and good acceptance, whatsoeuer might appear vnequall in her, to sute with the greatnes of a King, and to satisfie his owne desires, by contracting honourable Marriage with her. And because common fame had noised of her, that she had concluded to keep her virginity for euer, without admitting any man to triumph over her chaste honor: he laboured the more to win her, & to break this vncharitable purpose in her; affecting her as dearly as his owne life; accounting her the most compleate crea-

ture in the world, & such a Jewel, as none could be more precious.

If this opinion, concerning the rare vertues of *Landgartha*, had alwayes continued charactered in the soule of this prince; and if he had respected her as well after the enjoying her, as before hee had the happinesse to be possessed of her: she should haue receyued no occasion to complaine of him; and he neuer had stood accused of such infidelity and ingratitude to her. But (the more the pittie) there is not any thing so precious, rare, or of greatest consequence; but if a man bee possessed of it, and hath it freely at his owne command: he groweth distastefull of it; accounting his appetite loathingly glutted therewith; and nothing can seeme more contemptible to him.

*Reyner*, how great a King soeuer hee thought himselfe to bee, and how powerfull in his cheefest commands: yet, he felt himself a slaue to Loue, not daring to discover his thoughts: he was become (contrary to precedent custom) a friend to solitude, full of passions, compassed with feares, troubled in spirit, martired in his senses, scarce sustaining any hope; but verily coldly, and breathing forth sighs incessantly; so that all were amazed at this strange behaviour in him. Notwithstanding, no one durst enter into such boldnesse, as to demand of him, whence came the causes of such comfortlesse solitude. At length, hauing considered sufficiently on what he had to do, and finding the power of loue so potent, that it exceeded all possibility of resistance, as hauing a priuiledge above nature, and *Landgartha* no way to be enjoyed, but by the chaste embraces of a marriage bed: he sent for the Lady and her friends, imparting his mind to her in this manner.

I know well (gentle Damosel) that it may moue some admiration in you, vpon what occasion I haue thus sent for you: albeit, the obligation wherein I stand bound to your high desertings, might haue commanded me to do it much sooner, & yet a matter no more then reasonable. But to hold you in no longer suspense the hope I haue, y you wil continue heere in court; was the moriue to my mission, & the power I might pretend ouer your parents and friends, should wish their willing

What me most  
couet to inicy  
they growe  
carelesse of  
afterward.

The perplexity  
of k. Reyner  
in his loue, &  
endeour how  
to compass it

The speech of  
king Reyner,  
deliuered to  
*Landgartha*,  
in the presēce  
of hir parents  
and friends.

King Reyner  
attributes the  
victory to the  
valiant *Landgartha*, & her  
Ladies.

The kings passion  
encreases the  
more, by her  
commendable reports.

Dishonest desires  
in a king, are  
no meane  
scandall to his  
best desertings  
other wife.

aduice to you, and enioyne you to grace vs with your company. I know what you are, and am informed of your house and breeding; but much more am I assured of your valor and other vertuous merits; by the commendable partes and singular rarities, whereof mine owne eies haue bin a witnesse. You also are not ignorant who I am, what my power is, and the meanes to make my selfe sensible, either offauors or iniures, from whom soeuer I happen to receiue them. I confesse, that if there be any thing extrauagant in Loue; or surpasseth the greatest power in man; it hath taken foundation in my soule, enflaming my best desires to wish you wel: but I am vncertaine, whether you be so courteous or no, to take a liking or acceptable allowance of this affection; and so much the rather, because you appeare aboue the reach of other Ladies. Neuerthelesse, if you measure the greatnesse of a King, and of him that is your Soueraigne, with the luster of your choise perfections: you shal see, that both these rarities paired together, do make but one vnion, & the most excellent that any man can imagine. In breefe, all my wish, intent, and affection consisteth in this, that if you thinke good; or I may seeme worthy in your eye, to be a fit husband for *Landgartha*; I wold take you to Wife, and make you Queene of *Denmarke* and *Norway*. You may thinke heereon, it is in you to conclude all, and to whom I referre my selfe: for, of this my submission, I make your parents and friends witnesses, calling for them purposely hither, to heare in y motion, and your answer.

*Landgartha*, who was as apprehensiu, courteous and modest; as high in corage, and strict in opinion: considering who it was that made the motion, and how much he imbased himself in the demand, returned this answer.

**S**IR, although my deliberation from mine infancie, and continuing to this flourishing condition of mine age, hath alwaies beene, neuer to subiect my selfe to the lawes ordained for marriage, because freedom euer seemed more conforme to the disposition of my spirit, then such obedience as a wife owes to her husband, not that I haue vowed or sworne to any estate whatsoever: yet notwithstanding,

hauing regard vnto the duty I owe my Prince, and seeing how iustly I may deserue blame and punishment, in refusing him that hath soueraigntie ouer mee and mine; I beseech you to thinke, that your thoughts being so direct as they pretend declaration, and respecting one of so meane merite as my selfe: I am also the onely Maiden of the World, ready to do you most humble seruice. Thanking the great God, that seeing I owe dutie to the fancy of a man (albeit against my former resolute) it falleth so successfully, as in seruice to the most wise and valiant Prince, that of long time hath reigned in these countries. Neuerthelesse Sir, thinke it not strange, I humbly beseech you, if I speake (perhaps) more boldly then becommeth me, to vse a silly virgins aduice, to take longer and more deliberate consideration, in a case so seriously important as this is: humane affections being so light in cases of these and the like impressions; that (many times) they as sodainely wipe themselues out of the soule, as at the first they came to be charactered there. Not that I wil accuse so great a King of leuity, nor suspect his faith any way infirme: but to this end, that hauing made a neer view of my complexions, and more exactly enquired the list of my life; you may the better censure my merit, measuring for hereafter, what you may now most valew in my meannes and insufficiency: so shall you be sure, neuer to vnsway your owne words, or be sory then for that, which you make so great account of now. For know Sir, that the honor which you please to do me at this present, is nothing in respect of the great infamy, redounding then both vpon you and me, & those that gaue you no better counsell in this case, whom it may as neerly concerne. This would be a worthy recompence, for the intire affection you beare me now, and I should dedicate my life to you in deeper deuotion, remaining for euer your most loyal & dutiful seruāt.

With such a graue and seuer countenance she vttered these speeches, that the king, amazed at her wisdom, but more at the Maiesticall deliery of her wordes, and freedome of so faire and compleate a spirit: swore instantly such loyalty to hir, as fitted with a king and faithful husband; wherein he plainly forswore himselfe, as you shall hear in this discourse following.

At

Woers are commonly more solemn in their protestations, then afterwarde they prooue found in their performances.

The generous and modest; answer of *Landgartha*: to the former speech of king *Reyner*.

Verie worthie aduice fauouring of a discreet and, well settled iudgement.

Consideration before marriage is verie necessary, because repentance afterwarde cometh too late.

At this time the Maiden was not married to the youthfull king (who longed after nothing so much, as to crophe the fayre flower of her chastity) but shee returned home with her parents and friends again; hoping, that the heate of this royall fire, would be quailed in time, and her absence would be the meanes to effect it. But *Reyner*, who could not forget her that had so worthily assisted him, and whose figure was liuely imprinted in his soule: followed her to her Fathers dwelling; and, scorning to be delayd by many daies accessse, espoused her, to the vnspeakable comfort of her parents and friends, but som dread and great distrust in her self, as fearing the continuance of this seruent affection, and hauing won the heart of a King, doubted to be dispossessed thereof. Neuerthelesse, such was her wise and commendable carriage, as to conceale her fears with maiesticke modesty: submitting her self to the Kings delightful pleasures, and the yoake of marriage, which formerly she had contemned.

But, as no ioyes are durable, being perpetually followed by worldly occurrences; so *Reyner* (being a yong, wanton, and lasciuious king) after hee had bene Father to three children by his Queene, two daughters, and a hopefull yong Prince, filled, or rather ouer-satisfied with the embraces of this poore Lady (who brought him no other dowry but bright beautie, and vertue vnmarchable in all the countrey) coueting after matter of greater moment; withdrew thence into *Denmarke*, leaving his truely elected spouse in *Norway*, not with any purpose of sending for her, or returning to her againe, but vtterly to abandon & forsake her. Being in *Denmark*, he heard report of the K. of *Swetia*s daughter, whom he desired to inioy, accusing his indiscretion, that he had embased the greatnes of a king, and much blemished his royall title, by marrying with a sillie damosell: and sending a solemne Ambassage into *Swetia*, he obtaind (without war or any other great difficulty) her whome he coueted to enioy in marriage.

Heere behold, how constant the Kings affection stooode to vertue, and howe the maske of fained loue discouered it self. He had sworne fidelity vnto his best beloued *Landgartha* (notwithstanding her wise & worthie aduice of inconueniences to fol-

low) with no meane admiration of her vertues and perfections: but Vertue was then bound to the Idea of pleasure, and therefore of as little lasting, as ease hath continuance in occasions of the flesh. Beside, no sooner had he receiued answer to his minde, from the king of *Swetia*; but forthwith, he aduertised *Landgartha* of a second intended marriage, although vnlawfully; yet praying her patiently to endure a diuorce.

The poore Lady hearing this determination (although long time before, she had both diuined and feared such disaster) was ready to dy with conceit of greefe, to see her selfe despised, without the least occasion of offence giuen, or why he should so vnkindly refuse her. At length, considering that the king had some reason for this repudiation, by seeking better alliance; which might succour him in his serious affayres; because he had an enemy that contended with him for the Crowne of *Denmark*, & incited the Emperor to lend him ayd, vnder colour of becoming a Christian, if he would help him to compasse the kingdom: she began somewhat to assuage her minds perturbations, answering the that brought her these bad tydings, thus.

The King (my friends) should not thus abuse *Landgartha*, because he needs not to seek any further, for strengthing his house by stronger alliance: and well may I accuse him of lightnes, whereof I aduertised him in the beginning; and which (to my greefe) I finde now by ouer-deare experience. But if I were as reuengefull for the shame I suffer, as hee is vniust on my behalfe: I could (perhaps) finde him as busy and troublesome imployment, as shee can yeeld him pleasure, succour, or defence, with whom he hath such hast to mary. He knowes what means I haue to diseafe him seeing he felt part of my power in fauouring him, and should perswade himselfe, that *Landgartha* was neuer somuch offended by the tyrant of *Swetia*, as by him, who vnder the flattering name of marriage, hath wronged the modesty of her, that discerneth now, how men the greater they are, so much they think themselues dispensed withall, in breaking those Lawes, whereto they binde other in obedience.

Yet one thing causeth me somewhat to pardon his fault, and also to accuse mine owne indiscretion, that he being blinded

King Reyner espoused Landgartha, to the ioy of her parents, but apparent feare in her of his affections continuance.

The perfidious and vnfairfull dealing of Reyner with his fayre wife Landgartha.

Landgartha was to bee diuorced from the King her husband, with out any cause of offence giuen.

Kings breake these Lawes, whereto they strictly binde their subiects.

by loue, and I, by sole reuerence vnto the name Royall: we haue both fayled in one kinde, but not equally punishable, his shame being not so great as mine, because (being free, & without passions) I would submit my selfe to the will of him, who durst not vse any violence towards mee; whereas he was a slaue to his owne cogitations, and transported with desire, which maketh fooles of the very wisest in the world. Let him enjoy the embracings of his new elected Lady, at his own pleasure and contentment; but I pray, (in regard of the faithfull loue I beare him, and so shall doe for euer, being such as I am) that heereafter, he may neuer be so light & changeable in affection, lest some one (of far lesse cunning then himselfe) make him not doe penance for wrong to all the rest. And assure him, that although hee hath wounded the heart of *Landgartha* to death, by preferring another of much lesse merit, and forgetting the debt, which maketh him mine by bond: yet notwithstanding, the Image of King *Reyner* shall remaine perpetually engrauen in my heart, and no accidents of the greatest disaster, can euer deface the sacred and sincere affection, which his plighted faith so lately imprinted in my soule.

Goe and report vnto him, the offer of my seruice, and the desire I haue to please him, instead of seeking any reuenge. Set before his eyes, not any despaying cogitations in mee, but vnconquerable patience. Tell him, I am not a little ioyful, to see my selfe free from subiection to a husband: but yet so sorie as possibly can be, to loose him whom I loue more then my selfe, and without whom, my dayes for euer are dedicated to mourning. Report vnto him, that *Landgartha* will liue, not to be reuenged vpon the disloyaltie of King *Reyner*; but to the end, that by the effusion of her owne bloud, she may yet make him once more to know, that she is more his friend, and more carefull of his States conseruation, then himselfe is. Tell him also, that such Ladies as resemble me, haue their hearts more generously disposed, and farre more fairely furnished with vertue: then base minded men, that alway carry gentlenes in their looks, but villanie truly stamped in their hearts. For a finall conclusion, I pray God giue more ease to my vnfaithfull husband, then (through his

disloyalty) he leaues sorrow and affliction in the soule of his loyall wife: and that she who vsurpeth my place (in regard the fault is not hers) may long enjoy peace in that bed, which vertue and merite once made me Mistresse of, and the King taketh from me, I know not by what disaster, but in meere malice and hatred to mee and my fortune.

What greater constancy could be wished, in the heart of the very wisest Philosopher, that euer *Greece* or *Asia* yielded, then appeared in the inuincible soule of this *Norwegian* Lady? What deeper despight could be done to a worthy womā; then to reiect and throw her off, as if she had bene wicked and immodest? Or what greater occasion may bee giuen, for betraying a husband; then causelesse suspicion, and diuorce or refusall, where reason and iustice can shew no cause why? Poets haue liuely depicted in their Verses, the desperate transports of *Medea*, forsaken by *Iason*, and the fearefull cruelties vsed by her, to bee reuenged on such an iniury. Marke *Anthony*, by refusing and forsaking the faire sister to *Augustus*, attracted by foolish affection to blacke *Cleopatra*; both *Europe*, *Affricke* & *Asia*, were inhumanely bathed with the blood of men, the brother endeouering to reuenge the iniury, which was offered vnto his sister and the whole Family. And tell me (I pray yee) what a wound in *France* was sometime made, by the diuorce of *Elleanor*, Countesse of *Poitiers*, and Dutchesse of *Guienne*; the meanes whereof gaue way to the *English*, & that they made themselves so strong in *Fraunce*?

Notwithstanding all these, and many more that I could speake of, we see *Landgartha* so humble, wise, discrete, and such a louer of quietnesse, that, hauing meanes to be reuenged on so high a wrong done her; so farre was she from pursuite, heate, rage or tempest, that making Patience proude of her example: shee offered seruiue to him, by whome she was contemned and despised, presenting all duety to an ingratefull husband, and promising fresh supply, after receipt of a former disloyall recompence. You which are ielous of Ladies honour, and complaine of a giddie madnesse in theyr braines, and of immortall enmity and hatred engrauen in their Soules; behold this rare woman, declaring

Men may run on in vnconstant courses til at length they chance to be ouer-matched.

Messages sent by *Landgartha* to him that had forsaken her.

Her vertuous and charitable conclusions at parting with the Ambassadors.

*Medea* distracted to see hir selfe forsaken by *Iason*. Cruile wars at Rome about an vniust diuorce. The repudiation of *Elleanor*, caused the long war betweene the *English* and *French*.

Let all such as depraue the sexe of womē obserue the incomparable vertues of *Landgartha*.

declaring truly a Christian minde, although she neuer received baptisme: Of her you may learn, that Ladies haue something in them rightly heroycall, which men can neuer comprehend nor taste of, but by long, studious and wise experience.

And yet *Landgartha* stands not alone in this example, for *France* can make boast of many more great Ladies, that imitated her mildnesse and constancy, & of whom I could enter into a large Discourse: if *French* Histories were not so frequent among you, wherein you can lose no time to bee continually reading. But yet we haue not said all, that *Landgartha* (not hurried with ielousie, or tempest with fury for this refusall) sought any meanes whereby she might be reuenged: but in doing much more, surmounted all opinion and iudgement, giuing aide to him that had so shamefully left her, and doing good for euill, contrary to some stearne and combustious natures of her sexe, and as the sequell will more amply deliuer.

*Reyner*, being a Prince greatly addicted to Armes, seeing himselfe at home in peace, and that none of his neighbours solicited him by warre; because his Subjects (being naturally giuen to warre, and inured to courses both by Land and Sea) might not liue ydle and slothfull: he permitted them to pursue their fortune, passing them into the Isles of *Ireland*, *Britain* and *Scotland*. Whereupon, the *Iutes*, and some other of the *Scandian* Territories, that bare him but bad affection, taking occasion by the Kings absence with his Forces, elected and created for their king, a Prince of royall blood, named *Harolde*, who shaping his course to the Emperour *Lewes* the debonnaire, that made his abiding then at *Magunce*, hauing received baptisme with his followers: was sacred and crowned King of *Denmarke*, by authority Imperiall, doing homage to the Emperour for his Kingdome.

*Harolde*, being faouored of his owne people, and affected by the most of them that embraced Christianity (to whom *Reyner* was no way pleasing) and re-enforced by a goodly band of *Germanes*, wherewith the Emperour furnished him, to put him in possession of his lands: went into *Denmarke*, to expell *Reyner* thence, and all

such as followed his Faction. *Reyner*, waxing weary againe of his wanton desires, returning home secretly into *Denmarke*: found strange alteration since his departure thence. His owne people he encouraged to stand fast with him, called the *Swetians* also to his succour, and dispatching letters into *Norway*: requested assistance of her, from whom hee might more iustly expect warre then defence, and seuerity of reuenge for his vile dealing.

What would an angry heart haue done in this case? A minde neuer satisfied but in doing ill; what an opportunity had it heere to worke vpon? How would a man haue carried himselfe, hauing bene notoriously iniured, and so faire a way set wide open for him, as neuer was the like to bee expected againe: what haste would he make now to be fully reuenged? Without all contradiction, the breach of faith is very abhominable, and wrongs received by Noble natures, are not easily quallified, when times and seasons shape out reuengefull meanes, such as was this warre vpon the faithlesse *Dane*. Neuerthelesse *Landgartha*, hearing in what anguish her vnkind husband was, and considering with her selfe, that his ruine could not returne her any benefit, seeing also, that shee had two louely Daughters by him, and a Princely sonne, named *Frideslaus* (who afterward was King of *Norway*) motiues sufficient for his longer abiding with her: shee leuied an Army of sixe score Ships, euery one being worthily furnished, wherewith she intended to succour her distressed Husband, to whom shee sent tydings of her preparation and comming, in these few Lines.

The Letter sent by *Landgartha*, to her Husband, King *Reyner*.

IF this my second duty may proue as happy, in the recovery of thy Lands & Kingdoms, as my first was against a Tyrant, and yet honouring thee with the victory: I shall account my paines well employed, and neuer expect any other recompence. Make head brauely against the Enemy, for I am comming with all speede, to let him know, that

Land-

All Ladies are not like to *Landgartha* in the true vertue of patience.

The Subjects take occasion to reuolt against *Reyner*

*Harolde* a christian Prince made King of *Denmarke* by the Emperour *Lewes*.

King *Reyners* returne home into *Denmark* from *Swetia*, and crauing assistance of *Landgartha*.

The noble disposition & nature of *Landgartha*.

*Frideslaus* son to *Landgartha* by *Reyner*, was afterward K. of *Denmarke*

Landgartha is both a *Queene* and a *warriour*.

*Landgartha.*

The Rebels, beeing aduertized of this supply from *Norway*, labored by all means possible) to prouoke King *Reyner* to the fight, before the comming of *Landgartha*, whom they knew to be wise, and very skilfull in the Art Militaric. And the king knowing their intention, delayed the day of battell, by marching further off from them, towards the place where hee expected *Landgarthaes* landing, that their two forces might the sooner ioyne together, & then to giue the enemy battell. Which *Harolde* well perceiuing, and knowing, that such delay would redound to his disadvantage; he pursued after *Reyner* with such expedition, laying such traines and ambuscadoes for him, that he compelled him to handy blowes, euen at the verie same instant as *Landgartha* landed.

The fight fell out to bee very furious and bloody, and great numbers of men fel as well on the one side, as on the other, the chiefe Commaunders beeing fiercely animated, the one to defend his Crowne, and the other to vsurpe an estate, whereto he pretended a iust title, by reason of the quarrell betweene the King and his Subjects. And both of them standing on the aduerture of life, as well vnderstanding, that no fauour was to be expected, which side soeuer prooued to bee Conquerour.

Now, though the *Danes* that followed *Reyner*, performed so much duty as warriours could do, sustaining many impetuous efforts of the assailants; yet were they constrained to turne their backs, beginning to fall into rout and disorder. By this time was *Landgartha* come neare to the Campe, where she made a pause a while, to see which side behaued it selfe brauest; and perceiuing *Reyners* men in no meane extremitie, valiantly she entred amongst the thickest of them, incouraging her husbands soldiers on thus: *On them braue spirits. set on them manfully, they are our spoile, as willames not deserving to liue, seeing traitterously they lift up their weapons against their king. On then (I say) vndaunted spirits, heere is Landgartha, who hath brought you victorie, as well against Harolde, as sometime she did against Frollo in Norway.*

In deliuering these wordes, she dealt

such bold blows amōg the Rebels, as they hardly knew which way to bestire themselves. Now the battell grew to be more fierce on either side thē before: the *Danes*, to repaire their disorderd flight, th'other; to maintaine their hope of victory, wherof they doubted not, but disdained a woman should deprive them of the occasion, of wholly ruinating *Reiner* and his Army. Neuertheless, whatsoeuer manhood *Harold* and his men declared in the fight, yet they were oppressed by multitudes, being wearie, spent, & closely followed by the *Norwegians*, who were fresh, chearefull and actiue, conducted by a woman of very high resolute, and as furious in warre, as modest and gracious in her Pallace. Thus were they enforced to fight, not without great losse of the very worthiest mē in the Army, and the vanquished deliuered to the Conquerours mercie. But, though *Reyner* triumphed of the victorie, yet hee enioyed it by the fortune of her, who, albeit she might boast of her happinesse in war, and thereby attained to a great marriage; yet her other infelicity was a great corsey to her heart, to be disdained where she ought to be most beloued & esteemd.

*Reyner* now was growne sensible, of the shamefull wrong he had offred to his first wife, accusing himselfe of disloyaltie, and detesting his former leuitie, entreated her to take such reuēge on him, as she thought fittest in her own iudgement. But she, being a Lady of vnmarchable mind, fearing lest the king (conquerd by this obligation of duety to her) should commit an other fault, by leauing the K. daughter of *Suetia*, who had brought him diuers children also: pardoned all his passed iniuries to hir, & vowing her selfe to a widdowed estate of life, neuer more to conuerse with him or any man liuing; after a solemne parting betweene them, she returned home into *Norway*, to gouerne the Countrey by her discrete care, til her son *Fredislaw* should attaine to yeres of rule, and whom she K. there had constituted as his lawfull heire.

The remainder of this discourse, being more at large pursued by the Annalists of *Denmarke*, *Suetia* and *Norway*; I purpose here to conclude the Historie, which I haue in this place set downe, more to relate the valour, counsell, aduice, good conduct and wisdom, seldome wanting in Ladies deriued from good birth; then I

care

The Rebels afraid of Landgarthaes coming with her forces.

The landing of Landgartha in Denmarke.

The Danes put to the worst by Harold, & Landgarthas worthy assistance in very great extremitie.

Landgartha encourageth the Danes against their enemies.

Harolde and his men driue to flight, and the victorie remaining to Reyner by the valor of Landgartha and his Norwegians.

The reconciliation betwixt King Reyner and Landgartha.

care for the idle loues of *Reyner*, or any of his Conquests. To the end, that such Ladies, as excell in the like vertues in these our times; may hold on in the pursuite of their perfections, by the honorable exāples of them, that (in those precedent daies) declared themselues admirable in their actions, & imitable for their vertues and commendable carriage.

CHAP. XIII.

*Of the Bezaars Stone, which is reputed to be very vertuous and soueraigne, against all venomes and poysons.*



**I**He Stone of the *Bezaar* or *Pazar*, is a true and assured Antidote against all poysons, venomes, bytings of venomous Beasts, infections of the Ayre; As pestilence, carbuncles or plague-sores, Purples, the small Pox, the Meazels, and in brieft, against all diseases popular and contagious. And because experience hath made this stone to be in daily request, and causeth it to be sought for by people of good meanes; therefore sale hath bene made thereof at extraordinary rates, and auarice being so great among men, hath therefore practised and compassed the meanes whereby to adulterate it, as heeretofore they did the like by *Baulme* or *Balsamum*. But before I write any further thereof, I will tell you from whence they bring it, and how it is engendred in the bodies of certaine creatures, which are like vnto Goats heere among vs; but they haue no horns, being of a reddish colour, and feed not but on good and wholesome Hearbes, whereof are plenty on the Mountaines, and where they startle at the least noise of a Piece. But for our better vnderstanding this History, I will insert a small parcell of a Letter, written from *Peru* by a Spanish Gentleman, to *Monardus* a Physition of *Eispalis*, dwelling then in *Seuill*, whereby we shall perceiue how they are found.

The Bezaar or Pazar stone good against all venomes and contagions.

Whence the stone is brought and how it is engendred.

The Letter of a Gentleman residing in *Peru*.

**T**He fifteenth of June, 1568, being at the exercise of hunting, with diuers of my friends, among the Mountains in this Country of *Peru*, continuing at the sport for the space of five dayes, and hauing slaine some of the Beasts called *Bezaars*; we dissected their bodies, to finde the stones. But it being a matter impossible for vs to do, because wee were not vsed thereto: we demanded of the Indians, which we had brought with vs thither to attend vpon vs; in what part of the body we might soonest finde them; whereto they made vs answer, that they knew it not. But a young Indian Lad, aged about tenne yeares, and being then in our company, shewed vs where it was, and we found it in the first stomacke, where the food of the Beast falleth down, to be ruminated or chewed afterward. Which when the Indians saw, they would haue killed the Boy, as being offended at his enstruction giuen vs: but we would not suffer them to doe him such violence, and although they are subiects to vs Spaniards, yet they are our deadly enemies. Notwithstanding, while we followed our pastime of hunting, they got the Boy aside and slew him, and afterward sacrificed him, as we were giuen to vnderstand.

The Indians hold those stones in great esteeme, placing them for Ornaments in their Temples, which they call *Guacas*, adorning also their Images with them, and many other things beside, as Gold, Siluer, precious stones and rich Jewels. And I repute it a matter of some admiration, that this Beast is not found in any of the hither Indiaes, but in the Mountaines of *Peru*, neyther could I see them any where else: albeit I haue trauailed through all the Kingdomes of *Mexico* and *Peru*. In the Prouinces and Isles of *Maranon*, *Florida*, and the Westerne Islands, I haue bene diligently informed, and by the Indians heere among vs, vpon vrging them to what vse these stones are proper: And they haue assured mee, that they are singular against all venomes, eyther applied outwardly, or receiued inwardly; but especially against all harmes of the heart, and it expelleth wormes out of the body. Being put into wounds, made by impoysoned Arrowes (as heere it is too much in vse) it is an assured healing, and no other remedy could be found for it, but that onely.

Hunting of the Bezaar in *Peru*.

In what part of the Beast the stone is found.

He that feareth, hateth.

The Indians adorning their temples in rich maner.

Informations of the Indians concerning the Bezaars stones vertues

Wounds cured of impoysoned Arrowes.

Stones are in some Beasts more, and in other lesse, according to their yeares.

Nicholas Monardus a Physition of Seuil

Of other Stones of Bezaars, described by the Portugals.

A Bezaars stone that weighed five ducats, brought into Portugal

Countries where Goats are found that haue the Bezaars stones

In the first Beast that we dissected, wee found in a Bagge like a little Purse, 9 stones, which Nature had there engendered, onely by the benefit of feeding on good and wholesome hearbs: and in all those which we dissected afterward, we found in some more, in others lesse, according as they were aged in yeares. It is to be noted, that although they are found also in Beasts of the same kinde, which brouse and feede on the Plaines: yet they are not so vertuous, as in those bred upon the Mountaines.

Thus you see in briefe, what was written by this Captaine (and indeed a very worthy Gentleman, liuing then in the *Indias*) to *Nicholas Monardus*, a learned Physition, and dwelling in *Seuil*; whereby may be vnderstood, how and from whence these stones proceede. Now wee will heare what the *Portugals* say, who haue made their conquests farre off from thence, to know, whether they agree with the *Spaniards* in this report, or no.

*Garcias d'Orta* a *Portugize*, Physition to the Viceroy in the *Indias* discovered by the *Portugals*, saith, that in *Corazine*, and in the Countries of *Persia*, there is another kinde of Goats, of meaner greatnesse, which they call *Pazans*, in whose stomach or bulke are found stones of the *Bezaar*, the beginning of them being a small little straw, growing on to a certain greatnesse, by recouering many coates or tunicles: whereof some are found to be as big as our common Beanes, others as Acornes, and other of more or lesse quantity, smoothe for the most part, and in colour resembling a darke greene. The greatest, because the rarest, are more sought for then the lesser sort, by them of the Country where they are found, as reporting them to haue the most vertue. He reporteth, that he saw one which weighed five Ducats, and which was brought into *Portugall*, that would not be bought for threescore Ducats, albeit it was more worth whence it came: and in all those stones which are brought out of the *Persian* Countries, a little straw or stalke is found in the very midst of them, as hath bene often approued.

This Stone (saith he) is not found in *Persia* onely, but also in *Malaca*, and in the Isle which is named *Vaccai*, not farre off from the Promontory of *Comorina*. For,

as they can betray those Beasts, so they kill them, and being well salted or powdred, they serue as good prouision for their Armies. In many of them are found very great stones, vnkowne to the people there inhabiting, or why the *Portugals* labour so much in search of them: which (indeed) is more for the said stones, then any loue they haue to the flesh, although it is very sauoury.

The *Bezaars* stones which come from *Peru*, haue no strawes or stalkes in the midst of them; but onely a little cavity or hollownesse, wherein may be found some thicke dust or sand, which is of far greater efficacy then the stone it selfe. I haue seene five graines of this stone (in a little water of *Mugwort*) giuen to a Gentlewoman, who had bene seuen dayes in child-birth trauaile: and she was instantly deliuered of a childe dead and putrified. At the Castle of *Luke*, in the lower *Lymosine*, there was a great pestilence, wherof (in lesse space then foure & twenty houres) dyed three persons: afterward it tooke hold on the rest of the household, which were eightene in number. Each one receiued two graines of this stone euery morning, with a little water of *Aenula Campana*, continuing so for seuen daies space together, and not any one dyed afterward, or became further touched with the pestilence. Diuers beside, that had carbuncles and sores, by vsing this stone, preserved their liues: It is very good also in application, to botches, byles, and all irkesome paines or swellings.

A young Gentleman, with whom it was my chance to be bathing in a Riuer, was bitten in the leg by a Serpent, so that his leg was become very black, and greatly swolne: hee was aduised, to take foure graines of *Bezaars* stone, with a small quantity of *Rose-water*, and a graine also was put into the wound; which caused the ranckling and paine to cease, and he was fully cured within twelue dayes space.

*Monsieur le Vicomte de Conborn*, and Lord of *Chasteauneuf*, Lieutenant for the King in *Lymosine*, reported to me, that he was touched with a pestilential Feauer at *Paris*, and whereof many dyed, of euery quality, age and sexe, and abandoned of all Physitions. By the aduice of his Father in law, the Marshall *de Biron*, he took *Bezaars* stone for some few dayes, & with-

Difference betweene the Bezaars stones of *Peru* and *Persia*.

Vertues approued of the Bezaars stone

A cure of byring by a Serpent on a gentlemans leg.

Historics of rare vertues in the Bezaars stone.

in a little while after, he recovered, grew to indifferent strength, and was much more lustily disposed, then any of them that had beene offended by the same disease, to the no little admiration of all them, that had knowledge of him and his sicknesse.

The Inhabitants of *Ormuz* (an Island that is most rich, situate vpon the red sea, and subiected to the *Persian*) after they haue purged themselues in the Spring & Autumne: vse to take ten graines of this stone, in as many spoonefull of Rose-water, for fise mornings following each other, by which meanes (they say) their health is soundly preserued, and youthfull disposition maintained. Against an inueterated scurffe on the head, or body, a loathsome itch, the wilde scab, called *S. Martins mange*, and (aboue all) against a confirmed lactory or leprosie; there is not any remedy like to this. As can well bee witnessed by a Prelate of *Languedoc*, liuing at this day, who would haue slaine himselfe an hundred times, and throwne himselfe out of windowes (if hee had not beene carefully respected) onely beeing tormented with that disease of *S. Martine*. But by vsing this stone, which hee tooke three Months together euery morning, and good gouernment otherwise directed to him; hee is perfectly recovered. Now let vs see how true and naturall stones are to bee discerned, from such as are counterfeit, and meerely adulterated.

The *Moores* are exceeding skilfull in knowing them, and especially, from what parts they are broght, in the doing whereof, the *Moore* will lay one in the palme of his hand, and closing it then fast together, he will breathe or blow strongly into his hand: if hee feele his breathing to passe through his hand, he is assured then, that the stone is falsified. A great number of them are often times to be solde at *Lisbonne*, the cheefest Metropolitane City of *Portugall*, where is one of the most frequented Portes in al Christendome. And such as there buy them, content not theselues, with this order of triall made by the *Moores*: but dip a twined thred in the iuyce of a very venomous hearbe, which there they call *Balistera*. Then passing it thwart the foote, or other part of any Beast (as of a Dog) with a Needle, hee so

leaueth it in the wound, vntill such time as he feeleth those accidents, which commonly seize on them that are poysoned. And when he is perceiued to draw neere death; then to make him swallow three or foure graines of Bezaars stone, mingled with water: if it preserue his life, it is an apparant signe of the stones goodnes and perfection; but if not, it is adulterated.

The Beast in whose body these stones are found, in *Persia* and other parts of that Climate, as in *Comorina* (according to the writing of *Garcias d'Orta*, who had seene of them in diuers places) hath horns bending backward; but those in *Peru* haue none at all. *Theuet* saith, that they haue but one, and that the skinne of the saide Beast is kept, to be laid to the stomacke of man or woman, possessed with any paine or anguish there, and to procure digestion, and that (without all question to the contrary) this skinne healeth all such diseases, although the persons bee aged and decreipt. Moreouer, that he saw a stone of the *Pezar*, or *Bezaar*, in the custody of the *Greekes* Patriarch of *Cayro*, which was as big as a good great Nut: if it were so, that stone was worth no meane summe of money. It were a thing miraculous, to finde a stone of such greatnesse; & yet he further saith, that an *Arabian* Captain had it giuen him, because hee was secretly conuerted, and became a Christian.

It is not to be thought, that this stone hath beene knowne but within some smal compasse of time; because antiquity specketh of it more then fise hundred yeares since. For prooffe whereof, *Rafis*, an *Arabian* Physition maketh mention therof, though not relating from whence it was brought, or where it is to bee found: yet he affirmeth, that it resisteth all kindes of poyson, and that hee made experiment thereof vpon a childe, that innocently had eaten a venomous plant, called *Napellus*, which causeth death immediately; and yet by giuing him a small quantity of this stone, his life was preserued. This stone hath beene so highly esteemed, and especially in those precedent times; that, as it is reported by *Abdara Narach*, an *Arabian* Doctour in physicke, who was then at *Corduba*, about those later yeares, when the *Sarrazins* made their vsurpation in *spaine*: he saw a *Bezaars* stone, in the hand

An obseruation among the Inhabitants of the Island of Ormuza.

Loathsome diseases cured by the Bezaars stone.

How the Moores distinguish the true stones from false.

Experiment made in Lisbonne for the true knowledge of the Bezaars stone

The variety of horns borne by this Beast.

Some thinke Theuet to be greatly misinformed in this matter.

The Bezaars stone knowne in times of great antiquitie.

Prooffe made vpon a childe that had fed on a poysonous hearbe.

Abdara Narach, a skilfull  
Phyfition of  
Arabia.

of one of the children of *Amirama* (a great and diligent obseruer of Religion) for which he gaue in exchange, a very goodly house which he had in *Corduba*, equall (well neere) to a Princes Pallace. And the said *Abdara* further saith (alleading the forenamed *Rafis*) that this stone being worne about a mans necke, and kept so neere to the heart as may be; defendeth it and the party from all infection, & no poyson can offend the body of him, that hath it thus about him.

The Authors  
friendly ad-  
uertisement  
to the reader.

Seeing then, that this Stone hath so many good and singular vertues in it, methinks, men (of meanes and worth) shold sildome or neuer be without it, for a present succour in such weighty infirmities. Beside, Apothecaries of skill and iudgement, shold euermore be wel prouided of them, because Phyfitions continually prescribe it in their directions, which they would not do, if they knew men to be vnfurnished of it. For more assurance is to be reposed in it (next to the assisting power of Heauen) then in Treacle or Mithridatum, the confection of *Alkermes*, & of *Zacynth*. As is too well knowne by many barbarous Kings; governing in those Regions, where the Beasts are bred that engender these stones, reposing such confidence in them, and making so precious estimation of them; as they cause the expressly to bee brought from all parts. And when they are possessed of them, it is a difficult case to get any one from the: which partly is the reason, why they are so deare and rare to be had.

The admirable  
soveraignty of the  
Bezaars stone in  
comparison of  
diuers other  
preferuatiues.

Heere the Reader likewise is to bee aduertised, that some of these stones are not pointed, or sharply cornerd; but blunt, edgelesse and rounded, like to the little fingers ende, or as an Acorne. And although some are found to be great, yet commonly they are but as our ordinary Almonds, and not pointed. They haue also diuers foldes or lappings, one wrapping ouer another, like vnto Onions, all sleecke and smoothe: for if you finde the otherwise compacted, they are to bee reiected as false and counterfeit.

All Bezaars  
stones are not  
alike in forme  
& proportion.

One of these stones was presented to *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, hee being then at *Molins*, which he caused to be essayed vpon two persons, that had deserued ignominious death, & both of them hauing poyson giuen them to drinke.

The discourse  
of a false stone  
giuen to *Charls*  
the ninth, K.  
of France.

One of them was holpen by the stone, who neuertheless dyed; and the other that tooke it not, dyed also. The stone being broken, was found thicke and massiue, not diuided by Sphericall robes or foldings, and was throwne into the fire: And the giuer, who expected to deriue some great recompence from his Maiesty; had nothing at al, but frowning looks of the King, and the Queene his Mother, for his reward.

## CHAP. XV.

*Concerning the generation of Pearles; where, and how they are found; from whence they are brought; and of their value and estimation.*

I haue read many Authors, to be resolved assuredly, concerning the generation of Pearles: but I could finde none of one consent, or agreeing together, and namely, such as frequent the *Indiæ* in these dayes, are diuers and doubtfull also in their answers. For some say, that they are engendred in Fish-shels, like to those of our Oysters heere among vs, but much greater, and somewhat longer. And when they are desirous to conceiue (vrged thereto by nature, and at a certaine time) they open of themselues, to sucke in and draw the dew of heauen: when, if the Ayre bee cloudy or lowring, then they engender troubled Pearles; and if it be windy, they cannot conceiue, so long as the wind continueth. But how fabulous this is, I refer to others iudgement: because in one and the same shels, are found Pearles troubled, cleare, & of diuers colours and formes.

Authors agree  
not in  
the generati-  
on of Pearles.

Great difference  
in the  
generation of  
Pearles.

Others say, that the proper birth and production of the Oyster, is by eggs, whereof they are produced, and that the Pearls come forth of the sand and grauelly dust, whereby they are nourished, & wherein they hide themselues: which grauell refineth it selfe, & encreaseth in them, as the graines of the Raisin in the Grape. And this sandy seed softneth it selfe, the Oyster being in the water: but so soone as it is out of the water, it hardneth of it selfe, as we may see daily: and this is another opinion of our Pearles production.

Another opi-  
nion of their  
generation,  
contrary to  
the former.

The

The Egyptian Merchants report how Pearles are engendred.

Variety of opinions concerning the generation of Pearles.

The judgement of Chares of Mitilen

Americus Vesputius recordeth what himselfe had seene.

Of Pearles found among rockes.

The Merchants of Ægypt, that at this day Traffique with them, and bring them from the Persian Sea, make men here believe that negotiate with them: that pearls are engendred in the stomacke of a flatte Fish, round like to a Trencher-plate, and as big as a common plate, which is found on the shores of Nilus; and that it drinketh the dewe of heauen, as wee formerly sayd of the Oyster, all which is a meere fable. And although the Egyptians of these dayes know the matter truly; yet notwithstanding, meaning to mocke such as are ignorant in these things, they publish lies for apparant truths. *Aristhenes* sayth, *Pearles are engendred in Oysters, as certaine white and solide graines are in the Flesh of Swine, which we vse to tearme Meazels, & is made of a clammy slime, congealing and hardning of it selfe.* Which I thinke to be very likely: For, beeing at *Paris* in the yeare 1566. and (in assistance with others) at the dissecting of a womans body, long troubled with a disease in the reins, in each of the reins was found a solide substance or body, as big as a common Pease, glistering, cleere and round, like vnto Pearles.

*Chares the Mitilenian* saith, *Pearles are made of the bones of the Oyster;* but therein he is much deceyued, because the bones are alwayes in seruice to strengthen the body: but Oysters haue no need of bones: and likewise Pearles are not found in all of them; and if they had bones, then they would be found in all Oysters.

*Americus Vesputius*, in his booke of *Indian* Navigations writeth, that he obserued the opening of many, & out of some certaine Pearles, which had not attained (as yet) to their maturity and perfection, being in some pretty store or number: but yet those Pearles perished of themselues, and came to nothing. But in them that were more aged, Pearles were founde in the flesh of the Oyster, easily parting from it, and those were the best. And they that are found in them so aged and ancient, were wrinkled and very darke; which is likely to be true, if we do well consider thereon.

It is a meere Fable, which some haue divulged, that Pearles are found among the Rockes, by reason of many fishes laying their Egges, and because they cleaue to the flesh, or to the shell; but this hap-

neth very rarely. For, all Oysters are not apt to procreate Pearles, but onely such as are rude, white, and pointing, like to the teeth of a Combe; which the Persians call *Cherippo*, cleere and verie smooth within: of which shelles are made Cups, Boxes, Spooones, and other very lightly things. Some are found in other kinds of Oysters; but they are neither so great, nor so good, as these that the *Cherippo* produceth, which some haue termed mother of Pearles.

Heere we may note the variety of opinions, concerning the production of Pearles, the knowledge whereof is much concealed: for Oysters keepe alwayes at the depths of the sea, because their shelles are great, and therefore they are so deepe in the sea. If sometimes they are founde neerer to the shores, it happneth by tempests of the sea; also they swim heere and there, to seeke their best nourishings; which when they haue found, there they stay, vntill they haue eaten all they can find. Then if they sener, or perceiue such as seeke for them, they will fasten themselues so strongly to the rockes & stones, ouer-couering one another: as very hardly can they be forced thence, but oftentimes labour is bestowed in vaine, and they left there, as being immagined to be stones.

They are fished for in store of sundrie Countreyes and Regions; but the goodliest and those most common, are fished for in the Isle of *Baharem*, an Island bigge enough, and well peopled; being subiect to the Viceroy of *Ormuze*, and is neere to the Cape of *Mafsina*, in *Arabia Felix*, & there is no meane fishing for them. In the Isles of *Maniola* also, is continuall fishing for them (they beeing as good there, as those of *Baharem*) and the Isle seated on the Persian Gulfe, an hundred Leagues or thereabout, from *Calicut*, and almost throughout the inner *India*. In the Isle of *Zeilan*, in the Isles called *Vciques*, and so thorowe the great Empire of *Mexico*. At *Tarate*, more then in any of the forenamed Islandes, and in the Isles of the New World, they haue beene fished for in such plentie: that the *Cacico* or Prince of the saide Isle, made a present of a Casket full of Pearls, to *Gaspar de Morales* (a Spanish Commauder) which weighed an hundred and ten pounds. He promised

Of the Persian Oyster called Cherippo.

A reason for the variety of opinions in this matter.

In what parts the Pearl-oysters are vsually fished for

A Casket of Pearles given to a Spanish Captaine.

O o o o beside

Attribute giue  
of a Quintall  
weight of  
Pearles year-  
ly.

beside, to giue yearly a Quintall weight of Pearles, as a Tribute to the Emperour, and (among them) some were as great as small Nuts, others as big as Nutmegs; & one (about the rest) was found to weigh sixe and twenty Carrats, and another one and thirty: it had the shape of a Muske-Pearle, being very perfect and orientall.

A Merchant, being named *Peter du Port*, bought the said Pearle of *Gasper de Morales*, for eightene hundred Ducates of gold, and after he had bought it, hee could not sleepe for melancholy, and inward grieffe he conceiued, because he had giuen so much mony for a stone: yet hee sold it againe on the next morrow (& for the same price) to *Pedriarias d' Auila*, for his Wife, the Lady *Isabella Bouadillia*, who also solde it to the Empreffe, Madame *Isabella*. A Jew, named *Damell*, bought of a country peazant of *Baharem* (no long time since) a Pearle, of the greatnesse of a Musket Bullet, for no more then the summe of eight shillings; and afterward sold it to a Lord in *Sclauonia*, for three thousand Crownes. There was a present made to *Fernando Magellano*, in one of the Isles of the *Molucques*, of foure Pearles, each one of them being as big as a Pigeons Egge; and they were esteemed worth an hundred thousand Crownes, at the least.

Returning now to our former purpose, which was to discribē where Pearles are found, I say, that not onely they fish for them in the fore-named places: but likewise in all other Seas, bee it eyther of the South or Oceans of *Peru*, the *Antarcticke*, *Florida*, *Canada*, *Guinea*; yea, euen heere in our neerer Seas, of *England*, *Scotland* and *Denmarke*; but in some place they are better, fairer, greater and rounder, then in other. And namely in some parts of *France*, as at *Rouen*, *Dieppe* and *Rochelle*, where some are found very rare and passable. Now let vs obserue, how, and in what manner their fishing is for them.

Such as are appointed for this manner of fishing, entring into their Barques; and (leaving some to tend and haue care of them, and to keepe the Oysters after they are brought to them) leape by great numbers into the Sea, remaining sometimes vnder water halfe an houres space, before they be seene againe, and so conti-

nue at the bottome: hauing strong pockets, or small twisted nettings hanging about them, wherein they put their Oysters. Which being thus taken, they ascend about water againe, and are receiued into their Ships: where hauing a while taken the ayre, and strengthened their bodies with some sustenance; they put on their wrappers againe before their faces, which commonly are thin waxed toylets, as fine as the bladders of Swine, that they may the clearer see in the water. Fiue or sixe times in a day, thus they throw theselues into the water, and towards night returne home with their takings, I meane such Oysters as they hope to finde Pearles in.

Vpon the Sea-shore there are a great number of slaues, as well women as men, who as often as the Oysters are brought on land; fill their Scuttles and Baskets, made of Sea Rushes, carrying them to Vessels full of fresh water, wherein when the Oysters haue continued foure and twenty houres space, and feeling a contrary fauour to the Sea-water; they open of themselues, and so soone as they are open, the Pearles sunder themselues from the flesh of the Oysters. Afterward, the Merchants emptying the shels out of the vessels, finde all the Pearles in the bottom of the fresh water, and thus they gather the Pearles of *Peru*, and likewise in other places. Neuerthelesse, they are not the hundred part so good, nor so fair, as those of *Baharem* and *Maniola*: And obserue withall, that Pearles are not found in euery Oyster, but in some few, in other more, some breeding the greater, other smaller.

The Pearles being thus taken, sometimes they eate the Oysters, and otherwhiles they throw the away, as being wearie and ouer-glutted with them by too frequent vse. These Fishers are slaues, seruing (for this purpose) the Christian Merchants, Maronites, Iewes or Indians, which traffick in *Baharem*: and according to their taking pearled Oysters, so are they cherished and respected by their Masters euery night, which maketh euery one striuē to be most beneficiall by his paines. Some times the Seas are swolne more high & boisterous, then the Fishers wold haue them to be, because then it is an hinderance to their tarrying long vnder water; and then they make prouision for them-

The admirable  
greatnesse  
of some pearls  
and of extra-  
ordinary price  
and value.

In our neerer  
Seas they fish  
for Pearles, &  
finde some  
store.

How and in  
what manner  
they fish for  
such Oysters  
as haue pearls  
in them.

Men & womē  
slaues that at-  
tend on the  
seruice.

In what man-  
ner the Pearls  
are separated  
from the flesh  
of the Oyster,  
& how they  
differ in good-  
nesse & great-  
nesse.

The slaues re-  
spected by  
their Masters,  
according to  
the benefit by  
their seruice.

The industrie of the diuers or fishers vnder water to finde the best Oysters.

themselues in this manner. They haue a corde, at each end whereof they fasten a stone, which cord they binde about their backs, and so sincking downe into the Sea, by the weight of those stones, they continue firmly vnder water, and gather the Oysters at their ease: and when they would mount vp to the Shippe, lightly they cast off the stones, and swimme nimbly in their rising. Such as would meddle in fishing for these Oysters, it behooueth them to be very expert in swimming and diuing; because many drown themselues, through want of taking winde, or else are drawne into the depth of the sea, by huge and mighty Fishes, which there they met withall, and then by no meanes can escape drowning.

Marcus Paulus an aie witness of this manner of fishing for pearles

*Marcus Paulus* saw this kind of fishing in the kingdom of *Vara*, which is in *India*, where it was performed in the same manner, and he sayth, that they fish not but in the moneth of *Maie*, and then the Peasants or Boores are set on worke by the Merchants. The King hath his Tenths or Tithes, and certain Sorcerers or Enchanters, there called by them *Abraiamins*, haue the twentieth part, and the Peazants haue their payment in money. Here you must know, that without these Enchanters, they that fish in this manner for Oysters, should bee deuoured by certaine greedie and venomous fishes, as Crocodiles, Whales, and other such like deuourers: but they coniure them in such sort, that they escaped from them without any daunger. But when night commeth, and the fishing must be forborne till the morrow; the Enchanters release and make their coniurations to cease: onely to preuent theeues, who else (in the night time) would plunge and diue into the water, knowing they may doe it safely without perill, and so carry away the pearly Oysters, and frustrate the Merchants of their expectation.

Of inchanters whose coniurations doe great seruice in the fishing for pearled Oysters.

Moreouer, there is no people in all the Countrey, that can enchaunt those terrible fishes, or doe know the words belonging to this coniuration, but onely these *Abraiamins*. And it is to be noted, that all such as trafficke in this fishing; doe not cause the Oysters to open themselues in fresh water; but in some Countries, they open them with little knives, or sharpe pointed bodkins. And in many other pla-

All Countries not alike in opening the oysters for their pearles.

ces, as in the *Indiaes* lately discoverd, they set their Oysters ouer a fire, and so by heat procure them to open, by which meanes they finde the Pearles: but then those pearles appeare of a reddish colour, and carry no chearefull water.

Also it is to be obserued, that all pearles are not white of themselues naturally, but in some places they are found to bee red; as in the Island of *Zipangrie*, scituate in the East *Indiaes*, according as the said *Venetian Paulus* reporteth. And yet there they haue great plentie of them, very singularly excellent, both for greatnes and roundnesse: and in those Countries, they are of dearer value, price and estimation, than those white do carry no comparison with them. Somewhat I can say of my selfe, that I haue seene seauen redde pearles, and no more, belonging vnto the late deceased Dutchesse of *Valentinois*; which had a most goodly lustre, and I was (for a while) perswaded, that they wonne that colour by some artificiall meanes: but after I had read the Discourse of *Marcus Paulus*, then I became to be of another opinion.

All pearles be not white naturally of themselves: but some redde pearles haue excelled the white in price & estimation.

Heere likewise will I insert a great secret in nature, and (in my minde) very meruailous, reported to mee by men of good credite, that haue seene the fishing for those Oysters, and found it true by their owne experience. In a certaine season of the yeare, these Oysters of pearles, doe belch and cast forth a red and blood-like moisture, in great abundance: so that many (of the best in iudgement) among those barbarous people, imaged them to suffer a fluxe of menstruositie, as other fishes in the same Ocean doe. These Oysters haue their passages, like to all other fishes in Seas or Riuers, so that in some places great store of them is to be found, and within a while after, a rare matter if tenne remayne there to be had, but all are fallen downe about tenne miles further off. Sometimes, they which fish in an other Countrey, where scarcely one is left: on the morrow or next day, shall light on more then euer was there before.

A strange kind of moisture issuing from those pearly oysters at a certaine season of the yeare.

The *Persians* haue moreover inuented an other manner of fishing, more commodious, and of lesse charge and perill. By making of hurdles of Osters or Palms, well knit together with strong bindings, in such manner as the fishing obserued in

Oysters continue not in one place.

A later invention of the Persians in fishing for their pearled Oysters.

our *Xantonge* Seas for Casserons, vsing certaine Rakes, which rash into the Sea sands, and when they find the beds of Oysters, so force the enter into those hurdls. Others walke along amongst the Rockes and Stones, which appeare about the water, where oftentimes, they finde some of those Oysters, so fast knit to the Rockes or Stones, as very much labour can scarcely get them off, without breaking the rocke or shell of the Oysters, and then taking from thence the Pearle, so soone as the shell is broken; for otherwise it diminisheth, and doth loose the true and naturall colour.

The *Indians, Arabians, Persians* and others, in auncient times, made no more account of Pearles, then of ordures and corruptions which the Seas cleered them selues of, during the seasons of their turbulence and boyling. But now wee haue so well instructed them, in knowledge both of the worth and profite, that they can skill of the goodnesse, and value of things in such sort, as they will sell those commodities at rates deare enough. The *Egyptian* hath bene quicke witted alwayes, as hauing knowledge in good letters of longest continuance, addicting his studious contemplations, to vnderstand the secrets of Nature: so that Pearles and precious Stones, at all times hath tasted of his approbation and esteeme. The slaues and basest peazants in the Isle of *Baharem*, and other adiacent partes of firme Land, neighbouring vpon the Sea; haue oftentimes found Nacres and Oysters on the shoares, beeing dead, and yet they made search into them, and often they found very fayre and also rich Pearles.

*Pliny* saith, that Oysters haue a King amongst them, according as the like is affirmed of the Bees, Antes, and a guide allotted to the Cranes, and that this king is elected and chosen (by being the very fayrest and greatest) to take a carefull charge of all the rest: And that is the Oyster, which the fishers or diuers couet most to finde, being then assured, that the rest will not feare to followe. *Athenews* alleadgeth another Fable, as thus: That they doe striue to reuenge themselues on the fishers, by opening their shells so to catch holde of their fingers. But such opinions are meerely friuolous, and they

which ordinarily fish in the Oyster-Seas, make a mockerie of such reports. Beside, our Naturallists stand in doubt, whether Cockles, Scallops, Muscles, Oysters, and such like shell-fish (liuing in the water) haue any part of vnderstanding. And, by the same reason, if they haue the meanes of withdrawing themselues, vpon sight of the fishers comming, or from any other fish (opposite or contrary to them) endeavouring to eate and deuoure them.

There is a fish, which is very opposite to the Oyster, being teamed by the *Persians, Taruphall, or Taball*, and is of the bignesse of a midling Salmon, hauing a hard skinne, yet without scales, and his finnes of an azure colour. This fish hath a little head, a sharpe nose or snout, seruing for his mouth, which is full of sharp teeth: and these pearly Oysters are his delicious diet, liuing (almost) by no other kind of foode. When he is desirous of feeding, he watcheth till such time as the Oysters beginne to open, as oftentimes they doe, beeing in the Sea: whereof making his aduantage, and thrusting in his nose, hee deuoureth the fish quickly, leauing the shell quite emptie. The fishermen of the Islands, labour diligently to catch this fish, and first of all they open her bowells, wherein they finde store of very goodlie Pearles: then feede they on the fish, because it is dainty and delicate meate. The fewer number of Pearles they finde in an Oyster, so much the greater and fayrer they are, and where they chaunce on anie store, they are the clowdier and small. Some are found to be so little, that they can not bee drilled by any meanes; and therefore they call them Seede-pearles, which are purposely kept for Apothecaries, who imploy them according to their owne knowledge and experience, or as they are aduised by the Physitian.

The most commendable forme and shape of the pearl, is said to be that which is roundest; yet that in fashion of a Peare or Akorne, is not much worse; and next to these is that like to a little Nutte: nor doe they reiect such as are writhed and wrinkled, nor the very smallest; but all are employed and made vse of: the best for the richest people, and the other for them of lower qualitie, because they are worne by all degrees of persons, as well men as women, in regarde they are growne to be

Taruphall, or Taball, a fish contrary to the-pearled Oysters, liuing by feeding on them.

The Taruphall hath plenty of rich Pearles found in his belly.

Of those Pearles that carrie most commendation by their shape.

Barbarous nations made no account of pearles in elder times.

The wisdom and long continued experience of the Egyptians.

*Plin. 12. ca. 17.*  
A king among the Oysters. and yet it is doubted, whether Oysters haue any vnderstanding, or no; and a great question among the best Naturallists.

so common. No Prouince doe I know, whereunto more Pearles are brought, then into *Spaine*, and next into *France*, within some small compasse of time, which makes mee so much to maruell at them the more.

In brieft, Pearles haue surpassed the riches of gold and siluer, and of Emeralds brought from foorth the *Indiaes*. And yet I would gladly know the reason, wherefore our graue Auncients made such estimation of Pearles; considering they knew them not to haue any medicinable vertue, and in regard also, they grew quickly olde, as we plainly perceiue, when they haue lost their lustre, clearenesse and whitenesse. For my selfe, I cannot imagine what should be the reason, except it be in regarde of their whitenesse, which is not common to other precious stones: and I perceiue, that no account is made of them, which are of another colour, although they be of the self-same substance. Some haue entrusted mee in an other reason, to wit, because they haue beene brought from the new-found world, and likewise, that in times past, they fetch them from very farre remote Countries, which needs must vrge the more affection to them, because they come from farre hence: Or else wee make such deare estimation of them, in regarde that (many times) they cost the liues of men in fishing for them, as partly we haue before reported. The greatest Pearles are called in Latine *Vniones*, because sildome or

neuer we shall light on two, that are alike eyther in greatnesse, roundnesse, or splendour, or answerable in weight: for wee finde them alwayes separated one from another, and not ioyned together; And the lesser sort they vse to call *Marguerites*.

After that the Merchants haue them in their power, they permit them to be perused by diuers people, wherein the *Indians* and *Persians* are the best exercised, as beeing naturally enclined thereto by frequent practise. Nor do Pearles continue still in one and the same condition, for the truth is, they will fade, wither and waxe light by course of times: especially such as are caught after the full Moone. But being kept in the floure of Rice, mingled with Bay-Salt, they will recouer their former beauty and weight. But they which are caught deepest, and in the new Moone, are neuer subiect to any such inconueniences.

The flesh (as they vse to call it) or body of the Pearly Oyster, is most wholsom, and of great nourishment; excellent good against melancholy, and for such as language, or are in a consumption, and also for Hectiques and Tificks. But the *Indians* make no vse of Pearles in their medicines, although the moderne Physitions of the *Arabes* and *Moors* doe, which hath beene learned of them by some of ours, and vsed in all cordiall medicines, being good also for the eyes, finely beaten into powder, and held as an especiall preferuatiue for the sight. O o o o 3

The reason why the greatest Pearles are called in Latine *Vniones*.

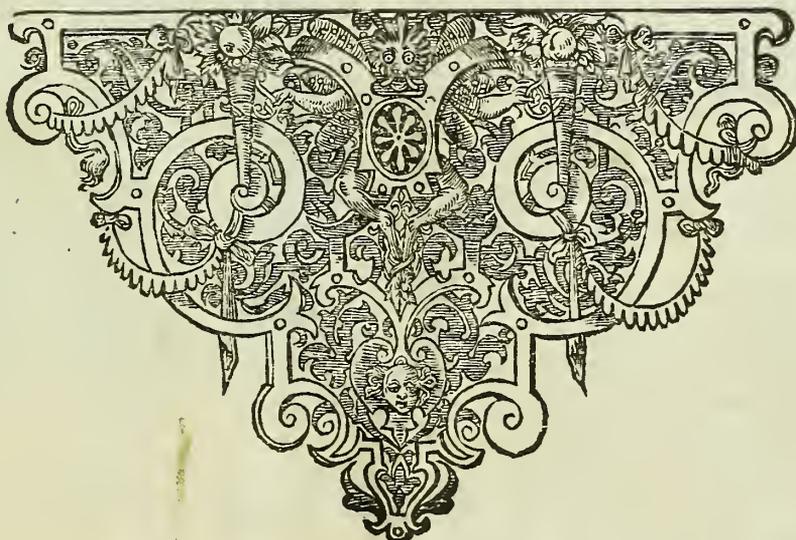
The *Indians* and *Persians* haue the greatest skill in Pearles.

Pearles will decay & waxe light.

Pearly Oysters good for diuers diseases.

A doubt and demand, what the reason may be, that Pearles should exceed gold and siluer in value and estimation.

FINIS.







# A Table of the severall Bookes and Chapters, with their particular Arguments, contained in this Second Volume.

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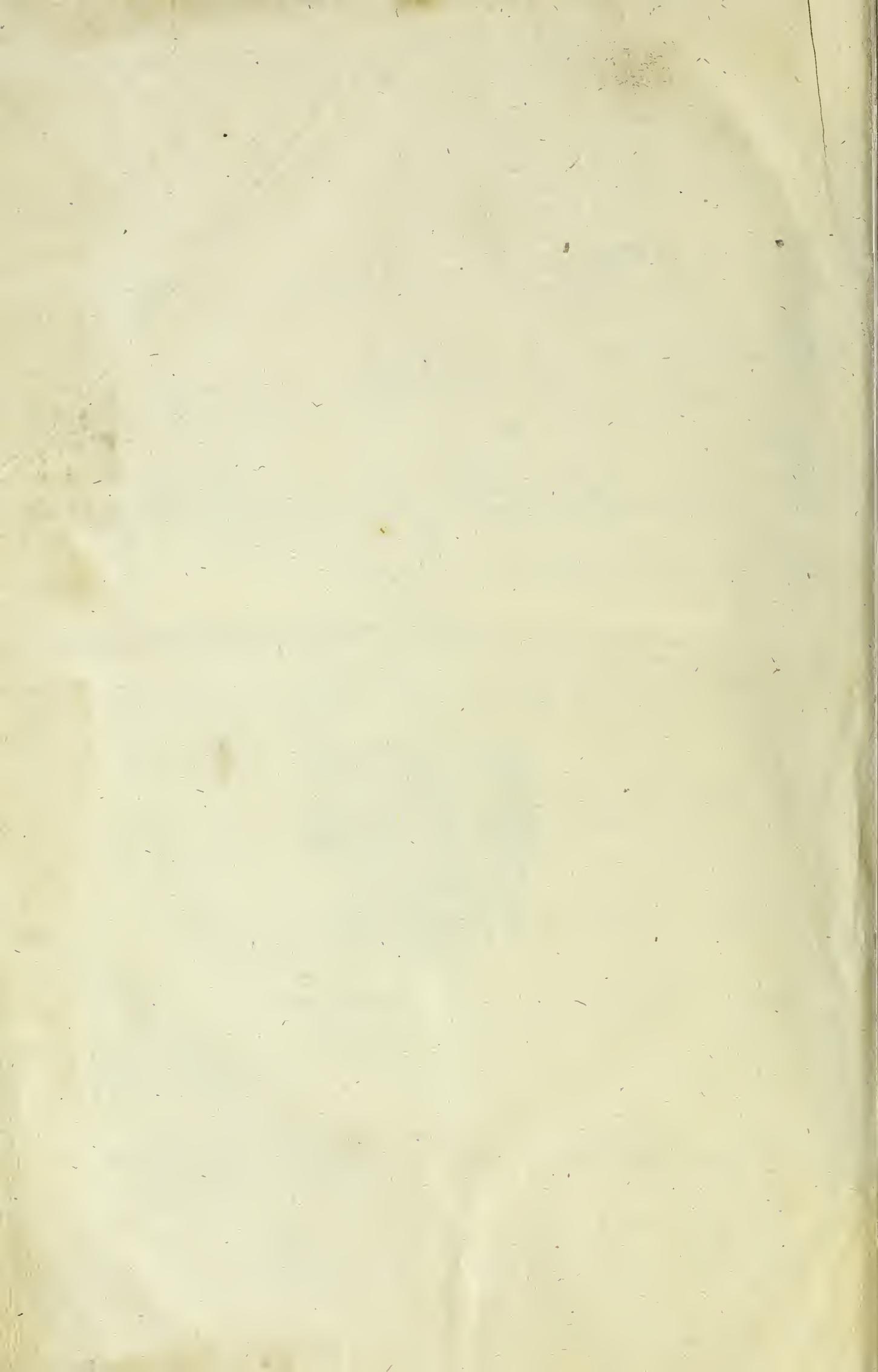
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